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The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of Santo Domingo Zinacantán

with Grammatical Analysis
and Historical Commentary

VOLUME I: Tzotzil-English

Robert M. Laughlin

with John B. Haviland



SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION PRESS

Washington, D.C.

1988

ABSTRACT

Laughlin, Robert M. The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of Santo Domingo Zinacantán, with Grammatical Analysis and Historical Commentary, Volume I: Tzotzil-English; Volume II: English-Tzotzil; Volume III: Spanish-Tzotzil. *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology*, number 31, 1119 pages, 29 figures, 34 tables, 1988.—This dictionary of Tzotzil (Mayan) vocabulary from the town of Zinacantán, Chiapas, Mexico, was edited by the author over a period of nine years. The original manuscript, compiled by an anonymous Dominican friar, probably at the close of the 16th century, disappeared during the Mexican Revolution, but a manuscript copy of 351 pages survives. It was made around 1906 at the behest of the Bishop of Chiapas, Francisco Orozco y Jiménez. The approximately 11,000 Spanish-Tzotzil entries have been translated into English. Following the format of *The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of San Lorenzo Zinacantán*, the colonial Tzotzil has been ordered by roots. The spelling has been corrected and modernized. Doubtful interpretations are stated and problems are brought to the reader's attention, with frequent reference to the existing colonial Tzeltal dictionaries. Each entry is analyzed grammatically according to a system devised by John B. Haviland. All entries are keyed to their original location in the manuscript copy. A second section provides an English-Tzotzil dictionary and index for the thesaurus that follows. To make the cultural contents of this dictionary more readily available to anthropologists and historians, the thesaurus groups the Tzotzil terms under 36 cultural categories such as world, movement, life cycle, emotions, agriculture, ailments, religion, etc. Of special interest is metaphoric speech, subdivided into 10 categories. A third section presents the Spanish-Tzotzil dictionary slightly abbreviated and with the spelling of both languages modernized. A facsimile of the manuscript copy is also offered. Preceding the dictionaries is a historical sketch that places the original in its colonial setting, compares it to other 16th and 17th century lexicographic efforts, and suggests a possible author. The lives of the five individuals responsible for the preservation of the manuscript copy are traced. John B. Haviland, drawing upon the contents of the manuscript, provides a detailed analysis of the grammatical changes that have occurred in Tzotzil over the past four centuries.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION DATE is handstamped in a limited number of initial copies and is recorded in the Institution's annual report, *Smithsonian Year*. COVER DESIGN: Mayan glyphs, "The Writing, the Speech, of the People of the Bat, the Black Lords," by David S. Stuart.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Laughlin, Robert M.

The great Tzotzil dictionary of Santo Domingo Zinacantán.

(Smithsonian contributions to anthropology ; no 31)

Bibliography: v. 1, p.

Contents: v. 1. Tzotzil-English—v. 2. English-Tzotzil—v. 3. Spanish-Tzotzil.

Supt. of Docs. no.: SI 1.33:31

1. Tzotzil language—Dictionaries—English. 2. English language—Dictionaries—Tzotzil. 3. Spanish language—Dictionaries—Tzotzil. I. Haviland, John B. II. Title. III. Series.

GN1.S54 no. 31a 301 s 87-600364 [PM4466.Z5] [497'.4]

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It's My Own Invention: A Comparative Grammatical Sketch of Colonial Tzotzil

John B. Haviland

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1. Introduction to the Grammatical Formulas

Tzotzil is a morphologically rich language that follows a mildly ergative patterning of verbal cross-indexing. In the past 400 years of constant and intimate contact with Spanish language and Mexican society, Tzotzil speakers have incorporated many Spanish words into their language, but have maintained the syntactic integrity of Tzotzil grammar with surprisingly few changes. Apart from ongoing variation in the phonological and morphological details of the language, modern Tzotzil differs most obviously from its colonial ancestor in its use of Spanish conjunctions and discourse devices to make explicit the logical links between clauses.

The entries in this colonial dictionary are presented in what might be called a "normalized form." (See the explanatory notes that accompany the dictionary itself.) Whereas the original author presented most Tzotzil examples as inflected phrases, often whole sentences, the dictionary is organized around single words or decontextualized expressions. In most cases entries have been stripped of affixes and appear as bare stems, or strings of stems. Although this normalization gives a common face to all the entries and allows the reader more easily to compare the expressions listed with their counterparts in the modern Tzotzil of *The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of San Lorenzo Zinacantán* (Laughlin, 1975), it may leave the syntactic behavior of the Tzotzil expressions unclear. Where the original author might have written a whole sentence, consisting of a conjugated verb with its subject and object, only parts of the original sentence may survive in the resulting dictionary entries.

For example, under the entry
enronquecer a otro "make person hoarse"
the friar has written
jmak snuk'.

This is, in fact, an entire Tzotzil sentence, which can be translated "I make him hoarse," or literally, "I close his throat." It is composed of the following parts:

- j-
prefix marking 1st person Agent (transitive subject), 'I'
mak
transitive verb stem, 'cover, close'
s-
prefix marking 3rd person possessor, 'his'

John B. Haviland, Department of Anthropology, Reed College, Portland, Oregon 97202.

nuk' -

nominal stem, 'neck, throat'

Thus, the sentence has an Agent ('I,' the person who makes another hoarse), a verb ('close'), and a possessed direct object (the thing closed, i.e., his throat).

The corresponding entry in the Tzotzil to English section of this dictionary reproduces neither the Agent, nor the possessive prefix on **-nuk'**. It appears as

mak nuk', vphr:tv & -n4d. make person hoarse.

The grammatical formula

vphr:tv & -n4d

is meant to explain how the entry is to be understood, and how it behaves in syntactic terms as part of well-formed Tzotzil utterances. (It says that the expression **mak nuk'** is a verb phrase composed of a transitive verb (which itself requires an Agent, the 'I' of the friar's original sentence), and its direct object, a noun that in turn must also have an explicit human (or at least animate) possessor (the 'his' of 'his throat' in the example).) This grammatical sketch, in turn, is meant to explain how *the grammatical formulas work*.

Because many of the original Tzotzil examples are complex coordinated sentences, the syntactic behavior of individual entries can often be explained only in the context of the overall structure of Tzotzil grammar. In the sections that follow, therefore, I present an abbreviated general outline of Tzotzil syntax and morphology, using examples from the dictionary itself, and pointing out contrasts or discrepancies with the modern Tzotzil of Zinacantán. The remainder of this section summarizes the abbreviations that appear in grammatical formulas, cross-referenced to the relevant explanatory sections elsewhere in this chapter. Although I have provided a few examples here, this first section should be treated as an index to the more detailed descriptions that follow.

1.a. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

The basic constituents of an expression are drawn from a limited set of terms, most of which in turn is a legacy from Laughlin, 1975. In the text I have noted instances in which the implicit analysis suggested there for modern Zinacantec Tzotzil is not appropriate for the colonial language. Please refer to the grammatical sketch itself for a description of the syntactic behavior of the elements. The following list is intended only as a key to abbreviations.

adv	adverbial
advph	adverbial phrase
agn	agentive
aj	adjective
ajphr	adjective phrase
art	article
aux	auxiliary verb
av	affective verb
contr	contraction

cpd	compound
dv	ditransitive verb
excl	exclamation
iv	intransitive verb
n	noun (see section 3.1.a for a description of the subcategorization system, by number and letter, of possession classes; elements from the categories n, num, and vn can appear with a further letter from a to f, and/or a further number from 1 to 5; hence, for example: n3d or vn1b or n5.)
natt	attributive noun
nc	numeral classifier
neg	negative particle
negphr	negative phrase
nphr	noun phrase
num	numeral (see note above for n)
numphr	numeral phrase
pn	pronoun
pp	passive participle of transitive or ditransitive verb
prep	preposition
pt	particle
ptphr	particle phrase
qphr	qualifying phrase
ragn	reflexive agentive noun
raj	reflexive adjective
rdv	reflexive ditransitive verb
m	reflexive noun
rpp	reflexive passive participle
rv	reflexive transitive verb
rvn	reflexive verbal noun
s	sentence
temp	temporal expression (subset of adv)
tv	transitive verb
vn	verbal noun (see note above for n)
vphr	verb phrase
x	constituent of unknown grammatical class

1.b. ROOT CATEGORIES

In a few compounds, roots are attributed to underlying categories on the basis of derivational possibilities. The root categories are identical to those used to classify *all* roots (a classification not attempted here) in Laughlin, 1975. They include the following:

A	adjective root
I	intransitive verb root
N	noun root
O	onomatopoeic root
P	positional root
T	transitive verb root
U	unique CVC root
X	undeterminable root

Occasionally roots borrowed from another language have been tentatively identified:

N	Nahuatl
M-Z	Mixe-Zoque
Sp	Spanish
Y	Yucatec

1.c. ADDITIONAL AFFIXATION

Constituents in some complex expressions must appear with additional affixes, which have often (but not always) been stripped from the dictionary entries themselves. We have tried to patch up this inconsistency by occasionally indicating where specifically inflected (or totally uninflected, in the case of the category /root/) forms of words must occur within a larger expression. We represent such cases by including within slashes such specific forms as the following:

/1st person/	a 1st person form
/1s/	1st person singular subject or possessor
/1p/	1st person plural subject or possessor
/2s/	2nd person singular subject or possessor
/3s/	3rd person singular subject or possessor
/3p/	3rd person plural subject or possessor
/ap/	active participle (stative form of transitive verb)
/att/	attributive form of noun, adjective
/pass/	passive form of transitive or ditransitive verb
/perf/	perfect form of verb
/pred/	predicative inflection on noun or adjective
/root/	bare root form of a verb
/stat/	stative form of verb
/subj/	subjunctive affixes on verb or other predicate

Examples:

chabiat k'in, s:tv/pass/ & n5. holy day. (This example, though glossed as a noun, is actually a sentence that means, literally, "the day is guarded, or watched over." The verb *-chabi* 'guard, care for, watch over,' appears with a passive suffix.)

Ha' no 'ox k'op, s:n5/pred/ & pt & pt & n4d/1p/. be in agreement. The friar's example, *concordar en sentencia o negocio alguno*, has as one Tzotzil equivalent

Ha' no 'ox jk'optik. That is the extent of our words.

where the noun *-k'op* 'word,' appears with first person plural possessive affixes.

1.d CO-REFERENCE RESTRICTIONS

Many complex expressions are only grammatical or can only have the indicated meaning if some of their nominal

constituents refer to the same entities. For example, the expression

Jam nuk', clear one's throat (literally, "open throat of") can only mean "clear one's throat" if the throat in question is one's own; that is, if the possessor of the throat is the same as the Agent of the verb 'open.' Symbols enclosed in square brackets in the grammatical formulas indicate restrictions on nouns that function either as constituents or as possessors of constituents. Using the standard abbreviations A(gent) for subject of a transitive verb, S(ubject) for subject of an intransitive verb, O(bject) for direct object and B(eneficiary) for indirect object, the following symbols occur:

- [A] possessor must be the same as the Agent of the clause.
- [O] possessor must be the same as the direct Object of the clause.
- [S] possessor must be the same as the intransitive Subject of the clause.
- [B] possessor must be the same as the indirect object of the clause.
- [P of <some constituent>] possessor must be the same as the Possessor of some other specified constituent in the expression.
- [=A...] the indicated constituent must be identical to the Agent of the specified transitive or ditransitive verb.
- [=S...],[=O...] etc. similarly for the other categories shown.
- [= <some constituent>] the possessor must be identical to some other (indicated) constituent in the overall expression.

Thus, the formula for the entry shown would be

jam nuk', vphr: tv & n4d[A]

Further examples would be

'ich' moton, vphr:tv & n4d[A]. receive a gift. The 'gift' must bear possessive markers corresponding to the Agent of the verb 'receive.' Thus, the friar shows, under *presente que se recibe*, the entry

xavich' amoton

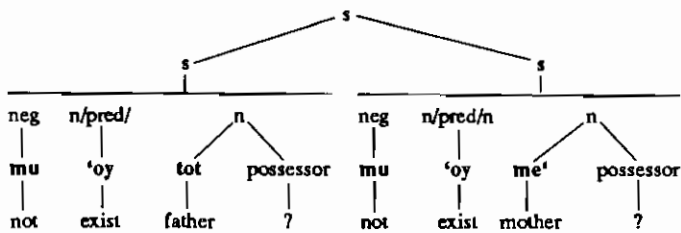
literally, "you receive your gift."

mo 'oyuk tot mo 'oyuk me', s:(s:neg & n5/pred/ & -n4d) & (s:neg & n5/pred/ & n4d[P=P of tot]). orphan. This complicated example shows again the friar's use of entire sentences, often compound sentences, to render single word Spanish equivalents. (See section 5.) In this case, he gives for *huérfano*

mo 'oyuk stot mo 'oyuk sme'.

This sentence means "He has no father, he has no mother" (or more literally "His father does not exist, his mother does not exist").

Diagrammatically:



To make sense the sentence must obviously refer to the *same person's* mother and father, and this is what the notation in square brackets tries to indicate. In many similar cases we have not bothered to indicate such coreferentiality explicitly.

'ak'bey 'il be, vphr:-dv & vphr(tv[A=B of dv] & n5)/subj/. show the way to. The friar's example, under *encaminar, enseñar el camino*, is simply

xkak'bey 'il be

literally, "I show (him) seeing-the-road." However, to yield a grammatical expression in modern Tzotzil one would have to have something like

ch-a-k-ak'be avil li be e

"I will show you the road," or

"I will cause you to see the road"

in which the indirect object (the [B] constituent) of the verb *ak'* 'cause' is the same as the transitive subject (the [A] constituent) of the embedded verb *il* 'see.'

I.E. PARSING

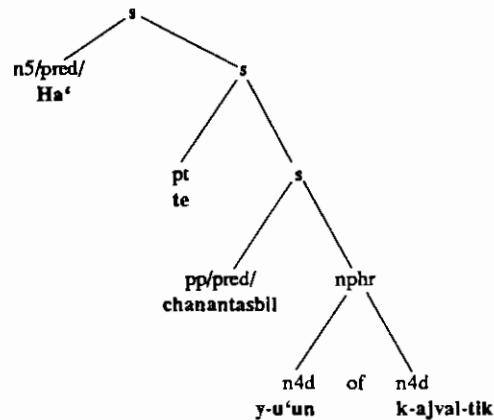
Expressions are bracketed according to the following notational hierarchy:

- : a colon after a grammatical category indicates the outermost category to which an expression belongs (except with some nominal expressions, which use parentheses at the outermost level).
- () parentheses indicate the next highest level of structure within a larger expression.
- < > angle brackets enclose constituents within parenthesized expressions.
- () except that subexpressions within expressions themselves enclosed by angle brackets are again enclosed within parentheses.

Hence, to give a complex example:

Ha' te chanantasbil 'u'un 'ajval, s:n5/pred/ & s(pt & s<pp/pred/ & --- & qphr(n4d of n4d/1p/)>). disciple. (Literally, "one who has been taught by Our Lord.")

This bracketing could be represented by a tree structure with labeled nodes, as follows:



We have not been entirely consistent in applying this system of hierarchical bracketing to noun phrases. Thus, for example, one will encounter entries with a colon at the outermost level:

tz'ajbil vaj, nphr:pp & n5. bread soup.

But other noun phrase entries with exactly the same structure are represented by formulas which delimit the outermost level with parentheses (often with the final 5 that indicates an unpossessable noun or noun phrase (see section 3.a.1) hopping outside):

juch'bil 'ixim, nphr(pp & n)5. corn dough.

This inconsistency is another legacy from the grammatical formulas of Laughlin (1975), where there was somewhat less syntactic complexity in individual entries. We introduced a new notation to represent deeper levels of embedding only after many of the formulas had been written, and we decided it was unnecessary, at that point, to rewrite formulas which required only a change in parsing. Note that there is also some inconsistency in the placement of the numbers marking possession category (see section 3.1.a below) within or without the parentheses. Except in the case of some compounds (see section 3.b.1) it is the relevant head noun constituent within a complex noun phrase whose possession class is in question.

1.f. CONSTITUENT STRUCTURE AND REQUIRED ARGUMENTS

Normally constituents within an expression are joined with the symbol &. However, certain adjunct constituents, with special syntactic properties (cf. section 4.a.4), are joined to the rest of the expression with the symbol +, which usually indicates an agent or instrument involved in the action, but distinct from the syntactic subject of the verb.

nik 'o 'osil 'u'un, s:iv & pt & n5 + -n4d. call to arms.

The example means, literally, "The earth shakes as a result of—," where the missing argument here is represented in the Tzotzil expression as a possessor of the word -u'un. Many entries in the dictionary, if they are to yield grammatical Tzotzil

expressions, require further arguments that do not appear explicitly in the entries themselves (though they may have been implicit in the original inflected expressions offered by the friar). For example, verbs and other predicates require subjects; in our notation, a *verb phrase* is an expression containing a verb or other predicate, but no subject. A *sentence*, on the other hand, is an expression containing both verb (or other predicate) and subject. Certain other constituents in complex expressions require arguments (possessors, objects, and the like); a dash signals that such arguments are necessary. The following combinations occur:

tv-	a transitive verb that requires a direct object
-dv	a ditransitive verb that requires an indirect object (but whose direct object is probably already explicitly present in the expression)
-dv-	a ditransitive verb that requires both an indirect and a direct object
-(v)n(phr)	a (possibly verbal) noun or noun phrase that requires a possessor

Dashes indicating these additional required arguments appear mostly on predicate and sentence level expressions, and only rarely on complex noun phrases. (On noun phrases, the noun class of the head constituent determines whether or not the expression must bear possessive affixes, and therefore whether a possessor argument is required for syntactic completeness. See section 3.a. Unfortunately, some uncorrected noun phrase formulas occur in which required arguments are not shown by explicit dashes, although in other cases the dashes are present.) Examples:

'il 'olonton, nphr(n4f of -n4d). rage. Literally the example means "anger of the heart," where 'heart' requires a possessor (the one who feels rage). In some expressions of this kind we have indicated the dash, although in others no indication of the required argument is present other than the 4 on the n4d, which indicates that the noun is obligatorily possessed. See section 3.a.1.

'ilin 'olonton, s:iv & -n4d. be angry. The friar's example is

x'ilin kolonton
enojado.

But the sentence he gives means literally, "My heart is angry," and the expression requires a possessor on the subject constituent, -olonton 'heart (of someone).'

'a'ibey 'olonton, vphr.-dv & n4d[B]. test. Again, the

original example is fully inflected:

xka'ibey yolonton. (I) test (him).

This means, literally, "I sense (or understand, or learn about) his heart," and the possessor of -olonton 'heart' is the same as the required indirect object ([B] constituent) of the ditransitive verb -a'ibey.

Occasionally the additional required arguments fall in unexpected places, from the point of view of the English or Spanish translations. For example, the entry

'elov cha'ley ba, vphr.-n4e & rv. pretend.

requires two arguments: one, the subject of the reflexive verb, is the person who pretends; the second argument, the grammatical possessor of 'elov 'appearance, facade, front,' is the thing one pretends to be like. The conjugated example the friar offers as an equivalent to *simular lo que no es* is

yelov jcha'ley jba. (Literally, "I behave myself with its appearance.")

which means "I pretend to be like *it*," where the 'it' is represented only by the y- possessive prefix on -elov.

A more complicated example of deeply embedded arguments is the entry

tamtamuk dios ta 'olonton, s:iv/subj/ & n5 & qphr(pre & -n4d). Remember God frequently!

The expression is an indirect imperative, and the only required argument refers to the person who is enjoined to remember God. Since the literal translation of the phrase is something like "Let it happen that God arises frequently in the heart of—," the correct place to attach this argument is as a possessor of the noun 'olonton 'heart.' The dash in the formula indicates this syntactic 'slot' in the phrase. Thus, in the friar's own example

tamtamuk Dios ta avolonton!

Acuérdate de Dios a menudo!

the second person possessive prefix av- attached to -olonton yields the translation "You remember God frequently!"

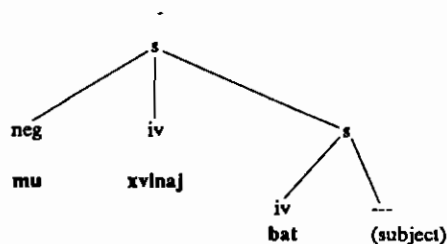
Some entries require for grammatical completeness, but do not explicitly include, nominal constituents of other sorts. This is frequently the case when an entry includes an embedded sentence, but where the entry does not make explicit all of the sentence's essential constituents (usually, its subject). In such cases, the grammatical formula contains a series of dashes (---) to indicate the missing element. For example:

mu vinaj bat, s:neg & iv & s(iv ---). be squandered or wasted.

The example, listed under *disiparse* is

mu xvinaj xbat

or, literally, "that it goes is not apparent." The subject of the main verb, vinaj 'be evident, be perceivable,' is an entire sentence, x-bat 'it goes.' But clearly, *something* must go (i.e., be 'squandered or wasted'), and this is the required additional argument, a subject for the verb bat 'go.' The example presents the following tree structure:



1.g. EQUIVALENCES

Zinacantec Tzotzil words can be assigned to categories along familiar dimensions: there are nouns, which may be modified by adjectives, and which serve as arguments to a variety of predicates, verbal and otherwise, both active and stative. Yet, many of the entries in this dictionary do not produce neat equivalences between Tzotzil syntactic classes and parts of speech in Spanish. In some cases this discrepancy is due to structural differences between Spanish and Tzotzil ways of expressing things, or patterned differences in idioms. (The entries above that use the Tzotzil word 'olonton 'heart' provide good examples.) In other cases, a Tzotzil expression and its suggested Spanish equivalent do not correspond apparently because of a misunderstanding or misinterpretation on the part of the friar who compiled the dictionary.

Many of the examples I have given so far represent cases where what is a single monolexemic noun or adjective in Spanish requires a clause or even a series of clauses in Tzotzil. The inverse case is also possible.

Let me clarify the issue with a single example that illustrates these partial or suspect correspondences. In the following entry, a locational adjective in Spanish is rendered in colonial Tzotzil by an entire nominal sentence.

Ha' tz'eI, s:n5/pred/ & -n4d. near to.

Many Tzotzil sentences have the form

Ha' & {nominal expression}.

The friar gives Ha' as a translation of *ese, esa* 'that,' but its functions are considerably more extensive than this might suggest. (See section 2.a.1.) Ha' often means "it is the case that..." or "that is a/the thing which is..." where the nominal expression which follows supplies the missing predicate. In Zinacantec Tzotzil (using the modern form ja') one says

ja' j-na. That is my house (referring to some specific house, already mentioned or, perhaps, being pointed at.) (j- = first person possessive prefix, 'my'; and -na 'house.')

In the dictionary entry shown, -tz'eI is an obligatorily possessed noun, that acts something like a body part word (meaning 'edge' or 'boundary,' perhaps): it denotes an otherwise unspecified area *near to* the thing or person that "possesses" it. Thus, the friar's example, with a first person possessive prefix,

Ha' jtz'eI

which he translates as *cabe*, appears to mean "that (something specific) is near to me." The relational nature of the English translation 'near' is captured in the Tzotzil phrase by means of a possessive prefix on a relational noun; Ha' asserts this predicate of some entity.

As we shall see, many of the dictionary entries require considerable syntactic untangling before the glosses can be linked to the underlying Tzotzil expressions.

1.h. PHONOLOGY

The phonemes of colonial Zinacantec Tzotzil appear to have been identical to those of today (see Laughlin, 1975:22-23) except for the addition of the voiced glottal fricative H (sometimes seen as the modern descendent of the 'proto-Mayan H') that survives only *outside* of Zinacantán in modern Tzotzil. The rounded bilabial semi-vowel w is omitted from the colonial orthography (although it may have been present in the Tzotzil pronunciation of Spanish loanwords) as it does not appear in the friar's renderings of Spanish words into Tzotzil.

The entire inventory of phonemes is as indicated in the data section "Phoneme Inventory."

Let me add one final phonological note. The entries in this dictionary have also been orthographically normalized, and the Tzotzil words are spelled as Laughlin guesses they were likely to have been pronounced. There are a few notable exceptions.

In some cases, where rules of assimilation and deletion operate to omit doubled consonants, occasionally entries retain these doubled (but unpronounced) consonants to make the syntactic or morphological structure of an expression clear.

e-laj x-xen. He stabbed him many times.

The verb *xen* 'stab,' appears with a prefix *x-* which marks the third person agent. Nonetheless, a word like *xxen* would be pronounced *xen*, with a single *x*.

