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Juan Jesús Vázquez Álvarez

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**The Dissertation Committee for Juan Jesús Vázquez Álvarez Certifies that this is
the approved version of the following dissertation:**

A GRAMMAR OF CHOL, A MAYAN LANGUAGE

Committee:

Nora C England, Supervisor

Roberto Zavala, Co-Supervisor

Patience L Epps

Anthony C Woodbury

David S Stuart

by

Juan Jesús Vázquez Alvarez, B.A.; M.A.

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A Grammar of Chol, a Mayan language

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Supervisors: Nora England and Roberto Zavala Maldonado

This dissertation consists of a description of the grammar of Tila Chol. Chol is one of the 30 Mayan languages spoken in Mexico, Guatemala and Belize. This language is used by nearly 200,000 speakers, distributed in two main dialects: Tila Chol and Tumbalá Chol. The data for this thesis are mostly from Tila Chol.

This dissertation includes aspects of phonology, morphology, and syntax from a contrastive and typological perspective. The grammar begins with general information about the speakers and the language (chapter one). Chapter two is a description of phonology, which includes the inventory of sounds, stress, syllabic patterns and phonological processes. Chapter three presents the properties of root/word classes, as well as affixes and particles. Chapter four is about the person and number markers. Chapter five provides the main features of word classes, such as verbs, nouns, adjectives, positionals, affect words, adverbs, minor classes and clitics. The next chapter (chapter six) deals with the elements that verbs can take, including incorporation of modifiers and noun incorporation. Chapter seven provides the main features of non-verbal predicates. In chapter eight, the structures of noun phrases, such as possessors, determiners and modifiers are presented. Chapter nine describes the structure of simple sentences in both verbal and non-verbal predicates. Chapter ten is devoted to the operations that change

valence, including passive, antipassive, reflexive/reciprocal, causative and applicative. Chapter eleven deals with information structure in the discourse, specifically topicalization and focus. Chapter twelve is a brief description of passive constructions as operations triggered by paradigmatic gaps related to obviation as documented in Algonquian languages. Chapter thirteen deals with complex predicate structures. Finally, in Chapter fourteen, the complex sentences are described, including complement clauses, relative clauses, adverbial clauses, conditional clauses and coordination

This grammar will provide useful information for current Chol projects related to strengthening and revitalization efforts, such as in the construction of pedagogical materials and will also be useful for the field of linguistics or other related areas.

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Abbreviations

| | |
|------|---|
| A | Set A (Ergative) |
| ABST | Abstract noun |
| AFV | Affective suffix |
| AFFR | Affirmative |
| AN | Action nominal suffix |
| AP | Antipassive suffix |
| APL | Applicative |
| ATT | Attenuator suffix |
| B | Set B (Absolutive) |
| CAU | Causative |
| CL | Numeral classifier |
| DET | Determiner |
| DIR | Directional |
| DUB | Dubitative |
| DT | Status marker for derived transitive |
| E | Existential |
| ENC | Transitive verb enclitic |
| EP | Epenthesis |
| FIN | Phrase final enclitic |
| FOC | Focus marker |
| HON | Honorific |
| IMFV | Imperfective aspect |
| IMP | Imperative |
| INCH | Inchoative |
| INST | Instrument |
| INT | Interrogative |
| INTJ | Interjection |
| INTS | Intensifier |
| IRR | Irrealis |
| IV | Status marker for intransitive verb in imperfective |
| NCL | Noun class prefix |
| NEG | Negative |

| | |
|-------|--|
| NF | Non-finite suffix |
| NMZ | Nominalizer |
| ONOM | Onomatopoeia |
| PAR | Particle |
| PART | Participle |
| PAS | Passive |
| PERF | Perfect |
| PIMFV | Status marker for positional in imperfective |
| PL | Plural |
| PLEXC | Plural marker for first person exclusive |
| PLINC | Plural marker for first person inclusive |
| PLIND | Indefinite plural |
| POS | Possession marker |
| POSP | Suffix for positional predicate placed after <i>VI</i> |
| PIMFV | Status marker for positional in imperfective |
| PPRFV | Status marker for positional in perfective |
| PREP | Preposition |
| PRFV | Perfective |
| PROG | Progressive |
| PRON | Pronoun |
| PROSP | Prospective |
| REA | Realis |
| RED | Reduplication |
| REL | Relative pronoun |
| REP | Reportative |
| RN | Relational noun |
| SCAU | Derived stem for causative |
| SP | Word borrowed from Spanish |
| STAT | Stative suffix |
| TOP | Topic marker |
| TV | Status marker for transitive verb in perfective |

I

General Information about Chol and the Chol people

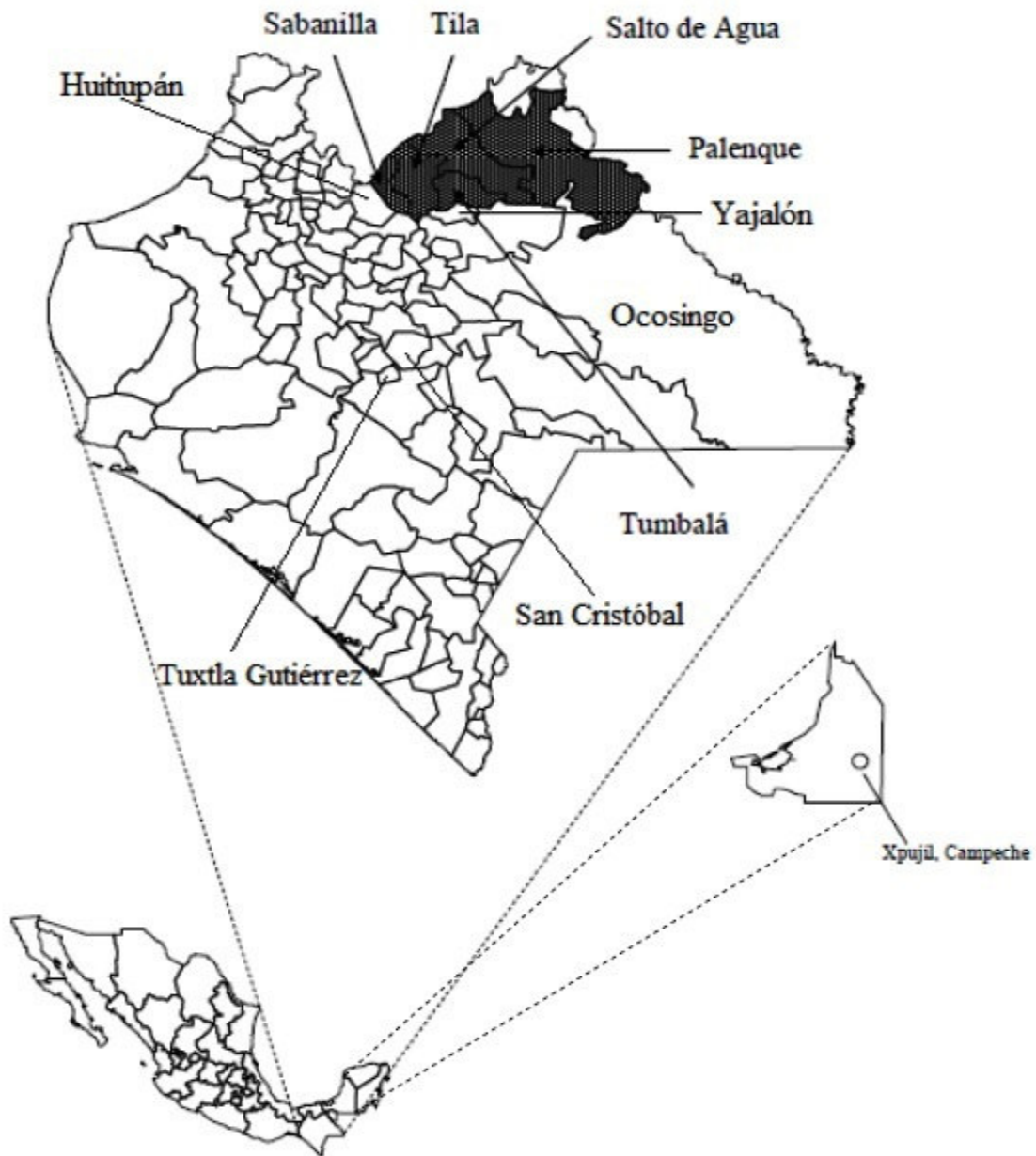
This introductory chapter provides general information about the geographical location of the Chol community (§1.1), the genetic affiliation of the language (§1.2), and the number of speakers (§1.3). Next, some grammatical and lexical elements are presented in order to illustrate that this language has two main dialects (§1.4), Tila and Tumbalá dialects. The chapter also includes some evidence of linguistic contact between the Chol language and Mixe-Zoquean or Yukatekan languages (§1.5). The current alphabet used for the writing system of Chol is also presented, as well as some previous studies including pedagogical (§1.7) and linguistic materials (§1.8). In §1.9, a grammatical overview of Chol is presented, along with a discussion about its phonological and morphological characteristics, basic word order, alignment and object marking. Finally, §1.10 presents the methodology followed for collecting the data used in this work and some information regarding the data sources.

