

CLEFT SENTENCES IN MAZAHUA (OTO-MANGUEAN)

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- **ABSTRACT:** The purpose of this paper is to describe the structure of the cleft sentences in the Mazahua language of San Pedro Potla (located in Temascalcingo, Estado de Mexico). This study has been carried out under the approach of Lambrecht (2001), who considers that the cleft sentence is a complex structure formed by a matrix clause and a relative clause; this binary clause expresses a single semantic proposition. Considering the latter, cleft sentences are formed by the *ngè* mark, the focused phrase and the relative clause. To give an account of the objective, it is necessary to consider certain features of the grammar of the language as word order, types of relative clauses, and grammatical functions of *ngè*. Through the types of cleft sentences it can be shown that, in some contexts, the topicalized information also appears clefted. The data correspond to stories, narrations, and tales.
- **KEYWORDS:** Information. Focus. Topic. Structure. Otopamean.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to present a description of the cleft sentences shown in (1). These kinds of cleft sentences are found in Mazahua in order to give an account of focalized information. A cleft sentence is a structurally complex sentence formed by a matrix clause, a copula, and a relative clause; the latter's relativized argument is coindexed with the copula's predicate argument (LAMBRECHT, 2001). What will be shown throughout this paper is the diverse structural distribution of the grammatical elements that, in turn, constitute a cleft sentence. In Mazahua, a cleft sentence, like the one in (1), is formed by the *ngè* form that co-occurs with the focalized information, a relative clause (between brackets [])—which is introduced by a subordinate—and a phrase that shows the focus, like in (1a) y (1b). At the same time, these sentences also show the topicalized information, as in (1c) and (1d).

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- (1) a. FOC RC FF
 ṅgè[=ø mí=k^hàa kòral] à-tànsĩa
 FOC=SUB 3PSR=be farmyard LOC-ranch
 ‘It was in the ranch where there was a farmyard.’ (Txt)
- b. mbò=ø=náṅ^wadí, FOC RC FF
 ṅgè[=múk^ha ø=mbârã=hi =Ø mí=ṅgè pitʃe]
 luego=3PST=run FOC=when 3PST=know=PL=SUB STA.PST-be ghost
 ‘Then he ran, it was when they knew he was a ghost.’ (Txt)
- c. TOP RC TF
 ṅgè[=k’i mí=hé?e]=k’i
 TOP=SUB 3PSR=dress=DEMSG
 ‘That’s what they dressed.’ (Txt)
- d. ndá=ø=ṅgìki téʃe jò=^hwă^hmã, TOP CR TF
 ṅgè[=k’í ø=pèp^hi=?ja]=k’í
 TOT=3PST=harvest all ARTPL=cornfield FOC=SUB 3PRS=work=PTL=DEMSG
 ‘She harvested all the cornfields, that is the one that works.’

It is important to point out that this paper presents the first descriptive approach to cleft sentences. Previous research such as Stewart (1966), López Marín (2002), Guzmán (2011), Knapp (2013), Mora Muñoz and Mora-Bustos (2017) presented general descriptions of relative clauses; nevertheless, these authors did not take into consideration cleft sentences. Within the Otopame subgroup, Palancar (2018, 2009) typifies cleft sentences in Otomí; therefore, this paper will only be considered as a referential piece of information.

Mazahua o *Jñatjo*, ISO 639-3, is a language that belongs to the Otopame subgroup, that in itself belongs to the Otomangue family. This language is related to Otomí, Matlatzinca, Tlahuica, Pame, and Chichimeco. According to data gathered from INEGI (which stands for Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía in Spanish), in 2015 there were 147,088 native speakers of this language. A considerable amount of speakers are located in the northwestern and midwestern part of Estado de México; in broad terms, 15 municipalities are included in both states: Estado de México and Michoacán. On one hand, the municipalities located in Estado de México are Atlacomulco, Temascalcingo, Villa de Allende, Villa Victoria, Almoloya de Juárez, Donato Guerra, El Oro, Ixtapan del Oro, Ixtlahuaca, Jiquipilco, Jocotitlán, Morelos, San Felipe del Progreso and Valle de Bravo. On the other, in the state of Michoacán, the municipalities of Susupuato y Zitácuaro (KNAPP, 2008) are located. All of the examples here presented have been compiled by the author and they are part of narrations, interviews and life accounts of Mazahua native speakers in San Pedro Potla, a municipality in Temascalcingo, Estado de México.

In structural terms, the sentences in (2) are fitting for the non-clefted correlate of the sentence in (1). According to Lambrecht (2001), from the semantic perspective, the matrix clause as well as the relative one in (1) are considered as a whole and they express a simple proposition in a logical manner — that can also be present in the form of a simple clause, like the one in (2) — this without changing the conditions of truth.

- (2) a. mí=k^háa kòral à-tànsiá
 3_{PSR}=be farmyard LOC-ranch
 ‘There was a farmyard on the ranch.’ (Txt)
- b. mbò=ø=náŋg^wadí, ø=mbárá=hi Ø=mí=ŋgè pitje
 then=3_{PST}=run 3_{PST}=know=PL SUB=STA.PSR=be ghost
 ‘Then he ran, they knew he was a ghost.’ (Txt)
- c. mí=hé?e=k’í
 3_{PSR}=dress=DEMSG
 ‘They dressed that.’ (Txt)
- d. ndá=ø=ŋgìki téŋe jò=^hwǎ^hmǎ, ø=pèp^hi=?ja=k’í
 TOT=3_{PST}=harvest all ARTPL=cornfield 3_{PRS}=work=PTL=DEMSG
 ‘She harvested all the cornfields, she works.’ (Txt)

The idea that holds this paper together is born from the fact that cleft sentences are formed by *ŋgè*, a relative clause, and a focus or topic phrase. These sentences have a mandatory grammatical correlate that cannot be divided or clefted. The *ŋgè* form, in morphological terms, works as a clitic that co-occurs in sentences to denote focus and topic. Cleft sentences present a wide variety of word order of its components within its configuration; the structure of cleft sentences is related to the order of the constituents of the language, the structure of the relative clauses, and the grammatical functions of the *ŋgè* form. Taking this statement as a starting point, this paper will be organized in the following way: Grammatical characteristics of Mazahua. Focus and topic. Cleft sentences. Basic cleft sentences. QU cleft sentences. Inverted cleft sentences. Incomplete cleft sentences. Conclusions.

Grammatical characteristics

In this segment of the paper, some relevant grammatical characteristics will be briefly described in order to give an account of the topic to be developed. Mazahua’s most defining linguistic characteristic is that it is a tonal language; the level tones that are rooted in the proclitics are contrastive. It is a nominative-accusative language and has head-marking, which is to say that the grammatical relations are codified in the verb head through a complex ensemble of proclitics and suffixes. The proclitics codify

time, aspect, mode (TAM)¹, and person that also cross-references with the referent found in the noun clause that expresses the grammatical subject, while the suffixes exhibit the grammatical relations of direct and indirect object². The morphosyntactic configuration that the active intransitive verbs present is different to that of the one found in the patientive and stative verbs (BARTHOLOMEW, 1965; STEWART, 1966; AMADOR HERNÁNDEZ, 1976; KNAPP, 2008, 2013; PALANCAR, 2009; LÓPEZ MARÍN; MORA-BUSTOS, 2015). Within the group of intransitive verbs there is a cleft system generated from the semantics and syntax of the verb units. In (3) there is a template of the verbal word.