The second major reservation has to do with the sound represented by capital H. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil this consonant does not exist phonetically (although it does in other modern dialects). It has, however, left its legacy in a few roots whose phonetic behavior can only be understood if one postulates this separate phoneme at an underlying level. In fact, modern Tzotzil dialects differ extensively in how they realize roots which must be reconstructed as containing this H phoneme; and the colonial situation appears to have been similarly confused. I will mention only one example.

The verb *Halijes* 'continue, delay, perpetuate' appears under the root *Hal* 'long lasting.' In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil this root is *jal*, but, again, in Chamula it is *Hal*. Laughlin notes that the first person form of the verb appears as both *ghaleghes* and *xcaleghes*, or, following our normalized orthography, as either *j-Halijes* or *x-k-alijes*. This alternation suggests that colonial Tzotzil dialects were somewhat ambivalent about whether an initial H was a true consonant or not.

Words whose spelling is suspect have been starred.

Phoneme Inventory						
VOWELS						
	front	mid	back			
high	i		u			
low	e	a	o			
CONSONANTS						
	bilabial		alveolar		velar	
	labio-dental		alveopalatal		glottal	
stops						
voiced	b		d			g
unvoiced	p		t			k
glottalized	p'		t'			k'
affricatives						
unglottalized			tz		ch	
glottalized			tz'		ch	
spirants						
voiced		v				H
unvoiced		f	s	x		J
nasals	m		n			
semivowels	w			y		
lateral			l			
flap			r			

1.i. MORPHOLOGY

Modern Tzotzil is a highly inflected language, and it makes use of numerous, multi-layered derivational processes to produce stems. The colonial material suggests that Tzotzil speakers of four centuries ago had equally rich morphological resources. Here I will summarize the most prominent inflectional and derivational affixes that appear in the dictionary, making brief mention of their equivalents in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil. (Parenthetical numbers refer to the relevant sections of the accompanying grammatical sketch. The letters "C" and "V" stand for 'some consonant' and 'some vowel,' respectively. The symbol "0" stands for a 'zero' or empty affix.)

Inflectional affixes:

Absolutive prefixes(-suffixes)/suffixes (2.a)

i-/on	1st person singular
a-/ot	2nd person singular
0-/0	3rd person singular
i -otik/-otik	1 plural inclusive
i -otikótik/-otikótik	1 pl. exclusive
a -ik/-oxuk	2 pl.
0 -ik/-ik	3 pl.

Ergative and possessive prefixes/suffixes

(vowel initial : consonant initial)(2.b.1):

k-:j-	1 s.
av-:a-	2 s.
y-:s-	3 s.
k-:j- -tik	1 pl. inclusive suffix

k-:j- -tikótik

1 pl. exclusive suffix

y-:s- -ik

2 and 3 pl. suffix

Aspect markers (4.a.2):

ta- incomplete aspect

x- unmarked aspect

n-/i-/e- completive aspect (modern Zinacantec Tzotzil has l- and i-)

-em/-om stative aspect (intransitive) (modern Zinacantec Tzotzil has -em)

-oj/-ej stative aspect (transitive)(modern Zinacantec Tzotzil has only -oj)

Benefactive suffix (2.b.2):

-be(y) promotes indirect object to direct object status

Subjunctive suffixes (4.a.3):

-ik/-uk subjunctive and negative

-an 2nd person subjunctive

-o transitive 2nd person imperative

Passive suffixes (4.a.5):

-at, -e(y), -ot non-stative passive (modern Zinacantec Tzotzil has -at and -e)

-bil stative passive (resembles passive participle)

-balal plural or attributive form of -bil ('ak'-balal Hun 'letter, message' < 'ak' 'give,' Hun 'paper')

Verbal derivations:

Affective verbal derivation:

-laj/-luj.(modern Tzotzil also has -lij); sudden sound or motion

-[C]on(et), -et. exaggerated, perhaps overly slow or clumsy action

-te-ROOT-te. repetitive action with motion (the root receives extra stress, and is of the form Consonant-Vowel-Consonant).

Intransitive verbal derivation:

-Vj. an intransitive action associated with a nominal root; (e.g., 'anil 'race, swiftness, running,' > 'anil-aj 'run')

-ib/-ub. inchoative (e.g., 'utz 'good, fortunate,' > 'utz-ib 'get well, be pleased, etc.')

-van. antipassive (4.a.5)

-Vlaj. repetitive intransitive action

-p'ij, -ch'uj, -tzaj. derives an intransitive stem which often denotes exaggerated, sudden motion or noise (including their lack; e.g., tz'ot 'twist' > tz'ot-p'ij 'become twisted, rebound with a twist'; nak 'at home, seated, secure' > naktzaj 'be dammed up, stop moving.')

Transitive verbal derivations:

-in. usitative (na 'house' > na-in, t.v., 'inhabit, reside in, use as a house')

-es, -tas. causative (4.a.3)

-a(y), -u(y), -ta(y). act on in a specific way related to the nominal stem from which the verb is derived ('anil 'running' > 'anil-tay 'make run, hurl self'; 'ach'el 'mud' > 'ach'el-ay > 'flood')

-Vlan. repetitive transitive action (noy 'grind very fine')

> *ɲoyilan* 'grind very fine')

-ch'un, -p'in, -tzan. transitive equivalent of intransitivizing **-ch'uj** etc. above (**tz'ot-p'in** 'make rebound')

Verbal noun derivations:

-el. passive nominal (4.a.5)

-bail. reflexive or reciprocal noun (2.b.3)

-ben(al). the result or mark left by an action (**chik'** 'burn' > **chik'-benal** 'burnt area')

-bol. a prototypical direct object of the parent verb (e.g., **lo'** 'eat (fruit)' > **lo'bol** 'fruit')

-ej. doing whatever action the verb denotes (**malay** 'wait' > **malayej** 'waiting for (something)')

-eb. the place for doing something or for something to happen (**'och** 'enter' > **'ocheb Ho'** 'sewer' (literally, "place where water enters"))

-ob, -ab. an instrument for doing something (in the colonial examples, **-ob** follows monosyllabic roots, and **-ab** polysyllabic roots; in modern Tzotzil **-ob** occurs in both cases)

j- agentive prefix (3.b.2)

Nominal derivations:

-etik. plural for non-possessed stems

-VI. special possessed forms, or attributive forms of nouns (see section 3.a; note that all five vowels can occur as V, with a variety of meanings)

Adjective derivations:

-VI. attributive form of an otherwise predicative adjective (2.a.2)

-an. frequent suffix on color words (**'ik'** 'black,' **lum** 'earth' > **'ik'-lum-an** 'dawn')

2. Simple Sentences

Let me now present the major features of Tzotzil syntax. One way to classify Tzotzil sentences is to distinguish different predicate types, on the basis of the different sorts of arguments they take, the way these arguments are marked or cross-indexed morphologically, and the sorts of additional grammatical categories that accompany them. For example, we can distinguish stative from verbal predicates.

2.a. STATIVE SENTENCES

The simplest sentences in Tzotzil take the form
PREDICATE + SUBJECT

where the predicate carries a suffix which corresponds to (or cross-indexes) the subject. This suffix is drawn from a set of "absolutive" affixes, which include the following forms:

[Absolutive suffixes, singular forms only]

- | | |
|-----|---|
| -on | 1st person, "I" |
| -ot | 2nd person, "you" |
| -0 | 3rd person, "he, she it"; the suffix is 'zero' or empty |

Stative sentences assert that the subject is a certain sort of thing (represented by a nominal predicate, for example), or that it exhibits a certain property (denoted by an adjective, perhaps), or that it occupies some position, or location. (These characterizations obviously do no more than suggest the range of meanings of the three basic sorts of stative sentences that occur in this dictionary.) Stative predicates do not require explicit marking for tense or aspect, but record, instead, an ongoing continuous state.

2.a.1. Nominal Sentences

First, nominal sentences take the form

N + absolutive suffix (X)

meaning

X (the subject) is N (the nominal predicate).

Such sentences assert membership in a class. (They may mean, among other things, "X is an N" or "X is the N," or even "X is a kind of N" or "X's are N's.")

Consider the following examples from the dictionary:

'atelon. I am a partner.

The friar gives **'atel** as a nominal form of the verb **'at** 'count, belong to,' meaning "partner" (someone counted, presumably.) The sentence takes the form

'atel-on	["I"]
partner-1st person Absolutive suffix	
Predicate	{Subject}

The presence of the suffix **-on** indicates that the subject is 'I,' and no further explicit subject pronoun is required. On the basis of modern Tzotzil grammar, we may surmise that it was also possible in colonial Tzotzil to say

'atel-ot. You are a partner.

and also

'atel-0. He (or she) is a partner.

using different absolutive suffixes to cross index subjects of different persons. (The last hypothetical sentence shows that a bare noun by itself can serve as an entire Tzotzil sentence in a context in which it can be taken as asserting that some specific third person (or object) is an instance of the class of entities denoted by the noun.)

The expression that serves as a nominal predicate can be derived from other sorts of root. For example, it can be an agentive-noun phrase, like **j-'epal-k'op**, which can be analyzed into its component parts as follows: **j-** 'agentive prefix'; **'epal** 'much, lots'; **k'op** 'words, talk'; thus: 'talkative person.' (See section 3.b.1.) The sentence

j'epal-k'op-on. I am talkative.

thus consists of the agentive-noun predicate plus a 1st person absolutive suffix.

Similarly, nouns derived from other sorts of constituent can provide nominal predicates.

lajebal-on. I am nearly dead.

Here, the noun **lajebal** (from the verb **laj** 'finish, end'), meaning "the moment of finishing or ending" is predicated of

a 1st person subject. Other deverbal nouns allow more complex ideas:

ch'aniel-on ta tze'ej. I have stopped laughing.

Ch'ani is a verb meaning 'stop'; **ch'ani-el** is a derived noun meaning 'stopping,' here with a first-person absolutive suffix; **tze'ej** is a noun meaning 'laughter,' part of a prepositional phrase with the all-purpose Tzotzil preposition **ta**, 'in, at, on, with... etc.' (See section 4.a.5.)

The nominal expression that serves as predicate in such a sentence can itself be complex. It may be a possessed noun, for example, which combines a possessive prefix corresponding to the possessor with a noun stem which denotes the possession. In Tzotzil, there are two series of possessive prefixes, one for vowel-initial nouns and the other for consonant-initial nouns. (These forms are presented in more detail in section 3.a.2.)

	[Possessive prefixes, singular forms only,
	Vowel-initial/Consonant-initial]
k-/j-	1st person, "my"
av-/a-	2nd person, "your"
y-/s-	3rd person, "hers, his, its"

A possessive noun, as a nominal predicate, brings its possessor along with it into the resulting sentence (often creating an expression whose English translation seems to require *two* arguments). For example, in modern Tzotzil, one often hears such sentences as

s-krem-ot li vo'ote. You are his son.

The subject of this sentence is the pronominal expression **li vo'ote** 'you', cross referenced with a 2nd person absolutive suffix **-ot**. The predicate is a possessed noun, composed of the 3rd person possessive prefix **s-** and the noun **krem** 'boy.' (Thus, the possessed noun **s-krem** means 'his boy.')

A similar example appears in this dictionary:

s-k'inal tana. It is the opportune time.

The evident subject of the sentence is the temporal noun **tana** 'now, today'; and again the predicate is a possessed noun, the 3rd person possessed form of **k'inal** 'day, time'; hence, 'its day, its time.' The sentence thus means "now is the day (or the time) *for it*" (where the 'it' is the grammatical possessor of the word 'day.')

Numeral expressions form numeral predicates. For example, the sentence

jun s-pasel. (He/she/it) resembles (something).

has as its predicate the numeral **jun** 'one.' The subject is a possessed form of a verbal noun, based on the transitive verb **-pas** 'do, make.' Literally, the sentence means something like "its making is one," i.e., "it is made the same way" or "it resembles (something)." One imagines that a full expression would indicate *what it is* that the logical subject (the grammatical possessor of **-pasel**) resembles. Thus one would expect something like:

l-a-nae, jun s-pasel xchi'uk li j-nae.

ART-2s-house one 3s-making with ART 1s-house
Your house resembles my house.

The following examples make use of a reduplicated form of **jun**.

junjun kibeltik. We are of the same parentage.

junjun jtasaltik. We are of the same lineage.

Both have the predicate **junjun** 'one, one and the same,' and in both sentences the subjects are 1st person plural possessed forms of nouns: **'ibel** 'foot, origin' (in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil 'root'), and **tasal** 'friend, lineage.'

(These 1st plural possessed forms use the same suffix **-tik**, but alternate prefixes: **k-** marks 1st person possession with a vowel initial noun, where **j-** appears with consonant initial nouns. See section 3.a.2 below.)

Such numeral predicates can also be applied to body part expressions.

chib k-olonton y-u'un. I am suspicious of him.

Chib is the numeral 'two'; the sentence literally means "my heart is two (in two parts?) because of him." (The other constituents are **k-** '1st person' + **-olonton** 'heart,' and **y-** '3rd person' + **-u'un** 'on account of, due to'; see sections 2.6.2 and 3.b.1.) The same metaphor survives in modern Tzotzil, where one says

jun k-o'on. 'I am happy' (literally, "My heart is one.")

Moreover, nominal sentences can also be based on more complex numeral expressions, which in turn consist of a numeral combined with a *numeral classifier*, an element which denotes a particular unit or kind of countable thing. (See section 3.b.2.)

cha'-jech ye 'ek'el. 'two-sided axe' (or, perhaps, "The axe has two edges" or "The cutting edge of the axe has two sides.")

One possible analysis of this example would take as the predicate the numeral expression **cha'-** 'two' + **jech** 'side,' and as subject the complex noun phrase **y-e ek'el**, literally 'the mouth (or edge) of the axe,' yielding a literal gloss "The edge of the axe is (of) two sides." The appropriate formula would be

s: num(num & nc)/pred/ & nphr(n4f of n5).

Such constructions are also possible with the 'interrogative numeral' **jay-**, which means 'how many?'

jay-tom s-tz'ujel? How many leaks does it have?

(Literally, "It's leaks are (in) how-many places?")

Nominal sentences also occur in the negative, asserting that some entity (the subject) is *not* of a certain sort (denoted by the predicate). Often the presence of a negative particle, **mu** in modern Tzotzil, but variously rendered as **mo** or **mu** in this dictionary, engenders a special change in the "absolutive" suffix that cross-indexes the subject of the sentence. In the case of a 3rd person subject, for example, a negative predicate takes the negative suffix **-uk** before the zero absolutive suffix. (With non-zero absolutive suffixes, the negative suffix is **-ik-**, as we shall see shortly.)

mo s-nup-uk. (It is) different (from something).

mo j-nup-uk. (He is) different from me.

The subjects of these sentences are pronominal third person entities, and the predicates are, respectively, 3rd and 1st person possessed forms of the noun **-nup** 'companion, spouse' (or, by extension, 'match, counterpart'). The predicate, in turn, combines with the negative particle **mo** 'not' and the negative suffix **-uk**. Hence, a literal translation of the second example would be "He (she/it) is not my counterpart."

Negative stative sentences can also contain temporal clitics, like **to** 'still, yet.'

sob, mu to s-k'inal-uk. (It is) early. (It is) not yet time (for it).

The adjective **sob** means 'early'; the second part of the sentence is the negative form of the predicate which we saw in the sentence **S-k'inal tana** "It is the opportune time." This complex negative predicate means "(it is) not yet its time."

Similarly, negative forms of predicates composed of numeral expressions are possible. Consider

mu cha'-lom-uk. (It is) simple.

The expression **cha'**- 'two' plus **lom** 'layer' (from the verb **lam**, 'cover, lay') suggests complexity, while its negative clearly suggests simplicity.

Though the friar does not give any explicit inflected examples, it was presumably possible in colonial Tzotzil, as in modern Tzotzil, to have negative stative sentences whose subjects are in the 1st or 2nd person, as well as in the 3rd person (with the negative suffix **-uk**). Thus, whereas the friar gives

mo a-chi'il-uk. (He is) different from you. (Literally, "He is not your companion.")

In modern Tzotzil one can also say such things as

mu x-chi'il-ik-ot. You are different from him. ("You are not his companion.")

and

mu a-chi'il-ik-on. I am different from you. ("I am not your companion.")

We can represent these noun forms as follows:

Poss. Prefix	Noun	Neg. infix	Subject suffix
x- (3rd pers.)	chi'il	-ik-	-ot (2nd pers.)
a- (2nd pers.)	chi'il	-ik-	-on (1st pers.)

The absolutive (or subject) suffixes are the same as in other stative sentences, but, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, they must be preceded by the negative form **-ik-**. (See section 4.a.3.)

There are two predicates which give rise to a wide variety of nominal sentences, many of which are idiomatic. One is the root **'oy**, grammatically a noun, that might be glossed 'something that exists'; **'oy** often serves as the predicate in existential sentences that assert that something exists, that there is something of a certain kind, or that someone has something (that his or her possession exists). Another root, **Ha'**, also behaves somewhat like a noun, meaning 'this, this is it, the entity that is here and now.' **Ha'** appears in sentences that assert the equivalence of two things, or that comment on the presence or immediacy of things. Both predicates also occur

in the negative, and accept subjects which are themselves whole sentences or clauses. (Both words could also be interpreted as adjectives, but the derivational possibilities of **'oy** at least are somewhat more like those of other nouns; it seems to be related to the intransitive verb, **'ayan** 'be born,' for example.)

Here are examples from the dictionary of nominal sentences in which **'oy** is the predicate.

ta yol xinch'oketik, 'oy 'antzetik. There are women amongst the men.

The subject of **'oy** 'exists' is **'antz-etik**, the plural form of **'antz** 'woman'; **ta yol xinch'oketik** is a prepositional phrase meaning 'in the midst of the men.' The subject of **'oy** can also be a possessed noun, as in the following example with a 1st person possessive prefix, **j-**, on the noun **tza** 'wisdom, skill.'

'oy j-tza. (I am) clever, respected, or skillful.
(Literally, "My cleverness exists.")

'Oy can also be inflected in other than the 3rd person, often when the predicate is used together with a modifier: an adverb, adjective, or other adjunct to the sentence. Consider the friar's example:

'ip 'oy-on j-tuk. I am all alone.

'Ip is an intensifier, an adverb that means 'strongly, intensely, completely'; **j-tuk** is the first person form of a word which, although syntactically somewhat like a noun, functions as an independent constituent in a sentence that emphasizes the isolation or uniqueness of its possessor: 'I myself,' 'I alone.' (See section 4.b for more details on these sentential adjuncts.) The predicate **'oy** carries the 1st person absolutive (subject) suffix **-on**. Thus the entire construction means "I exist completely alone."

The friar suggests that **'oy** is the underlying verb in all sentences of existence and predication; that is, he confuses the regular process of cross-indexing the subject of a stative sentence by means of absolutive affixes with the need for an explicit 'verb' which can hold the suffixes. He remarks: "many times the verb is understood within the nouns, as when we say, 'I am the son of someone' [i.e., a nobleman—JBH].

'ajvetik-on.

'You are rich.' **'ayik'al-ot.**

and they don't put the verb **'oy**." He goes on to say that **'oy** states existence, "as when someone says 'There is no one here' and another answers

'oy-on. Yes, I'm here."

Like other nominal predicates, **'oy** also occurs in the negative, accompanied by the negative suffix **-uk**.

mu 'oyuk k-anil. I have no swiftness, i.e., I am feeble.
(Literally, "My swiftness does not exist.")

mu la 'oy-uk. They say there isn't any.

(**La** is an evidential clitic, often called a 'quotative'; modern Zinacantec in careful speech insert the clitic to indicate that what is being asserted is based on hearsay: 'I hear that...', 'they say that...', etc. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, the construction **mu + 'oy + -uk** has contracted to the single word **mu'yuk**.)

The subjects of sentences which have 'oy as predicate are often not simple nouns or noun phrases, but sentences or whole clauses, sometimes beginning, like English relative clauses, with interrogative words like *buy* 'where' or *buch'u* 'who,' introducing clauses that stand as indefinite nominal expressions: 'somewhere,' 'someone.'

mo 'oy-uk buy Hech. It is strange.

Hech is an adjective meaning 'thus, that way.' The sentence might be translated, literally, "somewhere like that does not exist," or "places like that don't exist."

When the grammatical subjects of 'oy sentences are themselves whole sentences, 'oy conveys a meaning of 'sometimes, it happens, it has happened that...'

'oy e-j-pas. (I am) experienced.

The grammatical subject of this sentence appears to be itself a sentence (realized as an inflected transitive verb: e- 'completive aspect' + j- '1st person agent (transitive subject)' + pas 'do (something),' thus 'I did it'). Combined with 'oy the force of the sentence is "there exist occasions of my doing (something)," hence: "I am experienced (from having had the experience of doing it)."

I mentioned that this putative noun root 'oy also seems to be the source for the intransitive verb 'ayan- 'be born, come into existence,' which, unlike 'oy in nominal stative sentences, can carry explicit inflection for tense and aspect. (See section 2.b.)

naka tok x-'ayan. It is clouding over. (Literally, "purely clouds are coming into existence.")

In modern Tzotzil, there is another intransitive verb stem, 'ay, which means 'be in a place (in the past),' or 'go to and return from.'

li-'ay ta Jobel. I went to San Cristóbal (and have returned).

This stem is also likely to be related to the nominal predicate 'oy, although its equivalent in colonial Tzotzil is itself morphologically a noun, taking absolutive suffixes like 'oy.

'ay-on ta tzob-patan. I went to collect taxes.

Whereas 'oy asserts existence (or state), the predicate **Ha'** asserts an equivalence, identity, or fact. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, if someone asks "Who's that coming up the path," the form of the reply may be:

Ha' li Xun e. It's John.

Ha' li krem e. It's the boy.

(Li and the enclitic -e function like a definite article when they enclose a noun or noun phrase like Xun 'John' or krem 'boy.')

The logical 'subject' of such expressions is some entity already known or mentioned in the context of discourse: that person coming up the path.

Ha' slajeb k'op bi! That was the conclusion!

(The noun phrase *s-lajeb k'op* means 'the end of the words,' and *bi* is an emphatic particle, 'indeed!')

When the noun serving as a subject of **Ha'** is possessed, the resulting sentence is relational:

Ha' j-tz'el. (It (something specific) is) near to (me).

As I mentioned in section 1, in modern Tzotzil *-tz'el* is an obligatorily possessed noun that suggests the 'edge' or 'boundary' or 'outskirts' of something. Thus, the example that contains a 1st person possessed form, means something like "It is my nearness (something near to me)." Similarly, with the noun *-koj* 'fault or cause of, reason for,' the friar gives the example

Ha' s-koj. (That is) the cause (of it).

where, as it were, **Ha'** points towards the cause, and the possessive prefix *s-* cross-references the thing caused.

It appears that the same root, **Ha'**, produces the expressions that function in modern Tzotzil as independent pronouns. Consider again the situation where a Zinacantec asks "Who is coming?" If I am coming, I may answer simply:

Vo'-on. It is I.

One assumes in colonial Tzotzil the equivalent would have been (as it still is in some dialects of modern Tzotzil, where the sound represented by **H** still exists):

Ho'-on. It is I.

I suggest that the root **Ha'** is again involved here, in this case in combination with a 1st person absolutive suffix *-on*. Second person and plural forms also exist.

Ho'-ot-uk, a-tot-uk. (It is) neither you, nor your father.

Apparently, here, the suffix *-uk* by itself is sufficient to convey the negative sense of the expression. (See section 4.a.3.)

When used with a sentence or clause, **Ha'** suggests 'it is the case that...' or 'this is what happened.'

Ha' x-sakub j-jo! My hair is turning white. (*sakub* 'turn white,' from *sak* 'white'; *-jo!* 'head, hair.')

(The sentence can emphasize or highlight a variety of constituents in the sentence. It can suggest, for example, that it really is the case that I am going gray (or, asserts that it really is *my* hair that is turning white); or the sentence cites the fact that my hair is turning white in the context of an explanation for something else. One needs to know more about the discursive setting to be sure.) Similarly, in the 2nd person:

Ho'-ot a-likes. It was *you* who started it.

The verb is a- '2nd person transitive subject' + *-likes* 'begin (it),' hence, 'you started (it).'

Ha' also occurs with relative clauses introduced by *te*, parallel to "that..." clauses in English.

Ha' te mo lek-uk xanav.

The friar glosses this expression as 'incontinent'; however, the expression is clearly an entire sentence, based on a relative clause. We may suppose that it was possible, in colonial Tzotzil, to say,

mo	lek-uk	e-xanav	li	Pedroe.
neg	good-neg	past-walk	art	Peter

Peter did not comport himself well (i.e., was incontinent).