1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Most of the Chol people live in the state of Chiapas but also in Tabasco and Campeche (Mexico). In Chiapas, the Chol communities are located mainly in the municipalities of Palenque, Sabanilla, Salto de Agua, Tila and Tumbalá (see Map 1). There are also some speakers living in the villages of Huitiupán and Yajalón, where Tsotsil and Tseltal are the predominant indigenous languages. The recent census has also reported an important presence of Chol speakers in the main cities of Chiapas, such as San Cristóbal de Las Casas and Tuxtla Gutiérrez. This situation is mainly due to the migration of bilingual teachers. Finally, in the last fifty years some Chol people have migrated to national lands located in Ocosingo, specifically in the Lacandón forest. This is why we find important

nuclei of the Chol population in this area. Some Chol speakers have been reported also in the area of Xpujil, Campeche as a result of the migration of some families to national lands located in Campeche.

MAP 1. Location of Chol communities in Chiapas and Campeche, Mexico.



1.2. THE CHOL LANGUAGE

Chol is a Mayan language from the greater Tseltalan branch. This language, together with Chontal, Ch'orti', and Ch'olti' (the last one now extinct and only attested in a single Eighteenth century manuscript), constitute the Cholan language group. Both Chol and Chontal are commonly referred to as Western Cholan, while Ch'olti' and Ch'orti' are Eastern Cholan. Both Cholan and Tseltalan are part of the greater Tseltalan branch, as illustrated here.

Greater Tseltalan¹

Cholan

Western Cholan

Chol

Chontal

Eastern Cholan

Ch'olti'

Ch'orti'

Tseltalan

Tseltal

Tsotsil

Kaufman and Norman (1984: 82) suggest that Cholan had begun to separate from Tseltalan by 100 A.D. Then, by 700 A.D. Cholan languages started to split into the eastern and the western divisions. The split between Chol and Chontal began prior to 800 A.D. This means that Western Cholan existed as a single language only for a century.

¹ For the full genetic classification of Mayan Languages see Kaufman and Norman (1984: 79)

1.3. THE SPEAKERS

The Mexican National Institute of Statistics, Geography and Computing (INEGI) counts the Mexican population every ten years. The most recent census was done in 2010 but the results are still unavailable. In 2000, this bureau reported 161,766 Chol speakers older than 5 years. This amount represents 4.1% of the Chiapas population (3,920,892).

In 2005, the same bureau did the “Population and Housing Count” (*Conteo de Población y Vivienda*). In this year, the bureau reported 185,299 Chol speakers older than 5 years old². Based on this information, we can estimate that today there are around 200,000 Chol speakers mostly located in the state of Chiapas, Mexico (see map 1 above).

1.4. DIALECTS

Recent linguistic investigations of Chol agree that this Mayan language has two dialects, Tila and Tumbalá. Although these varieties are slightly different in their phonology and morphology, the greatest variation is mostly attested in the lexicon. Phonological differences include, for example, that in Tumbalá the affricate stop [tʃ] and the fricative [ʃ] are realized as retroflexes. Such a salient feature is easily noticeable for the speaker of the Tila variety.

In their morphology, these dialects have a different realization of the progressive and the perfective aspect (see Tables 1 and 2). In Tumbalá, the progressive morpheme is realized as *wo(li)*, while in the Tila variety it is *chonko(l)*. In Tumbalá, the perfective is realized as *tsa'* but in Tila it is realized as *tyi*.³

² In this census, it was reported that there were 37,826 monolingual Chol speakers, which was 20% of the total population.

³ In Tila, the perfective marker can surface as *ta'/tsa'* when a clitic is attached to it (see §6.6.1); otherwise, it is realized as *tyi*.

Table 1. The forms of the progressive.⁴

| English | Tumbalá | Tila |
|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| 'I am buying it' | woli kmãñ | chonkol kmãñ |
| 'I am seeing it' | woli jk'el | chonkol jk'el |
| 'I am climbing' | woli kletsel | chonkol kletsel |

Table 2. The forms of the perfective.

| English | Tumbalá | Tila |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 'I bought it' | tsa' kmãñä | tyi kmãñä |
| 'I saw it' | tsa' jk'ele | tyi jk'ele |
| 'I climbed' | tsa' letsiyõñ | tyi letsiyõñ |

Instances of lexical variation between the two varieties are presented in the next chart.

Table 3. Lexical differences in Chol varieties

| English | Tumbalá | Tila |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 'stone' | xajlel | tyuñ |
| 'boy' | ch'ityõñ | alob |
| 'girl' | xch'ok | xk'aläl |
| 'spider' | am | xchiwoj |
| 'armadillo' | wech | x'ib |
| 'chayote' | ñi'uk' | ch'ijchum |
| 'rainbow' | ty'oxja' | xojob |
| 'flute' | amäy | jaläl |
| 'frog' | xpekejk | xmuch |
| 'corn planted in September' | mol/molicholel | sijom |

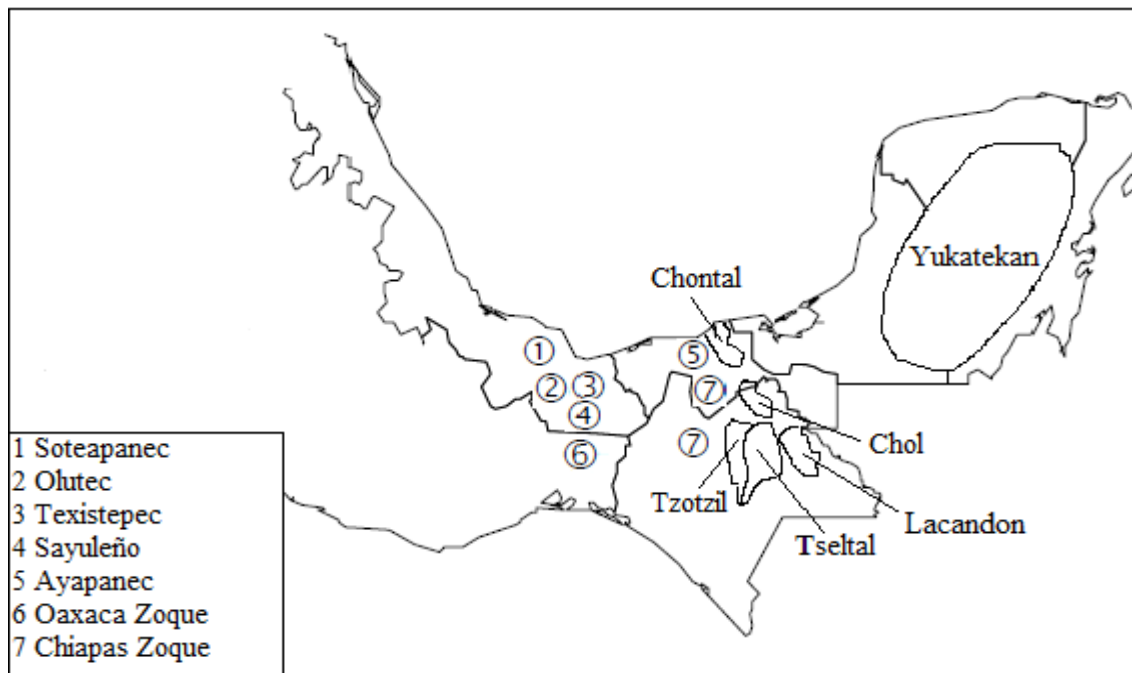
⁴ In Sabanilla, categorized as Tila Chol, the form *yäke(l)* is also used. It evidently comes from the Tseltal progressive form *yakal*. Its introduction was probably possible because of the intense presence of Tseltals from Oxchuc and Tenejapa in the coffee plantations in Sabanilla.