(3) NEG/AF=PTL=CUAN2=ADV=INT/CSL=TAMP=CUAN1=VERBO-OBJ/IO=LIM=E=PL/DU
=PTL=LOC=DEM

In (4), some grammatical contexts are presented to illustrate the structure of the verbal word presented in (3). The verbs *pérdona* ‘forgive’, (4a), and *mbéje* ‘remember’, (4c), are transitive; the proclitic codifies time, aspect, mode (TAM) and person; the suffix, for its part, expresses the direct object. Furthermore, the suffix of the ditransitive verbs *fíp^{hi}* ‘tell’ and *jóki* ‘open’ in (4b) expresses the dative or indirect object. In the grammatical units that express concepts of property *nó* ‘old’ in (4c) and *t’í* ‘boy’ in (4d), the proclitics *ma=* and *mi=* codify time, aspect and mode (TAM); whereas the suffixes *-zi* and *-k^{ho}* express the grammatical subject of the sentence. In (4d) *hãndã* ‘see’ is an intransitive verb; the proclitic codifies time, aspect, mode, and person.

(4) a. *mà-?jêŋk^{2wa} ?já=rà=pérdona-ts’i*
TADV-before NEG=3.PST=forgive-2OBJ
‘Before they did not forgive you.’ (Txt)

b. *má=fi-p^{hi} nù=délegado=ø rà=?ěhě jóki-zi*
IMP.ir=go-3DAT ARTSG=delegado=SUB 3.FUT=come open-1DAT
‘Go tell the delegate to come and open me.’ (Txt)

c. *já=má-tj’í-nó-zi, já=rí=mbéje*
PTL=STA.PST-DIM-old-1OBJ PTL=1PSR=remember
‘It was older, I remembered it.’ (Txt)

¹ Proclitics that encode TAM and person

	Presente	Neutral Past	Pasat	FUTURE
1 person	rí=	mí=	ró=	rá=
2 person	i=	mí=	i=	rí=
3 person	ø=	mí=	ó=	rà=

² Object and indirect object suffixes

	Objet	INDIRECT OBJET
1 person	/-gV/, /-kV/, /-k ^h V/, /-zV/, /-tsV/	/-kV/, /-NgV/, /-zV/, /-tsV/
2 person	/-k ^h V/, /-ts ^h V/	/-ʔk ^h V/, /-ts ^h V/, /-k ^h V/
3 person	ø-	/-pV/, /-mbV/, /-p ^h V/, /-p ^h V/

- d. mù=ró=hàn^h=go^h=me ná=hó?o k^hà=mí=tá-t'í-k^ho^h=me
 when=1PST=see=1E=PL.EXC STA.PRS=well still=STA.PSR=AU-boy-1OBJ=PL.EXC
 ‘When we saw it well, we were still young.’ (Txt)

The full noun phrases that express the grammatical relations appear in a post-verbal position. In regards to the basic order of constituents, this language presents an order VOS, VOS-OI and VS³. Taking into consideration pragmatic factors, the full noun phrases that state grammatical relations are placed in different positions. In the examples of (5), the object appears in the post-verbal position (5a), (5b), (5d), (5e); the subject is set up after the object, (5b), in post-verbal position, (5c), or pre-verbal (5c), (5d). In ditransitive constructions, like the one in (5b), *riʔʰəmbi níjní* ‘you touch his head,’ the indirect object appears exhibited in the *-mbi* suffix; the verb has space to place a suffix as a morpheme, so that in ditransitive constructions the dative is codified.

- (5) a. V O
 mbò=rà^h=?jěε ín-màle
 then=3PSR=beat 3POSS-wife
 ‘Then he was beating his wife.’ (Txt)

- b. V O S V
 ʃo=mì=pò?o ðizi nù=ḅεzo=k'í; ri=ʔʰəmbi
 also=3PSR=sell guitar ARTSG=man=DEMSG 2PST=touch-3DAT
 O
 nú=jíí
 ARTSG.3POS=cabeza
 ‘That man also sold guitars; you touch his head.’ (Txt)

- c. V S S V
 ó=ŋgít'í=k'í; nú=níí; nù=ts'í-t'í já=Ø=ndũũ
 3PST=pull=DEMSG ARTSG.3POS=mother ARTSG=DIM-boy PTL=3PST=die
 V V
 ó=mbof'í, já=Ø=zít'í
 3PST=kill PTL=3.PST=suck
 ‘His mother pulled him; the little boy has already died, killed him, sucked him.’
 (Txt)

³ Within the disposition of the order of the constituents, letter X is used to point out the adjunct, that is, grammatical forms that do not develop as grammatical relations (subject, direct object and indirect object).

d. V X V O X
 mí=s^hət'ə=hi à-ndàre, mí=pàa tún=hi k^hòho mà-²náng^wari,
 3PSR=come=PL LOC-river 3PSR=go bring=PL mushroom DIR-other.side
 X
 à-mànu
 LOC-over.there
 'They came to the river, they were going to bring mushrooms to the other side,
 over there.' (Txt)

e. S V O X
 nù=pàpa ni-máma tá=mí=pàa tún=hi k^hòho mà-²náng^wari
 ARTSG=father 2POSS-mother until=3PSR=go bring=PL mushroom DIR-other.side
 'Your mom's dad was going to bring mushrooms to the other side.' (Txt)

The position of the relative clause is post-noun⁴. In (6a), the relative clause is put immediately after the noun *ndzíni* 'ox' (the relative clause is between brackets []); in (6b), it is found after the demonstrative *k'í*, 'that'.

- (6) a. k^hò=mì=ngè-ndzíni [ø=mí=jăḃi=k'í], k^hò=mì=ngè-ndzíni
 maybe=STA.PSR-be-ox SUB=3PSR=hit=DEMSG maybe=STA.PSR=be-ox
 [ø=mí-ʔès'í=k'í]
 SUB=3PSR-spur on=DEMSG
 'Maybe it was ox that hit that, maybe it was ox that was spurring on that.' (Txt)
- b. i'já=ø=t^hómi=k'í [ø=ró=sàʔa]
 NEG=1PRS=own=DEMSG SUB=1PST=eat
 'I do not owe that I ate.' (Txt)

The language does not have a catalogue of relative pronouns, so it has to resort to a relativization strategy through demonstrative and determiners⁵: *k'í* in (7a), *k'ò*, in (7b); *jò* in (7c) and *nù* in (7d). Throughout this paper, these morphemes have been annotated as subordinates.