With the conjunction *te* 'that,' this sort of sentence produces a relative clause '(the one) that is incontinent.' The original sentence with **Ha'** thus means: "he (someone specific) is the one who does not comport himself well."

Not surprisingly, **Ha'** sentences also occur in the negative.

e-maj-ey-ik, mo Ha'-uk e-y-a'i. They whipped him, but he did not profit by it.

E-maj-ey-ik appears to be a passive form of **maj** 'beat, whip' (although the apparent plural suffix, evidently cross-indexing a plural Agent which is otherwise missing in this passive construction, is puzzling); **'a'i** is a verb meaning 'feel, understand (something).' (See section 4.a.5.) The hypothetical sentence

Ha' e-y-a'i.

would mean "He really *did* feel it" (or in this context, 'profit by it'). By contrast, the negative form of **Ha'** suggests: "but he didn't *even* feel it." (In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil the negative form of **Ha'** is often abbreviated **ma'uk**.)

2.a.2. Adjective Sentences

There is another large class of stative sentences with adjectival predicates. Like nominal predicates, adjectival predicates also receive absolutive suffixes which cross-reference their subjects. Adjectival sentences ordinarily attribute *qualities* to their subjects.

'ep-on. I am many, i.e., I have a big family.

'ep-on ta j-nail. I have a big family. (Literally, "I am many in my house"; **'ep** 'many,' **-nail** 'house, household'.)

'utz-ot ta a-nail. You have a good family. (Literally, "you are good in your house"; **'utz** 'good'.)

As in many of the examples we have seen, adjective sentences often have possessed nouns as subjects. (See section 3.a.2 for more details of possessive forms.)

'ip j-bak'el. I am exhausted. (**'ip** 'extreme,' **-bak'el** 'aches and pains, tiredness'.)

Many idiomatic constructions in colonial Tzotzil, as in modern Tzotzil, are based on possessed body-part words.

'utz nakal av-olonton yo'e. You feel secure there. (**-olonton** 'heart,' **yo'e** 'there'.)

This example also shows that adjectival predicates can themselves be modified by one of a limited class of other adjectives, of which **'utz** 'good, well,' is one. **Nakal** means 'residing, seated, sitting' in this dictionary (and in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil it means 'at home'). Thus the sentence means, literally, "your heart is well at home there."

Other kinds of modifiers can accompany adjectival predicates. For example, the quotative clitic **la** 'they say,' appears in the example:

Hech la. They say it's like this. (**Hech** 'thus'.)

Or, in the next entry, the adjectival predicate **lek** 'good,' is modified by a passive verbal noun derived from the transitive verb **-il** 'see,' to convey the meaning 'it seems, it appears.'

lek yilel. (It is) pretty.

Temporal expressions, including clauses, also modify adjectival predicates.

kuxul s-batel 'osil. (He/she is) immortal.

Here the predicate is the adjective **kuxul** 'alive,' appearing in

the third person (i.e., with a null absolutive suffix). **S-batel 'osil** is a complex noun phrase, based on the deverbal noun **-batel** (from **bat-** 'go') and **'osil** 'earth'; it means literally "the going of the earth," hence, "(until) the end of the world, forever."

This same kind of (passive) deverbal noun (formed by adding the suffix **-el** to a verb stem, see section 4.a.3) provides subjects for a number of interesting adjectival sentences, with idiomatic meanings. We have already met the adjective predicates **'ip** 'extreme, much, very,' and **'utz** 'good':

'utz j-pas-el. I am well-mannered. (**pas** 'do, make,' hence, literally, "my making—the way I am made—is good".)

'ip j-na'-el. I am very famous. (**na'** 'know,' hence, literally, "my knowing—my reputation—is considerable".)

Of the same type are the following examples, where the syntactic possessors of the deverbal nouns in **-el** are 2nd and 3rd person nouns, respectively.

kolo' av-il-el. You make a bad appearance. (**kolo'** 'bad,' **-il** 'see,' hence, literally, "your seeing—the way you are seen—is bad".)

toj tzotz x-k-a'i x-chan-el 'amayil. I can't learn how to play the flute.

In this last complex example, we appear to have an embedded sentence

toj tzotz x-chan-el 'amayil. Learning the flute is hard. whose predicate is **tzotz** 'hard' (modified by the intensifier **toj** 'very'), and whose superficial subject is the possessed noun phrase **x-chan-el 'amayil** (from **-chan** 'learn'), 'the learning of the flute.' This embedded adjectival sentence is, in turn, the direct object of the verb **x-k-a'i**, a 1st person verb form of **'a'i** 'feel, understand.' (See sections 2.b and 4.a.3 for details of verb inflection.) Hence, a literal translation of the whole sentence might be something like "I feel that learning the flute is hard" or "I find it hard learning the flute."

Consider the form of explicit comparison in the friar's example:

toj muk' Pedro, bik'it te Juane. Pedro is bigger than Juan. (Literally, "Pedro is very big, (but) Juan is small".)

Adjective sentences also accept other kinds of constituents. For example, forms of the word **-tuk** 'alone, self,' that we have met before, can complement the subject of an adjectival predicate, in such comparative contexts.

toj kolo'-ot a-tuk. You are worse.

(The example suggests a context in which someone *else* has been called **kolo'** 'bad,' and the retort is given: "You *yourself* are bad.") Further adjuncts to adjective sentences can describe instruments or agents that bring about or affect the state or quality being described. Both prepositional phrases with **ta** 'in, at, on, with, by,' and forms of the syntactically active word **-u'un** 'because of, as a result of, belonging to' can act as these instrumental or agentive adjuncts. (For more **-u'un** con-

structions, see section 4.a.4.)

bal-on ta 'ach'el. I am muddy. (bal 'covered, rolled in' + -on '1st person subject'; 'ach'el 'mud'; hence, literally, 'I am covered in mud'.)

tzoj k-olonton y-u'un. (I) hate (him). (tzoj 'red'.)

The last example means, literally, "my heart is red because of him." Here is another adjectival sentence with an agent expressed by -u'un, which also has a complex relative clause as its subject:

tz'akal k-u'un te x-tuun ta j-nae. I have my house supplies.

The predicate here is tz'akal 'complete,' complemented by the 1st person form of -u'un (hence, "because of me," i.e., "as a result of my efforts"). The subject is a relative clause that means "what is needed in my house" (tuun 'serve, be needed,' na 'house'). Thus, the entire sentence means not simply that I have the necessary items of my household operation, but that *through my efforts* I have managed to get them all together.

It is, of course, also possible to have negative adjectival sentences, again with negative suffixes attached to the predicate word.

mu nat-uk j-xanbal-tik li' ta balumile. Our life is not long here on earth. (nat 'long,' xanbal 'walking, journey,' li' 'here,' balumil 'earth'.)

(The form j-xanbal-tik is the 1st person plural possessive form of xanbal 'our journey.' See section 3.a.1.)

Subjunctive forms of adjective predicates also exist, with inflection that resembles that of the negative forms.

yanyan-uk. Put it somewhere else.

(The friar's original gloss is "no lo pongas allí, ponlo en otra parte.") The adjective yan means 'other, elsewhere, different,' here appearing in a reduplicated form, with a subjunctive suffix -uk. (See section 4.a.3.) A more literal translation of the example might be "Let it be (in some place) slightly different (from where you are putting it)."

2.a.3. Sentences Whose Predicates Are Qualifying Phrases

The basis I have been using for classifying different sentence types in colonial Tzotzil has been the nature of the predicate constituent, defined formally as the constituent which receives absolutive affixes. There are stative sentences based on predicates that are, themselves, formally complex: prepositional phrases composed of the universal Tzotzil preposition ta 'in, at, on, with, from, etc.' plus a nominal expression. The canonical sentences of this type express the location of some entity.

ta Castilla s-na. (He is a) Spaniard.

Although the friar gives this expression as a gloss for the single word "Spaniard," he has actually provided an entire locative sentence, using the prepositional phrase ta Castilla 'in Castille' as predicate. The grammatical subject of the sentence is s- '3rd person possessive' plus -na 'house, home.' The sentence actually means, therefore, "His home is in Castille."

Because the subject s-na is a third person noun, it engenders only a zero or null absolutive suffix on the predicate. When the subject of such a sentence is 1st or 2nd person, it presents a morphological difficulty: to what do the absolutive suffixes (e.g., -on or -ot) attach? In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil the solution is often to employ a dummy adjectival predicate of location, tey 'there,' which bears absolutive inflection, and which is then followed by the prepositional phrase that expresses the actual location.

tey-on ta Jobel. I am (there) in San Cristóbal. (Jobel 'San Cristóbal'.)

(Tey, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, can be considered a dummy locative predicate in much the same way that Ha', described in the preceding section, is a dummy 'assertive' predicate, that carries absolutive inflection in certain nominal constructions.)

By contrast, in colonial Tzotzil, an absolutive suffix can attach directly to the nominal constituent of the prepositional phrase, something that modern Zinacantec Tzotzil does not always permit (although it apparently does sometimes).

ta 'ak'ol-on. I am on top. ('ak'ol 'above, top'.)

ta y-olon-on. I am under it. (-olon 'underside, underneath, below'.)

The familiar -on suffix marking a 1st person intransitive subject, in these two sentences, is affixed to the noun complement to ta. In the second case, the sentence admits two logical arguments: the 1st person subject (the person who is under), and the thing under which the subject is (grammatically represented as the possessor of -olon). Thus, the second sentence means, literally, "I am at/in its underneath."

Colonial Tzotzil does use the locational predicate te(y) to mark location, as in the adjectival sentence

tey va'al lume. He is standing over there.

Va'al is a positional adjective, 'standing,' and the expression tey lume means 'over there' (lum 'land, earth').

In some sentences with prepositional phrases as predicates, the noun in the prepositional phrase is based on a verb, and the resulting sentence asserts that some activity or process is taking place.

ta ch'iel to. (He is) a minor.

The verb ch'i means 'grow'; hence the sentence suggests "He is still in the growing stage."

In other cases, the meaning of the qualifying phrase may be more instrumental, as in the following complex negative example, which appears in the dictionary under the same entry, *menor de edad*.

mo to ta s-tak'inal s-k'ulej s-tuk. (He is) a minor.

Here the subject is the 3rd person possessed form of k'ulej 'family, residence' (but 'wealth' in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil), plus the adjunct s-tuk 'himself, alone.' The predicate is a qualifying phrase using the 3rd person possessed form of -tak'in(al) 'money,' modified by the negative particle mo and the temporal clitic to 'still.' Thus, a literal rendering of the sentence would be something like

"His residence is not yet on/by his own money."

The negative suffix appears when the object of the preposition in such sentences is directly negated.

mo ta j-k'op-uk a-pas. You did not do it with my consent.

Here the prepositional phrase, **ta j-k'op** 'on/by my word' (k'op 'word') is directly negated, and thus receives the negative suffix **-uk**. The form **a-pas** is a transitive verb meaning 'you did it' (see section 2.b). A slightly more accurate translation of the sentence would thus be: "You did it without my consent."

The dictionary also contains a set of sentences whose subjects are possessed body-part words, and whose predicates are **ta** phrases based on positional roots, nominalized with the suffix **-lej**. The resulting noun denotes a state pervaded by the position or condition the parent root signifies.

ta p'us-lej s-pat. He is hunchbacked. (p'us 'bent, bowed, hunched' in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, pat 'back.')

ta tzav-lej s-tzotzil. (He has his) hair standing on end. (tzav 'standing on end,' tzotz 'fur, hair.')

ta pet-lej j-k'ob. My hands are blistered. (pet 'blistered, with boil,' k'ob 'hand.')

Based on parallel constructions in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, a sentence like the last would suggest "my hands are covered in blisters."

2.b. VERBAL SENTENCES

Verbal sentences, unlike the stative sentences we have been considering, are obligatorily marked for tense or aspect. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil the verbal system is aspectual, in that it distinguishes, by means of verbal inflection, between completed and incompleting actions; a third aspect denotes states that result from actions, and an unmarked or neutral aspect occurs in certain special contexts (negative sentences, for example). (I will abbreviate these aspects as COMP, INC, STAT, and NEUT respectively.) Aspects are marked by means of prefixes in the case of COMP, INC, and NEUT aspects, and by a suffix attached to the stem in the case of STAT aspect. These aspectual variants, in combination with explicit temporal particles, and in particular contexts, often correspond to past, present or future, and perfect tenses.

Tzotzil also distinguishes formally between intransitive verbs (which accept a single argument: a Subject), and transitive verbs (which always have two arguments: an Agent, and a direct Object). A common notation for these different sorts of arguments employs the letters S, A, and O. Tzotzil can also be described as formally *ergative* because of the way in which it cross-indexes these different types of arguments on the verb. The intransitive subject (S) and the transitive direct object (O) of a verb must be explicitly marked on the verb itself with a single series of "absolute" affixes. (In the preceding sections we have already met some of these absolute suffixes.) The transitive subject (A) is likewise marked on a transitive verb by means of a different series of "ergative" prefixes.

2.b.1. Verbal Inflection

For speakers of dialects of modern Tzotzil, an important diagnostic of where one comes from is how one forms one's verbs, that is, the set of absolute, ergative, and aspectual affixes that one uses; there are often differences even between neighboring hamlets of the same community in the way verbs are conjugated. Examples in this colonial dictionary, not surprisingly, often differ from modern Zinacantec Tzotzil on exactly these grounds. To show the contrast, let me first present the modern system (whose details are well understood), and then show how the colonial examples (or, at least, the friar's transcriptions) diverge.

Intransitive verbs, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, are composed of a stem, an aspect marker and an absolute affix that cross-indexes the subject (S function). For STATIVE aspect, the suffix **-em** is added to the stem, followed by an absolute suffix drawn from the set we have already met (here I include plural forms as well):

-on	I
-ot	you (singular)
-0 (null)	he/she/it
-otik	you and I (and perhaps others)
-otikótik	I and others (not you)
-oxuk	you (plural)
-ik	they

Thus, with the intransitive stem **yul** 'arrive (to here)' one encounters such forms as

yul-em-on.	I have arrived.
yul-em-ik.	They have arrived.
yul-em.	He (she/it) has arrived.
yul-em-otikótik.	We (not including you) have arrived.

(The last sentence might be uttered, for example, in response to a polite query: **mi yul-em-oxuk?** "have you all arrived?")

In the remaining aspects, intransitive stems receive an absolute prefix before the stem, which is in turn preceded by an aspect marker; this entire complex then receives a further suffix in the plural forms. The series of absolute affixes can be represented as follows:

prefix	suffix	meaning
-i-		I
-a-		you (singular)
-0-	(null)	he/she/it
-i-	-otik	we (you and I, and perhaps others)
-i-	-(o)tikótik	we (not you)
-a-	-ik	
-0-	-ik	they

For NEUT aspect, the prefix is **x-** (which assimilates to **s-** before certain consonants); for INC aspect the prefix is **ta** plus **x-**; for COMP aspect, the prefix in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil

is *l-* before a vowel, and *i-* otherwise (i.e., in the 3rd person cases). (Note that *all* intransitive stems are consonant initial, even if the initial consonant is simply a glottal stop, represented here as ‘.’)

Thus, one meets the following forms, with the intransitive stem *ve* ‘eat’:

INC	ta x-i-ve’.	I (will) eat.
	ta x-a-ve’.	You (will) eat.
	ta x-ve’.	He (she/it) (will) eat.
	ta x-i-ve’-otik.	We (inclusive) (will) eat.
	ta x-i-ve’-(o)tikótik	We (exclusive) (will) eat.
	ta x-a-ve’-ik.	You (plural) (will) eat.
	ta x-ve’-ik.	They (will) eat.

(The NEUT forms are the same, except without the preceding *ta*.)

COMP	l-i-ve’.	I ate
	l-a-ve’.	You ate.
	i-ve’.	He (she/it) ate.
	l-i-ve’-otik.	We all ate.
	l-i-ve’-(o)tikótik.	We (not you) ate.
	l-a-ve’-ik.	You all ate.
	i-ve’-ik.	They ate.

Although there is both inconsistency and incompleteness in the examples in the colonial dictionary, the basic system seems to resemble that of modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, with a few exceptions:

- (1) The 1st person absolutive prefix is often *-e-* instead of *-i-*.
- (2) Full INC forms almost never occur, being replaced instead by NEUT forms (without the preceding *ta*). It is worth pointing out that this distinction is often difficult for non-Tzotzil speakers to hear, since the INC combination *ta + x-* is frequently contracted to *ch-*, which differs only slightly from NEUT *x-*.
- (3) The COMP prefixes are usually *n-* before a vowel, and *e-* elsewhere. The *n-* form still occurs in such divergent modern Tzotzil dialects as those of Huistán and Ixtapa. Moreover, the COMP *i-* in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil is often omitted or pronounced so lightly that the vowel quality is difficult to judge.

Modern Tzotzil dialects also differ greatly in the plural forms they employ, but there are not enough examples from colonial Tzotzil to allow us to speculate on what differences there may have been. Furthermore, there are very few examples of STAT forms of intransitive verbs in the dictionary, leaving us in the dark about how those forms might have diverged.

Here, by way of illustration, are some intransitive examples from the dictionary.

‘*ach*’ to *e-nupun*. He was married recently. (‘*ach*’ ‘new’; *nupun* ‘marry, be married,’ here in 3rd person singular COMP form.)

mu sob-uk n-a-Hul, n-a-Halej. You did not come early,

but delayed. (*sob* ‘early’; *Hul* ‘arrive (*yul* in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil)’; *Halej* ‘delay.’ These are two 2nd person singular COMP forms.)

Ha’-uk te x-a-bate, x-e-bat ‘ek-uk tok. If you go, I will go, too. (*bat* ‘go’; ‘*ek* and *tok* mean ‘also’; the *-uk* is a subjunctive ending that, attached to *Ha’*, suggests “Should it be the case that you go, it would also be that I would go, too.” The forms are 2nd and 1st person, NEUT aspect, which probably should be INC aspect in the latter case.)

Transitive verbs in Tzotzil always have two arguments, in A and O functions. A fully inflected transitive verb consists of a stem, with an “ergative” prefix which cross-indexes the agent or A argument, plus an aspect marker and an absolutive affix that cross-indexes the O argument or direct object. Transitive stems can be either vowel or consonant initial (vowel-initial transitive stems in this dictionary are often shown with an initial glottal-stop although this is formally unnecessary), and there are two complementary series of ergative (A function) prefixes.

Vowel init/Cons. init	Meaning (A function)
k-/j-	I
av-/a-	you (singular)
y-/s- (x-)	he/she/it

(3rd person *s-* sometimes assimilates to *x-*, when it occurs, for example, before *ch* or *x*.) Plural forms are again marked with suffixes (although in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil plural forms are often omitted, and the rules for the interaction between absolutive and ergative plural suffixes are complex and varied). The normal ergative plural suffixes (always in combination with a personal prefix) are:

-tik	1st person inclusive plural
-(ti)kótik	1st exclusive plural
-ik	2nd and 3rd person plural

Absolutive prefixes or suffixes, corresponding to the direct object (O function) noun, are added to this combination of stem and ergative prefix. In the STAT aspect, the stem receives the suffix *-oj*, then any plural ergative suffix, and then an absolute suffix. In the other aspects, absolutive affixes are attached to the complex of ergative prefix and stem, according to the following rule: absolutive prefixes are used before a consonant, but *suffixes* are required if the ergative prefix is a vowel (i.e., second person). Finally, aspect prefixes are added, according to rules similar to those governing intransitive verbs. (One difference: the *x-* prefix of NEUT and INC aspects only occurs before a vowel; before a consonant it is omitted. Another difference: no explicit COMP prefix is used before a bare second person ergative prefix.) Thus, with the transitive stem *maj* ‘hit’:

STAT	j-maj-<i>oj</i>-ot.	I have hit you.
	j-maj-<i>oj</i>.	I have hit him.

	a-maj-<i>oj-on</i>.	You have hit me.
	a-maj-<i>oj</i>.	You have hit him.
	s-maj-<i>oj-on</i>.	He has hit me.
	s-maj-<i>oj-ot</i>.	He has hit you.
	s-maj-<i>oj</i>.	He has hit him.
	j-maj-<i>oj-oxuk</i>.	I have hit you all.
	s-maj-<i>oj-otikótik</i>.	He has hit us (not you), etc.
INC	ta x-a-j-maj.	I (will) hit you.
	ta j-maj.	I (will) hit him.
	ta x-a-maj-on.	You (will) hit me.
	ta x-a-maj.	You (will) hit him.
	ta x-i-s-maj.	He (will) hit me.
	ta x-a-s-maj.	He (will) hit you.
	ta s-maj.	He (will) hit him.
	ta x-i-s-maj-otik.	He (will) hit us (all).
	ta x-a-s-maj-ik.	He will hit you (all). OR: They will hit you, etc.
COMP	l-a-j-maj.	I hit you.
	i-j-maj.	I hit him.
	a-maj-on.	You hit me.
	a-maj.	You hit him.
	l-i-s-maj.	He hit me.
	l-a-s-maj.	He hit you.
	i-s-maj.	He hit him.
	i-j-maj-tikótik	We (not you) hit him.
	l-i-s-maj-otikótik	He hit us (not you), etc.

These verb forms, of course, must be combined with real arguments to form actual Tzotzil sentences, and not every possible combination is represented in the examples from colonial Tzotzil. Notice that the system of cross-indexing arguments by means of explicit affixes attached to the verb stem itself often, but not always, makes clear which argument is Agent and which Object, i.e., who is doing what to whom.

'altik e-j-tzames. By chance I killed him. (**altik** 'by chance,' **-tzames** 'kill' (from **cham** 'die').)

The ergative prefix **j-** makes it clear, in this sentence, that *I* am doing the killing; and the null absolutive affix shows that I killed some third person, otherwise unidentified in the sentence itself. Similarly, the 3rd person ergative **s-** (which is assimilated to **x-**, since it precedes a stem beginning with **ch**), and the combination of 1st plural absolutive prefix **-e-** and suffix **-otik** makes it clear, in the next example, that *he* is doing something *to us*.

laal x-e-x-chi'in-otik ta xanbal. He is well acquainted with us. (**laal** 'abundant,' **-chi'in** 'accompany,' **xanbal** 'travel, walking'; hence, literally, "he frequently accompanies us on our affairs/travels.")

When a bride says

n-e-s-k'elan j-tot. My father gave me away. (**k'elan** 'give,' **tot** 'father.')

the 1st person absolutive **-e** and the 3rd person ergative **-s-** leave no doubt about the roles of father and daughter.

In the case of both 3rd person Agent and 3rd person Object, the *form* of the verb does not allow us to disambiguate the two sentence roles: we must either judge from principles of semantic naturalness (sometimes called 'selectional restrictions'), as when, in a sentence with a verb like 'want,' we expect an animate agent, or with a verb like 'eat' both an animate agent and an inanimate direct object, regardless of the order in which the actual nouns appear in the sentence.

va'alva'al no'ox s-k'an ve'el. He wants to eat every few minutes. (**va'alva'al** 'all the time,' **no'ox** 'only,' **-k'an** 'want,' **ve'el** 'food' (from **-ve** 'eat')).

Here the form of the verb, **s-k'an**, tells us only that some third person wants something or someone. The noun **ve'el** can only, given the semantic restrictions, be the Object.

p'ilil s-na' te Juane, juteb no'ox te Pedro. John knows more than Peter. (**p'ilil** 'more,' **-na'** 'know,' **juteb** 'a little'; hence the sentence literally means "John knows more, Peter only a little.")

Here **p'ilil** apparently modifies an (unstated) direct object, and it comes in the first position in the sentence, a position often reserved for Agents. However, it is clear in this context, that it is *John* who knows more of *something*, and not vice versa.

There are often cases, however, when a transitive sentence could logically admit its Object as Agent or vice versa. For example, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, the following sentence could mean either "John killed him" or "He killed John":

i-s-mil li Xun-e. (-**mil** 'kill,' **Xun** 'John.')

That is, the form of the verb tells us only that the A and O arguments are 3rd person singular, so that the exact function of the explicit noun, **Xun**, remains potentially ambiguous, given no further context. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, in sentences of this kind, when there are two explicit noun phrases, the ordinary sentence order is always:

Verb	Object	Agent
I-s-mil	Xun	li Petul-e.
killed	John	(art.) Peter
Peter	killed	John.

Occasionally, the A noun is moved to the front of the sentence, producing the order:

Agent	Verb	Object
Ali Petul-e	i-s-mil	li Xun-e.
Peter	killed	John.

We may surmise that the same sorts of conventions of order operated in colonial Tzotzil as well, although the friar gives us only examples of the second type.

dios e-(y)-ulesan av-ajvalel. God ended your dominion. (**dios** 'God,' **-ulesan** 'end' (from **'ul** 'disappear'), **-ajvalel** 'dominion' (from **'ojov** 'lord').)