I agree with other works on Chol (for instance, Gutiérrez Sánchez 2004, Coon 2004, Martínez Pérez 2005, among others) that there are two varieties of Chol, referred to throughout this work as Tumbalá and Tila Chol.

1.5. NEIGHBORS

The Chol area is near to Mixe-Zoquean territory. The Yucatekan area (mainly located in Campeche, Yucatán, and Quintana Roo in Mexico and some parts of Belize) is farther away from the main Chol territory, except the territory occupied during the Colonial period by the Lacandons which is settled in the Chiapanecan forest of Montes Azules (see map 2). The following lines present some instances of shared linguistic features which are a product of the intense contact that occurred in the past among the Chol, Mixe-Zoquean, and Yucatekan populations.

MAP 2: Mixe-Zoquean, Tseltalan, and Yucatekan today territory.⁵



⁵ Adapted from Martínez Cruz 2007.

1.5.1 Mixe-Zoquean influence in Chol

Mixe-Zoquean and Mayan languages belong to two different linguistic families. The Zoquean territory is located at the Western part of the Chol lands. The Mixean languages are spoken in Veracruz, near to the Gulf of Mexico. This is probably the same geographical distribution that prevailed during the Mayan post-classic period (950-1500). Such geographical proximity could favor commercial, political or military alliances, as some linguistic evidence may show.

Some particularities of Chol sounds could be due to the influence of Zoquean neighbors. First of all the palatal [tʃ], which was part of the proto-Mayan system but was lost in Greater Tzeltalan (Kaufman and Norman 1984: 83) was probably reintroduced into the Chol phonology due to the Zoquean morphophonemic processes involved in palatalization. The palatal [ɲ] was probably integrated into the Chol phonology due to the same influence.⁶ For instance, in Copainala Zoque (1), all consonants can be palatalized. In the following examples, the consonants *t* and *n* are palatalized when they precede *y*.

t, n → palatal / *_y*

- (1) a. pejt- + -yaj-u → pejtyaju ‘They swept’
b. quen- + -yaj-u → queñaju ‘They saw’⁷

Palatalization of all consonants also exists in Francisco León Zoque, as can be seen in the following example where such process is applied after metathesis.

⁶ The palatal nasal is not reconstructed as part of the proto-Mayan phonemic inventory (see Kaufman and Norman 1984: 84).

There is another instance of palatalization in Mayan languages, which follows a rule that is not present in the evolution of palatalization in Chol. Campbell (1998) notes that Mamean Mayan “palatalizes velar stops when followed by a uvular consonant in the same root” (p. 74). Such a palatalization rule was borrowed by the neighboring K’ichean Mayan languages. Nowadays, the palatalized sound *ky* has been integrated in the phonological system of Mam, Teko and Awakateko, while in the neighboring languages it is still a variant of *k*. This process is not present in the Cholan languages.

⁷ These examples come from the SIL dictionary of Copainala Zoque (Harrison, et. al. 1981: 458). The English translations are mine.

- (2) poy + tam + u → potyamu
 run-PL-ASP
 ‘We run’

The ergative pronoun for third person in Zoque is *y-* and, as is expected, it plays an important role in the metathesis and palatalization of the first consonant of the words, as the following examples show.

tz → *ch* / *_y* rule in Francisco Leon Zoque.

- (3) y + tzomi → **ch**omi ‘his / her luggage’.

n → *ñ* / *_y* rule in Rayon Zoque.

- (4) y-na’ku → **ña**’ku ‘he / she sewed’

In addition to the phonological features, there is evidence of lexical borrowing of Chol from Zoquean languages. In the following chart, the Chol form is compared with Rayon Zoque (RZ), Copainalá Zoque (CZ), and Francisco León Zoque (FLZ)⁸. This set of lexical forms tells us that the Chol borrowed forms come from Zoque. The nearest Tseltalan language (Tseltal) has different forms for these lexical items.

⁸ The data for Zoque are adapted from: Harrison, Roy and Margaret B. de Harrison (1984) for Rayón Zoque, Harrison, Roy, et. al. (1981) for Copainalá Zoque, and Engel, Ralph and Mary Allhiser de Engel (1987) for Francisco León Zoque.

Table 4. Chol borrowed words from Zoquean languages.

| English | Chol | ZR | ZC | ZFL | Tseltal |
|------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----|----------------------------|
| gourd ⁹ | <i>tsima</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | <i>bojch</i> ¹⁰ |
| rat | <i>tsuk</i> | ✓ ¹¹ | ✓ | ✓ | <i>ch'oj</i> |
| arendajo ¹² | <i>peya'</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | ? |
| tomato | <i>koya</i> ¹³ | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | <i>chichol</i> |
| lizard | <i>ake'</i> | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | <i>k'intun</i> |
| cockroach | <i>mako</i> ¹⁴ | ✓ | ✓ | no | <i>pewal</i> |
| zanate ¹⁵ | <i>ak'xi'</i> | ? | ✓ ¹⁶ | ✓ | <i>jojmut</i> |

There is more evidence of Chol contact with Mixe-Zoquean populations. For instance, in San Miguel Chimalapa Zoque (Johnson 2000: 56) imitative sound symbolism, such as rhythmic motion (e.g. shoes slapping) or animal sounds have reduplicated elements followed by the suffix *-ney*.

San Miguel Zoque

- (5) a. Koʔkš-koʔkš-**ney**-pa
 sound-RED-AFV-INC
 ‘The sound of shoes slapping on the floor’
- b. Mawʔ-mawʔ-**ney**-pa
 sound-RED-AFV-INC
 ‘What the cat says’

⁹ Gourd called *jícara* in the local variety of Spanish.

¹⁰ According to the available sources, this expression is present in the Tseltal variety of Bachajón, which is geographically close to the Chol territory.

¹¹ In this variety of Zoque, it is realized as *tsujk*.

¹² A type of bird.

¹³ In Zoque varieties consulted here this is represented as *koya*.

¹⁴ The corresponding Zoque form is *makoko*.

¹⁵ A type of bird.

¹⁶ In Copainalá Zoque it is represented as *akšij* while in Francisco Leon as *a'ksiyi*.

The reduplication and the same suffix are also present in Soteapanec Zoque (Boudreault 2009: 356).

Soteapanec Zoque

- (6) ʔajta lookolookoneʔba jemik
 ʔajta ø-looko-looko-**neʔ**-pa jemik
 until 3ABS-sound-RED-AFV-INC there
 ‘until he shouts there’

Affect constructions in Chol have the same structure as those shown in Mixe-Zoque, but instead of using the form *-ney* or *-ne'*, Chol has *-ña*.

- (7) a. boj-boj-**ña**-ø k-ok
 noise-RED-AFV-B3 A1-feet
 ‘My feet make *boj boj*.’
- b. woj-woj-**ña**-ø li ts'i'
 dog.bark-RED-AFV-B3 DET dog
 The dog makes *woj woj*.’

Compound predicates reported in Mixean and Zoquean languages, such as Olutec (Zavala 2004) are also attested in Chol. The example in (8a) is a construction where both predicates are expressed separately, while in (8b) they form a complex predicate.

Olutec (Mixe-Zoque)

- (8) a. P2^o P1^o
 ʔan+pa-ʔan+pa=xü=k ʔi=yak-tun-aʔx-i-y
 hot-hot=EV=ANIM A3(ABS)=PAS-make-APL-COMD-INV.D.C
 ‘... the *mole* of chicken is made too hot for him’¹⁷

¹⁷ My translation from Spanish: ‘... le hicieron muy picoso el pollo’

- b. ʔi=toj-tzapatz-tun-pe jeʔ ʔu:p+ik
 A3(ERG)=INST-red-make-INCL.T that mole
 ‘She makes that *mole* red (with chilis).’¹⁸

Contrasting the following examples from Chol, we can observe a similar structure to that present in Olutec. It is important to highlight that these complex predicates forming a word for expressing depictive secondary predication are not attested in other Tseltalan languages, such as Tseltal and Tsotsil.¹⁹

- (9) a. P2° P1°
 seʔ tyi majl-i-y-oñ
 early PRFV go-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I went early.’
- b. tyi seʔ-majl-i-y-oñ
 PRFV early-go-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I went early.’

Finally, as was stated in previous works in Chol, such as Martínez Cruz (2007) and Zavala Maldonado (2007a), the Chol relative marker =*bä* was borrowed from the neighboring Zoquean languages, since it is not attested in other Tseltalan languages.