- (7) a. ø=jàha nà-mástro [k'í=i'já=ø=p^hétʃi ʔjòḃi ʔjéʔe]
 3PST=bath ARTINDF-teacher SUB=NEG=3PSR=know move hand
 'A teacher bathed who did not know how to move his hands.' (Txt)
- b. mí=ḃiḃi nà-pé'ji [k'ò=ná=tá-nóho]
 3PSR=be ARTIND-tejocote SUB=STA.PRS=AU-big
 'There was a tejocote that was big.' (Txt)

⁴ To have a general perspective of relative clauses, see Keenan (1985).

⁵ Demonstratives and articles that appear as a relativization strategy have been annotated as subordinates. Givón (1979) and Comrie (1981), among others, have established some criteria about which grammatical unit can be considered as a relative pronoun.

c. *rí=hòdí=hme jò=tée [jo=ʃĩ=ø=ɲá=hi h̃nátʰõ]*
 1.PRS=look for=PL.EXCL ARTPL=people SUB=still=3PRS=speak=PL mazahua
 ‘We are looking for people who still speak Mazahua.’ (Txt)

d. *ø=èmbé=Ø ò=tʰé=βi nù=k’íʰmi [nù=ø=pʰè-bèj̃na*
 3PRS=say=SUB 3PST=find=DU ARTSG=víbora SUB=3.PRS=become=lady
k’íʰmi]
 viper
 ‘They say they found the viper that becomes a lady.’ (Txt)

Relative clauses that possess an antecedent denoting a human entity appear with a group of free morphemes, such as *nùk’o* in (8a), *nùk’i* in (8b), (9b) and *k’òhé* in (9a). The relative clause in (8a) has an external head; *k’o* ‘those’ is the head of the relative clause and functions syntactically as the direct object of the main clause *mìkhónt’ihik’o* ‘they paid those’, the relative clause is after the head and is introduced by the subordinate *nùk’o*; in (8b), the head *nàhó?o ndífunù* ‘good woman’ is found inside the relative clause and the subordinate *nùk’i* is outside the construction.

(8) a. *mí=k’ónt’i=hi=k’o [nùk’ó mí=ótʰo ndétʰõ=ʔja]*
 3PSR=pay=PL=DEMPLE SUB 3PSR=no.have corn=PTL
 ‘They paid those who did not have corn.’ (Txt)

b. *nùk’i [rà=tʰitsi téfe nù=ɲgùmi nà=hó?o] ndífu=nù*
 SUB 3.FUT=clean all DETSG=house STA.PRS=good woman=DEMSG
 ‘The woman who is good who will clean the whole house.’ (Txt)

In the relative clauses of (9), the head is not expressed in the sentence, neither internally nor externally. The head of these sentences is recovered in the discourse (for further details on relative clauses, see MORA MUÑOZ; MORA BUSTOS, 2017).

(9) a. *[k’òhé mí=pàa 6èpʰi] mí=pʰit’i=hi kò=tʰirio ø=èmbé=hi=ø*
 SUB 3PSR=say work 3PST=bit=PL INS=chirrión 3PSR=say-3.PL=SUB
 ‘They said that they were beaten with a chirrión to those who were going to work.’ (Txt)

b. *[nùk’i já=Ø=hùβila] já=zànma zànma já=Ø=k’ón=ki=hi*
 SUB PTL=3PST=retire PTL=month month PTL=3PST=earn-1DAT=PL
 ‘Those who have already retired are paid monthly.’ (Txt)

From this section, dedicated to the description of several of the grammatical attributes pertinent to the description of cleft sentences, there are some features to be highlighted: noun phrases express grammatical relation that move from their basic or natural position; relative clauses appear generally in post-noun position; these relative

clauses are characterized by their internal and external head; there are also relative clauses without a head. The language, since it does not have a catalogue of relative pronouns, uses the strategy of the determiners and demonstratives.

Within the status of the stative verbs of the *ngè* kind, proclitics such as *mi* (10a), (10b), (10c), (10e) and *ri* (10d) express simple and imperfect past. The grammatical subject is evident in the suffix *ts'*, second person of (10a), *ts* first person in (10b) and (10c); the third person of (10d) and (10e) is codified in a null morpheme. The catalogue of suffixes is illustrated in the chart in note 2.

- (10) a. A: ζ *mí=ngè-ts'=ke* *tʃáʔa?*
 2PSR=be-2SBJ=2SBJ.E mask
 ‘ ζ Were you mask?’ (Txt)
- b. B: *háã*, *mí=ngè-ts=ko* *tʃáʔa*
 AF 1PSR=be-1SBJ=1SBJ.E mask
 ‘yes, I was mask.’ (Txt)
- c. *nùtskó* *mí=ngè-ts=ko* *ùnika* *ʃùt'í* *k'à=nù=ngùmí*
 1PRON 1PSR=be-1SBJ=1SBJ.E only girl LOC=ARTSG=house
 ‘I was the only girl in the house.’ (Txt)
- d. *kʰò* *rì=ngè* *ðèzo* *mbè* \emptyset =*híʃí=tʰo* *à-kʰánu*
 maybe 3PST=be man but 3PST=whistle=DEL MAN-like.that
 ‘Maybe he was a man, but he just whistled like that.’ (Txt)
- e. *mí=ngè=tʰo* *ndáʔni* *nà=ndètʃʰo*
 3PSR=be=DEL path STA.PRS=right
 ‘It was a great right path.’ (Txt)

The *ngè* form appears, as well, with the meaning of the verb ‘to be’ in interrogative sentences, like the one in (11). Direct interrogative sentences, like the ones in (11a), (11b) and (11c) present the QU form as if it were an explicit marking of interrogation. *ngè* as the verb ‘to be’ appears without the proclitic that codifies TAM, this feature is recovered in discourse; however, the suffix that expresses the subject in (11c) appears suffixed to this verb. The catalogue of TAM proclitic is exemplified in the chart of note 1.

- (11) a. ζ *kʰò=ngè* *nù=sèbèriano?*
 Q=be ARTSG=Severiano
 ‘ ζ Who is Severiano?’ (Txt)
- b. ζ *kʰó=ngè* *nù=pà=nu?*
 Q=be ARTSG=day=DEMSG?
 ‘ ζ What day was that?’ (Txt)

- c. ʒk^hó=ŋgè-ts'=k'e=?ja?
 Q=be-2SUBJ=2SUBJ.E=PTL
 ʒ'Maybe is it you?' (Txt)

The *ŋgè* verb form appears in equative constructions⁶, as well, like in (12). This kind of *ŋgè* construction has a function similar to that of a copulative verb. Morphologically, the proclitic that codifies TAM and the suffix that expresses the grammatical subject are not bounded to this form. *ŋgè* develops within this type of construction as a proclitic that clings to the noun phrase, which in turn expresses the identity of the subject. *ŋgenuparientenu* 'your relative', in (12a); *ŋgenabe^hna* 'a lady', in (12d). The entity on which it is predicated, pragmatically, has already been mentioned before in the discourse and the referent is known by the speakers; in the examples in (12), this information is expressed with the demonstratives *nu* (12a), *nuk'i* (12b) *k'i* (12c) and the noun phrase *nabe^hna* 'a lady' in (12d).