2.b.2. Ditransitive Sentences

Although, as we have seen, the morphology of Tzotzil verbs provides for two main varieties—intransitive verbs with a single S argument, and transitive verbs with an A and an O

argument—there are some verbal notions that seem, inherently, to imply *three* arguments. 'Give,' for example, entails a giver, a thing given, and a receiver. (Compare 'say.') Tzotzil permits only two arguments to be cross-indexed on a verb, and therefore, to accommodate such ditransitive actions, it provides a mechanism by which the ordinary Object (the thing given, in the case of 'give') is demoted or rendered syntactically inactive, and the indirect object, (the receiver, in the case of 'give'), is promoted to a position of prominence in which *it*, rather than the Object, engenders absolutive affixes on the verb. To record this altered perspective, such ditransitive stems carry an additional suffix, *-be*, or *-bey* in the friar's transcription.

x-a-k-ak'-bey te caballo. I will give you the horse. (*-ak'* 'give,' *caballo* 'horse.')

The verb in this sentence can be decomposed as follows:

x-	NEUT aspect
a-	2nd person Absolutive
k-	1st person Ergative
-ak'	'give'

-be Benefactive or ditransitive suffix

Hence, the verb form means 'I give (it) to you.' Similarly, in the COMP aspect:

mu n-e-y-ak'-bey e, e-y-al ta s-ti' x-e-y-ak'-bey la. He did not give it to me, but he promised he would give it to me. (*-al* 'say,' *ti'* 'mouth'; hence, literally, "He did not give (it) to me, he said with his mouth he would give (it) to me.") Note the quotative particle *la*.)

Perhaps the commonest case in which this sort of ditransitive construction appears is one in which the literal direct object of a transitive verb is actually a possessed noun. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, in such cases, the *possessor* of the direct object noun is almost invariably promoted to the position of indirect object, hence engendering absolutive affixes and the corresponding *-be* suffix on the verb. Such examples are also common in colonial Tzotzil.

e-k-il-bey s-bek'tal. I had sexual relations with her. (*-il* 'see,' *bek'tal* 'flesh'; hence, literally, "I saw her flesh.")

x-ich'-bey te s-tza Pedro. He follows Peter's opinion. (*-ich'* 'receive,' *tza* 'wisdom'; hence, literally, "He receives Peter's wisdom.")

ta x-a-j-k'an-bey a-ch'akel. I ask for your judgment. (*-k'an* 'want,' *ch'akel* 'judgment, appraisal.')

In this last case, note that the verb bears the explicit 2nd person absolutive prefix, *-a-*, which cross-indexes the 2nd person possessor of the direct object noun *a-ch'akel*.

(These considerations suggest that such examples as the following are in error:

x-a-chan-bey j-ti'. You imitate my speech. (*-chan* 'learn,' *ti'* 'mouth, speech'; hence, literally, "You learn my

mouth.")

Here the absolutive affix on the verb seems to be missing. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil this would have to be, instead,

x-a-chan-b-on j-ti'

where *-b-* is an alternate form of *-be*, and with an explicit 1st person absolutive suffix attached to the verb, corresponding to the 1st person possessor of *j-ti'* 'my mouth.')

The same constraints on order, when the A and B constituents are both 3rd person, apply as with A and O constituents. The basic order is

Verb (Object) Indirect Object Agent
which sometimes becomes

Agent Verb (Object) Indirect Object

The colonial dictionary contains a complex example of this sort:

dios x-ak'-bey s-ve'el skotol ti k'usitik kuxul x-xanave.
God feeds every living creature.

The Agent is *dios* 'God,' the Object is *s-ve'el* 'its food,' and the verb is *x-ak'-be* "he gives (it) to (someone)." The indirect object is itself a complex noun phrase with an embedded relative clause, which means, literally, "all the things that walk around alive." (*kotol* 'all'; *kuxul* 'living,' *xanav* 'walk.')

2.b.3. Reflexive and Reciprocal Sentences

Special forms are also required when the A constituent is the same as the O or B constituent (i.e., when someone does something to or for himself, or when people do things to each other). In such cases, the O (or B) constituent appears as a possessed form of the reflexive noun *-ba* 'self.' These possessed forms, in turn, use combinations of possessive prefixes and suffixes which exactly duplicate the ergative prefix/suffix set we have already met in connection with transitive verbs. (See sections 2.b.1, for the ergative set, and 3.a.2 for further details on noun possession.) Thus, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, one can say:

ta j-maj j-ba.	I hit myself.
ta x-a-maj a-ba.	You hit yourself.
ta s-maj s-ba.	He hits himself.
ta j-maj j-ba-tik.	We hit ourselves (or each other). (Note that the plural suffix appears only once.)
ta x-a-maj a-ba-ik.	You hit each other.
ta s-maj s-ba-ik.	They hit each other.

The friar gives the same example, under the gloss "quarrel in more than words, i.e., come to blows": *j-maj j-ba*.

Ditransitive sentences can also be reflexive, if the indirect object and Agent are coreferential. For example, the dictionary contains the entry

j-jak'-bey. I ask him about something.

The verb is *jak'* 'ask, ask for,' appearing here in a ditransitive form in order to admit as B constituent the *person whom I ask*. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil one can say, for example,

ta x-a-j-jak'-be j-p'el-uk k'op. I ask you for a word of advice.

The dictionary also has a reflexive example of the same ditransitive construction, under the gloss "consult with many in the town hall," or "ask one another":

j-jak'-bey j-ba-tik k'op. (Let's) consult with one another.

The sentence might be translated, "let's ask words of one another (of ourselves)," where the 1st person plural reflexive pronoun assumes the syntactic function of the B constituent (and the literal O constituent, **k'op** 'words,' is demoted to a syntactically inactive position).

In many cases, a reflexive form assumes a meaning that extends somewhat beyond that of a literal reflexive or reciprocal, and many of the expressions from colonial Tzotzil survive in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil.

'oy j-k'alal te j-toy j-ba. I have a reason for rebelling. (**k'alal** 'reason,' **-toy** 'raise'; hence, literally, "there exists my reason for which I raise myself.")

j-pas j-ba ta av-olon. I submit to you. (Literally, "I make myself (into) your subject or underling.")

mu x-k-a'i j-ba x-lok' j-k'op. I spoke inadvertently. (**-a'i** 'hear, feel, understand,' **lok'** 'leave, exit,' **k'op** 'word'; hence, literally, "I did not feel myself (that) my words came out.")

The syntactic ramifications of these formally reflexive processes are far-reaching in Tzotzil, both modern and colonial.

With verbs of speaking, reflexive and reciprocal forms often suggest not only literal meanings, but also have more introspective readings: 'talk to each other,' or 'get along with'; 'say to oneself,' or 'think about, consider, pretend.'

j-k'opon j-ba j-chi'uk j-tot. I am consulting with my father. (**k'opon** 'speak to,' **-chi'uk** 'with,' **tot** 'father.' Literally, "I am speaking to myself with my father.")

In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil this would also mean, "I get along with my father (i.e., I have not quarrelled with him)."

naka x-al s-ba ta batel. He is pretending he is going. (**naka** 'only,' **al** 'say,' **bat** 'go'; literally, "He only tells himself (that he is) going.")

Similarly, many reflexive expressions offer both a literal, concrete reading, and a somewhat more idiomatic meaning having to do with inner states, or the *imagery* of an action.

j-bik'tajes j-ba x-e-k'opoj. I am speaking modestly. (**bik'it** 'small,' **bik't-ajes** 'diminish, make small,' **k'opoj** 'speak'; literally, "I make myself small (as) I speak.")

mu to ta stak'in x-chabi s-ba s-tuk. He is a minor. (Literally, "he does not yet care for himself on his own money"; **chabi** 'care for'.)

It is clear that, formally, a reflexive construction provides a syntactic mechanism which reduces the number of arguments of a transitive (or ditransitive) verb. (Whereas a transitive verb has both an agent and a direct object, in the reflexive form the agent and direct object are formally collapsed into one, and transitive action of one entity onto another object is reduced

to an action by an entity on itself.) Not surprisingly, Tzotzil, like many other languages, uses reflexive constructions to describe a variety of situations in which action is impersonal or which emphasize *reduced agency*.

'utz e-s-tz'ak s-ba. (The adobes) were laid properly. ('**utz** 'well,' **tz'ak** 'join'; literally, "(The adobes) join themselves well.")

yo 'oy s-nup s-ba be. crossroads. (**be** 'road,' **nup** 'meet'; literally, "where the road meets itself.")

Reflexive syntax is also appropriate, for similar reasons, with actions that are otherwise *agentless* (as, for example, in the case of unintentional or accidental acts).

k-atin-ej j-ba ta ch'ich'. I was bloodied. ('**atin** 'wash,' **ch'ich'** 'blood'; literally, "I washed myself in blood." But note the friar's translation.)

On the other hand, reflexive forms also seem appropriate vehicles for representing actions that are all-encompassing, that involve the *whole* of the agent (its *entire self*).

x-kuch-oj s-ba 'anil. (It is) running hard. (**kuch** 'carry.')

The friar gives this expression in the context, for example, of a deer running headlong. As it stands the sentence seems ungrammatical, requiring instead a preposition **ta** before '**anil**'; in that case, the sentence would mean, literally, "(it) is carrying itself in running."

Reflexive forms also permit transitive conjugation of some verb stems which are otherwise only intransitive. For example, many positional stems (which mean 'be in a position') do not easily form transitive stems (which would mean 'put in a position'), but will allow reflexive forms (which mean 'put *oneself* in a position').

p'ev abaik. (You [pl.]) move aside! (According to the friar: "Said to people on a bridge, or so that they will get their horses off the trail.")

The friar gives **p'ev** as an intransitive verb 'be absent from work,' with an adjectival form **p'evel** 'absent from work.' No transitive form is shown, but the reflexive form clearly suggests "absent oneself." In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, the positional root **p'ev** implies an opening, tear, or crack in an otherwise intact surface or barrier. Again, there is no direct transitive stem, but the reflexive appears in ritual contexts to talk about leaving the parental home after marriage (Laughlin, 1975:295).

There are, additionally, a number of predicates, both verbal and non-verbal, which appear *only* in reflexive forms, both in colonial and modern Tzotzil. An example is the reflexive adjective, '**abol-ba** 'wretched, poor,' which inflects for person not by attaching absolute affixes to the adjective but rather by means of possessive prefixes on the reflexive pronoun **-ba**.

'abol j-ba. I am wretched.

'abol s-ba. He is wretched.

Some nouns also inflect, as predicates, by means of reflexive pronouns. For example, the underlying root of the agentive noun **j-lak'-na** 'neighbor' (from **lak'** 'companion' and **na** 'house') appears to form a predicate either as a reflexive noun, or in the reflexive form of an explicit transitive verb (**lak'-na-in**

'have as a neighbor').

j-lak'-na j-ba. I am a neighbor (to someone).

j-lak'nain j-ba j-chi'uk Pedro. I am neighbor of Pedro.

(Literally, "I take myself as a neighbor with Pedro.")

Other reflexive nouns require both an inflected form of the reflexive pronoun *-ba* and possessive affixes on the head noun itself. The word 'utz' 'close consanguinal relative' (in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil it means 'immediate next sibling') appears as a predicate in sentences of the form

k-utz' j-ba (jchi'uk Pedro). I am a close relative (of Pedro).

where both *k-utz'* and *j-ba* are 1st person possessed forms. (The sentence might be, literally but unenlighteningly, glossed "I am my relative myself with Pedro.")

2.b.4. Impersonal Constructions

A few expressions in Tzotzil resemble the impersonal sentences of other languages, in that there are no genuine subjects or agents to their verbs, only dummy, unspecified third person entities.

There are other possibilities. The impersonal weather verbs of other languages, for example, are, in Tzotzil, usually ordinary intransitives whose subjects are the meteorological phenomena themselves. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil one says

ch-tal vo'. It is raining. (tal 'come,' vo' 'water.')

The friar's colonial equivalent is

x-yal Ho'. It is raining. (yal 'descend, fall,' Ho' 'water.')

However, the following entry suggests that Tzotzil has as well the nebulous and impersonal *it* of weather verbs.

e-tz'i'lej ta tok. It clouded over. (tz'i'-lej 'be damaged or ruined,' tok 'cloud.')

It is not clear to me from the friar's original entry whether this can also mean, of some specific thing, "it was damaged by clouds."

Similarly, certain expressions having to do with time and the seasons appear with third person impersonal grammatical subjects. In the following example, the main verb, *ta* 'find, reach,' is transitive, with a third person ergative prefix.

s-ta y-osilal 'ovol. It is corn planting season. (ta 'find, reach,' -osil 'season, time, earth,' 'ovol 'planting': literally "it reaches the season of planting.")

Occasionally, the only constituent available to generate absolutive affixes on a verb seems an unlikely candidate as a *subject*, again producing an expression with impersonal flavor.

k'usi ta k'oplal x-k'opoj? What is the subject? (k'usi 'what,' k'oplal 'topic, matter,' k'opoj 'talk (intransitive).')

The only possible literal rendering seems to be "it is talking about what topic?" where the identity of the impersonal 'it' is very unclear.

Some of the friar's examples use a dummy *second person* subject to express an impersonal meaning (that might be rendered in English by 'one' or, occasionally, 'you'—Pooh's

"you never can tell with bees.") For example, the friar glosses the following sentence as "His goodness is without measure."

mo no 'ox jay av-at y-utzil. (mo 'negative,' no 'ox 'only, just,' jay 'how much,' -at 'count, measure,' 'utzil 'goodness'; hence, literally, "you measure his goodness as not how much (i.e., an uncountable amount).")

It is not clear whether this second person subject comes from ordinary Tzotzil expressions or whether it has been imported from Spanish (along with the notion of 'goodness,' in this example).

Modern Zinacantec Tzotzil also uses first person plural forms in a generalized or impersonal sense, in such expressions as

(mu) j-na'-tik? Who knows? (na' 'know'; literally, "we (don't) know.")

The strict syntactic division, in Tzotzil, between transitive and intransitive verbs, is tempered by extensive derivational and syntactic mechanisms applied to verbs, to allow for considerable subtlety in expressing the nuances of action. Semantically, there are *degrees* of transitivity; that is, an agent can act on another entity to varying extents, and with varying sorts of consciousness and intention. Tzotzil expresses these shades of meaning with a variety of syntactic devices (including reflexive forms we have already met, as well as passives, antipassives, and "middle" verbs with oblique agents—see sections 4.a.5, and 4.b), and by shifting *perspective*. The results of such shifts often produce expressions that, in translation, seem impersonal, because they shift the locus of action onto an impersonal entity, which appears as the grammatical subject of a verb. The *logical* agent, in such cases, is frequently represented by a phrase using a possessed form of *u'un* 'on behalf of, by means of.'

'ep x-'elmaj k-u'un. I am making a good profit. ('ep 'much,' 'elmaj 'be profitable, advantageous'; literally, "it is very profitable for me.")

tz'akal x-Hu' y-u'un. He is all-powerful. (tz'akal 'complete,' Hu' 'be able'; literally, "everything is possible for him.")

The form of these expressions shifts the perspective of action from the logical agent (the person *making a profit* or the one *able to do something*) to the result or logical patient (the profitable activity, or the result of the omnipotent agent's efforts).

3. Nominal Constituents

3.a. POSSESSION

3.a.1. Noun Subcategorization

In *The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of San Lorenzo Zinacantán*, Laughlin (1975:24) introduces a system of noun classification

with the intention of signalling to the reader, in a kind of shorthand, what nouns may be possessed and what their shape is when they are unpossessed, possessed animately, or possessed inanimately.

Many of the categories that appear in the subclassification of modern Zinacantec Tzotzil nouns have also been applied to colonial Tzotzil, though not all possibilities are represented in this dictionary. Unfortunately, the system of notation adopted in the dictionary is not entirely adequate for representing the behavior of Tzotzil nouns, and some clarification is required to make the facts clear.

Let me first outline what sorts of phenomena are involved. We have seen already that nouns are formally marked as possessed by means of prefix-suffix pairs that exactly match the ergative affixes engendered on transitive verb stems by an A constituent. A possessed noun phrase consists of the possessed noun, followed optionally by the noun phrase denoting the possessor itself; that is the order of constituents in a noun phrase like *s-na Xun* 'the house of John' is as follows:

poss. prefix	+	noun stem	(+ poss. suffix)	(possessor)
s	-	na		Xun
3rd sg.		'house'		'John'
		"John's house"		

To recapitulate, the inflectional forms are as follows:

Prefixes	Suffixes
[Vowel init./Cons. init.]	[added for plurals]
k-/j- 1st singular	-tik 1st plu. incl.
av-/a- 2nd sg.	-(ti)kótik 1st plu. excl.
y-/s- 3rd sg.	-ik 2nd, 3rd plural

For example, with the two nouns *na* 'house' and *abtel* 'work,' such possessive forms as the following exist:

j-na 'my house'	k-abtel 'my work'
a-na 'your house'	av-abtel 'your work'
s-na 'her house'	y-abtel 'his work'
j-na-tik 'our house'	k-abtel-tik 'our work'
j-na-tikótik 'our (excl.) house'	k-abtel-tikótik 'our (excl.) work'
a-na-ik 'your (pl.) house'	av-abtel-ik 'your (pl.) work'
s-na-ik 'their house'	y-abtel-ik 'their work'

In the case of these two nouns, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil and, apparently in colonial Tzotzil as well, the noun occurs both as an unpossessed entity (*na* 'house'), and as a possessed form (someone's house, e.g., *j-na* 'my house'). These nouns are represented as of type 'n1' (with a further subdivision by letter to which I will return shortly).

There are also, in modern Tzotzil, some noun stems which seem not to be possessable. We may assume that such stems existed also in colonial Tzotzil, although clearly a dictionary does not offer sufficient evidence to be sure in any particular case. (In this dictionary, nouns marked as class 'n5' simply *do not happen to appear* in given contexts with explicit possessive markers.) Such an example, then as now, is the noun *ak'ot* 'dance.' A related (but small) category comprises nouns that are not possessable as bare stems, but which require a suffix

(usually of the form vowel plus l, or -Vl) before they can bear possessive affixes. Such a noun in colonial Tzotzil is *k'uk'um* 'feather,' which can be possessed only if it has the additional suffix -al: *s-k'uk'um-al* 'its feather.'

Another large class of nouns includes those of the so-called "inalienably possessed" variety. These denote entities which are, in some sense, *inherently possessed*: they logically require possessors. Prototypical examples are body part words. (We normally speak not of 'hands' but of 'someone's hand.' In Tzotzil, the bare roots of such words function as nouns that require possessive affixes. Hence the root *-k'ob* 'hand' can appear as *j-k'ob* 'my hand,' *a-k'ob* 'your hand,' etc. Inalienably possessed nouns can appear *unpossessed* only if they bear a special suffix, of the form -Vl (where various vowels may appear as V). The suffix suggests "generalized possession"; e.g., *k'ob-ol*; 'someone's hand' (with the someone unspecified, or understood as indefinite). In this dictionary, nouns of this class are shown occasionally as of type 'n3' (when they appear with the generalizing suffix -Vl), or, more frequently, as of type 'n4' (when they require grammatical possessors in a complete expression).

In the colonial dictionary, as in modern speech, body part words are often glossed in Tzotzil by the 1st person possessed form. If you ask a speaker of modern Zinacantec Tzotzil how to say 'hand,' he or she will ordinarily reply

j-k'ob-tik
1st person-hand-plural
"our hand(s)"

The same sort of form appears in the colonial example *junjun k-ibel-tik*. We are of the same parentage. (*junjun* 'one'; *-ibel* 'root.')

The indefinite possessed form, on the other hand, appears in expressions such as

kolo' yak'el mulil ta 'olontonil. To acquiesce in sin is evil. (*kolo'* 'evil'; *mulil* 'sin'; *yak'el ta 'olontonil* means literally, "giving to one's heart," where *'olonton-il* is the indefinite possessed form of 'heart.')

Similarly, the indefinitely possessed form of *-tzotz* 'hair, fur,' appears in the example

ta tzavlej tzotzil. with hair standing on end.

Elaborating on these three basic noun classes—possessable, unpossessable, and inherently possessed nouns—Tzotzil extends the formal mechanisms of *grammatical possession* to distinguish several different logical or *semantic* types of possession. In modern Tzotzil these include the following:

- (i) an absolute or unpossessed form, which makes no reference to a possessor at all: *'ixim* 'corn,' *'abtel* 'work,' *na* 'house.'
- (ii) a simple possessed form, which relates the entity denoted by the noun to the entity denoted by its grammatical possessor as part to whole, as possession to owner or controller, or as product or creation to producer or creator. The

relation is one of "belonging": **k-ok** 'my leg,' **j-na** 'my house'; **k-ot** 'my tortilla (that I made, or that I'm about to eat),' **s-na** 'ixim 'granary,' lit. 'house of corn.'

- (ii) an "indefinitely possessed" form, without possessive prefixes and with a -VI suffix (usually -il), which indicates a thing possessed (in sense (ii)), but whose possessor is unspecified or indefinite: **ok-ol** 'the leg of someone,' **abtel-il** 'the work (of some person).'
- (iii) a special form of "inanimate" (Laughlin, 1975), "impersonal" (Cowan, 1969), or "benefactive" (Haviland, 1981) possession, which connects the noun with its "possessor": a person or thing on which it will be used, or for whose benefit (or detriment) it is intended. Inanimate possession is marked with possessive prefixes and a special suffix (also of the form -VI). The exact semantic relationship implied may be one of the following: location or origin (**s-bolom-al ch'en** 'the cave's jaguar,' i.e., the one who lives there), function or purpose (**y-ot-al li bek'et e** 'the meat's tortilla,' i.e., the one to be eaten with the meat), destination, cause, victim or beneficiary (**y-il-al na** 'the house's debt,' i.e., the debt which the owner incurred in building it).

A good example of "benefactive possession" from colonial Tzotzil is

e-juj-be-at x-xuch'-al. It was mended with pitch.

The verb **juj** means 'smear, rub'; **xuch'** is 'pitch.' The sentence means, literally, "It had its (benefactive) pitch smeared on it," where the type (iii) form of the possessed noun suggests "the pitch that affected it."

There are other more specialized "possessive" forms in modern Zinacantan Tzotzil, which do not figure prominently in this colonial dictionary. These utilize further suffixes to denote qualities or states associated with some nominal stem, or expanses of plants or natural features. (For a more complete discussion, see Haviland, 1981:191-215.)

The behavior of a noun stem in Tzotzil depends first on which possession class (possessable, unpossessable, or inalienably possessed) it belongs to (this is partly a semantic matter: things that are never owned may also be grammatically unpossessable; words denoting parts of wholes are generally inalienably possessed); and second, on which sorts of "logical" possession (types i-iii) it accepts.

One difficulty with the label "inanimate possession" in Laughlin (1975) is that it conflates what I have distinguished here as two *different* sorts of possession. Inanimate objects can function as "possessors" in both sense (ii) of simple possession and sense (iii), benefactive possession. Thus, the relationship between the house and its possessor is substantially the same

in both the case of **j-na** 'my house (where I live)' and **s-na li** 'ixim e 'the house of the corn (where it is kept).' This is type (ii), simple possession; but consider the noun **-te'-el** 'stick for something' (from **te'** 'wood'), which requires type (iii) benefactive possession. Its possessor may be animate (as in **s-te'el caballo** 'the horse's stick,' i.e., the post to tether it to) or inanimate (as in **s-te'el coles** 'cabbage stock,' i.e., the rigid stem which supports the cabbage), and in either case a similar benefactive relationship is implied between stick and its grammatical possessor. In general, it is *always* the case that benefactive possession requires an additional -VI suffix on a noun stem, whether or not the possessor is animate or inanimate.

In the context of this brief description, let me summarize the notation that actually appears in the dictionary. Four noun classes are distinguished as follows:

- n1 These are ordinary possessable nouns, which occur in both forms (i) and (ii), without any change to the stem.
- n3 These are the indefinitely possessed forms of inalienably possessed nouns. They therefore appear *with* the -VI suffix.
- n4 These are the bare stems of inalienably possessed nouns, shown without possessive prefixes. They therefore always *require* additional possessive inflection for morphological completeness.
- n5 These are unpossessable nouns stems (or, at least, nouns that in the context of the friar's examples do not appear with possessive inflection).