Zoque (Harrison, Roy, et. al. 1981: 245)

- (10) ø-paʔak-katzu-**pʌ** naranjas
 ABS3-sweet-sour-REL orange
 ‘oranges that are sweet’

In Chol, the sequence relative clause + noun of a verb-final language is also possible (11b), in addition to that of a verb-initial language where the noun precedes the relative clause (11a).

¹⁸ My translation from Spanish: ‘Ella hace aquel mole rojo (con el chile)’

¹⁹ More details about secondary predicates are presented in chapter 13.

- (11) a. bu'ul pulem-ø-**bä**
 bean burned-B3-REL
 'the beans that are burned'
- b. pulem-ø-**bä** bu'ul
 burned-B3-REL bean
 'the beans that are burned'

The pieces of linguistic evidence shown in this section suggest that contact among Chol speakers and some Zoquean populations did occur in the past. The last characteristic shown tells us that there were mutual linguistic influences among the languages involved in this process. For this reason, the study of language contact in this geographical area must consider the Mayan features transferred to the Mixe-Zoquean languages as well as Mixe-Zoquean features transferred into Mayan (See Zavala Maldonado 2007a).

1.5.2 Contact among Yucatekan and Cholan

The linguistic contact among Cholan and Yucatekan is still not well documented in the linguistic literature. Nonetheless, some of the features that have been treated will be discussed here.

Kaufman and Norman (1984: 83) state that “important similarities exist between Cholan and Yucatekan, but these are due to diffusion resulting from geographical proximity and joint participation in Lowland Mayan culture”. For instance, according to these authors, the [p'] and [b'] contrast is an areal feature rather than a retention of a Proto-Mayan contrast; in other words, it is an innovation shared by Greater Tzeltalan and Yucatekan (1984: 85). They believe that due to the phonological history of both Yucatekan and Cholan languages, it is difficult to recognize in which cases these subgroups had borrowed a word from the other. Nevertheless these authors propose that the Yucatekan forms *chahk* ‘thunderbolt’ and the day name *chicchan* are loan forms from Cholan (1984: 89). Finally, the same authors state that the split ergative pattern attested in

Chol and Chontal (but not in Tseltal and Tsotsil) was introduced into the Cholan languages from Yukatekan.

On the other hand, Law (2009) made a detailed study of pronominal borrowing among the Mayan languages. In this work, he suggests that Yukatekan borrowed its pronouns from Cholan languages, via Choltian, in the Late Classic (800-1000). The pronominal paradigms of Colonial Yukatek and Eastern Cholan languages are identical, except that Eastern Cholan languages do not have plural exclusive. The inclusive and exclusive distinction in the first person plural is attested in Western Cholan and Yukatekan languages. Law suggests that the geographical distribution of this property of first person took place during the Mayan post-Classic (1000-to Conquest).

1.6. WRITING SYSTEM

The following Chol alphabet has been agreed upon by Chol writers: a, b, ch, ch', e, i, j, k, k', l, m, n, ñ, o, p, p', r, s, t, ts, ts', ty, ty', u, w, x, y, ä and the dash - for the glotal stop [ʔ].

This alphabet was first proposed by Diaz Peñate (1992). This author made some changes to early proposals. For instance, he merged the letter *c* and *qu* of other proposals in the *k*; *tz* and *tz'* in the *ts* and *ts'*; *ü* or *ʌ* in *ä* and introduced the letters *ty* and *ty'*, as well as the dash - to represent the glottal stop. This alphabet was validated in 2010 by Chol writers, some bilingual teachers, and linguists in the context of the project of normalization of writing systems on indigenous languages in Mexico, under the auspices of INALI.²⁰

Several topics have been discussed in the meetings on normalization of the writing system. The following are some instances of the progress on the discussions.

a) The order of the practical alphabet is as was listed above. This point is important for teaching purposes and for lexical entries in dictionaries.

²⁰ Mexican National Institute of Indigenous Languages (Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas).

- b) The first consonant of proper names will be written with capital letters. It is important to mention that in Chol there are two prefixes of noun classes attached to the name of persons. In this specific context, the prefixes are not capitalized.
- c) In the written form the phonemic manifestation must be privileged; in other words, allophonic variations are not represented.²¹
- d) Words with phonological reductions in the oral form must be fully represented in the written form.
- e) The enclitics will be written attached to the host word.
- f) Borrowed words must be indicated by *italics*, except those highly integrated into the lexicon, and so on.

1.7. PEDAGOGICAL MATERIALS

There are some published materials on Chol that are for speakers and some of them are used in schools. They are listed here.

Warkentin and Scott (1980), from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) wrote an introduction to Chol grammar with a pedagogical purpose. In this work, they explain what sound is represented by each letter used. They also describe the class of nouns and pronouns, and provide a list of affixes identified from them. Finally, they present some paradigms of verbs conjugated in different aspects and moods.

Montejo López, et. al. (1999) wrote a Chol grammar to be used in the primary school in the Chol area. This material was written only in Chol. In the section of phonology, the use of the alphabet is emphasized. The chapter on morphology includes an inventory of inflections for aspect, person, number and moods. The section on syntax only includes strategies of coordination and how to formulate questions. This project included the production of dictionaries (Montejo López, et. al. 2000). Like the grammar,

²¹ The nasal alveolar [n] in the numeral 'one' is the exception. Since numerals always require numeral classifiers suffixed to them, it is not easy to determine the point of articulation of the nasal of the word for 'one' since it always assimilates to the features of the following consonant. For this reason, it has been proposed to use the proto form **jun* and consequently the alveolar nasal in the written form.

the dictionary was written only in Chol. Later, a pocket vocabulary in Chol-Spanish was written (López López 2002). At present, the same team is working on pedagogical materials written exclusively in Chol to be used in primary school.

A pamphlet was written by the Chol speaker José Díaz Peñate (1992), who presents a proposal of a unified practical alphabet. In this material the author provides examples of the use of each letter of the Chol alphabet. His work also includes a section of exercises.

Finally, there are three dictionaries and vocabularies written also for pedagogical purposes. Each one of these books has brief notes on Chol grammar. One was written by Torres Rosales (1974), another was written by the SIL researchers Aulie and Aulie (1978), and the last one was a dictionary prepared by the National Institute for Adult Education, known as INEA (1992).

1.8. PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC STUDIES ON CHOL

There have been several important linguistic studies dedicated to Chol, many derived from the CIESAS program in linguistics.²² What follows is a brief description of each one of these works.

Schumann Galvez (1973) described some grammatical properties of Tila Chol. The section on grammar refers mostly to the inflectional categories and makes very few analyses of syntax. This work also includes a bilingual vocabulary of Chol-Spanish-Chol.

Attinasi (1973) worked on the grammar of Chol for his dissertation, which consisted of two parts. The first part refers to the grammar of Chol. This part includes aspects on phonology such as allophonic variation and the syllabic system, both from the perspective of generative grammar. The author also describes word classes, such as adjectives, nouns and verbs, and includes an inventory of derivational affixes for each class. The second part of his work consists of a bilingual Chol-English vocabulary.

Koob Schick (1979) wrote her BA thesis about the Phonology of Tumbalá Chol. She describes the features of each Chol sound, makes an analysis of consonant clusters,

²² Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social

presents its syllabic shapes, and explores the realization of aspiration of consonants in word final contexts.

Meneses Mendez (1989), a Chol speaker, also wrote his BA thesis on Chol. This work focused on the noun phrase of Tumbalá Chol. The discussion includes a description of simple, derived and compound nouns. It presents the affixes taken by each noun and includes a description of the elements of the Chol nominal phrase. Later on, Martínez Pérez (2005) worked on the same topic, this time emphasizing derived nouns, specifically those that he called “action nouns”. Consequently, this M.A. thesis consists of a detailed analysis of “action nominal constructions” of Tila Chol.

Ramírez Figueroa (1998) worked on Chol variation in Chiapas and Tabasco. He intended to visit some Chol settlements where varieties of Tila and Tumbalá were spoken in order to see to what extent these varieties would be similar to those spoken in Tabasco. However, the armed conflict in Chiapas between the government and the Zapatista Army prevented the researcher from entering the villages in Chiapas. Based on 9 lexical variations mentioned in the Chol literature and his field notes, he concludes that the Chol spoken in Tabasco is similar to that spoken in Chiapas. López López (2005) did an analysis of the same topic for his M.A thesis. His concern was the variation of Chol in some communities of Sabanilla, Tila and Tumbalá, based on a lexical questionnaire of 617 entries. He reported 138 lexical entries exhibiting phonological variations such as elision and metathesis. He found 218 lexical variations. On this last point he suggests that the variations are due to borrowing and to the changes in the meaning of word in some places.