- (12) a. ó=ndómbadi-zi, ó=fɿ-tsi: ŋgè=nú=pàriente=nu
 3PST=FUN around-1OBJ 3PST=say-1DAT be=ARTSG.2POSS=relative=DEMSG
 'He ran around to me, he said: that's your relative.' (Txt)

- b. ʒ[?]já=ŋgè=nùk'í t^héhe?
 NEG=be=DEMSG cough?
 ʒ'Is that not cough?' (Txt)

- c. A: Íjo, ?já=rí=párã k^hò=ŋgè=k'í
 NEG NEG=1PRS=know who=be=DEMSG
 'No, I do not know who that is.' (Txt)

- d. B: ŋgè=nà=bějna=k'o Ø=mbòt'í=hi=k'í mí=bín=ts'ε
 be=ARTINDF=lady=SUB 3pst=kill=PL=SUB 3PSR=be=REFL
 'It was a lady who killed that she was alone.' (Txt)

The noun phrases express only third person grammatical subjects. In this kind of construction, these phrases are found in the initial position: *nuʃùt'í ùbíbí nímanú* 'the girl who is there' in (13a), *nùjò t'í?i òkãrãnú* 'those children who are there' (13b); in interrogative sentences, the interrogative pronoun appears at the beginning of the construction and the *ŋgè* form is enclitized in this pronoun, *k^hòŋgè* 'who was' in (13c). In the constructions that express possession, *mě?e* 'it is hard' in (13d), *ŋgè* is proclitized in the phrase that expresses specification, whether it be identification, equality or similarity.

⁶ Concepts such as equation and predication have been taken from Mikkelsen (2005).

- (13) a. nù=fût'í=nù Ø=ḃíḃí ní=mànú ḡge=fût'í nù=lùpe=nu
 ARTSG=girl=SUB 3PRS=be LOC=over there be=girl ARTSG=Guadalupe=DEMSG
 'The girl who is there is the daughter of Guadalupe.' (Txt)
- b. nùjò t'í?i=Ø ò=kârâ=nú ḡgé=hí i-ḃètḡí
 DEMPL child=SUB 3PST=be=LOC be=PL 1POSS-grandchildren
 'Those children who are there are my grandchildren.' (Txt)
- c. mbè ?já=ró=hândĩ-hme, ǰk^hò=ḡgé=ḃèzo k^hò=ḡgé?
 But NEG=1PST=see-1-PL.EXCL who=be=man who=be
 'But we did not see it, was it a man or who was?' (Txt)
- d. mì=nà-mě?e ḡgé=tée; k^hà=ḡgé=mí-hjó k^hà=ø=ndòm-bi
 COND=STA.PRS-duro be=people who=be=1POSS-dad who=3PST=touch-3DAT
 ín-ní?i
 3POSS-head
 'If it is hard, it is people; it was my dad who touched his head.' (Txt)

Until now, it has been said that the *ḡgé* form appears in different types of sentences, and it can function as a full verb when it possesses the meaning of the verb 'to be'. In these specific contexts, *ḡgé* is considered in a stative sense and appears with the TAM modifying proclitic and the suffix that expresses the grammatical subject. *ḡgé* also appears in equative and predicative constructions; in such constructions, there are no TAM proclitics nor the ones that correspond to the subject with this form; the temporal reference is recovered in the discourse and the specified or indexed entity belongs to the third person.

Focus and topic

Lambrecht (1994, 2001), starting from the concepts of assertion and presupposition, defines focus as the the component of a pragmatically structured sentence in which assertion differs from presupposition⁷. That is to say that in a communicative situation, when a speaker produces a statement, he performs a *pragmatic assertion* or simply an *assertion*, which is the proposition expressed by a sentence that the addressee expects to know, think, or is considered as a given after hearing the emission of a sentence; while the *pragmatic presupposition* is defined as the ensemble of lexical-grammatical propositions evoked that the speaker assumes the addressee already knows, thinks or is already considered as a fact at the moment of the statement. Focalized information

⁷ Van Valin and LaPolla's (1997) definition of focus differs from Halliday's (1967); according to the latter, the focalized information is a sort of emphasis that the speaker marks somewhere in their message, which means that focal information is new information that the speaker presents in the discourse.

is part of the assertion that is not within the pragmatic presupposition; it is, instead, the part of the information that cannot be predicted or recovered from context.

Focus is, by definition, the unpredictable part of the proposition. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that in an emission the focalized information is not the only thing that is communicated, but rather the expressed information is associated with the ensemble of pragmatic suppositions. Any constituent or part of a sentence is susceptible to focalization. This means that both arguments and adjuncts can be potentially focalized.

The *ngè* form generally appears with *t^ho* as its delimiter. This marking is located at the beginning of the construction or before the phrase is focalized. In (14) there are examples in which the grammatical relations are focalized; the subject of an intransitive construction *ngèt^ho nùtʃíndádínts^himi* ‘only one little church’ in (14a), and the subject of a transitive construction *ngèt^ho nùánhel nézgo* ‘only Angel and I’ in (14b).

- (14) a. *ngè=t^ho nù=tʃí-ndá-dínts^himi mí=ðíðí=bə*
 FOC=DEL ARTSG=little-big-church 3PSR=be=LOC
 ‘Only one little church was here.’ (Txt)

- b. *ngè=t^ho nù=ánhel nézgo, rí=jé=be, Ø=tùns’i jé=kág^wama*
 FOC=DEL DETSG=áangel 1PRON 1PRS=two=DU.EXC 1PRS=carry two=caguama
 ‘Only Angel and I, the two of us alone, carry two caguama.’ (Txt)

In (15a), *ngè* focalizes the direct object, *ngèt^ho zàa* ‘only the tree’ and in (15b) the indirect object, *jángèʃ^ho...núhjôo* ‘only [...] his dad’. The focalized constituent tends to be at the beginning of the sentence, like in (15a); however, the focus marking is not adjacent to the focalized constituent, like in (15b).

- (15) a. *ngè=t^ho zàa mí=ʔós’i, ʔjá=mí=ʔós’i nù=ʔjáðí*
 FOC=DEL tree 3.PSR=CROSS NEG=3PSR=CROSS ARTSG=bridge
 ‘Only the tree was crossing, the bridge was not.’ (Lit. the bridge did not cross)
 (Txt)

- b. *já=ngèʃ=t^ho ró=kòs-p’i nù=ʰjôo*
 PTL=FOC=DEL 1PST=warn-3DAT 3POSS=dad
 ‘I only warned his dad.’ (Txt)

The scope of the focus marking is performed at a narrow and wide level⁸; in the examples in (15), the scope of this focus marking is narrow so that *ngè* reaches the adjuncts of the *máʃòmí* ‘only at night’ kind, like in (16a). The scope of this focalizer is wide in (16b) and (16c). In the first example, it covers the whole sentence *ðibi n^hjô²ja* ‘only your dad lives’, and, in the second, the scope is on the subordinate sentence *nùkùlak’o òndòðí àk^hànu* ‘only Nicholas fell like that’.