In addition, nouns are further categorized by letter, where the following occur (I give first the original characterization from Laughlin, 1975:24, followed by an explanation in terms of the scheme I have presented here):

- a "if inanimate has -VI, animate does not; if inanimate lacks -VI, animate adds it." This category is an artifact of the decision Laughlin has made to include as the citation form an absolute or indefinitely possessed form (type ii') of an otherwise inalienably possessed word (a body part, for example). Luckily, rather few examples of this 'type' survive in the current entries.
- b "inanimate same as animate." This means that the noun may have both animate and inanimate possessors, of either type (ii) or (iii).
- c "inanimate with or without VI." The noun may have both types (ii) and (iii) possession, and in both cases the grammatical possessor may be an

inanimate entity. Laughlin's original assignment to this category I think ignored the distinction between types (ii) and (iii), and hence sometimes a noun labeled type b occurs with a further -VI suffix (in type ii possession), and sometimes without such a suffix (type ii possession).

- d "only animate occurs." This means that, probably for semantic reasons, the possessor, of type (ii), seems always to be animate, at least in the contexts shown.
- e "only inanimate occurs with -VI." This notation suggests a context in which only type (iii) benefactive possession seems appropriate (and the possessor in the examples given happens to be inanimate).
- f "only inanimate occurs without -VI." Such cases are examples of type (ii) simple possession, in which the possessor happens to be an inanimate entity.

The following dictionary entries exemplify these categories. The noun *leb* 'bird net' is shown as 'n1a'; it can occur as an absolute, unpossessed noun, type (i). It can also appear in type (ii) possession, with a -VI suffix, when we are interested in the person whose net it is. It can also evidently appear in type (iii) possession, with a further suffix: *s-leb-al X* 'the net of (with which to catch) X'.

In the expression *ta 'olon* 'below, underneath,' the relational noun 'olon' is given as 'n1b' to show, first, that the word can be unpossessed (meaning 'below, low, lowlands,' etc.), and possessed, in which case its logical possessor can be either animate or inanimate—it denotes the person or thing below which something is. (In this sense, 'olon' functions something like a body-part word meaning 'the underneath part.')

The noun *ach'el* 'mud' is shown as 'n1c.' That is, again, it can appear either unpossessed (type i) or ordinarily possessed (type ii), with no change in the stem. In the latter case, the 'possessor' can be either a person or a thing. But there is also type (iii) possession, as in the friar's example *ip yach'elal* '(it is) muddy', in which a further -VI suffix is added to suggest, literally, "its mud (covering it, or all over it, or created by it, or waiting for it to fall into) is extensive."

In the expression *ak' vokol* 'exhaust, torment,' the noun *vokol* (which means 'difficulty, pain, suffering') is marked as 'n1d'; that is, it can appear either possessed or unpossessed, and in its possessed form 'only animate occurs,' presumably because only animate things can be tormented.

x-k-ak' vokol.1 I torment (torture) (someone). ('ak' 'give, cause.')

x-k-ak' a-vokol. I exhaust you. (Literally, "I cause your suffering.")

The expression *jok' ch'en* is glossed as 'dig a hole'; *ch'en* 'hole' is shown as type 'n1e.' The fact that it is 'n1' suggests that the word can occur either unpossessed, as in

j-jok' ch'en. I dig a hole.

or in a possessed form, as in

j-jok' x-ch'en-al. I dig a hole for it.

The subcategory 'e' represents the fact that in the friar's examples, the only possessed forms of the word are of type (iii), benefactive possession. (The hole I dig does not *belong* to someone or something but rather is designed for something to be *put into*.)

There are also some nouns marked as 'n1f'. These nouns evidently occur in an unpossessed form (type i) without suffix; but the only possessed form they display, in the dictionary materials, is of type (iii), with a further -VI suffix, and in cases where the 'possessor' is an inanimate thing. For example *uxub* evidently refers to a knot or lump on a tree; but if you want to specify that it is the knot or lump on, say, a particular tree you must seemingly use a type (iii) 'benefactive' possession construction of the form *y-uxub-al te'* 'the tree's knot.'

Of 'n3' type nouns, only the subtypes 'a', 'b,' and 'd' occur in this dictionary. Most of these, the 'n3d's, are ordinary body part words (or other inalienably possessed nouns such as *vayich-il* 'dream' or *k'u'-ul* 'garment'), which seemingly require animate possessors; the full cited form bears the -VI suffix of indefinite possession, a suffix that disappears in the presence of possessive affixes. Only two 'n3a' types nouns have slipped through into the present dictionary, both of them articles of clothing that are ordinarily possessed by their wearers, usually animate, in both cases with the final -VI suffix of the citation form stripped away. Thus *ual* 'rosary' and *vexil* 'trousers' are the unpossessed forms; with possessors these lose their suffixes, to become *y-u* 'his (or its) rosary', or *j-vex* 'my trousers.' The subtype 'n3b' represents part words that may belong to things as well as to humans or animals. Thus, the expression *ta pat-il* is glossed as 'behind' (*pat-il* is 'back'), and the following examples are given:

ta s-pat. Behind it. (Literally, "at its back.")

ta pat-il. Behind (something).

ta j-pat. Behind me. ("At my back.")

The type 'n4' nouns are also inalienably possessed; the only difference between these and nouns of type 'n3' is that the 'n4' nouns appear in the dictionary cited in the possessed-only form, without -VI suffix. Type 'd' nouns logically require animate possessors.

'a'i ta -olonton. treat a matter prudently or diligently.

(Literally, "feel in one's heart," where *-olonton* 'heart' is of type 'n4d'.)

Type 'a' nouns also seem to require animate possessors, though Laughlin's notation suggests that he also anticipates the possibility that a 'benefactive' possessor of type (iii) could occur without an added -VI suffix. One case is *Hotob* 'drill,' shown as 'n4a' and presumably ordinarily possessed by the person who wields it. Type 'b' nouns can also have 'inanimate'

possessors:

'a'i-bey -ik.' Smell (something or someone). (Literally, "sense the smell of—," where -ik' 'smell, scent' is 'n4b'.)

Type 'e' nouns require a -VI suffix before they can accept their obligatory possessive affixes. Thus they represent two different types of construction: one in which only 'benefactive possession' (type iü) is possible, and the other in which a simple possessed form (type ü) itself requires a -VI suffix on an otherwise unpossessable noun stem. In the following two examples, the first is of the former type, and the second of the latter.

s-na-il te'. jail. (Literally, "the house of the stick"; the friar offers the following gloss: "la casa del palo y del cepo." -na 'house,' is shown as 'n4e'— requiring an inanimate benefactive-type possessor.)

'ajil s-k'uk'um-al. Having small (reed-like) feathers. ('aj 'reed,' and k'uk'um, type 'n4e' only because to be possessed at all the stem k'uk'um 'feather,' requires a suffix -al.)

Nouns of type 'n4f' are shown as requiring an inanimate possessor, but with no additional -VI suffix. The restriction to inanimate possessors may be only an artifact of the particular examples the friar happens to give.

x-k-a'i s-vinajeb. I note (it). (Literally, "I perceive its sign, its appearance"; where -a'i is 'perceive,' and -vinajeb is a noun of type 'n4f' meaning 'the means or cause of its appearing,' from the verb vinaj 'appear, be perceivable'.)

Finally, a great number of nouns appear as 'n5,' unpossessable, a label that in this colonial dictionary merely means that, in a given context, the noun does not happen to appear with any possessive affixes.

laj ta taiv. be frostbitten. (Literally, "be finished by the frost," where taiv 'frost' is shown as 'n5'.)

Occasionally the friar's explicit syntactic remarks touch on these possession classes, especially when, in his zeal to reproduce a pedagogically important Catholic concept, he seems to have squeezed the morphological and derivational resources of Tzotzil dry. The following entry appears, under the root ch'u, which includes such notions as 'God,' 'holy,' 'blessing,' 'soul,' and 'luck.' The friar has derived an abstract noun from the adjective ch'uul 'holy':

ch'uulil, n1f. holiness.

The category 'n1f' suggests that the noun can appear both possessed and unpossessed (class 1), but that only an inanimate possessed form occurs (type f). The friar adds the comment: "But they talk this way rarely except when they say that someone is holy and the other responds: k'usi x-ch'uulil? What is holy about him?" The example, which translates literally, "what is his holiness?"—spoken, presumably, of an animate being—suggests that the noun should be listed as 'n1b.' The sentence also shows the relationship between two syntactic roles: the *possessor* of a derived noun, and the *subject*

of an adjectival predicate from which the noun is derived.

It is important to note that "unpossessability" is a *formal* feature of the language, and not strictly a semantic matter. As Laughlin (1975:24) notes, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, a noun's category may change over time, as when the word "bus" became syntactically possessable only after Zinacantecs began to own them. However, there is a mechanism by which formally unpossessable nouns may be associated, obliquely, with a possessor, which is marked by affixes attached, not to the noun itself, but to an adjunct to the noun, the word -u'un 'belonging to, the possession of, for the benefit of.' (-U'un also has a variety of related syntactic functions, as we have seen; for example, it is used to mark an oblique agent in contexts where the verb cannot explicitly record an agent; see section 4.a.4 below.) In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, almost any 'n5' can be effectively possessed in a construction like the following:

ch'abal xa te'tik k-u'un. I no longer have woodlands.
(ch'abal 'there is none'; te'tik 'forest'—an unpossessable n5 noun.)

The noun phrase te'tik k-u'un (where k-u'un is the 1st person singular possessed form of -u'un) means something like 'forest which is mine'; hence the entire sentence means: "there is no longer a forest which belongs to me."

In colonial Tzotzil the word -u'un also apparently has this possessive function. It appears in contexts like the one just mentioned, to associate a possessor with an otherwise unpossessable noun, like 'osil 'time, weather, country.'

mo natuk yilel 'osil k-u'un-tik li' ta balamil. We don't have a long life. (Literally, "our time here in earth is not long," where 'osil k-u'un-tik, with 1st person plural affixes on -u'un, means 'our time'.)

Similarly, colonial Tzotzil, like modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, uses the word -u'un to formulate questions about possessors:

much'uy y-u'un li'e? Whose (is this)? (much'uy 'who'; li'e 'this').

Finally, the dictionary includes several examples of a possessed form of -u'un attached to a verbal noun that *already* bears possessive affixes; as the direct possessor of a noun derived from a transitive verb corresponds to the direct object of the original verb, this second possessor, marked with -u'un, corresponds to the verb's original subject.

mo 'oyuk j-na'el av-u'un. You are not grateful to me.
(mo 'not'; 'oy 'exist'.)

The 1st person form j-na'-el, from the verb na' 'know, remember,' suggests 'remembering of me'; the 2nd person form av-u'un suggests 'by you.' Thus, the whole sentence means: "your remembering of me does not exist."

3.a.2. Possessed Nouns

Noun phrases with possessors display considerable formal complexity in Tzotzil. Where the basic form of a possessed noun phrase is

N(+ possessive affixes) NP(possessor)

it is further possible that the possessor may be possessed noun. For example, in the sentence

'ip y-ila'al s-ba. It is deformed.

the predicate is the adjective **'ip** 'strong, great, extreme.' The subject is a complex possessed noun phrase, consisting of a 3rd person possessed form of **ila'al** 'ugliness,' whose possessor is itself a 3rd person possessed form of **-ba** 'self, face.' Hence, the sentence might be translated literally as "the ugliness of the face of it is extreme."

As we have already seen, possessed nouns in Tzotzil play a number of syntactic roles in the language. Or, put another way, the mechanism of grammatical possession serves a variety of functions besides marking the relationship between an object and its *owner*. For example, Tzotzil often uses the mechanism of possession to mark the arguments of nouns whose meanings are inherently *relational*. What appears formally as the grammatical possessor of a noun often resembles rather more the *direct object* of a verb. This is the case with the noun **-chi'il** 'companion' in sentences such as

mu x-chi'il-uk. (It is) different. (Literally, "(it) is not the companion of it.")

where the counterpart to a relational notion in English like *like* or *the same* is represented with an equivalent of the notion *companion*, and where the grammatical possessor is one of the arguments or terms in the relation. Consider also the sentence

mu s-tojol-uk x-bat. It is wasted.

Literally, this sentence means "It goes (but) not on account of (anything)." The word **tojol**, which appears here in 3rd person possessed form, and in the negative, is derived from the verb **toj** 'pay,' and hence is relational: the account, meaning, cost, or rectitude of something.

Nominalized adjectives, on the other hand, make use of grammatical possessors to mark relations that might otherwise be expressed between an adjectival predicate and its subject. For example, the adjective **ch'uul** in colonial Tzotzil means 'holy'; as we have seen, it produces a derived noun **-ch'uulil** 'holiness,' which is obligatorily possessed. In the sentence

k'usi x-ch'uulil? What is holy about him (literally, "what is his holiness?")

the 3rd person grammatical possessor is the entity of which **ch'ul** is predicated (if only grudgingly, in this example).

We have also seen examples, based on possessed forms of the word **-k'inal** 'day (of or for something),' in which the grammatical possessor of the noun anchors the temporal expression.

mo to s-ta s-k'inal ve'el. It isn't mealtime yet. (Literally, "it does not yet reach the day or moment of the meal.")

Ve'el is the grammatical possessor of **-k'inal**.)

Somewhat more interesting is the sentence

j-k'inal n-i-Hul. I arrive opportunely.

Here the verb means 'I arrived.' The first person possessed form of **k'inal** evidently suggests "at (or in) *my* own (good) time."

Finally, possessed forms of verbal nouns mark as grammatical possessor what would, with a fully inflected verb, be a subject (in the case of an intransitive verb) or a direct object (in the case of a transitive verb).

junjun j-tal-el j-chi'uk Pedro. Peter and I are of the same blood. (Literally, "my coming is one with Peter.")

The word **j-tal-el** is the 1st person possessed form of a noun based on the intransitive verb **tal** 'come'; it means 'my coming,' or 'the fact (or the moment) that I came.' The grammatical possessor corresponds to the subject of a simple sentence in which **tal** might be the verb.

Nominalized transitive verbs ending in the suffix **-el** have a passive flavor; accordingly, their grammatical possessors are logically like transitive *direct objects*. (See section 4.a.5.)

mo x-ch'uun-el-uk dios. unfaithfulness.

What the friar here glosses as a noun is in fact a negative sentence, meaning literally "(It is) not belief in God"; the sentence is based on a possessed, nominalized form of **ch'uun** 'believe (in).' The grammatical possessor of this nominalized verb is **dios** 'God,' in some sense the *logical direct object* of the verb 'believe in.' The semantic relationship between possessor and direct object is even more obvious in the sentence

'ip j-na'-el. I am very famous.

The predicate of this adjectival stative sentence is again **'ip** 'very, great, extreme'; the subject is the 1st person possessed form of a noun derived from the verb **na'** 'know, remember.' Hence, the sentence means, literally, "my knowing (i.e., the knowing of me) is very great."

3.a.3. Possessive Adjuncts to Noun Phrases

The mechanism of grammatical possession also provides colonial Tzotzil with additional syntactic resources for including adjuncts that either complement or go entirely beyond the normal sentential roles of subjects and direct objects. Two important roots, **-tuk** 'alone, self' and **-kotal** 'all,' can supplement almost any noun phrase to indicate its solitariness, uniqueness, or unambiguous identity on the one hand, or its totality on the other. In both cases, the adjunct must bear possessive affixes that correspond to the main noun phrase.

toj kolo'-ot a-tuk. You are worse. (Literally, "you are very evil, yourself.")

mu j-ta Pedro, juteb j-na' j-tuk. I am not as smart as Peter. (Literally, "I do not reach Peter, I know little myself.")

toj s-tuk. He *himself*. (**toj** 'very, completely,' hence 'all by himself'.)

In sentences like **toj kolo'-ot a-tuk**, where the subject of the main predicate, **kolo'** 'evil' is a second person singular pronoun (cross-indexed with the 2nd person absolutive suffix

-ot), the adjunct **a-tuk** "your-self" agrees with the subject which it complements by bearing a second person possessive prefix. **Tuk** emphasizes that a nominal argument is *exactly, only, or prototypically* the person or thing in question, of which some predication is made.

The colonial word **tza**, which embraces a wide range of meanings having to do with thought and cleverness, shares some syntactic properties with **tuk**. As an adjunct to the subject of a verb (and bearing the corresponding possessive prefix) it suggests intention and will (which perhaps misfires). The friar gives **tza** as the translation for **pensar** 'think,' "as when one thought such and such a thing."

x-e-tal ta j-tza-e, mo x-Hu' k-u'un. I thought I would come, but I couldn't. (**tal** 'come,' **Hu'** 'be able,' **-u'un** 'by,' or 'for' (bears 1st person possessive inflection); literally, "I (would) come by my intention, but it wasn't possible for me.")

Similarly, a possessed form of **-kotol** 'all' can appear as an adjunct to a nominal expression.

x-e-'och-otik j-kotol-tik. We all fit. (Literally, "we enter, we all"; **'och** 'enter.')

dios x-ak'-bey s-ve'el s-kotol te k'usitik kuxul x-xanave. God feeds every living creature.

The verb in the second example is **x-ak'-bey** 'he (God) gives it (food) to (someone)'; the indirect object, the recipient of the food is a third person expression, composed of **s-kotol** 'all (of them)' plus a relative clause 'those which walk about alive.' Notice that, in the first example, the first person plural possessive affixes on **kotol** agree with the underlying subject of the verb, which also engenders first person plural absolutive affixes on the verb.

3.b. THE STRUCTURE OF NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS

Many of the entries in this dictionary function as noun phrases, but are themselves complex. A noun phrase is, minimally, a single noun or verbal noun. Some entries in the dictionary contain noun phrases that consist only of a noun with an accompanying definite article, **te** 'the.'

x-k-al te k'in. (I) hold the fiesta. (Literally, "I say the fiesta.")

A noun may also be modified by a variety of other constituents: numerals, adjectives, and passive participial verbal forms.

'ox-vinik k'in. sixty-day period. (**'ox-vinik** 'three twenties, i.e., sixty,' **k'in** 'day.')

castillan pom. incense (literally, "Castillian incense.")

tz'aj-bil vaj. bread soup. (**tz'aj** 'dip, sop, dunk,' **vaj** 'tortilla'; literally, "dunked bread/tortillas.")

In the following example, both adjectival and passive verbal modifiers are present.

'epal tz'albil Hun. quantity of books. (**'ep-al** 'many,' **tz'al** 'lay, stack,' **Hun** 'paper'; literally, "many stacked papers.")

3.b.1. Noun Compounds

The most common way to form a compound noun phrase from simpler nominal constituents involves the mechanisms of possession in ways we have already seen. That is, a noun phrase can have the form

N of NP

where the individual constituents are themselves noun phrases. In a normal construction of this sort, the first N bears possessive affixes which correspond to the second NP. In compounds, however, possessive affixes on the first N constituent remain only as vestiges (in the form of a **y-** prefix on a vowel initial first noun, for example), and the entire compound inflects as a unit.

pix jolol. hat. (**pix** 'covering,' **jolol** 'head.' The friar notes that this expression means, literally, *cobertura de cabeza*. Note that **pix**, a consonant initial noun, requires no explicit possessive prefix in this compound.)

jol na. roof. (**jol** 'head'; **na** 'house.')

y-ut 'okil. sole of the foot. (**'ut** 'inside,' **'okil** 'foot.' Here the vowel-initial **ut** requires a vestigial 3rd person possessive prefix **y-**.)

As we have seen, when the head noun of such a construction is a verbal noun, derived from a transitive verb, the syntactic possessor corresponds to what would be, in a full sentence, the *object* (direct or indirect) of the verb.

y-a'i'-bey-el s-ve'el 'ojov. pregustration.

The grammatical formula for this entry is
nphr:vn4f of nphr(n4d of n5).

The internal constituent **s-ve'el 'ojov** means 'the food of the lord.' The verbal noun is based on the ditransitive form of **-a'i** 'taste, feel,' which might appear in a modern Zinacantec Tzotzil sentence like

ta x-k-a'i-be s-ve'el 'ojov. I will taste the lord's food (for him).

In this nominal form, the entire phrase thus means "the tasting of the lord's food (for him)."

When *N of NP* compounds are *themselves* possessed, different patterns are possible. In compounds of the last type, the possessive affixes attach to the body-part word (which is itself the logical possessor in the compound):

y-ut k-ok. my sole (i.e., the sole of my foot.)

In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, compounds like **jol na** 'roof' follow this same pattern; the logical possessor attaches to the constituent, which is itself the grammatical possessor in the compound; and the explicit possessive prefix on the first part of the compound must reappear. Thus, to say 'my roof' in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil one says

s-jol j-na. ('its roof of my house.')

The friar's transcription is not quite up to such phonological subtleties, and his equivalent entry simply shows **s-jol na**.

Such a pattern is quite correct, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, for compounds like **pix jolol**, which maintain their compound integrity even when themselves possessed. The friar shows

x-pix jol, which corresponds to modern **s-pixel**, as 'his hat.' Here, the original compound origin, of the form

N of N

has been submerged under a newly reinterpreted root. (In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil the indefinitely possessed form is now an integrated stem, **pixalal**, which corresponds to colonial Tzotzil **pix jolol**.)

The constituent parts of compound noun phrases can themselves be complex. In the following example, the second part of a *N of NP* compound is a modified noun phrase.

y-av castillan pom. incense holder. ('av 'place, container.')

Laughlin (1975) distinguishes two further sorts of compound noun phrase, labeled

N type N, and

Natt N.

He writes (1975:27-28):

[w]here the first noun describes the quality or content of the second, as in 'leather bag,' 'baby bird,' the phrase is labelled 'noun type noun.' The third category is...distinguished in Tzotzil by a -VI attributive suffix. It is represented by phrases that, in translation, might be rendered as 'land crab,' 'tree fern,' and 'house boat.' These phrases are labelled 'noun attribute noun.'

Colonial Tzotzil shows the same range of constructional possibilities.

tux-nok' chij. 'sheep. (**tux-nok'** 'cotton'; **chij** 'deer, domestic animal.' This is *N type N*.)

'antz-il tux-nok' chij. ewe. ('antz 'female, woman.')

This last example shows both types of compounding:

nphr:natt & nphr(n/x & ncpd/ type n).

(One might translate the entire expression as "womanly cotton type deer.") Similarly, consider

x-pix jol Hun. dunce's cap (literally, 'paper hat.' Note that the order of *N type N* is reversed from the English equivalent, and that one of the constituents is itself a compound noun phrase of the *N of N* variety.)

3.b.2. Agentive Nouns

There is a subclass of *agentive* compound nouns, which normally denote kinds of people, or roles which people can occupy. In modern Tzotzil, agentive nouns normally have a prefix of the form **j-**, and agentives in the colonial dictionary are represented in the same way. The following pair illustrates the relationship between ordinary nouns and agentives:

'abtel, nld. work, job, (religious) office.

j-'abtel, agn. worker, day laborer, official.

(RML—The **j-** prefix is frequently not found with agentive nouns having an **-om** suffix, as **satin-om**, marksman, or **vayaj-om**, diviner. It never occurs with agentive nouns having a **-vil** suffix, as **ch'uba-vil**, official builder, or **mula-vil**, sinner.)

Many of the same patterns which govern the formation of ordinary nominal compounds, with the addition of the agentive **j-**, also produce a complex agentive expression. In particular,

where a verbal noun denotes some activity, the corresponding agentive denotes a person who devotes him or herself to that activity. Hence,

tza, nle. cleverness.

tzai, tv. plan imagine.

tzaiej, iv. become clever, think.

tzaijel, vnl. clarity, cleverness, invention.

j-tzaijel, agn. inventor, thoughtful person.

Agentives are also formed from nouns modified by adjectives (which are then incorporated into the whole agentive expression). For example,

j-'epal-k'op-on. I am talkative. ('ep 'much,' k'op 'talk.')

In attributive form, 'ep becomes 'epal, and the resulting modified noun assumes an agentive character with the addition of **j-**. This compound agentive in turn receives a first person absolute suffix, to create a nominal sentence: "I am a lots-of-talk person."

Agentives are also commonly based on a transitive verb stem compounded with a noun phrase, itself possibly complex, which functions as the underlying *direct object* of the verb. The friar gives several such examples with the verb 'ak' 'give, cause.'

j-'ak'-vokol. torturer. (Literally, 'giver of suffering.')

j-'ak' 'utzil k'op. mediator. (Literally, "giver of good words.")

j-'ak' xonob chij. horseshoer. (xonob 'sandal, footwear,' chij 'deer, here: horse.')

Evidently, agentives can also be formed by nominalizing reflexive verbs, although the evidence from colonial Tzotzil is somewhat ambiguous. In modern Tzotzil a reflexive verb can be nominalized by incorporating the reflexive noun **ba** 'self,' with an added suffix **-il**, into the verb stem. Hence, from

baj, tv. lock, strike, let /blood/.

and its reflexive

baj ha, rv. flagellate self or pierce self.

one forms

baj-bail, vn. blood-letting.

j-baj-bail, agn. person who has blood let.