In 2002, I started my linguistic investigation, writing my M.A. Thesis on Chol verbal morphology. The examples used in this thesis came mainly from the Tila variety. My work includes a classification of verbs and non-verbal predicates based on their morphosyntactic properties and, to some extent, on their semantics. The affixes and clitics were also described. The role of affixes in valence rearrangements was emphasized. Other elements of the verbal phrase, such as aspect markers, modifiers and negative morphemes were included as well. Finally I emphasized the existence of an

agentive class of verbs that was explored with more detail two years later in a separate investigation.

Gutiérrez Sánchez (2004), made a more detailed study of the classes of intransitive verbs in Chol, with special emphasis on agentive alignment. In his M.A thesis he offers a detailed list of verbs with agentive properties, describes their morphosyntactic properties, and presents their sub-classifications.

In the same year, Coon (2004) contributed a more theoretical discussion of the properties observed in Chol roots. In particular, she puts more emphasis on intransitive verbs and on non-perfective aspects. Considering that Chol roots are underspecified, she argued that constructions in non-perfective aspects are formally nominal. Actually, she proposes that all roots in Chol, and perhaps in other Mayan languages, are formally nominal. According to her, such properties are the source of Chol's ergative split. Later on, she developed this idea in her Ph.D. thesis (see Coon 2010c) on Chol complementation. In this work, she suggests that in non-perfective aspects, the aspect markers are predicates and the lexical verbs in this context are complements. Additionally, this work includes a sketch grammar of the language.

Martínez Cruz (2007) describes the properties of Chol adjectives in his M.A. thesis. Based on 676 words that express property concepts reported in the Tseltalan languages, he concludes that in Chol there are 90 lexical forms of adjectives. The rest of the property concepts in Chol are expressed by means of relative clauses. For this reason, this thesis is also a deep analysis of relative clauses in Chol. According to him, the lexical class of adjectives includes the following meaning: size, age, value, color, physical property, and human propensity.

In his M.A. thesis, Vázquez Sánchez (2008) explores some aspects of child socialization in La Esperanza, a village situated in the municipality of Tumbalá. He followed how the parents, grandparents and other relatives interact with children in order to induce appropriate behaviors. He reported on the use of directives, threats, and shame situations as resources for children socialization.

The most recent work on some aspect of Chol grammar was done by Arcos López (2009), who for his M.A. thesis worked on numeral classifiers and noun class markers. Numeral classifiers occur obligatorily with any number and the interrogative pronoun *jay*. In addition to their function of nominal individuation, they also count mass nouns. The noun class markers are prefixes that originally were used to distinguish male and female referents. Arcos López detailed that in San Miguel, a village where the Tumbalá variety is spoken, the noun class markers have developed pragmatic functions which depend on the degree of courtesy between the speaker and the referent, the sex of the speaker, and the roles socially assigned to both females and males.

In addition to the works already listed, there are some papers about some aspects of the grammar, including topics on phonology by Warkentin and Brend (1974) and on numerals by Aulie (1957). There are also my own articles on complementation (2007a), secondary predication (2010), and non-finite constructions (2007b and forthcoming). Coon also has worked on some topics on Chol morphosyntax such as: existentials and negation (2006), interrogative possessors (2009), split ergativity (2010a), and word order (2010b).

1.9. GRAMMATICAL OVERVIEW

The grammatical features summarized in this section include some phonological features, the morphological typology of words, the order of main constituents, alignment types, and object marking. These features are discussed in more detail throughout the work.

1.9.1 Some phonological characteristics

Chol has 21 consonants that distinguish meanings in minimal pairs. Like the other Tseltalan languages such as Tseltal and Tsotsil, Chol has the trilled [r], which mostly appears in words that represents symbolic sounds and in borrowed words from Spanish. Another well-known property is the existence of the glottal stop [ʔ] that appears in vowel initial words and after vowels. In Chol, the glottal stop is used as a resource to avoid VV

sequences. In this language, as in the rest of the Tzeltalan languages, the affricate consonants and the occlusives have a series of glottalized realizations. It is important to highlight that *b* has a slightly glottalized realization only between vowels while in final position it has implosive realization (see more about this in chapter 2). A particular property of Chol is the existence of the palatal consonants [tʰ] and [ɲ]; where closely related Mayan languages have alveolar realizations.

With regard to vowels, unlike Tzeltal and Tsotsil, Chol has a six vowel system. In addition to the five vowels present in the other Tzeltalan languages [i], [e], [a], [o], and [u], Chol has developed the mid unrounded vowel [ɨ], probably from an early distinction between short and long vowels (see chapter 2).

The most common Chol syllabic shapes are CV and CVC. Consonant clusters in onset position are found at word boundaries, and in word final position only when the consonant following the vowel is the fricative *j*. This would result in the shape CV*j*C.

Finally, a variety of morphophonemic processes are attested in Chol, such as assimilation, vowel harmony, epenthesis, and elision, all exemplified in the next chapter.

1.9.2 Word/root classes and morphological typology

In Chol, the major lexical classes are verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. To these lexical classes, can be added positionals and affect roots. All of them can be clearly defined as distinct categories. The properties of each of them are presented in chapter 5. The two major verbal groups, transitive and intransitive, are identified in this language. Their morphosyntactic and semantic properties allow further subdivisions (see §5.1). There are several noun classes that can be identified by their inflectional properties. The class of adjectives in Chol includes the following meanings: dimension, age, value, color, physical properties, and human propensities. Adverbs include expressions of time, place, reason, purpose, and manner. Positionals are root classes that have its own particularities in the morphology. They express the position or the configuration that an object is in. Finally affect roots refer to manner or sound of actions.

Following the terminology in Comrie (1989: 43), Chol is an agglutinative language because each word may consist of more than one morpheme, but the boundaries between morphemes in the word are always clear-cut. For instance, a verb can take inflection for person, number, and status suffixes (12); furthermore intensifiers can be placed in front of the root and after the Set A inflection, making the word even longer. There are also more suffixes that can be attached to the predicate, such as passive, antipassive, causative and applicative suffixes.

(12) a. mu=ch=bi i-tyä'l-añ-oñ=la
 IMPFV=AFFR=REP A3-bother-DT-B1=PLINC
 'Yes, It is said that it bothers us.' {070614_6b}

b. tyi i-ñoj-päs-b-e-y-ø-o' juñoñi'
 PRFV A3-really-show-APL-DT-EP-B3=PL3 rifle
 'They really show him a rifle.' {080730_25b}

Chol is a head-marking language. The grammatical relations are all indicated in the head by means of Set A (ergative) and Set B (absolutive) pronominal inflections. For this reason, dependent noun phrases coreferencing the pronominals are not required (Nichols 1986).

(13) a. tyi majl-i-y-oñ
 PRFV go-IV-EP-B1
 'I went.' {070614_6b}

b. mu'=ba a-ty'ox-b-eñ-oñ aw-ixim
 IMFV=INT A2-share-APL-DT-B1 A2-corn
 'Could you share your corn to me?' {070621_11a}

More instances of the head-marking property can be seen in genitive and adpositional constructions. In the following examples, the possessor is inflected on the head and is not lexically expressed when it is first or second person (14a), and is only optionally when is third person (14b).

- (14) a. **k-otyoty**
 A1-house
 ‘my house’
- b. **tyi y-otyoty k-yumje**
 PREP A3-house A1-uncle
 ‘in my uncle’s house’ {080729_22b}

We will see now in the following section how dependent nominal phrases can be potentially expressed in the clauses.