⁸ See Van Valin y LaPolla (1997) for types of focus.

(16) a. ?já=ʃĩ rì=ndzódĩ mà-ndé-mpá, ʃĩ=ngè=t^ho mà=ʃd̄mi
 NEG=no longer 2.PRS=walk TADV-middle-day yet=FOC=DEL TADV=night
 ‘You will no longer walk during the day, only at night.’ (Txt)

b. já=ngè=t^ho ø=ðiði nì-^hjô=?ja
 PTL=FOC=DEL 3PRS=live 2POSS-dad=PTL
 ‘Only your dad lives.’ (Txt)

c. í=k^há-k^ho=ø ngè=t^ho nù=kùla=k’o ø=ndòði à-k^hànu
 1=PST-make-1E=SUB FOC=DEL ARTSG=nicolas=DEMSG 3PSR=fall MAN-like that
 ‘I thought that only Nicholas fell like that.’ (Txt)

Lambrecht himself (1994, 2001) defines topic from Gundel’s (1977) proposal, who mentions that “An entity, E, is the topic of a sentence, S, if in using S the speaker intends to increase the addressee’s knowledge about, request information about, or otherwise get the addressee to act with respect to E. A predication, P, is the comment of a sentence, S, if in using S the speaker intends P to be assessed relative to the topic of S”. Based on Lambrecht’s definition, topic is characterized as the “theme, issue or matter of interest” that the referent — in charge of codifying new information — adds continuously to the emission discourse. In order for a proposition to be understood as the matter that the referent of the topic is talking about, then this referent needs to be obviously part of a pragmatic presupposition, which means that this referent must have already been discussed or must be available in the context.

It is possible to say that the proposition “X is under discussion” or that “X is being predicated” if it is being evoked in the propositional structure of a construction that contains a X as topic. What must be presupposed when talking about topicalized information is not the topic itself, neither its referent, but rather the status of the referent as a possible core of interest or like a core fact of the conversation. The topic’s referent is active or accessible in the discourse. The topic is an element contained in the pragmatic presupposition⁹.

In the examples in (17), the *ngè* form appears with the topicalized information that is also expressed in the demonstrative *k’o* ‘that’. In the same way that *ngè* is a focus marking, it appears as a topic marking at the beginning of the construction, like *ngèʃt^hók’o* ‘only that’ in (17a) and *ngèʃt^hók’o* ‘only [...] that’ in (17b).

(17) a. ngèʃ=t^hó=k’o, ?já=p^he ndá=rí=sánt’i
 TOP=DEL=DEMP NEG=still TOT=1PRS=be hungry
 ‘Only that, I’m still not hungry.’ (Txt)

b. já=ró=k^hìns=t^ho nù=primaria, ngè=t^hó=k’o ró=k^hìns’i
 PTL=1PST=finish=DEL ARTSG=primary TOP=DEL=DEMP 1.PST=achieve
 ‘I finished primary school, I only achieved that.’ (Txt)

⁹ The discussion regarding topic and focus is similar to that given in Mora Bustos (2008).

The *ngè* form functions as an emphasis marking, like in (18). *ngè* emphasizes or shows the information expressed in the verb phrase *mí pé s'í* 'had' in (18a); furthermore, *ngè* highlights the information of the adjuncts *mà fà ã bà ro mà ndò ng^wo* 'on Saturdays, on Sundays' in (18b).

(18) a. ó=6ézi k'ínù fískomi=k'i=ngè mí=pés'í
 3PST=perder ARTSG.3POSS paper=SUB=ENF 3PSR=have
 'He lost that document he had.' (Txt)

b. ø=pèze ngè=mà-fã bà ro mà ndò ng^wo
 3PST=conunt ENF=TADV-saturday TADV-sunday
 'He counted on Saturdays, on Sundays.' (Txt)

To summarize, *ngè* is compatible with constituents with the pragmatic meaning of focus, topic, and emphasis; morphologically it is configured as an enclitic and it is generally located at the beginning of the phrase or sentence of which it has scope or is able to reach. The grammatical relations and the adjuncts are susceptible to appear under the scope of this marking.

Cleft sentences

Lambrecht (2001) recalls the classifications in Jespersen (1937) in order to reorganize cleft sentences in English. In (19) there is a contrast regarding this structure's classification. This paper takes into consideration Lambrecht's (2001) classification. It is assumed — as mentioned by Lambrecht (2001) — that these labels have to be understood in translinguistic studies in an abstract level. Here, these labels are used to give an account of the distributions of the parts of the cleft sentences. It is appropriate to remember that cleft sentences are characterized by their structure because they are formed by bi clausal sentences specialized in the focus marking. These can also be paraphrased in a simple sentence, since both constructions share the same propositional content, and are similar in semantic terms.

	Jespersen (1937)	Lambrecht (2001)
(19) a.	Cleft	It cleft
b.	Pseudocleft	WH cleft
c.	Reverse pseudocleft	Reverse WH cleft

The division of labels is as follows: basic cleft sentences, QU cleft sentences, and inverted cleft sentences. In (20) there are examples of all of these cleft sentences. The structure of a basic cleft, (20a), is formed by the focus marking (FOC); while the QU cleft, (20b), corresponds to the relative clause, the focus marking and the focalized

phrase; and in the inverted cleft, (20c), these elements are exhibited following this distribution: focalized sentences, focus marking, and relative clause.

- (20) a. $\overset{\text{FOC CR}}{\text{ró}=\text{h}\text{wá}^{\text{h}}\text{ni}=\text{h}\text{me}=?\text{ja}}$, $\overset{\text{FF}}{\text{ngè}}[=\text{ø}]$ $\overset{\text{FOC}}{\text{ró}=\text{sí}=\text{h}\text{me}}$ $\overset{\text{FF}}{\text{nù}=\text{sá}\text{nto}}]=\text{k}'\text{i}$
3PST=choose=PL.EXC=PTL FOC=SUB 1PST=carry=PL.EXC ARTSG=saint=DEMSG
 ‘We chose it, it is that saint that we carry.’ (Txt)
- b. $\overset{\text{CR}}{[\text{nù}\text{k}'\text{i}]}$ $\overset{\text{FOC FF}}{\text{ø}=\text{nèè}}$ $\overset{\text{FOC}}{\text{rà}=\text{mbè}^2\text{je}}$ $\overset{\text{FF}}{\text{à}=\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{à}\text{nu}}$ $\overset{\text{FOC FF}}{\text{ngè}=\text{nù}=\text{má}\text{rsela}}$
SUB 3FUT=want 3FUT=leave MAN-like this FOC=ARTSG=marcela
 ‘The one who wants to leave like this is Marcela.’ (Txt)
- c. $\overset{\text{OF}}{[\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{óm}=\text{p}^{\text{h}}\text{jno}=\text{k}'\text{ò}]}$ $\overset{\text{FOC CR}}{\text{ø}=\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{àa}}$ $\overset{\text{FOC CR}}{\text{k}'\text{à}=\text{bá}\text{t}^{\text{h}}\text{i}}$ $\overset{\text{FOC CR}}{\text{ngè}}[=\text{k}'\text{o}]$
bitter-herb=SUB 3=PRST-be LOC-flat FOC=SUB
 $\text{nda}=\text{mi}=\text{si}=\text{hi}=?\text{ja}=\text{k}'\text{o}]$
TOT=3PSR=drink=PL=PTL=DEMPLE
 ‘Those bitter herbs that are on the flat were the ones that they were drinking.’
 (Txt)