Colonial Tzotzil also allows nominalized reflexive verbs, as in the case of

mak naiej bail, seclusion

which derives from **mak** 'close,' and **na** 'house,' through a compound transitive verb **mak-na-i** 'jail, close up in a house,' which, in its reflexive form produces the entry

mak-nai ba, rv: tv(tv & ncpd) & rpn. hide in one's house, seclude oneself, shut oneself up.

The friar does not include an agentive form derived from this reflexive verb (which would presumably mean 'someone who secludes him or herself').

However, consider the friar's entry

j-jok'an-ey j-ba. (I am) trusting (or a trusting person).

The first person **j-** prefix on **j-ba** 'myself' indicates the possessor (as in the case of other reflexive nouns we have met in section 2.b.3), whereas the first **j-** represents either another

1st person possessive prefix or the agentive *j-*. If the expression is an agentive, its syntactic behavior has no parallel in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil; nor do reflexive verbs nominalize in this way in the modern language. Perhaps this expression would be better analyzed not as an agentive noun but as a perfective verbal sentence meaning "I have committed myself."

In both colonial and modern Tzotzil, agentives are also formed from verbal nouns supplemented by qualifying phrases introduced by *ta*.

j-ch'ikvan-ej ta sitz'el. *darn*, sewer. (*ch'ik ta sitz'el*, somewhat opaquely, means 'darn or sew,' and in this case the antipassive suffix *-van* apparently suggests 'darn or sew things for people.' See section 4.a.5.)

j-ch'ak-el ta y-ol, or

j-k'opoj-el ta y-ol. senator or governor. (*ch'ak* 'divide' or, in this case, probably 'elect'; *k'opoj* 'speak,' *-ol* 'community'; hence, "one elected (or who speaks for) his community.")

In the last case, notice that the 3rd person prefix on *y-ol* 'his community,' must evidently refer to the senator himself; that is, it refers back to the head constituent of the agentive phrase (the 'talker'). This fact in turn suggests, although the friar does not give us explicit examples of such expressions in full sentences, that the qualifying phrase is syntactically disjoint, and that absolutive affixes should attach directly to the head constituent. One would expect, that is, a sentence of the form

j-ch'ak-el-on ta k-ol. I am a senator (for my own community).

This is, incidentally, the pattern in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil.

3.b.3. Further Elements in Noun Phrases

Ordinary noun phrases are also composed of simpler nominal constituents—nouns, noun phrases, verbal nouns, or agentive nouns—to which are added other sorts of adjunct: qualifying prepositional phrases, or words like *-u'un*, *-tuk*, etc., which we have already met. Qualifying phrases specify time, place, instrument, material, and so on.

chukvanab ta y-ut lum. *dungeon*. (Literally, "jail in the inside of the earth.")

'ik'al ta j-k'ob. *arthritis*. (Literally, "wind in (my) hand.")

y-ak'-el s-bel na ta Hun. *inventory of possessions*. (*ak'* 'give, put'; *bel* 'contents,' *na* 'house'; *Hun* 'paper'; hence, "putting of the contents of the house on paper.")

This noun phrase has the form: *vn* of *nphr*(*n* of *n*) & *qphr*(*prep* & *n*).

Other adjuncts in compound noun phrases play roles similar to those they play in full sentences. For example, a possessed form of *-u'un* may appear together with a possessed verbal noun, where the possessor on the noun corresponds to a verbal direct object whereas the possessor on *-u'un* corresponds to an agent or transitive subject.

'ep j-na'el av-u'un. You are very grateful to me. ('*ep* 'much,' *na'* 'know, miss, be grateful to'; literally,

"the knowing of me by you is great.")

Still other complex noun phrases combine interrogative words with mechanisms of possession. For example, to ask "whose is this?" Tzotzil speakers must form a possessed noun phrase whose possessor is the interrogative pronoun *much'u(y)* 'who?'

much'uy y-u'un li'e? Whose is this? (Literally, "this is the possession of whom?")

Of a similar sort is the expression

k'u y-epal? How much? (Literally, "what is its amount";

k'u(*si*) 'what'; '*ep* 'many'; the thing whose quantity is questioned appears as the grammatical possessor of *-epal* 'quantity.')

3.b.4. Numeral Expressions

When counting things, colonial Tzotzil, like modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, uses numeral classifiers to form quantifying expressions. That is, a numeral expression takes the form {numeral + classifier} noun

where the classifier specifies aspects of the shape, position, size or form of the enumerated entities.

Occasionally a noun can be counted without a specific classifier, using instead a numeral form that incorporates a generalized classifier (of the underlying form *-Vb* on all numerals except *jun* 'one'), or no classifier at all.

vaxakib k'ak'al. one week. (*vaxakib* 'eight,' *k'ak'al* 'day.')

chib k-olonton. (I am) doubt(ful). (*chib* 'two,' *-olonton* 'heart'; literally, "I have two hearts.") Note that in this example, unlike the others, the Numeral expression (*chib*, 'two,' which includes an unmarked *-(V)b* classifier suffix) acts as a full predicate.

'ox-vinik k'in. period of sixty days. ('*ox* 'three,' *vinik* 'man, i.e., twenty'; hence, 'three twenties.')

Hearts and days apparently come in units that need no further delimiting.

On the other hand, most nominal expressions require an explicit numeral classifier, or one of several possible different classifiers. For example, in counting cattle, colonial Tzotzil, like modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, uses the numeral classifier *kot* (which denotes four-legged objects).

lajun-kot. ten (cattle). (*lajun-* 'ten.')

But, in the expression

cha'-choj vacas x-chabanan ta jun k'ak'al. (The amount of ground that) two yokes of oxen can plow in one day. (*cha'*- 'two,' *-choj* 'bunch, string, yoke (of oxen).')

the *vacas* 'oxen' are enumerated in *groups*, using the special classifier *-choj* (for groups of things attached, as for example bunches of grapes). Clearly the Tzotzil classifier system, then as now, provided a flexible and creative way to emphasize features of the entities being classified, rather than automatically associating a fixed classifier with each sort of denotatum.

An expression of the form *numeral + numeral classifier* shares syntactic properties with both adjectives and noun phrases. As I showed in section 2.a.1, such an expression can be the predicate of a stative sentence; or it can modify (that is, quantify) a substantive in the manner of an adjective or attributive noun. Tzotzil also permits *possessed* forms of numeral expressions, which function as ordinal numbers, and which require a -V1 suffix in addition to possessive affixes.

y-ox-kaj-al na ta chamebal. purgatory. (Literally, "third storey of the place of death": 'ox- 'three,' koj 'level,' na house,' cham 'die,' > chamehal 'place of death.')

In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil one can use the numeral classifier koj 'level' to count, among other things, the floors of a house: 'ox-koj na 'a house of three stories.' A possessed form of such a numeral expression yields an expression that can mean either, 'its third level' or 'all three of its levels.' (Similarly, one can say, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, 'ox-vo' vinik 'three men,' and k-ox-va'al-tik (with 1st person plural possessive affixes) 'the three of us.')

With temporal expressions, ordinal numerals imply past time,

y-ox-ib-al 'u. three months ago.

or duration

y-oxib-al 'u s-pas. It matures in three months. (pas 'do.')

Here, as with other temporal units, 'u 'month' uses the generalized form of the numeral 'three,' 'oxib (where the suffix -ib is a generalized classifier); this form, in turn, is suffixed and possessed to create an ordinal numeral.

3.b.5. Relative Clauses

The most complex noun phrases contain a noun and a modifying sentence, in the form of a relative clause. Many of the friar's glosses in this dictionary are periphrastic attempts in Tzotzil to render, with a relative clause, a single Spanish word. In his examples, the friar resorts to three distinct types of relative clause. The first takes the form

noun + {(te) + sentence}

where the Tzotzil conjunction *te* corresponds to English 'that,' and where the introductory head noun is often *Ha'* 'that, the one that.'

Ha' te mu xa'i k'ope. disobedient person. (Literally, "(That is) the one that doesn't understand words.")

'oy j-k'alal te j-toy j-bae. I have a reason for rebelling. (Literally, "there exists my reason that I rebel.")

s-pasnej te mo ch'uunvan vinike. heathen custom. (Literally, "the practice of a person that does not obey.")

In the last example, the entire expression is of the form *pasnej* of *nphr*

where the head of the possessor *nphr* is *vinik* 'man,' and the relative clause is *te mo xch'uunvan* "that doesn't obey." This is an example of an apparently forced translation that would be suspect, if not impossible, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil,

where one would instead use a relative clause of the third type I mention below, with an interrogative word. That is, one could say, in modern Tzotzil,

s-kostumbre ti much'u mu xch'unvan. The custom of one who doesn't obey.

The conjunction *te* does not always appear, just as, in English, the 'that' of a relative clause can sometimes be omitted.

natil te' pajal ta yol jom. mast. (Literally, "long stick stuck in the middle of a boat.")

Natil te' 'long piece of wood,' in this periphrastic expression, is followed without further preamble, by the clause *pajal ta yol jom* 'planted in the middle of the boat' (from the verb *paj* 'plant').

The friar often translates a single Spanish noun by means of a noun phrase that contains a relative clause of this sort. His gloss for 'foot soldier or pikeman' is

ch'ilom x-xanav ta y-ok. (ch'ilom 'soldier,' xanav 'walk,' 'ok 'leg.')

Clearly, the entire expression means nothing more than "a soldier (who) walks on his legs." It sometimes seems that the missing conjunction *te* has only disappeared as a result of the compiler's desire to represent his Tzotzil translations as less "ad hoc" or better integrated than ordinary Tzotzil usage would have suggested.

The second class of relative clauses is introduced by the conjunction *yo'* 'oy (in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil *yo'o*), 'where, when, in order that.'

s-tz'omol yo' 'oy xHu' ch'akel. court. (Literally, "seat where trial takes place.")

lum yo' 'oy xlok' talel k'ak'al. East. (Literally, "country where the sun rises.")

Some of the friar's entries omit the head noun.

yo' 'oy n-e-ch'i. my homeland. (Literally, "where I grew up.")

The third class of relative clauses, like the second, is related to English "wh-clauses," which are based on an interrogative word.

mo 'oyuk bu Hech kolo'. especially bad or evil. (Literally, "there is nowhere as evil.")

mo 'oyuk bu s-nup. (He is) a sovereign lord. (Literally, "there is nowhere where he has a match.")

mo 'oyuk k'usi tzotz x-a'i. (He is) skillful. (Literally, "there is nothing which he finds difficult.")

Here the interrogative words *bu* 'where, when,' *k'usi* 'what' (and the word *much'u(y)* 'who' also belongs in this group) introduce relative clauses of the form "where S," "which S" (or "who(m) S"), where the interrogative word in the embedded S refers back to the head noun of the entire expression.

Tzotzil provides a further complex mechanism for relating an entire clause to a nominal expression, to form a complex noun phrase. The relational particle 'oy (in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil 'o) refers back to a previously identified nominal entity, marking the action of the current clause as related or dependent,

in a general way, on that entity. (See section 5.) For example, in modern speech, one can say

ta jsa' tak'in, ta jman 'o 'ixim. I am looking for money to buy corn with.

The two parts of this sentence, **ta jsa' tak'in** 'I am looking for money,' and **ta jman 'ixim** 'I will buy corn,' are interrelated by the particle 'o. The particle allows a construction somewhat like an English relative clause: "the money with which I'll buy corn." In the second clause, **ta jman 'o 'ixim**, the 'o marks the place of the otherwise elided *instrument*, **tak'in**. The same sort of device appears to have occurred in colonial Tzotzil, although in a somewhat obscure form.

k'usi achi'il xak'el 'oy? What is your kinship (to him)?

The first clause, **k'usi a-chi'il** (**chi'il** 'companion, relative'), appears to mean 'what is your relationship?' or 'how is he your relative?' The second clause, **x-a-k'el** (**k'el** 'look at'), suggests a translation like "how do you see him (i.e., relate to him)?" The particle 'oy relates the two clauses: 'how do you see him as your relation?'

4. The Verb Phrase

The nucleus of a Tzotzil sentence is the verb. In fact, many Tzotzil sentences consist of nothing more than a verb, which contains tense and aspect markers, and which cross-indexes subjects and direct objects with explicit absolutive and ergative affixes. I have already shown, in section 2.b, how simple transitive and intransitive verbs are formed. There are other constituent parts of a verb phrase that we have not yet met.

4.a. PARTS OF THE VERB PHRASE

4.a.1. Directionals

Occasionally a verb is supplemented by a directional word, ordinarily formed from an intransitive verb of motion with the addition of **-el**. The directional word suggests that the action of the main word involves motion or orientation of the indicated sort: going, coming, ascending, staying, etc.

x-k'aman muy-el ta te'. It is coiling up the tree. (**k'aman** 'coil,' **muy** 'arise,' **te'** tree.)

lum yo' 'oy x-lok' talel k'ak'al. East. (**lum** 'country,' **lok'** 'exit, come out,' **tal** 'come,' **k'ak'al** 'sun'; literally, "land where the sun comes out from.")

The directional **batel**, from **bat** 'go,' means not only 'going' (i.e., in a direction away from the point of speech), but also 'from now on (extending from the point *in time* of speech).' In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil **batel** also means 'sometimes.'

naka tza x-xanav bat-el. He walks for a long time. (**xanav** 'walk.')

Directional words can also be attached to nouns derived from verbal stems.

tz'alal batel. plowed field. (**tz'al** 'plow, furrow.')

jakal talel. foreigner. (**jak** 'be absent, end (in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil),' **jakal** 'distant'; literally, "coming from afar.")

The friar gives examples of a double verb construction in colonial Tzotzil that would, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, be managed by directionals. The colonial examples involve the verb **lut'** 'jump.'

e-lut' i-'och ta 'uk'um. He jumped into the stream. (Literally, "he jumped, he entered the stream.")

e-lut' e-muy ta sba mesa. He jumped onto the table. (Literally, "he jumped he climbed onto the table top.")

In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, using the verb **p'it** 'jump,' one would say, instead,

i-p'it 'ochel ta 'uk'um.

or

i-p'it muyel ta sba mexa.

with normal directionals based on 'och 'enter,' and muy 'rise.'

4.a.2. Tense and Aspect

The verbal aspects that Tzotzil distinguishes formally are associated in ordinary speech with different effective tenses. Incompletive aspect ordinarily corresponds to present or future actions, completive aspect to past, and stative aspect to some perfect tense. In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil there are, in addition, reasonably strict rules governing the sequence of aspects in related clauses, or their concurrence with negative, imperative or causative forms. Unfortunately, the friar's transcriptions do not permit careful analysis of the corresponding phenomena in colonial Tzotzil. To be sure one would need exact transcriptions of the aspectual prefixes, whereas I have the impression that in many examples in the dictionary, the friar's attention was concentrated more on his informants' words than on their consonants.

For example, in the sentence

x-i-bat ta 'ak'in. I am going to weed.

the unmarked or neutral aspect of the verb (marked by the prefix **x-**) would be impossible in modern Tzotzil, where one would have to use an explicit incompletive form: **ch-i-bat** or **ta x-i-bat**.

Because the colonial examples consistently omit the **ta** prefix of the incompletive aspect, it is possible that the unmarked aspect had a wider range of uses in colonial Tzotzil than in the modern language. (It may also be that **x-** was, in fact, an incompletive aspect marker in colonial times, and that the explicit **ta** prefix in modern Tzotzil is a recent development, perhaps from an aspectual particle.)

j-bik'tajes j-ba x-e-k'opoj. I am speaking modestly.

(**bik'tajes** 'make small'; **k'opoj** 'speak'; literally, "I make myself small (as) I talk.")

In the last example, as in many in the dictionary, both verbs appear in unmarked neutral aspect, where from the gloss, one would expect incompletive aspect with **ta** in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil.

In Tzotzil the clitic 'ox denotes a time *other than the moment of speech*. Usually, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, this means a time in the past. Combined with a stative predicate, 'ox suggests a past state that no longer continues.

'ay-on 'ox ta kol-el, x-e-nipaj. I was recovering and had a relapse. ('ay is, according to the friar, "conjugated like an adjective," and means 'be, go'; kol 'recover,' nipaj 'fall ill.')

Here the neutral aspect of the verb x-e-nipaj 'I fall sick' would be unlikely in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, where one would expect a completive form.

Completive aspect focuses on the completion of an action, and hence ordinarily translates into English as a past action.

n-e-'elk'an-at, e-laj s-bel j-na. I was robbed completely. ('elk'an 'rob,' laj 'finish,' bel 'contents,' na 'house.')

The main verb is a passive form of the transitive verb 'elk'an. The sentence thus means "I had my things robbed; the contents of my house were completely finished." (One would expect, following modern Tzotzil, a passive ditransitive form like n-e-'elk'an-b-at 'I had something stolen from me,' with the benefactive suffix -b-.)

The colonial examples use stative verb forms to express a continuous state, regardless of whether the state is in the past

k-atin-ej j-ba ta ch'ich'. I was bloodied. (Literally, "I had washed myself in blood.")

or in a timeless present

y-elan-ej s-ba s-ti' lok'ebal s-na xchi'uk s-na X. His house faces X's. (Literally, "the entrance to his house has faced itself with the house of X.")

Although, in modern dialects of Tzotzil, neutral aspect is common in present and future negative sentences, as well as in negative imperatives, the friar's examples are again somewhat suspect.

mo j-k'opon j-ba, j-ch'uun mo 'oy-uk x-k-il. I am not speaking with him; I act as if I don't even see him.

In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, both negative verbs in this sentence would be, as these are, in unmarked neutral aspect: mu j-k'opon j-ba j-chi'uk 'I am not speaking with him'; and mu 'oy-uk x-k-il 'I do not even see him.' But the neutral aspect on j-ch'uun 'I act as if, I pretend' would be replaced by the incompleted aspect: ta j-ch'uun.

In fact, the friar explicitly includes the incompleted aspect marker ta in very few expressions.

mu to ta x'ech'. It is indigestible. ('ech' 'pass'; literally, "it does not pass yet.")

By contrast, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, it is precisely in negative contexts like this one that unmarked neutral aspect is most likely to appear; indeed, the friar, himself, in an alternate gloss for 'indigestible,' gives unmarked aspect:

mu to x-yal x-ch'ut. (yal 'descend,' ch'ut 'stomach'; literally, "its stomach does not yet go down.")

Explicit incompleted aspect does appear, in a way that exactly parallels modern syntax, in the following example. The friar says "When one sees a bird or something, the other will

say, I am looking, but I don't see it":

ta j-k'ele-ey, mu x-k'elav. (k'el 'look [transitive],' k'elav 'see something [intransitive].')

ta j-k'el-ey, mu s-ta j-sat. (ta 'reach, find,' sat 'eye'; literally, "I am looking but it doesn't reach my eyes.")

Notice that in these examples, too, the negative verb receives neutral aspect.

4.a.3. Subjunctives

Subjunctive inflection appears, with transitive verbs, as the absence of explicit aspect markers, sometimes with an additional suffix -uk attached to the verb. On intransitive verbs, subjunctive inflection uses either an additional suffix -ik- or -uk, or a portmanteau suffix that combines, in a single form, both subjunctive and 2nd person absolutive affixes.

Table of Subjunctive Forms

Transitive	Intransitive
j-pas 'I do'	'abtej-k-on 'I work'
a-pas 'you do'	'abtej-an
	'abtej-k-ot 'you work'
s-pas 'he/she does'	'abtej-uk 'he/she works'
j-pas-tik 'we do'	'abtej-k-otik 'we work'
a-pas-ik 'you all do'	'abtej-an-ik
	'abtej-k-oxuk 'you all work'
s-pas-ik 'they do'	'abtej-uk-(ik) 'they work'

4.a.3(i) Auxiliaries

Subjunctive forms are required with verbs that contain auxiliaries. Most auxiliary verbs are themselves derived from intransitive verbs of motion. They add a sense of motion (or its lack) to the action of the main verb: go (or come, or descend, or stay, or begin) *in order to* do something. However, most of the colonial examples have the auxiliary laj, which in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil means simply 'finish,' but which here seems to imply 'do completely, thoroughly, or many times.'

mu x-laj 'och-uk-otik. We can't fit. ('och 'enter'; literally, "we do not finish entering.")

mu x-laj k-a'i. I did not understand it very well. ('a'i 'hear, understand.')

e-laj x-xen. He stabbed him many times.

In these examples, the transitive main verb appears with only ergative and absolutive affixes, and the aspect marker is attached to the auxiliary itself. The form 'och-uk-otik is composed of the verb stem, plus the subjunctive suffix -uk-, plus a 1st person plural absolutive suffix.

Another common auxiliary verb is tal 'come.'

Ha' te mo 'oyuk stojol k'op x-tal y-al-bey-one. He does not come to me with polite speech. (Literally, "It is the case that it is without polite speech that he comes to talk to me.")

The main verb here is **x-tal y-al-bey-on** 'he comes to say it to me,' which may be analyzed as follows:

x- tal y- al -bey -on
NEUT 'come' 3erg 'say' BENefactive 1sg person abs.
Again, the auxiliary bears the aspect marker, and the main verb carries only the markers for agent and direct object.

Colonial Tzotzil presents other double verb constructions where the first verb receives full inflection, and the second the reduced inflection (without explicit tense/aspect markers) of the subjunctive. (See section 5.)

j-yokin j-ch'ay. I discard it.

x-a-yokin a-ch'ay. You discard it.

s-yokin x-ch'ay. He discards it. (yokin 'hurl, scatter, toss out,' ch'ay 'lose'; literally, "you throw it out (in order to) lose it.")

Both stems are transitive, but only the first is marked for aspect (and given the compiler's penchant for omitting incomplete aspect markers, this is only evident in the second person form). The friar was aware of this interesting construction, for he says: "All these verbs are conjugated this way, with the first (conjugated) by tense and mood [i.e., aspect—JBH], and the second only like an adjective regardless of tense [i.e., with only person markers—JBH]. I say 'the first verb' because in each there are two."

4.a.3(ii) Imperatives

The normal imperative for **tal** is the irregular **la** 'come!' and this same form appears in imperative sentences in which **tal** is the underlying auxiliary; the colonial examples are first person imperatives, "Let's (do such and such)!":

la' j-lok' j-bat-ik! Come, let's cast lots!

la' j-mak-tik! Come (let's) fix it!

In both imperative and non-imperative contexts, the auxiliary **bat** 'go' is sometimes reduced, in both modern Zinacantec Tzotzil and in colonial Tzotzil, to **ba**.

ba k-a'i-tik 'ixim! Let's (go) enjoy corn (i.e., drink corn liquor)!

Giving orders is a frequent context in which subjunctive verb forms must appear. Ordinary second person imperatives require specialized verbal suffixes: **-o** for transitive imperatives, and **-an** (the ordinary portmanteaux suffix for second person absolutive subjunctive) for intransitives.

bet'an-be-o a-k'ob! Give him a fig! (bet'an 'press,' k'ob 'hand'; literally, "press your hand to him" (i.e., press your thumb between your fingers, in a gesture directed at him).)

'abolaj-an k-u'un! Take pity on me! ('abolaj 'be merciful, have pity,' -u'un 'on behalf of'; literally, 'have pity on my behalf.')

Plural transitive imperatives, especially with reflexive verbs, often appear to have no explicit suffixes whatsoever.

p'ev abaik! Move aside! (p'ev -ba 'step aside.')

k'up av-ik' yu'un xk'uxul! Hold your breath for the

pain! (k'up 'cut,' ik' 'breath, wind.')

One imperative form which, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, occurs only rarely and has an archaic flavor, seems to have been more productive in colonial Tzotzil. Superficially, the construction combines a verb root with a subjunctive form of **laj** 'finish.' In modern Zinacantec speech, one of the few examples of this form is the especially polite response of elderly people to a leave-taking. The person departing bows and says **ch-i-bat** "I am going." The elder person touches the forehead of the interlocutor, saying

bat-laj-an kik! Go, perhaps! (bat 'go,' kik 'perhaps.')

(The ordinary way to say this, a regular imperative of **bat**, is simply **bat-an**.) If the suffix is, indeed, a form of **laj** 'finish,' it can still combine with the full verb **laj**, as

laj-laj-uk ba'yuk! Let it finish first! (ba'y[i] 'first.')

Several seemingly related subjunctive forms appear in the colonial dictionary, under the entry for **mientras** 'while.'

malayvan-an bat-laj-uk-on ta j-na! Wait here while I go home!

(malayvan 'wait,' bat 'go,' na 'house.')

li'-uk-ot to-e, bat-laj-uk-on ta j-na! (Stay) here, while I go home! (li' 'here.')