1.9.3 Constituent order and verb initial features

When the dependent nouns are lexically expressed in a transitive clause, VOS basic order results (15). In an intransitive clause, the subject follows the predicate (16).

t=äch k-tyaj-a-ø=loñ ibi aj-ts’ak=i
 prfv=affr a1-find-tv-b3=plexc that ncl-cure=fin
 ‘Yes, we found that person who cure.’ {080704_20b}

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|-------|-----------|
| | V | O | S |
| (15) a. | tyi y-il-ä-ø | wiñik | x-ixik |
| | PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 | man | NCL-woman |
| | ‘The woman saw the man’ | | |

| | | | |
|----|-------------------------|-----------|-------|
| | V | O | S |
| b. | tyi y-il-ä-ø | x-ixik | wiñik |
| | PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 | NCL-woman | man |
| | ‘The man saw the woman’ | | |

| | | |
|------|--|---------------|
| | V | S |
| (16) | tyi jul-i-ø | aj-choñ-’ixim |
| | PRFV arrive-IV-B3 | NCL-sell-corn |
| | ‘A person who sell corn arrived’ | |
| | Lit: ‘The corn-seller arrived.’ {080729_22b} | |

However, this order is flexible. There are some factors that can change the VOS reading of the constituents. These factors include animacy, definiteness, and topicalization or focus of one or another of the noun phrases. For instance, in example (17a) the noun that immediately follows the verb is higher in animacy than *lukum* ‘snake’, which is in subject position. This example is ungrammatical. One form to express the same idea is focusing the subject, as in example (17b); resulting in the SVO order.

- (17) a. *

| | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|
| V | O | S |
| tyi | i-k’ux-u-∅ | x-ixik |
| PRFV | A3-bite-TV-B3 | NCL-woman |

lukum
 Intended meaning: ‘The snake bit the woman’

- b.

| | | |
|------------|--------------|------|
| S | V | O |
| jiñ | lukum | tyi |
| FOC | snake | PRFV |

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| i-k’ux-u-∅ | x-ixik |
| A3-bite-TV-B3 | NCL-woman |

 ‘It was the snake that bites the woman’

In this language, a definite noun in the object position can also have an effect on the VOS reading. In the next example, we can see how the determiner *li* can effect the interpretation of the clause when the object and the subject have the same level of animacy. The noun with *li* is more readily interpreted as the subject, even if it is in the position usually reserved for the object.

- (18)

| | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|
| V | S | O |
| tyi | li | wiñik |
| PRFV | DET | NCL-woman |

 y-il-ä-∅ x-ixik
 ‘The man saw the woman’
 ? ‘The woman saw the man’ (VOS order)

Focused or topicalized arguments, as shown in (19a) and (19b) respectively, must be placed in front of the predicate. By this operation, the proposed basic order of the constituents will change.

| | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| | S | V | O |
| (19) a. | jiñ x-ixik | tyi y-il-ä-ø | wiñik |
| | FOC NCL-woman | PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 | man |
| | ‘It is the woman who saw the man’ | | |

| | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| | S | V | O |
| b. a | li x-ixik=i, | tyi y-il-ä-ø | wiñik |
| | TOP DET NCL-woman=FIN | PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 | man |
| | ‘As for the woman, she saw the man’ | | |

Potential ambiguity in interpreting the meaning of the clause due to pragmatic constraints can be solved by rearranging the valence of the predicates (see chapters 10-12). Based on the examples already presented, we can conclude that Chol is a VS and VO language. This property can be confirmed by the cross-linguistic structural correlations stated by Dryer (1991, 1992). According to this author, in a V-initial language, the possessed in a genitive construction goes in front of its possessor, as in the following example.

| | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------|------------------|--|
| (20) a. | y-alo’bil | aj-wañ | |
| | A3-son | NCL-Juan | |
| | ‘Juan’s son’ | | |
| b. * | aj-wañ | y-alo’bil | |
| | NCL-Juan | A3-son | |
| | Intended meaning: ‘Juan’s son’ | | |

In this type of language, in an adpositional phrase, the adpositional marker is placed before the dependent noun. In the following examples the adposition *tyi* head the oblique phrase which expresses the agent in a passive construction (21a) and appears in any locative relations (21b). Likewise, a relational noun precedes the dependent noun, as shown in (22).

(21) a. **mi** i-tyum-iñ-ty-el x-k'aläl **tyi** x-ixik
 IMFV A3-advice-DT-PAS-NF NCL-girl PREP NCL-woman
 'The girl is advised by the woman'

b. **tyi** otyoty
 PREP house
 'In the house'

(22) **tyi** jul-i-ø **y-ik'oty-ø** aj-Wañ
 PRFV arrive-IV-B3 A3-with-B3 NCL-Juan
 'He came with Juan'

Moreover, forms where the noun is incorporated into the verb also follow the cross-linguistic implication for V-initial languages. As can be confirmed in the following examples, the verb precedes the incorporated noun in the compound forms.

(23) a. **tyi** k-cha'l-e-ø kuch-**ixim**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 carry-corn
 'I carried corn'

b. k-om-ø jap-**kajpej**
 A1-want-B3 drink-coffee
 'I want to drink coffee'

Another property that illustrates the V-initial feature in Chol is found in constructions with auxiliaries. Auxiliaries in Chol precede the main verb. For instance, the aspect auxiliaries go in front of the verb.

(24) a. **mi** k-wäy-el
 IMFV A1-sleep-NF
 'I sleep'

b. **chonkol** a-mek'-oñ
 PROG A2-huge-B1
 'You are hugging me'

Finally, in a complex construction, the main verb is placed before the subordinated verb.

- (25) **k-om-ø** wäy-el
A1-want-B3 sleep-NF
'I want to sleep'

The properties exemplified here confirm that Chol is a Verb-initial language.

1.9.4 Alignment

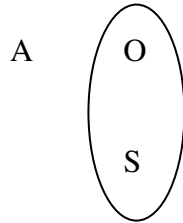
Chol, as all Mayan languages, is an ergative language. In Chol, the ergative pattern is split in all non-perfective aspects. This language also exhibits agentive and fluid-S alignments. Each pattern is exemplified next.

The ergative pattern is manifested in the inflection for person and number on the verb. The core arguments of a clause are inflected on the verb by means of Set B (absolutive) and Set A (ergative) morphemes. In perfective aspect, Set B indicates both the direct object of transitive verbs and the subject of intransitive verbs (see the contrast in (26a) and (26b)). Set A in the same aspect indicates transitive subjects (26c).

- (26) a. tyi a-pi'ty-ä-y-**oñ**
PRFV A2-wait-DT-EP-B1
'You waited for me'
- b. tyi wäy-i-y-**oñ**
PRFV sleep-IV-EP-B1
'I slept'
- c. tyi **k-pi**'ty-ä-y-ety
PRFV A1-wait-DT-EP-B2
'I waited for you'

Following Dixon's (1994) terminology, by which the syntactic roles are labeled A and O in a transitive clause and S is used for the sole NP in intransitive clauses, we can state that

in Chol, S and O are treated similarly but differently than A. This ergative pattern can be schematized as follows:



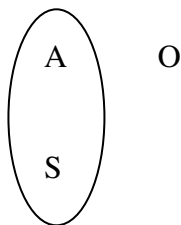
However the ergative pattern splits in imperfective constructions, resulting in nominative-accusative alignment. In this pattern, Set A indicates both transitive (27a) and intransitive (27b) subjects, whereas Set B marks the object of transitives (27c).

(27) a. mi a-pi'ty-añ-oñ
IMFV A2-wait-DT-B1
'You wait for me'

b. mi a-wäy-el
IMFV A2-sleep-NF
'You sleep'

c. mi k-pi'ty-añ-ety
IMFV A1-wait-DT-B2
'I wait for you'

In the accusative pattern, both the transitive and intransitive subjects are treated similarly, but the direct object is treated differently. This pattern can be represented as follows:



Moreover, Chol exhibits agentive alignment. In this grammatical pattern, some arguments associated with some intransitive verbs pattern together with transitive agents and others

with transitive patients (Mithun 1991: 511) due to the semantics of the verbs. For instance, the intransitive verbs such as *ajñel* ‘to run’, *oñel* ‘to shout’, *tse’ñal* ‘to laugh’, *pay* ‘to call’, *tyujb* ‘to spit’, and so on indicate their subjects by means of Set A inflected on the light verb *cha’l*.

- (28) tyi k-cha’l-e-ø k’ay
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 sing
 ‘I sang’

It is important to mention that the subject of agentive verbs cannot be indicated by Set B inflected on the agentive verb (29).

- (29) * tyi k’ay-oñ
 PRFV sing-B1
 Intended meaning: ‘I sang’

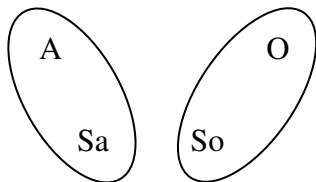
On the other hand, intransitive verbs such as *majl* ‘to go’, *lets* ‘to climb’, *chäm* ‘to die’, *tyojm* ‘to explode’, *jil* ‘to finish’, and so on indicate their subjects by taking Set B inflection, which is the same suffix for the O (or patient) of transitives.