So far, there have been three kinds of cleft sentences in the language: basic cleft, (21a); QU cleft, (21b); and inverted cleft, (21c). In subsequent portions of the paper, it will be shown that within the first group of these constituents a cleft subgroup has been left out.

- (21) a. FOC FF RC
 b. RC FOC FF
 c. FF FOC RC

Basic cleft sentences

This is the most common type of cleft. The *ngè* focus marking is located at the beginning of the sentence, like in (22); this marking is procliticized in relation to the focalized phrase. In the same way, the subordinate is procliticized in association to the verb phrase at the end of the sentence. Adverbs like *ʒjá* ‘not’ in (22b) and *ʒĩ* ‘no longer’ in (22c) come before the focus marking. The location of these grammatical units depends on the reach that they themselves have inside the whole construction.

- (22) a. $\overset{\text{FOC}}{\text{ngè}}=\text{nà}=\text{ts}'\text{i}=\text{b}\text{ò}\text{s}'\text{i}$ $\overset{\text{FF RC}}{[\text{k}'\text{i}=\text{r}\text{i}=\text{k}^{\text{h}}\text{á}\text{ʒa}]}$
FOC=ARTINDF=DIM-help SUB=1PRS=do
 ‘It’s a little help what I do.’ (Txt)

b. ?já=ŋgè=ð^hnə [k'í=rí=sà?a]
 NEG=FOC=turkey SUB=2FUT=eat
 'It's not turkey what you'll eat.' (Txt)

c. ?já=ǰĩ=ŋgè=sérbesa [k'í=rí=sò?o]
 NEG=no longer=FOC=beer SUB=1PSR=taste
 'It was no longer beer what I tasted.' (Txt)

Within the basic cleft construction, three subtypes have been left out, like in (23). The feature that typifies these constructions is related to the position of *ŋgè* as proclitic, which also codifies the information that is focalized or topicalized.

- (23) i. FOC RC FF
 ii. TOP RC=FT
 iii. TOP RC FT: anaphora or cataphora.

In the cleft of subtype one (i), as in (24), on one hand, the *ŋgè* focus marking is located at the beginning of the construction and the subordinate is enclitized in *ŋgè*. On the other, the focalized phrase is at the end of the construction. In (24a), there is an adjunct, *àk^hànu* 'like this' and in (24b) there is a syntactic argument *nùfiskòmik'í* 'that document,' and both of them are focalized.

(24) a. FOC RC FF
 ŋgè[=k'í` mí=pèzè=hi] à-k^hànu
 FOC=SUB 3PSR=tell=PL MAN-like this
 'That's what they told.' (Txt)

b. ŋgè[=k'í ra=ts^há-ki àrkate] nù=fiskòmí=k'í
 FOC=SUB 3FUT=do-1DAT authority ARTSG=paper=DEMSG
 'That document is what will make me the authority.' (Txt)

In the cleft of subtype two (ii), the *ŋgè* marking is located at the beginning of the cleft sentence and this is the way in which the subordinate is enclitized. In this kind of cleft (25), *ŋgè* is the topic marking. The demonstratives are the morphological units that express the topic *k'o* or *k'i*. These demonstratives are generally enclitized in the matrix verb of the relative clause, like (25a), (25c), (25d), (25e), or they appear in the construction's last syntactic form, like in (25b). The *k'o* form works as a subordinate and a demonstrative inside the same cleft sentence, like in (25a) and (25b). The same happens with the enclitic *k'i*, which appears as subordinate and demonstrative in (25c) and (25e). In an idiosyncratic way, both *k'o* and *k'i* co-occur indistinctively as subordinates and demonstratives in (25d) and (25e).

- (25) a. TOP RC=FT
 ɲgèhe[=k'ò ó=?jǎ-ki]=k'ò, mbè=ó=ndũns'i=tʰo k'ò=mèrio=?ja
 FOC=SUB 3PST=give-1DAT=DEMPL but=3PST=take=DEL ARTPL=money=PL
 'That's what he gave me, but he took the money.' (Txt)
- b. ʃí=rí=mbèn=tʰo=k'ò, ɲgè=tʰo[=k'ò mí=kârà á-bâthi]=k'ò
 still=1PRS=remember=DEL=DEM FOC=DEL=SUB 3PSR=live LOC-flat=DEMPL
 'I still remember that, those were the ones who lived on the flat.' (Txt)
- c. kʰá=ø=mbèʃ-pe=hi à-ðòndo, ɲgè[=k'i mí=kʰá-pʰi]=k'i
 just=3PST=tell-3DAT=PL LOC-México FOC=SUB 3PSR=do-3DAT=DEMSG
 'They just told him in Mexico, that was the one that did that to him' (Txt)
- d. ɲgè[=k'i rí=pêpʰi=ʰme]=k'ò, rí-ʃòrì=ʰme
 FOC=SUB 1PRS-work=PL.EXCL=DEMPL 1PRS-study=PL.EXCL
 'That's what we work, what we study.' (Txt)
- e. hé=ɲgè=tʰo[=k'ò ró=?ðrə]=k'i, ɲgè=tʰó=[k'i ʃí=rí=mbèje]=k'i
 MOD=FOC=DEL=SUB 1PST=hear=DEMSG FOC=DEL=SUB still=1PRS=remember=DEMSG
 'That's what I heard, that's what I still remember.' (Txt)

In prosody¹⁰ terms, the cleft of subtype three (iii) is distributed in two intonational phrases. Instinctively, in the first phrase, the focus marking and the relative clause can appear; whilst in the second appears the focalized phrase, like in (26a). Otherwise, in the first one, the focalized phrase can turn up, and in the second the focus marking and the relative clause, like in (26b). In (26a), the referent of the focalized phrase is cataphoric in regards to the *k'i* subordinate, while in (26b) the opposite happens: the referent of the focalized phrase in regards to the subordinate *k'o* is anaphoric. In the examples in (26), the comma (,) indicates that there is a pause between the two intonational groups that integrate the cleft sentences of subtype three.