Here again, as in the modern examples, the verb **bat-laj-uk-on** consists of the main verb root, **bat** 'go,' combined with the stem **laj**, a subjunctive **-uk**, and an absolutive suffix: in this case the first person **-on**. The translations of these colonial examples suggest that the formative **laj** has aspectual meaning: let something finish first (so that something else may happen).

One peculiarity of verbs of eating in modern Tzotzil is that, although they are transitive, they permit second person imperatives with the *intransitive* form **-an**, both in a general meaning ("Eat! Drink!" without specifying *what* to eat or drink), and when an explicit direct object is present. One would expect instead a transitive imperative form (in **-o**). For example, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil one says both:

Ve'-an! Eat! Have a meal!

ve'-an me vaj! Please eat a tortilla! (ve' 'eat (tortillas, bread),' me 'polite desiderative particle,' vaj 'tortilla.')

In the second case, since there is an explicit direct object (**vaj**), and the verb is transitive, one would expect

***ve'-o vaj!**

Such a form is incorrect in modern speech. Eating verbs in colonial Tzotzil seem to behave the same way. For example, the root **jech'** produces both a transitive stem (**jech'** 'bite') and an intransitive stem (**jech'olaj** 'eat a cold or miserable meal'). But both verbs take an imperative in **-an**. Says the friar:

He who invites another to eat says out of humility:

"jech'-an jech'olaj-an!" "Eat a miserable or cold meal!"

Similarly, the dictionary contains the example

lo'an, x-a-laanej yu'un! Eat it! It will refresh you. (lo' 'eat (fruits).')

In both cases, although no explicit nominal direct object

appears, the translations suggest that the verbs are used transitively with an implicit (understood) nominal direct object. In any case, no case of an transitive imperative suffix *-o* appears with eating verbs in the colonial material, although all the stems except *ve'* are exclusively transitive in other moods. (See section 4.a.4.)

In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil only positive imperatives use subjunctive suffixes; negative imperatives instead require neutral aspect. For example, one says

mu me x-a-pas! Please don't do it! (*me* 'desiderative particle'; *pas* 'do.')

However, the friar gives the same example with what appears to be a subjunctive (though not imperative) form of the transitive verb:

mo me a-pas! Please don't do it!

Similarly, where in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil one would expect neutral aspect, *x-a-k'opoj*, the friar gives a subjunctive form in the following negative imperative of an intransitive verb:

mu lomlomtik k'opoj-an! Don't speak abusively! (*lomlom* 'pitted, sunken,' *k'opoj* 'speak.')

The meaning of subjunctive inflection includes desire, intention, and purpose. The suffixes can therefore be attached not only to verbs but to other constituents to convey the full semantic force of an imperative.

tzotz-uk moch-o! Knot it tightly! (*tzotz* 'hard, tight,' *moch* 'tie knot.')

The adjective *tzotz* receives subjunctive inflection, in addition to the imperative suffix on the verb, suggesting a translation like: "knot it, and let it be tight!"

Similarly, subjunctive inflection can be used to create third person, and indirect imperatives,

tamtam-uk dios ta av-olonton! Remember God frequently! (*tam* 'arise,' *olonton* 'heart'; literally, "Let God rise repeatedly in your heart.")

tzatzub-uk a-k'ulej, muk'ub-uk a-naklej! Stay in town! (*tzatzub* 'be strong,' *k'ulej* 'residence,' *muk'ub* 'increase,' *naklej* 'dwelling'; literally, "May your residence be strong, your dwelling increase!")

In the following example, the second verb is marked with second person subjunctive inflection, which corresponds to the syntactic direct object of the verb. The first verb is an explicit second person imperative.

lo'-an li'e, Ha' sikubes-an! Eat this, it will refresh you! (*lo'* 'eat (e.g., fruits),' *sikubes* 'cool (something).')

A more literal translation would be: "Eat this; let yourself be refreshed (cooled) by it." Compare the following alternate example, given by the friar, with no subjunctive inflection in the second clause.

lo'an li'e, x-a-sikub y-u'un! Eat this, it will refresh you! (Literally, "...you will be cooled by it.")

From the adjective *sik* 'cold,' Tzotzil forms an intransitive verb *sikub* 'become cold,' and a transitive verb *sik-ub-es* 'cool (something).'

Indirect imperatives can also involve a nominal or adjectival constituent, with subjunctive inflection, in a construction that seems to mean: 'Let it be X that does such and such.' For example, the dictionary contains the example

dios-uk tzatzubes-ot! May God give you good health! (*dios* 'God,' *tzatzubes* 'strengthen'; literally, "May God strengthen you." The fact that there is no ergative prefix on the verb (one would expect *s-*) may be simply a phonological mistranscription.)

yan-yan-uk! (Put it) somewhere else! (*yan* 'other.')

Subjunctive inflection, similarly, may occur on a verb which is the direct object of a verb of commanding.

e-k-al-bey te 'utz-uk s-k'ele. I told him to look (and look well). (*al* 'say, tell,' *utz* 'well,' *k'el* 'look.')

Third person imperatives (which would, in English, be translated "let so and so happen...") often combine a form of the verb '*ak*' 'give, let, cause' with a further clause whose predicate bears subjunctive inflection.

'ak'-o 'ech'-uk ya! May the suffering pass! ('*ech*' 'pass,' *ya* 'adversity, suffering'; literally, "Cause that the suffering should pass.")

'ak'-o y-ich' s-tojol av-u'un! Give it temper! ('*ich*' 'receive,' *tojol* 'payment, hardening'; literally, 'may it receive temper by you.')

4.a.3(iii) Causatives

Some causative constructions in Tzotzil involve verbal morphology alone. Generally, when an intransitive verb stem denotes some change of state, it is possible to form a causative transitive stem by adding *-es* to the intransitive stem. For example, from the intransitive verb *yaij* 'be anguished by sickness or loss,' (in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil *yayij* 'be wounded or injured'), the causative transitive verb *yaijes* is formed.

Ho'otik e-j-yaijes-tik k-ajval-tik. It was we who tormented our Lord.

When there is no direct causative form of a verb and a periphrastic expression is required, however, Tzotzil uses a subjunctive construction to express a causative. Here, two clauses are linked; the main clause contains a verb of causing, usually '*ak*'. The syntactic direct object of '*ak*' is a second clause that denotes the result.

x-k-ak' 'oy-uk. I let it be. (Literally, "I give that it should exist.")

mu x-ak' k'opoj-uk-on. He won't let me speak. (Literally, "he won't allow that I should speak." Note the subjunctive affix *-uk* that follows the verb *k'opoj* 'speak,' and precedes the first person absolutive suffix *-on*.)

mu x-k-ak' pas-uk. I won't let him do it.

In the last example, where the verb of the embedded clause, *pas* 'do,' is transitive, modern Zinacantec Tzotzil would require a different subjunctive form, which included at least

an ergative prefix *s-*, whether or not the subjunctive suffix was also present. For example, one says in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil

ch-k-ak' av-il li k'in e. I will show you (i.e., let you see) the fiesta. ('il 'see,' k'in 'fiesta.')

There are also productive examples, in modern Tzotzil, in which the second verb in such a construction involves a transitive stem in a semi-passive or 'middle voice' use. For example, one says

I-y-ak' 'il-uk li balamile. He showed the land.

But such an example means something slightly different from the friar's sentences in that the embedded clause is truly agentless: it means 'I let the land be seen' (for example, when there was some possibility that I might *not* allow access to it). It cannot mean 'I let *him* see the land.'

The main verb, the verb of causing, can itself be in imperative, in the subjunctive.

'utz-uk 'ak'-o s-tz'ak s-ba av-u'un! See that they are well joined! ('utz 'well,' tz'ak ba 'join [reflexive]'; literally, "let it be good, you make it join itself, by you.")

4.a.3(iv) Subjunctive and Negative

In both colonial and modern Tzotzil there is a close morphological connection between subjunctive and negative inflection. Negated predicates bear suffixes which are identical to those on subjunctive forms, as in the case of *sob* in the following sentence.

mo sob-uk x-laj. (It is) long-lasting. (*sob* 'early,' *laj* 'finish'; literally, "not early does it come to an end.")

Sometimes, in the friar's examples, *only* the presence of subjunctive inflection shows the negative sense of an expression.

Ho'-ot-uk, a-tot-uk. neither you nor your father. (Ho'ot 'you,' tot 'father.')

4.a.3(v) Conditionals

The colonial examples suggest a connection between this similarity of subjunctive and negative morphology, and the frequent use of subjunctive inflection to mark *contrary to fact conditionals*. (Perhaps a literal reading for the previous example should be: 'as if it were you, as if it were your father'—implying that it is neither.) Clausal complements to the verb 'a'k (probably derived from 'a'i 'think' plus -uk), which means 'think (mistakenly),' always take subjunctive inflection, presumably because the events they describe *did not actually take place*.

x-k-a'k x-a-Hul-uk voljeye, mu n-a-Hul. I thought you would come yesterday (but you didn't come). (Hul 'arrive here,' voljey 'yesterday.')

x-k-a'k n-a-Hul-uk voljeye. I thought (mistakenly) you came yesterday.

(This pair of sentences is one of the few in which the friar records a difference in aspect which is significantly translated. The first sentence has neutral aspect (in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil it would be incomplete), for the translation 'you would come,' whereas the second has completive aspect, with the translation 'you had come.')

Subjunctive inflection alone seems to imply a hypothetical but unrealized (or unrealizable) situation.

chak-uk Ha'-uk juez. (It is) as if he were a judge (but he isn't). (chak 'as if,' Ha' 'it is the case that,' juez judge.)

Ordinary positive conditional sentences do not require subjunctive inflection on the if-clause:

'a ma ti x-a-bat, x-e-bat 'ekuk. If you go, I'll go too. ('a ma ti 'if,' 'ek 'also.')

This example shows the form of ordinary conditional sentences, in which the if-clause is bracketed by the introductory conjunction and a phrase final suffix -e, before the then-clause. The conditional clause may also be in the negative indicative.

'a ma ti te mu x-a-tal-e, x-i-bat. If you don't come, I will go.

(This example includes an explicit conjunction *te* 'that' after the 'a ma ti 'if.')

However, when speakers speculate about an unrealized hypothetical condition (a different completive or past outcome, for example), subjunctive inflection is required.

'a ma ti te n-a-bat-uk-e, x-i-bat 'ek-uk tok. If you went, I would go too.

Notice that the verb in the conditional clause, *n-a-bat-uk* 'you would have gone,' is in completive aspect, with a second person absolutive -a-, and a final subjunctive -uk; whereas, the verb in the then-clause is simply first person indicative, in neutral aspect: *x-i-bat* 'I go.' Sentences where the condition is contrafactual always have subjunctive if-clauses.

maxa 'oy-uk-ot, pisil x-pas-ey te k'in-e. The fiesta will be celebrated without you. (Literally, "even if you should not be there, all the same the fiesta will be held.")

mu k'usi x-Hu' av-u'un-ik te manchuk-on-e. You can't do anything without me. (Hu' 'able,' te 'if'; literally, "Nothing is possible by you, if it were not for me." Manchuk 'were it not,' seems to include a built-in subjunctive -uk.)

Ha'-uk manchuk-ote. If it weren't for you...

The last phrase implies: 'if it were the case that you did not exist... (but you *do* exist).' In the friar's peculiar terminology, subjunctive forms like 'oy-uk-on 'if I were,' 'oy-uk-ot 'if you were,' etc., are called "imperfect."

4.a.3(vi) Approximations

Finally, subjunctive inflection appears, in both colonial and modern Tzotzil, with quantifying expressions, to suggest

'about so much,' and with interrogative words to form indefinite expressions parallel to the English 'whenever, wherever, whoever....'

jun 'u-uk n-e-x-ch'ak-bey. He gave me (about) a month's sentence. (jun 'one,' 'u 'month,' ch'ak 'divide.')

buytik-uk 'ep ta j-mek x-tuun. (It is) handy. (tuun 'serve,' buy-tik 'where [plural],' 'ep 'a lot,' ta j-mek 'very'; literally, "it is very useful wherever.")

4.a.4. Voice and Verbal Arguments

As we have seen, the strict division between transitive and intransitive morphology in Tzotzil, and the mapping of different roots onto transitive and intransitive stems, occasionally complicates the dictionary compiler's attempts to gloss Spanish expressions in a natural way in Tzotzil. In particular, transitive verbs in colonial Spanish often appear in the friar's Tzotzil glosses as intransitive or 'middle' verbs. Accordingly, the expressions require some oblique mechanism to represent agents, and occasionally instruments or even objects.

Many Tzotzil verbal roots can, in fact, be conjugated as either transitive or intransitive stems. The common pattern is for a single root to produce both a transitive stem (that means 'act on something in some way'), and an intransitive 'middle verb' stem (which means 'be acted upon in some way'). This is the pattern with a root like **mak** 'close,' which shows entries

mak, tv. assault, cover, etc. (In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil it means 'close.')

mak, iv. be constipated, become less ill, stop (bleeding). (In modern Tzotzil it means 'close, be closed'—a prototypical 'middle verb.')

The relationship between the two forms is clear in sentences like the following.

ta j-mak li nae. I will shut the house. (**mak** is transitive, with a 1st person agent; the *direct object* is na 'house.')

ta x-mak li nae. The house will (be) shut (for example, by a gust of wind, or by legal authorities). (**mak** is intransitive, and the *subject* is na.)

The direct object of the transitive verb parallels the subject of the intransitive middle verb. In both cases, what remains constant is the logical patient: the entity *acted upon*. The middle verb obviously gives less emphasis to the agent, or to the will, intention, or effectiveness of the agent.

Not all verbs work this way in Tzotzil, however. First there is a large class of verbs that display what one might call a *higher degree* of transitivity. They produce only transitive stems, which can also occur in passive voice (see section 4.a.5.) or with reflexive forms. The root **maj** 'hit' is an example; it seems to *require* an agent, and thus does not occur as a middle verb, although both reflexives and passive uses are possible.

maj, tv. shatter with blows, whip, wound.

maj ba, rv. come to blows.

majey, tv/pass/. take an airing, be sentenced to corporal punishment, etc.

There are also a few verbal roots that produce both transitive and intransitive stems, which, nonetheless, do not stand in a transitive/middle verb relationship. A good example is **ve** 'eat,' as illustrated in the following modern Tzotzil sentences:

ta j-ve' vaj ta sob. I eat tortillas in the morning. (vaj 'tortillas,' sob 'early'; the verb is transitive, with 1st person ergative inflection.)

ch-i-ve' ta sob. I eat in the morning. (The verb is intransitive, with a 1st person subject.)

Here the argument held constant is the transitive agent (the eater) and the intransitive subject (also the eater). The intransitive verb merely fails to mention (or generalizes) the direct object of the action (in this case, the food).

Where the lexical resources of Tzotzil do not present an appropriate verbal voice to translate a Spanish transitive, or where Tzotzil usage confounds the friar's desire for exact translation of both content and perspective, what mechanisms exist for, say, encoding an agent where an intransitive verb has no syntactic slot to accommodate it? We have met two common devices already. An intransitive, middle verb, whose subject is a logical *patient* may be accompanied by an adjunct that obliquely records the agent, either as the syntactic possessor of the word **-u'un** 'by means of, on behalf of,' or as part of a qualifying prepositional phrase with **ta**, the all-purpose Tzotzil preposition that means 'in, on, at, by, for, to,' etc.

x-'ap' 'abtel k-u'un. I will ease up on the work. (*'ap' is apparently an intransitive verb meaning 'be unoccupied, stop'; 'abtel 'work'; the sentence thus means, literally, "the work will be eased by me.")

e-tz'ot ta chon. He was poisoned by snakebite. (Tz'ot as a transitive stem means 'turn, twist'; here it is a middle intransitive verb, presumably 'twist, be twisted.' Chon is 'snake.' Hence, literally, "he twisted (shriveled, contorted?) from a snake.")

Indicating an agent obliquely with an **-u'un** adjunct brings additional semantic nuances to Tzotzil expression. In the first place, **-u'un** suggests *ability* or *possibility*.

'utz x-a-kol y-u'un. You can be cured (by it). (kol 'recover, be cured,' 'utz 'good, well.')

The friar offers this example as an equivalent to *sanable* 'curable.' Whereas the normal Tzotzil word for 'recover (from an illness)' is the intransitive **kol**, the notion of *possibility* is incorporated by including an agent with **-u'un**: 'you can recover well as a result of it.'

Secondly, showing an agent with an oblique **-u'un** clause allows the logical direct object to assume a more prominent role, as the syntactic subject of the (intransitive) verb. Often such a syntactic subject can be moved, from its normal position after the verb, to the very front of a sentence.

s-kotoI x-Hu' y-u'un. (He is) all powerful. (kotoI 'all,' Hu' 'can, be able.')

The sentence means, literally, "Everything is possible for him," and the emphasis is on the 'everything,' which occupies the front position.

Finally, demoting an agent from transitive subject position to an indirect syntactic role may suggest that the action described is unintentional or accidental, or that it does not have the full cooperation of the logical agent.

naka 'altik x-ch'ay jun k'ak'al k-u'un. I am spending a whole day in vain. ('altik 'uselessly,' ch'ay 'lose, be lost,' jun 'one,' k'ak'al 'day': literally, "uselessly one day is lost by me.")

Logical direct objects can also be demoted to an oblique position in Tzotzil, partly as the result of slightly different partitioning of direct objects and indirect objects in the syntax of Tzotzil verbs from that of English or Spanish. For example, verbs of giving in English normally have the object given as the direct object of a verb, with the person receiving the gift acting as an indirect object. The Tzotzil verb -ak' 'give' also functions in this way. However, a few colonial verbs seem to have behaved in a different way, in particular verbs derived from the root *moton* 'gift.'

j-matanijes Pedro ta capa. I am favoring Pedro with my cape.

Pedro is the syntactic direct object of the transitive *matanijes*, and the object given, the *capa*, appears in a prepositional phrase with *ta*. From the point of view of English (or Spanish) syntax, the following example shows the same sort of peculiar oblique direct object.

ta j-chanantas ta be. (I) show (someone) the way. (chanantas 'teach,' be 'road, path.')

Presumably the syntactic direct object is the *person* to whom I show or teach the way, and *the way* itself appears only as the object of the preposition *ta*.

The friar comments explicitly on this sort of direct object perspective in the case of

x-e-ch'uiv ta dios. I pray to God.

The verb is intransitive, and *God* is only an obliquely represented object. The author remarks: "There is no active form, as to say 'I pray to God' they have to say 'in God or with God.'"

Reflexive verbs, whose syntactic direct object positions are occupied by a reflexive pronominal form, also require a *ta* phrase to represent a logical direct object.

ta j-pas j-ba ta av-olon. I submit to you. (pas 'do,' -olon 'underneath'; literally, "I make myself into your underling.")

e-sk'ex s-ba ta 'abtel. He won the job. (k'ex 'change,' 'abtel 'work'; literally, "he exchanged himself in the work.")

As a last example of this change of perspective, consider

e-j-tij ton ta j-jol. I bumped my head on a rock. (tij 'bump,' ton 'rock,' jol 'head.')

The Tzotzil would have it, apparently, that "I hit the rock on my head." This perspective contrasts with that of

j-p'osi k-ok ta ton. I will trip over a stone. (p'osi seems

to mean 'cut, slice, chop,' or perhaps 'cross'; 'ok 'leg.')

in which *ta ton* 'on the stone' marks an inanimate agent or cause (or perhaps merely a location).

In fact, if the position of transitive agent is prototypically appropriate for animate, conscious, voluntary agents, it is not surprising that Tzotzil uses oblique *ta*-phrases to indicate inanimate agents or instruments which can ordinarily not be considered to *act* consciously or voluntarily.

x-e-yakub ta chi'. I am drunk with wine. (yakub 'be drunk,' chi' 'sweet, i.e., fermented, drink.')

e-yanij ta s-ku'. (He is) with disguised clothes. (yanij 'alter, be different,' k'u' 'clothes.')

Ta adjuncts have one final major function in these colonial examples. When the object of *ta* is a verbal noun, the phrase often denotes an activity.

ch'aniel-on ta tze'ej. I have stopped laughing. (ch'ani 'cease, be silent,' tze'- root for 'laugh'; literally, "I am being silent from laughing.")

The same construction seems possible with nouns that, though not derived from verbal roots, imply a specific sort of activity.

x-a-s-nak' ta k'op. He is speaking against you. (nak' 'store, enclose,' k'op 'speech'; literally, "he is closing you in speech"—presumably a reference to formal denunciation in court.)

x-i-bat ta petz'. I am going hunting with a deadfall. (petz' 'deadfall.')

Complex verbal nouns are possible, which in turn allow logical direct objects, deriving from the full verbal ancestor of the head noun.

j-nop Pedro ta s-tzamesel j-vinik. I suspect Pedro of killing my man. (nop 'think, suspect,' tzames 'kill,' vinik 'man.')

taki-bil ta x-ch'ayel 'abtel. (He is) excused from work. (taki 'excuse, exempt, command,' ch'ay 'lose'; literally, "He is commanded in the losing of work.")

Although the device is somewhat less frequent in colonial Tzotzil than in modern dialects, additional oblique verbal arguments can often be incorporated into a verb phrase by means of the word -chi'uk 'with,' which is inflected like a possessed noun. Often when a verb has no remaining place to accommodate a *direct object* constituent, a logical object can be represented as the grammatical *possessor* of -chi'uk.

j-k'opon j-ba j-chi'uk j-tot. I am consulting (with) my father. (k'opon 'speak to,' tot 'father.')

Here the verb is reflexive and thus the ordinary grammatical direct object position is occupied by the reflexive pronoun *j-ba* 'myself.' The sentence thus means, literally, "I am speaking to myself with my father." Logical 'direct objects' can also occur with nominal or adjectival sentences that have no explicit verb at all.

junjun j-talel j-chi'uk Pedro. Peter and I are of the same blood. (junjun 'just one,' talel 'lineage' (from tal 'come'); literally, "my coming is one with Pedro.")

4.a.5. Passive and Anti-passive Constructions

The form **taki-bil** 'excused' above illustrates a set of passive forms that we have not yet met. Both transitive and ditransitive verbs, in all aspects, produce passive forms, in which the original transitive direct object becomes an intransitive subject (which generates absolutive affixes on the passivized verb), and in which the agent, if explicitly present at all, is represented by an oblique construction with **-u'un** or **ta**.

The passive form of a verb varies with aspect. The simplest forms are in the stative aspect, where the stem combines with **-bil**, to produce an adjective or participle-like form that inflects with absolutive suffixes.

'at-bil-on ta a-tojol. I am your partner. ('at 'count,' tojol 'account, behalf'; literally, "I am counted on your account.")

'a'i-bil k-u'un. I am experienced. ('a'i 'understand, feel'; literally, "it is understood by me." This is another example of the reversed perspective between the Tzotzil expression and the friar's gloss.)

These **-bil** forms also commonly function in embedded or subordinate clauses, where only some of their verbal attributes remain.

likes-bil 'ox k'op i-j-ta. I found that the dispute had already started. (likes 'start, begin,' 'ox 'already, by then,' k'op 'dispute,' ta 'find, encounter.')

Here both verbs in the sentence focus on the same direct object constituent, **k'op** 'dispute.' The main verb, **i-j-ta** tells us that 'I found the dispute,' which was, according to the passive verb, 'already begun.'

Ditransitive verbs, which incorporate both a third person direct object and an indirect object, also form a stative passive with the same suffix **-bil**. Consider what must happen to the various arguments of a ditransitive verb, when it is passivized. We may imagine the hypothetical sentence: "I shod the horse." In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil this would be something like

i-k-ak'-be xonob li ka' e.

(Literally, "I gave shoes to the horse.") The agent is 1st person ('I'), the direct object is **xonob** 'shoe,' and the indirect object, which gives rise to absolutive affixes (zero, in this case), is **ka'** 'horse.' In a passive form, the agent disappears (or only appears obliquely), and the indirect object is promoted to the position of syntactic subject; the direct object, 'shoes,' remains syntactically tied to the verb.

The horse was given shoes (by me).

The dictionary contains just such an entry:

'ak'-bil x-xonob. (It is) shod (e.g., a horse). (Literally, "it is given its shoe.")

where the understood third person subject of **'ak'-bil** 'be given something' is some sort of animal. The original Spanish gloss is *herrada bestia*.