- (30) tyi majl-i-y-oñ
 PRFV go-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I went’

This group of intransitives cannot inflect their subjects by means of Set A either on the light verb *cha’l* (31a) or on the verb (31b).

- (31) a. * tyi k-cha’l-e-ø majl-el
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 go-NF
 Intended meaning: ‘I went’
- b. * tyi k-majl-el
 PRFV A1-go-NF
 Intended meaning: ‘I went’

Agentive constructions involve more volition on the parts of the subjects while the non-agentive verbs involve less volition of their subjects (Van Valin 1997). The Split-S system in Dixon’s (1994) definition is represented as following.



Finally, intransitive verbs such as *wäy* ‘to sleep’, *uk* ‘to cry’, *ts’äm* ‘to bathe’, *tyijp* ‘to jump’ and so on, can inflect their subject either with Set A in the auxiliary verb or with Set B in the verb. In other words, these verbs can behave both as agentives and non-agentives. Dixon calls this pattern a Fluid-S system (1994).

(32) a. *tyi k-cha’l-e-ø wäy-el*
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 sleep-NF
 ‘I slept’

b. *tyi wäy-i-y-oñ*
 PRFV sleep-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I slept’

In conclusion Chol exhibits all of the following alignment patterns listed in Dixon (1994): Ergative-Absolutive, Nominative-Accusative, Split-S and Fluid-S.

1.9.5 Object marking

Dryer (1986) proposes a typology of object marking based on the hypothesis that some languages are sensitive to the distinction between direct objects and indirect objects while other languages are sensitive to the distinction between primary and secondary objects. The author calls the first type “Direct object languages” and the second one “Primary

object languages”. Under this assumption, in a language of direct object type, the third argument is in an oblique relationship in the sentence while the direct object is in a core relation. Chol follows this grammatical pattern because the indirect object is preceded by a preposition and the direct object is cross-referenced by Set B inflection in the verb, as in the following example.

- (33) mi k-ch’äx-ø ja’ **cha’añ** aläl
 IMFV A1-boil-B3 water PREP child
 ‘I boil water for the child’

Additionally, Chol shows a property of a primary object language. As shown in the following example (34a), when the verb takes the applicative suffix, the third participant is no longer headed by the preposition. In fact the presence of the preposition in the sentence makes it ungrammatical (34b).

- (34) a. mi k-ch’äx-**b**-eñ-ø ja’ aläl
 IMFV A1-boil-APL-DT-B3 water child
 ‘I boil water for the child’
- b. * mi k-ch’äx-**b**-eñ-ø ja’ **cha’añ** aläl
 IMFV A1-boil-APL-DT-B3 water PREP child
 Intended meaning: ‘I boil water for the child’

The constraint on the presence of the preposition implies that this noun (*aläl* ‘child’ in the examples above) is the argument cross-referenced by Set B in the verb and not *ja*’ ‘water’, as in the monotransitive version. The arrangement in the referentiality of both objects can be clarified by passivizing the construction. In monotransitive constructions the argument accessible to passivization is the direct object. In example (35), the preposition is kept, indicating that one argument is still in an oblique relation. But in the applicative construction, it is the primary object *aläl* ‘child’ that is passivized (36a). If the inflection in the verb is modified, as in (36b), the secondary object *ja*’ ‘water’ remains unaffected, while the primary object is not lexically expressed because it is first person.

(35) tyi ch'äx-le-ø ja' **cha'añ** aläl
 PRFV boil-PAS-B3 water PREP child
 'The water for the child was boiled.'

(36) a. tyi ch'äx-**b**-eñ-ty-i-ø ja' aläl
 PRFV boil-APL-DT-PAS-IV-B3 water child
 'It is for the child that the water was boiled.'

b. tyi ch'äx-**b**-eñ-ty-i-y-oñ ja'
 PRFV boil-APL-DT-PAS-IV-EP-B1 water
 'The water was boiled for me'

As was shown here, Chol must be considered both a direct object and a primary object language.

1.10 The Data and Methodology

The data I used in this dissertation comes mostly from materials collected during fieldwork conducted from 2006 to 2007 and during the summers of 2008 and 2009. During these fieldwork periods I visited several villages in the municipality of Tila, including Panwits, El Calvario, Nueva Esperanza, and Jolpokitiok. I also collected some materials in Sabanilla. Additional materials came from Pactiun, Ignacio Allende and Hidalgo, which belong to the municipality of Tumbalá.

Figure 1: The municipality of Tila (Photo by Danny Law).



Figure 2: The municipality of Sabanilla (Photo by Danny Law).



The material that I videotaped and audio recorded in these places includes narrations about supernatural entities, the Mexican Revolution, the Famine, the earthquake and the volcanic eruption. It also includes descriptions of some fiestas in the village and some personal experiences regarding travels searching for a job.

Figure 3: Don José with author (Photo by Danny Law).



Some of the material collected was transcribed in ELAN using the Chol practical alphabet. The database of transcribed material consists of 23 hours. The transcriptions were transferred into a text analysis tool program (TextSTAT). In this program I was able

to search for specific words and select the appropriate sentences to be glossed and translated, as they appear throughout this work.

Most of the examples presented in this work consist of three lines. The first line consists of the Chol text with its morphemic separations, the second line corresponds to the glosses, and the third line is the English free translation. When it seemed necessary, I added an extra line that depicted the phonetic representation of the form produced by speakers (37b).

(37) a. baki tyi wäy-i-y-ety
where PRFV sleep-IV-EP-B2
'Where did you sleep?' {070620_9b}

b. ma' letsañ ilayi
mi a-lets-i-s-añ-ø ila-y=i
IMFV A2-climb-IV-CAU-DT-B3 here-EP=FIN
'you take it up here' {080624_29a}

For the examples in other languages, I adapted the glosses to the criteria followed in this work; otherwise, any change was noted in a footnote.

Finally, when I considered that a construction needed more elicitation, I asked up to seven Chol speakers separately for their judgments. Based on their opinion, I stated for instance that "most speakers like" or "don't like" the construction. Sometimes I include a note on the preferred constructions.

II

Phonology and morphophonemics

This chapter is a description of Chol phonemes, syllable shape, stress and some morphophonemic processes. In the first section, the consonantal and vocalic inventories are presented. This includes the practical orthographic representation as used by Chol writers. The second section is about stress. The third section is a discussion of syllabic patterns and the last section consists of a description of common morphophonemic processes.

2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

In this study I follow the practical orthography used to write Chol, except for the glottal stop, which in that alphabet is sometimes represented as <->, but which I am representing consistently with <'>. Since the hyphen indicates a morpheme boundary, unlike in the practical Chol orthography, I decided to use <'> to indicate the glottal stop. When necessary I will also occasionally use IPA symbols.

2.1.1. Consonants

Chol has 21 consonants and most of them distinguish meaning in minimal pairs. There are no minimal pairs where *r* contrasts with other consonants. Their use is restricted to specific environments which will be discussed below.

From the set of stops, only the bilabial has a corresponding voiced sound [b]. According to Kaufman and Norman (1984), this sound corresponds to the proto bilabial implosive *b'. Apparently this ingressive property was lost in Chol, but as in Tseltal (Polian 2006: 19), it still causes laryngealization of the preceding vowel. This explains

why Chol speakers are discussing whether to write the vowel in front of *b* with a glottal stop or not. Another property of the phonemic inventory is that occlusives (except *b*) and affricates have corresponding glottalized sounds, which all are found contrasting in minimal pairs. Finally, the proto-Mayan **h* shifted to the velar [x].¹ Correspondences with the IPA sound symbols are presented in brackets next to the letter used in the practical orthography, there these are different.

Table 5. Chol consonants.

| | Bilabial | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------|---------|
| Occlusive | b p p' | | ty [tʲ] ty' [tʲ'] | k k' | ' [ʔ] |
| Fricatives | | s | x [ʃ] | j [x] | |
| Affricates | | ts [ts] ts' [ts'] | ch [tʃ] ch' [tʃ'] | | |
| Nasals | m | | ñ [ɲ] | | |
| Lateral | | l | | | |
| Trill | | r | | | |
| Glides | w | | y [j] | | |

There are several sounds borrowed from Spanish, and which occur only in Spanish loanwords. These sounds include the voiced occlusives [d] and [g].

¹ See Kaufman and Norman 1984: 86-88.