- (26) a. TOP RC (TF:cataphora)
 ɲgè[=k'i mí=dǎ-ki k'wée,] mì=tá-bùru
 FOC=SUB 3PSR=give-1DAT courage 1PSR=AU-dunky
 'It was what gave me courage, I was silly.' (Txt)
- b. k'ò=ɲgàpita ø=émbe=hi, TOP RC (FT:anaphora)
 ɲgè[=k'ò mí=mànda=hi]
 ARTPL=capitain 3PST=tell.3DAT=PL FOC=SUB 3PST=be in charge=PL
 'They were called the captains, they were the ones who was in charge.' (Txt)

¹⁰ The properties related to the intonation of the sentence construction can be seen in Prieto (2003).

QU cleft sentences

This kind of cleft is formed by the subordinates that morphologically adjunct themselves like a bound morpheme, *k'i* in (27a) and (27b) and as well as a free morpheme, *nuk'i* in (27c), (27d) and *nuk'ó* in (27e). These subordinates appear at the beginning of the construction and are proclitized in the cleft's matrix verb. Furthermore, the focus marking of *ngè* appears as a bounded form to the focalized phrase that is at the end of the construction.

- (27) a. RC FOC FF
 [k'i=mí=ʔí-tsi=yó=k'i] ngè=nù=kùla
 SUB=3PSR=teach-1DAT=1E=DEMSG FOC=ARTSG=Nicolas
 'Who taught me that was Nicolas.' (Txt)
- b. [k'i=ø=ʔí=à-ndí=hi] ngè=ní-ʔjòbè
 SUB=3PSR=live LOC=down FOC=1POS=brother
 'Who lives down is my brother.' (Txt)
- c. [nùk'í ø=t'ún-ʔí^h=hi] ngè=mí-ʔjòbè é-ʔúʔa
 SUB 3PSR=carry-back=PL FOC=1POS=brother PN-Juan
 'Who they were carrying was my brother Juan.' (Txt)
- e. [nùk'í rí=hòdí=yó] ngè=nú=i-ʔískòmí
 SUB 1.PRS=look for=1E FOC=ARTSG=1.POSS=paper
 'What I'm looking for is my document.' (Txt)
- d. [nùk'ó ø=ʔnàndā=k'i] ngè=nì-màle=yé sà-màndo
 SUB 3PST=see=DEM FOC=2POSS-grandmother=2e LOC=Manto
 'Who saw that was your grandmother from Manto.' (Txt)

The interrogative sentences exemplified in (11) are different to the cleft sentences exemplified in (28). As it was previously shown, the direct interrogative sentences present an explicit QU form, *k^hò* 'who' in (28a), *hà* 'where' in (28b), and *hà* 'which' in (28c) appear at the beginning of the construction. In these forms, the *ngè* form is proclitized and, subsequently, the subordinate introducing the relative clause is found. The focalized phrase corresponds to the information expressed by the QU form.

- FF (Q) CF RC
 (28) a. ʔk^hò=ngè[=k'i] rà=t[ʔár-ko=^hme nà=méριο?]
 who=be=SUB 3FUT=give-1OBJ=PL.EXC INDFSG=money
 'Who are the ones who are going to give us money?' (Txt)

b. ʒhà=ngè=k^wa[=Ø mí=ḃíḃi nú=ngúmi=k'í?]
 where=be=LOC=SUB 3PSR=be ARTSG.3POSS=house=DEMSG?
 ‘Where was his house?’ (Txt)

c. ʒhà=ngè[=k'í í=sí=hi à-^hníni?]
 which=be=SUB 2PRT=take LOC-Temascalcingo
 ‘Which one did they take from Temascalcingo?’ (Txt)

Reverse cleft sentences

In this kind of cleft, as shown in (29), the syntactic unit focalized (phrases and sentences) is located at the beginning of the sentence. The subordinates *k'í* and *k'ò* are enclitized in the *ngè* focus marking and the relative clause is at the end of the sentence. In this type of cleft, the phrases like *nùt'òʃk^hòho* ‘white mushroom’ in (29a) and *nùpèrpetuo sòkoro* ‘the Perpetuo Socorro’ in (29b) and sentences such as *téʃek'ò nùk'ó opárá* ‘all that they know’ in (29c) are focalized. In (29d) the head of the relative clause *ràmàʔa k'òsèjora'ja* ‘those ladies are going to go’ is focalized and the cleft is right in between this relative clause.

FF FOC RC
 (29) a. nù=t'òʃ-k^hòho ngè[=k'í já=ró=hándã=ʔja]
 ARTSG=white-mushroom FOC=SUB PTL=1PRS=see=PTL
 ‘The white mushroom is what I’m seeing.’ (Txt)

b. nù=pèrpetuo sòkoro ngè[=k'í ø=ḃíḃi à-hòmi] ngèhe[=k'í
 ARTSG=perpetuo socorro FOC=SUB 3PRS=be LOC-ground FOC=SUB
 ø=k^há-p^hi mbàʃua]
 3PRS=do-3DAT party
 ‘The Perpetuo Socorro is the one down there, She is the one who makes the party.’ (Txt)

c. téʃe=k'ò nùk'ó ø=párá ngè[=k'í já=rá=mámã]
 all=DEMPL SUB 3PRS=know FOC=SUB PTL=3FUT=say
 ‘All that they know is what they will say.’ (Txt)

d. rà=màʔa k'ò=sèjora=ʔja k'ò=[ngè=k'ò rà=^hjézi rà=mbéʃne k'ò=ndèʃi]
 3FUT=go DEMPL=lady=PTL SUB=FOC=SUB 3FUT=leave 3FUT=gather ARTPL=wheat
 ‘Those ladies are going to go who are the ones who will leave and gather those wheats.’ (Txt)

Pseudocleft sentences

The clefts in (30) have been considered pseudocleft (PAVEY, 2004). The reason is based on the fact that the focalized phrase is not expressed; in the examples in (30) it is implicit in the discourse. In (30a) it is about a person that works in the corn fields; in (30b), the information that is asked about is known, but it is not explicit in the cleft. These incomplete cleft sentences are formed by the focus or topic *ηγέ* marking and the relative clause introduced by the subordinates *k'o*, *Ø*, and *k'a*.

- (30) a. \emptyset =hàrə=t^ho nù=kòral=^hja=nu, ηγέf=t^ho[=k'o ró=ʔàrə à-k^hànu]
3PRS=be=DEL ARTSG=farmyard=PTL=LOC FOC=DEL=SUB 1PST=hear MAN-like this
 'The farmyard is still there, that's what I heard.' (Txt)
- b. ηγέ=t^ho[=Ø rì=ʔǒni nù=prìmu nàcho=Ø Ø=ðíðí à-ʔóʔni]
FOC=DEL=SUB 3PST=ask ARTSG=cousin Ignacio=SUB 3PRS=vivir LOC=arriba
 'That's what cousin Ignacio who lives above asked him.' (Txt)
- c. ζηγέ=k'a ì=párã=nu?
be=LOC 2PST=meet=DEM
 'It's where you met that?' (Txt)

Summarizing, a cleft sentence in Mazahua is formed by *ηγέ*, a focalized or topicalized phrase, and a relative clause. These constructions show the focalized information and, in certain contexts, they also show the topicalized information. The cleft clauses have a great variety of forms. The focus marking and the focalized phrase are distributed among different positions within the cleft, like in (31). Oftentimes, the subordinate, like the one in (31), is configured as a null or zero morpheme (\emptyset). Because it has resorted to the relativization strategy through demonstratives and determiners, the system is considerably wide, even though there is a tendency to use demonstratives as subordinates.