In other aspects, passive stems are formed by adding one of several possible passive suffixes to the active stem, which is

then inflected as an intransitive stem in the same aspect. The affixes are **-e(y)**, which mostly occurs with mono-syllabic verb stems, and **-at**, which occurs with other stems, including ditransitive stems. (Occasionally the suffix **-ot** occurs in the colonial examples, although its exact status is unclear, as I demonstrate below.)

cha'-jech x-t'ox-ey. (It is) split in two. (cha' 'two,' jech 'half, piece,' t'ox 'split.')

x-a-'at-ey k-u'un. I make you my partner. ('at 'count'; literally, "you are counted by/for me.")

The **-at** suffix also occurs from time to time with monosyllabic verbs stems.

i-maj-at ta chauk. (He was) struck by lightning. (maj 'hit,' chauk 'lightning.')

Ordinarily, however, it appears on longer verbs, especially with ditransitive stems.

'oy ta x-ch'ail-al x-muyibtay-at. (It is) perfumed with incense. (ch'ail 'smoke,' muyibtay 'flavor'; literally, "it happens that it is flavored with its smoke (presumably, of *copal*).")

'oxib 'abil i-ch'ak-be-at. ('oxib 'three,' 'abil 'year,' ch'ak 'divide.')

The Spanish expression for which this Tzotzil construction is offered as a gloss is "for a period of three years," although the example is clearly a full sentence, with a passive ditransitive verb, meaning "it has been allotted three years."

Completive aspect also occurs in the passive voice.

n-e-'elk'an-at e-laj s-bel j-na. I was robbed, my possessions are gone. ('elk'an 'rob,' laj 'finish,' bel 'contents,' na 'house'; literally, "I was robbed, the contents of my house are finished.")

mo s-tojol-uk n-e-pas-be-at. I was wronged by him. (tojol 'on account of,' pas 'do'; the example means "I had it done to me not on his account." I think the proper gloss should be, "I was wronged, but *not* by him.")

The status of the suffix **-ot** is unclear in the colonial examples. In some examples it appears to be an alternative to **-at**.

sob x-na'-ot. It is easily learned. (sob 'early, quickly,' na' 'know.')

However, the friar also gives several examples, with both **-at** and **-ot**, whose glosses suggest passive constructions but where the verbs still seem to bear ergative prefixes.

k-ak'-ot x-pix jol Hun.

x-k-ak'-be-at x-pix jol Hun. I had a pasteboard cap put on me. (ak' 'give,' pix jol 'hat,' Hun 'paper.')

In modern Tzotzil an *ergative* prefix is impossible on a passive verb, and such a sentence would have to be translated by something like

ta x-i-'ak'-b(e)-at j-pixel. I was given a hat.

where the 1st person grammatical subject is marked by the absolutive prefix **-i-**. It seems likely that these are not syntactic differences between colonial and modern Tzotzil, but rather

systematic errors on the part of the dictionary's compiler.

A last important passive form, which we have met before, results from nominalizing transitive verbs, by attaching the suffix *-el* to the verb stem. The deverbal noun thus produced denotes an activity, and it can, in turn, be possessed; the grammatical possessor corresponds to the logical direct object of the full transitive verb.

toj tzotz x-k-a'i x-chan-el 'amayil. It is too difficult for me to learn the flute. (Literally, "I find very hard the learning of the flute"; *chan* 'learn,' *'amayil* 'flute.')

j-kisnan ta j-maj-el-e. I was exhausted by the beating. (Literally, "by *my* beating"; *kisnan* 'be exhausted by,' *maj* 'beat.')

This structure permits a variety of hidden passive constructions. One way of understanding the following examples would be to start with an underlying clause with a transitive verb and a direct object. The verb of this underlying clause is nominalized, and its underlying logical direct object now becomes its grammatical possessor. This grammatical possessor in turn becomes the grammatical subject of the outer, higher verb: 'it wants splitting (being split)'; 'it allows stealing (being stolen).'

s-k'an jav-el. (It is a) separable (thing). (*k'an* 'want,' *jav* 'split, separate'; literally, "it wants splitting, i.e., to be split.")

s-tak' 'elk'an-el. (It is) easy to steal. (*tak'* 'possible, admit the possibility of,' *'elk'an* 'steal'; literally, "it admits of stealing (being stolen).")

Compare this last example with other equivalents offered in the dictionary that use a possessed form of *'elk'an-el*.

matanal y-elk'an-el. It is easy to steal. (*moton* 'gift'; literally, "its stealing is a gift.")

'utz y-elk'anel. It is easy to steal. ('*utz* 'good.')

A verbal noun denotes an activity, and thus can appropriately serve as the object of the preposition *ta* in a qualifying phrase.

i-sit ta ve'-el. He is stuffed with food. (*sit* 'swell,' *ve'* 'eat'; literally, "he swelled from eating.")

yakyak-on ta vay-el. I am sleeping. (*yak* 'current, happening now,' *vay* 'sleep.')

Verbal nouns are, in a sense, simply syntactically reduced full clauses; they can retain not only their direct objects (transformed into grammatical possessors), but also modifying temporal or locative phrases, or oblique agents as well.

mo x-Hu' s-ti'-el bek'et ta viernes. Meat must not be eaten on Fridays. (Literally, "the eating of meat on Fridays is not permitted.")

The following expression is given in the dictionary as an equivalent to the word 'martyrdom.'

tzamesel y-u'un dios i-cham. (*cham* 'die,' *tzam-es* 'kill,' *dios* 'God'; literally, "killed on behalf of God, he died.")

Transitive sentences have (at least) two arguments: an agent (who does something) and a direct object (to which he does it). In Tzotzil, the agent is cross-referenced by ergative affixes

on the verb, and the direct object engenders absolutive affixes. Formally intransitive sentences have only a single subject, which in Tzotzil produces an absolutive affix on the verb. Passive sentences are formally intransitive. The subject of a passive sentence parallels the direct object of the corresponding transitive sentence, whose agent is formally demoted and, as we have seen, appears only obliquely, if at all. In modern Tzotzil, one might say

l-i-s-maj li Xun e. John hit me.

in which the agent (*Xun*) acts on *me*. (Note the 1st person absolutive affix *-i-*, which cross-indexes the direct object of the (verb *maj* 'hit.')

In the corresponding sentence

l-i-maj-e (y-u'un Xun). I was hit (by John).

the original *direct object* has become the *subject* of the formally intransitive passive verb, still cross-indexed by the absolutive *-i-*. The original agent has been demoted to an oblique adjunct to the verb.

Tzotzil also allows *anti-passive* constructions: in these formally intransitive sentences, the intransitive subject corresponds to a transitive *agent* (and the transitive direct object is demoted—in fact, it disappears). In modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, anti-passives may be formed with a special, rather rare suffix, *-on* as in the following example.

muk' much'u x-maj-on. There is no one to do the hitting. (Literally, "who hits does not exist.")

There is also an extremely productive derivational suffix, *-van*, which, when attached to a transitive stem, produces an anti-passive stem, usually with the restricted meaning "do x to people."

tol ch-maj-van. He hits (people) too much (i.e., he fights a lot). (*tol* 'high, too much.')

Colonial Tzotzil makes free use of this second anti-passive derivational suffix. The friar gives four Tzotzil sentences under the entry '*obey*': two are transitive, and two are the corresponding anti-passives, with *-van*.

j-ch'uun. I obey (him). (*ch'uun* 'obey'; note the 1st person ergative prefix *j-*.)

x-e-ch'uun-van. I obey (people). (The subject is cross-indexed by absolutive *-e-*.)

x-k-ak' ta vinik. I obey him. (Literally, "I give him as a man.")

x-e-'ak'-van ta vinik. I am obedient. (Literally, "I give (people in general?) as a man.")

Similarly, giving Tzotzil expressions for 'praise,' the friar uses a circumlocution based on '*utz* 'well' and '*al* 'speak.' One might imagine a hypothetical transitive sentence

'utz ta x-k-al. I praise him. (Literally, "I speak well of him.")

which in turn produces two dictionary entries, one passive, and the other anti-passive.

'utz 'al-bil. He is praised. (Literally, "he is spoken of well"; the original transitive direct object has been promoted to the intransitive subject of the passive verb.)

'utz x-e-'al-vau. I praise (people). (The original transitive agent is retained, now as the intransitive subject of the anti-passive; the original specific direct object has disappeared, and the resulting anti-passive has a more general meaning.)

Finally, note that derived anti-passives with -van need not imply an exclusively human generalized direct object, although it may require at least a generalized *animate* object. The dictionary entry for 'stallion' uses an anti-passive form of the transitive verb *japi* 'grapple, wrestle.'

ta x-japi-van caballo. The horse grapples (with things). The friar explains that this means "a horse that takes mares," commenting that the expression is suggestive and thus should be avoided in favor of euphemism.

4.b. ADDITIONAL CONSTITUENTS IN THE VERB PHRASE

4.b.1. Adverbial Modifiers

Tzotzil makes extensive use of special adverbial roots, as well as ordinary adjectives and full clauses, to modify verb phrases. The categories are familiar: adverbial modifiers qualify the manner, time, location, or degree of the action denoted by the verb.

Perhaps the canonical verbal modifier is the word *Hech* 'like that, like this, such,' (yech in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil), which might be considered a demonstrative adverb or adjective; attached to a verb, it means 'do it *this way*'—requiring a gesture, or a pre-understood referent, to make clear *what way* the speaker intends.

Hech no 'ox j-pas taleltalel. I am just used to doing it this way. (no 'ox 'just,' pas 'do,' talel 'usually' (from tal 'come'); literally, "just this way I do it again and again.")

Time and degree adverbials are similar in form, and often involve explicit quantification. Occurring in both positive and negative forms, they also frequently include temporal clitics of perspective: the forward looking to 'still,' and the backward looking *xa* 'already, more.'

'ak'-o xa! Put more on! ('ak' 'give,' given here in imperative form; literally, "give it already/now!")

'ach' to e-nupun. He was married recently. ('ach' 'new,' nupun 'marry'; literally, "he married still newly.")

x-cha'-kajal n-e-s-maj. He hit me for a second time. (cha'- 'two,' koj 'layer, time, blow,' maj 'hit.')

The inflected transitive verb *n-e-s-maj* 'he hit me' itself constitutes a complete sentence, with no argument slots unfilled. Thus, the numeral expression, 'the second blow,' acts as an adverbial adjunct of degree.

When negated, these adverbial modifiers ordinarily bear the negative suffix -uk, much like full predicates.

mu sob-uk x-laj. (It is) long lasting. (sob 'early,' laj 'finish'; literally, "it is not early (that) it finishes.")

Such adverbial expressions can modify transitive verbs as well. mo nat-uk x-k-il 'osil. I am not far-sighted. (nat 'long,'

-il 'see,' 'osil 'country, earth'; literally, "it is not far that I see the earth.")

Finally, they can also modify clauses with oblique agents.

'ok'elal n-e-kom y-u'un. He made me stay. ('ok'elal 'involuntarily' (from 'ok' 'cry'), kom 'remain'; literally, "I remained involuntarily because of him.")

'ip x-a-xi' y-u'un. You are (very) frightened by him. ('ip 'very,' xi' 'be afraid.')

Many of the colonial examples with adverbs cluster around a few main verbs, which the compiler clearly used to create periphrastic Tzotzil equivalents for somewhat simpler Spanish notions. For example, the friar bases expressions having to do with speech and public performance on the verb *k'opoj* 'speak,' and expressions relating to behavior more generally on such motion verbs as *bat* 'go,' and *xanav* 'travel, walk.'

'amay'amay x-i-k'opoj. I speak harmoniously. ('amay 'flute.')

s-be x-k'opoj. (He) speaks the truth. (be 'path'; literally, "its path he speaks.")

In this last example, the syntactic status of *s-be* 'it's path,' is problematic, as the main verb is *intransitive* and cannot admit a direct object. If the sentence is grammatical at all, *s-be* must be considered some sort of adverbial adjunct.

Somewhat more interesting, syntactically, are sentences of this type in which the adverbial modifiers are themselves full clauses.

mo 'oy-uk s-be x-bat. It is wasted. (Literally, "it has no path (as, in the way that) it goes.")

The entire clause *mo 'oyuk sbe* 'it has no path,' appears to modify the main verb.

j-bik'tajes j-ba x-e-k'opoj. I am speaking modestly. (bik'itajes 'make small'; literally, "I make myself small (as) I talk.")

e-kom j-lumal x-e-xanav. (I) go on a pilgrimage. (kom 'remain,' lumal 'homeland'; literally, "my homeland stays behind (as) I travel.")

In the previous example, notice that the possessor of *lumal* 'homeland' must coincide with the subject of *xanav* 'journey.' As a final example of clausal adverbs, consider the following roundabout entry for 'be sleepless.'

'oy to 'ak'abal x-e-julay. I am sleepless, wake early. ('ak'abal 'night,' julay 'wake'; literally, "there is still night (when) I awake.")

4.b.2. Further Adjuncts to the Verb

We have already met obliquely represented agents and instruments that are part of Tzotzil verb phrases but which do not receive explicit morphological cross-referencing on the verb itself. These adjuncts usually occur in prepositional phrases with *ta* or in constructions with -u'un or -chi'uk, as we saw in section 4.a.4. There is a further class of syntactically isolated adjuncts that seem to float unconnected in a verb phrase. I will mention only a few examples: those associated with two verbs, -a'i 'feel, think, understand,' and 'ayan 'be

born, come into existence, be,' and those examples involving the so-called *affective verbs*.

Formally, -a'i is a transitive verb: its agent perceives, hears or feels something, and its direct object is the thing perceived.

x-k-a'i k'op. I am obedient. (Literally, "I heard words.")
-A'i can take an entire clause as its direct object, as we shall see in section 5. However, -a'i commonly takes an additional adjunctive argument, often an adjective, which can be understood as modifying the grammatical *direct object* of the verb (although it does itself not inflect). Such a sentence, of the form

Adjective -a'i direct object agent
means "[Agent] finds [direct object] to be [adjective]." Thus, the dictionary includes the example

mu x-k-a'i. It tastes good. (mu 'tasty.')

There is no explicit direct object of the verb -a'i, but we know it must be some third person entity; the sentence means, literally, "I feel (it) (something unnamed but understood) to be tasty." The same construction, but this time with an explicit direct object—k-abtel 'my work, my job'—appears in the following sentence.

k'ux x-k-a'i k-abtel. I value my work. (k'ux 'painful' and hence 'serious, valuable.')

The adjunct need not be only an adjective. In the following example, appearing under the entry for 'hold in low esteem,' it appears that the syntactic direct object of -a'i must be the thing or person held in low esteem; the adjunct is the noun phrase bik'it ch'amal, literally, 'small child,' i.e., 'inconsequential, trifling.'

bik'it ch'amal x-k-a'i. I hold (it) in low esteem.

There are also more complex examples in which the syntactic direct object of -a'i is a full clause. We have met the following sentence several times before:

toj tzotz x-k-a'i x-chanel 'amayil. I can't learn to play the flute. (tzotz 'difficult,' chan 'learn,' 'amay 'flute'; literally, "I find the learning of the flute (to be) very hard."

The grammatical direct object of the verb seems to be the whole clause predicating toj tzotz 'very difficult' of the verbal noun phrase x-chanel 'amayil 'the learning of the flute.' The subject of -a'i is 1st person (marked by the ergative -k- on the verb).

A second verb that routinely accepts adjunct constituents outside the range of the normal syntactic slots is the intransitive 'ayan, literally 'be born,' but more generally, a verbal form of the stative predicate 'oy 'exist, be.' In some modern dialects of Tzotzil, 'oy accompanies many nominal and adjectival predicates (in a way reminiscent of the friar's comments about 'oy as a near equivalent to the verb 'to be'). For example, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, one can say both

lek-on. I am well. (lek 'good.')

and

lek 'oy-on. I am well.

If we consider 'ayan to be an intransitive verbal derivative of

this same word, it can be understood to mean 'come into existence,' or 'become.' It thus accepts a subject and, in the second meaning at least, a further (adjunctive) constituent which tells us *what sort of thing* the subject has become.

lukluk e-'ayan. He became one-eyed. (lukluk 'crooked one-eyed.')

When an agent is incorporated with an -u'un construction, the resulting translation has a transitive flavor. The following example is offered under the entry "make long or tall things equal":

ko'ol x-'ayan k-u'un. I make it the same size. (ko'ol 'equal'; literally, "it becomes equal because of me.")

The adjunct can also be a noun phrase, and, in fact, can be in the negative.

mo melel-uk x-'ayan. (He is) perverse. Or: he does something perversely. (melel 'right, straight.')

The last sort of additional constituent in a verb phrase I will mention is an "affective verb": a member of a subclass of verbs that, in modern Zinacantec Tzotzil, are "used characteristically in narrative description with a certain gusto, a desire to convey a vivid impression. They have dash..." (Laughlin, 1975:26). Affective verb stems are derived from other roots by means of a small set of endings, and they display limited inflectional possibilities. Moreover, in the colonial examples, affective verbs only rarely occur as the main verb of a sentence.

x-k'opk'on k-olonton. (I am) anxious. (k'op 'speech,' -k'opk'on 'persist unreasonably,' -olonton 'heart'; literally, "my heart keeps talking." The friar's gloss is *aflijirse interiormente*.)

Instead, affective verbs combine with other full verbs to amplify the meaning of a predication. The dictionary's compiler seems somewhat undecided about whether both verbs, or only the main verb, in such combinations, will bear full absolutive inflection. (All affective verbs are, syntactically, intransitive.) In the following two examples, the main verb and the affective adjunct carry first person absolutive inflection.

x-e-joyet x-e-xanav. I revolve. (joy 'turn around'; literally, "I walk turning around.")

x-e-bichbonet x-e-tak'av. I reply shamelessly (or repeatedly). (tak'av 'reply'; bich in Zinacantec Tzotzil suggests 'sticking out, bubbling, pulsing, spurting' or perhaps 'twisting.')

However, the dictionary also contains perhaps ungrammatical examples in which only the main verb has full nominal inflection.

x-laet x-e-xanav. I am at peace. (laet 'at peace'; literally, "I walk about being at peace.")

Perhaps in the last example the entry should read x-laet 'osil x-e-xanav "I walk about with the world at peace," paralleling the following complex sentence:

x-laet 'osil x-k-a'i x-i-cham. I will die in peace. (-a'i 'feel,' cham 'die'; literally, "I will die feeling that the world is at peace.")

It is to such complex sentences that I turn in the final section.

5. Complex Sentences

I will end this sketch of colonial Tzotzil grammar with a few brief notes on the syntax of constructions that incorporate multiple clauses into single sentences or discourse units.

5.a. DOUBLE VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

We saw in section 3.b.1 the form of noun compounds of different types. Tzotzil verbs also combine to form units that are syntactically coherent. The important variables in this cohesion are the obligatory categories of verbal inflection—aspect, subject and object affixes—and how they are distributed between the constituent verbs.

The loosest conjunct merely concatenates two syntactically similar verbs, both of which are fully inflected but which exactly share a subject, or an agent and a direct object.

j-japi j-ch'ay. (I) grapple (with it). (japi 'grapple with, hold, seize,' ch'ay 'lose, throw away.')

j-jip j-ch'ay. (I) discard (it). (jip 'throw'; literally, "I throw it, I lose it.")

In both these examples, the two verbs share the same agent (1st person, in both cases), and the unnamed direct object of both verbs may be presumed to be the same entity.

In the following example, the first verb is reflexive, and the second intransitive, with identical subject.

j-kak j-ba x-e-'och. (I) slip in through a narrow place. (kak ba 'become thin, contract,' 'och 'enter.')

It is not clear, given the friar's inconsistent orthography, whether transitive double verbs, like those shown above, do, in fact, exactly share inflection. Another possibility, more consistent with modern syntax, is that the second member of such a pair receives no explicit aspect marker, inflecting instead like a subjunctive complement. The colonial dictionary has such examples, which we have already met in section 4.a.3, where the friar explicitly comments that the second verb in the pair does not bear aspectual inflection.

x-a-yokin a-ch'ay. You discard it. (yokin 'hurl, scatter, toss out.' Notice that the second verb has no aspect prefix, whereas the first has the neutral aspect marker x-.)

Here one might interpret the relationship between the first verb and the second as one of purpose, or cause and result: "you hurl it (in order to) lose it."

Some of the dictionary entries that appear to consist of double verbs probably have a structure that more closely resembles the adjunct constructions we met in the previous section. The second element is the main verb, and the first element is part of a clause that modifies the action denoted by the second. For example, the dictionary contains the entry

ch'an-chi xanav, vphr: iv(aj & ivcpd) iv. be at peace.

The second verb is our old friend *xanav* 'walk, travel.' *Ch'an* is an adjective meaning 'calm, still, silent,' and *chi* is the verb for 'speak, say' or (in this case) 'act.' The friar gives a fully

inflected example:

ch'an x-chi x-e-xanav. (I am) at peace.

It seems likely that the correct form should either be **ch'an x-e-chi x-e-xanav.** (Literally, "I am silent (as) I walk about," i.e., "I go about (while) I am at peace.")

where both verbs have 1st person absolutive subjects, or

ch'an-xi x-e-xanav. ("I go about (being) quiet.")

where *ch'an-xi* is, effectively, an adverbial modifier. In either case, the effect of the first verb is that of a modifying sentence: "the way I go about is at peace."

Other examples of this sort involve body part expressions that suggest the manner or form of an action.

j-*keman j-sat j-k'el. (I) look angrily (at it). (*keman sat 'frown,' sat 'eye, face,' k'el 'look at'; literally, "I frown (as) I look at it.")

A third type of double verb, which remains important in modern Tzotzil dialects, combines an intransitive verb with the transitive *-a'i* 'think, feel, hear.' The linkage of arguments is complex: the syntactic *subject* of the intransitive verb must be assumed to be identical to the *direct object* of *-a'i*, which in turn also has an agent.

e-ch'ay x-k-a'i. I forgot (it). (ch'ay 'lose'; literally, "it got lost (as) I perceive it.")

e-nop x-k-a'i. It was agreeable to me. (In modern Zinacantan Tzotzil this would mean, "I got used to it." Nop 'fit in, be in harmony'; thus, literally, "I feel it to fit in.")

These syntactically complex idioms survive unchanged in modern Tzotzil dialects.

5.b. SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS

In Tzotzil, as in most languages, some verbs accept entire clauses as direct objects. Such verbs fall into clear-cut categories: (a) verbs of perception, feeling, or thought (*'a'i* 'hear, feel, think,' *'il* 'see,' *na'* 'know,' *ta* 'find, discover'); (b) verbs of ordering, causing, or permitting (*'ak'* 'cause, make, give,' *taki* 'permit'); (c) verbs of saying (*'al* 'say,' *'ut* 'tell'); and (d) verbs of wanting (*k'an* 'want, need'). Not all of the sentential complements take the same form, however; some require subjunctive inflection, while others must be introduced with conjunctions. Here are some representative examples.

Sentential complements to the ubiquitous *'a'i* 'think, hear,' are fully inflected clauses. They both precede and follow the main verb.

chak e-k-ak'-bey Pedro x-k-a'i. I thought I gave it to Pedro. (chak 'as if,' 'ak' 'give.')

mu e-k-a'i-tik e-tal. He came suddenly. (tal 'come'; literally, "we didn't hear (perceive) that he came.")

mu x-k-a'i x-lok' j-k'op. I spoke inadvertently. (lok' 'exit, leave,' k'op 'word'; literally, "I didn't perceive that my words came out.")

Notice that the intransitive form of *x-lok'* *j-k'op* emphasizes

jol x-k-il s-k'otol-e, yan-ot a-tuk-e. I love everyone, but you especially. (jol 'beloved', il 'see,' k'otol 'all,' yan 'different, other,' tuk 'alone'; literally, "I see everyone as beloved, you yourself are different.")

The third common pattern introduces a second reason clause with the emphatic **Ha'** 'it is the case.'

i-j-tak'-bey, Ha' s-koj n-e-s-tzatzal-k'an-bey. I agreed for he insisted. (tak' 'answer,' koj 'fault of,' tzotz 'strong,' k'an 'want'; literally, "I answered him, it was the case that it was the fault of the fact that he strongly asked me.")

sob e-j-pas-tik s-na dios, Ha' y-ak' te sababil-otik y-u'un padre. We built the church quickly, because the priest made us hurry. (sob 'quick,' pas 'make,'

na 'house,' dios 'God,' ak' 'cause,' sababil 'hurried,' padre 'priest'; literally, "We quickly made the house of God; it happened that we were made to hurry by the priest.")

The structure of discourse in modern Tzotzil grammar is itself not well described, and the decontextualized materials of a colonial dictionary allow one to draw only the most schematic conclusions. Nonetheless, the complex sentences in the dictionary do permit insights into some interesting developments in Tzotzil discourse over four centuries. Perhaps the scraps of colonial syntax embedded in this dictionary will feed future study of the continuing evolution of batz'i k'op, 'the true word.'