- (31) a. \emptyset FOC FF RC
 hó=ηγέ=ángeze [ø=ó=zóki-zi, ó=pěn-ke h^hnán-k^hími]
ASEV=FOC=3PRON SUB=3PST=leave-1DAT 3PST=send-1DAT speech-God
 'It was he who left me, he sent me greetings.' (Txt)
- b. ʔjá=ʃĩ=ró=nù=k'o=ʔja=k'o, mbè=ηγέ[=ø mí=plátika=^hme] à-k^hànu
NEG=yet=1PST=see=1E=PTL=DEMPLE but=FOC=SUB 3PSR=talk=PL.EXCL MAN-like this
 'I did not see it anymore, but that's what they told us.' (Txt)
- c. (RC) FOC FF RC
 k^hò=ηγέ piègra mì=ʔít'i=ʔja
SUB=FOC stone 3PSR=throw=PTL
 'It was stone that he threw' (Txt)

By taking the non-clefted correlate as the starting point, it is possible to focalize or topicalize the information expressed in the grammatical relations and the adjuncts. The subject, *jòpàle* ‘the grandparents’ (32a); the direct object, *jo* ‘that’ (32b), *k’i* ‘that’ (32c); an adjunct, *àk^hànu* ‘like this’ (32d); and sentences like *mù rà fèjni àmànu* ‘when it reflects over there’ in (32e) are all focalized.

- (32) a. *jò=pàle* *ngè[=jo* *mì=sùfri* *nà=k^{hw}àna* *t^hími]*
 ARTPL=grandparent FOC=SUB 3PSR=suffer STA.PRS=truth hungry
 ‘The grandparents were the ones who were very hungry.’ (Txt)
- b. *ngè[=jo* *rá=t^hà-mbã=hi=jo* *mbà=nù=ts’ike* *jò=s^hòni]*
 FOC=SUB 3PSR=mix-3DAT=PL=DEML for=ARTSG=bit ARTPL=nixtamal
 ‘That was what we mixed for a bit of nixtamal.’ (Txt)
- c. *ngè[=k’i* *já=he=rì=ts^há-p^hi* *nù=^hñòni=?ja]=k’i*
 FOC=DEMSG PTL=LOC=2FUT=do-3DAT ARTSG=food=PTL=DEMSG
 ‘That is what you will do him for food.’ (Txt)
- d. *ngè=à-k^hànu[=k’i* *rí=k^há=^hme* *nù=òèp^hi* *à-[?]ñèŋk^{hwa}]*
 FOC=MAN-like this=SUB 1PRS=do=PL.EXC ARTSG=work LOC=here
 ‘That’s how we do the work around here.’ (Txt)
- e. *^hñàndã=hi* *nà=hóʔo,* *mù=rà=fèjni* *à-mà.nu* *ngè[=ø*
 IMP.see=PL STA.PRS=well well=3FUT=reflect LOC-DIR.over there FOC=SUB
rà=^hjòbò *séʔe]*
 3FUT=fall cold
 ‘See well, when it reflects over there, it will fall cold.’ (Txt)

Conclusions

As it was mentioned in the beginning of this paper, this is an incipient description—and consequently, general—of cleft sentences. For example, it has been mentioned that cleft sentences express focalized, topicalized and emphasized information. The subordination system must be described in detail; it is simply not enough to say that the language uses demonstratives and determiners as a relativization strategy. The ensemble of cleft sentences is considerable large, therefore the labels proposed by Lambrecht have been really useful, meaning that they are not a carbon copy of English structure. The grammatical units under the scope of the focus include noun phrases, verb phrases and complete sentences, but it is not yet clear what happens with the scope of the topic.

Having identified a numerous variety of cleft sentences, many questions have been brought up that at some point should be answered; for example, which are the conditions of use of these constructions, which is to say, under what communicative contexts are they expressed. Another pressing question to answer is in what way are

these constructions associated with the information structure. Finally, cleft sentences are complex constructions that imply the consideration of specific grammatical aspects of the language's grammar in order to be described. Up until this point, it can only be said that each type of cleft is formed by specific grammatical units. Nevertheless, there are still matters to explore such as prosody, kinds of relative clauses, time, aspect and mode, among other different topics.

Abbreviations

1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, ADV adverb, AF affirmation, ART article, ASEV assertive, AU augmentative, COND conditional, COM comitative, CSL cislocative, CUANT quantification, DAT dative, DEF definite, DEL delimitative, DEM demonstrative, DET determiner, DIM diminutive, DIR directional, DU dual, E, emphatic, EXCL exclusive, STA stative, FF focus phrase, FOC focus, FUT future, IMP imperative, INDF indefinite, INS instrumental, INT intensification, LOC locative, MAN manner, MOD mode, NEG negative, OBJ object, IO indirect object, PART partitive, PL plural, POSS possessive, PRON pronoun, PSR recent past, PRS present, PST past, PTL punctual, Q question marker, RC relative clause, REFL reflexive, SBJ subject, SG singular, SUB subordinate, TADV adverbial time, TAM.P time, aspect, mode and person, TOP topic, TF topic phrase, TOT totalizer, V verb, X adjunct.

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MORA-BUSTOS, A. Construcciones escindidas en Mazahua (Otomangue). *Alfa*, São Paulo, v. 63, n.3, p.517-539, 2019.

- *RESUMEN: El objetivo de este trabajo es describir la estructura de las construcciones escindidas en la lengua mazahua de San Pedro Potla (Temascalcingo, Estado de México). Este estudio se ha realizado bajo el planteamiento de Lambrecht (2001), quien considera que la construcción escindida es una estructura oracional compleja que está formada por una cláusula matriz y una cláusula relativa; esta cláusula binaria expresa una sola proposición semántica. Teniendo en cuenta esta consideración, se ha identificado una serie extensa de construcciones escindidas, éstas están formadas por la marca ngè, la frase focalizada y la cláusula relativa. Para dar cuenta del objetivo ha sido necesario atender ciertos aspectos de la gramática de la lengua como orden de constituyentes, tipos de cláusulas de relativo,*

subordinantes y funciones gramaticales de ngè. A través de las clases de construcciones escindidas se puede mostrar que, en ciertos contextos, igualmente, aparece escindida la información topicalizada. Los datos corresponden a historias de vida, narraciones y relatos.

- **PALABRAS-CLAVE:** Información. Foco. Tópico. Estructura. Otopame.

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