- (1)
- | | |
|----------|-----------------|
| dios | ‘God’ |
| Daniel | ‘a proper name’ |
| dosiento | ‘two hundred’ |
| gasolina | ‘petrol’ |
| Gabriel | ‘a proper name’ |
| iglesia | ‘church’ |

The occlusive alveolar /t/ and the nasal alveolar /n/ are not found contrastively in minimal pairs of words. However there are some contexts where the former is an allophonic manifestation of /ts/ (2a) and the latter an allophone of /ñ/ (2b). Additionally, they are attested in words borrowed from Spanish (2c).

- (2)
- a. **tax** majli < **tsax** majli ‘s/he is gone’
- b. k’uñtsa’ [k’**untsa**] ‘it is soft’
- c. **tambo** ‘canister’
templo ‘church’
tren ‘train’
tractor ‘tractor’

The fricative [f] and the trilled [r] can also be observed in borrowed words from Spanish.

- (3)
- a. **foco** ‘lamp’
Fernando ‘a name’
feria ‘festival’
- b. **tractor** < Sp: ‘tractor’ ‘tractor’
karo < Sp: ‘carro’ ‘car’

Sometimes the foreign sounds in the borrowed word are reshaped according to the Chol sound and syllabic systems. For instance, the trilled [r] is sometimes realized as /l/.

- (4)
- | | | |
|--------|------------------|----------|
| resal | < Sp: rezar | ‘prayer’ |
| poryal | < Sp: chaporrear | ‘clear’ |

There are other instances of reshaping borrowed sounds. For instance the sound [d] from Spanish can be borrowed as /l/ (5a); [g] as /k/ (5b); [n] as /ñ/ (5c); and [f] as /p/ or /b/ (5d).

- (5) a. **Lominko** < Sp: **Domingo** 'a name', 'Sunday'
Lañel < Sp: **Daniel** 'a name'
- b. **kasolina** < Sp: **gasolina** 'petrol'
klesya < Sp: **iglesia** 'church'
- c. **pañ** < Sp: **pan** 'train'
xapuñ < Sp: **jabón** 'soap'
- d. **poko** < Sp: **foco** 'lamp'
Bernantu < Sp: **Fernándo** 'a name'

The phonemes that are part of the Chol sound system deserve some comment. First of all, glottalized consonants are phonemic units, e.g. they contrast with the corresponding non-glottalized forms.

- (6) a. **p'** ≠ **p**
p'aj 'making fun of...'
paj 'sour'
jop' 'try'
jop 'to collect (grain)'
- b. **ty'** ≠ **ty**
ty'uñ 'follow (the path)'
tyuñ 'stone'
joty' 'to scratch'
joty 'to win', 'to accomplish'
- c. **k'** ≠ **k**
k'el 'to see'
kel 'a type of bird'
puk' 'to mix (eg. pozol)'
puk 'to distribute'

- d. $ch' \neq ch$
ch'äk 'flee'
chäk 'strong (eg. the light of fire)'
joch' 'to vaccinate'
joch 'to take off (eg. the clothes)'
- e. $ts' \neq ts$
ts'ij 'to split (eg. firewood)'
tsij 'raw'
läts' 'to join'
läts 'to pile up'

Second, there is a glottal stop in vowel-initial lexical items which is not represented in the written forms.²

- (7) ixik [ʔiʃik^h] 'woman'
i'b [ʔiʔb] 'armadillo'
ijk'al [ʔixk'al] 'a supernatural entity'
ujkuts [ʔuxkuts^h] 'dove'

However, when a fricative consonant (e.g. the noun class prefix *x-*) is placed in front of these root/stems, the glottal stop is maintained.

- (8) x-'ixik [ʃʔiʃik^h] 'woman'
x-'ib [ʃʔiʔb] 'armadillo'
x-'ijk'al [ʃʔixk'al] 'supernatural entity'
x-'ujkuts [ʃʔuxkuts^h] 'dove'

Third, the set of voiceless occlusive and affricate consonants are released with aspiration when they occur word finally. It seems that the strongest puff of air is perceptible after the occlusive bilabial /p/, though a phonetic measurement would help to confirm this hypothesis.

² Additional processes observed in this environment are presented the section about epenthesis.

| | | | |
|-----|--------|------------------------|----------------------|
| (9) | pojɸ | [poɸp ^h] | ‘mat of palm leaves’ |
| | mäɸ | [mip ^h] | ‘a type of fruit’ |
| | ok | [ʔok ^h] | ‘feet’ |
| | k’ajk | [k’axk ^h] | ‘fire’ |
| | muty | [mut ^h] | ‘chicken’, ‘bird’ |
| | käch | [kit ^h] | ‘to tie’ |
| | xmuch | [ʃmut ^h] | ‘frog’ |
| | tsuts | [tsuts ^h] | ‘bedclothes’ |
| | k’ujts | [k’uxts ^h] | ‘cigar’ |

Finally, the bilabial stop /b/(10a), the lateral /l/ (10b), the nasals (10c), and the glide /w/ (10d) are devoiced in final position.

| | | | | |
|------|----|---------|------------------------|--|
| (10) | a. | be’b | [beʔb] | ‘to ask something insistently’ |
| | | bo’b | [boʔb] | ‘the flower of banana’ |
| | | ñajb | [ɲaxb] | ‘the distance between thumb and the little finger’ |
| | | tyujb | [t ^y uxb] | ‘spit’ |
| | | ts’ijb | [tʃ’ixb] | ‘write’ |
| | | tyajb | [t ^y axb] | ‘leather strap for carrying’ |
| | b. | ijk’al | [ʔixk’al] | ‘a supernatural entity’ |
| | | ja’al | [xaʔal] | ‘rain’ |
| | | xkel | [ʃke] | ‘a type of bird’ |
| | | xchil | [ʃtʃil] | ‘grasshopper’ |
| | c. | bajläm | [baxlɨm] | ‘jaguar’ |
| | | kojtyom | [koxt ⁱ om] | ‘a type of animal’ |
| | | tyiñäm | [t ⁱ ɲɨm] | ‘cotton’ |
| | | chikiñ | [tʃikɨ] | ‘ear’ |
| | | juñ | [xuɲ] | ‘paper’, ‘document’ |
| | | tyuñ | [t ⁱ uɲ] | ‘stone’ |

| | | |
|----------|---------|---------------|
| d. joñow | [xoŋow] | ‘bumblebee’ |
| käkaw | [kikiw] | ‘cocoa’ |
| tyow | [tʰow] | ‘sparrowhawk’ |

In bi-syllabic words /b/ can be elided when it is the last consonant of the word, as in the words listed in (11a).³ This feature is also observed in the lateral /l/: Just as with the occlusive, the lateral is commonly dropped in word-final position when the word is bi-syllabic (11b).⁴ Note that where /b/ is dropped it always follows a glottal stop, while this is not the case with /l/.

| | | |
|---------|------------|-----------------------------|
| (11) a. | jayä'(b) | ‘yawning’ |
| | juku'(b) | ‘dugout’ |
| | kejlo'(b) | ‘shoulder’ |
| | sik'ä'(b) | ‘sugar-cane’ |
| | xulu'(b) | ‘horn’ |
| b. | ja'a(l) | ‘rain’ |
| | tyoka(l) | ‘cloud’ |
| | pisi(l) | ‘cloth’ |
| | pusik'a(l) | ‘hearth’ |
| | pewa(l) | ‘cockroach’ |
| | pi'ä(l) | ‘husband’, ‘wife’, ‘friend’ |

2.1.2. Vowels

Chol has a six vowel system, as shown in the following Table.

³ I have found just one instance of a monosyllabic word where /b/ in word-final position is dropped. The word *k'ä'b* ‘hand’ mostly surfaces without the last consonant but with the glottal stop instead, resulting in *k'ä'*. However it is not a consistent process in monosyllabic roots, as can be seen in the ungrammaticality of the other words listed in (10a): **be* ‘to ask something insistently’, **bo* ‘the flower of banana tree’, **ñaj* ‘the distance between the thumb and the little finger’, and so on

Table 6. Vowels of Chol.

| | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i | ä [ī] | u |
| | e | | o |
| Low | | a | |

Unlike other Tseltalan languages (e.g. Tseltal and Tsotsil; see Polian 2006 and Haviland 1981, respectively); but like other Cholan languages (e.g. Chontal, see Osorio May 2005), /ä/ is a contrastive sound as can be seen in the following examples.

- (12) a. **pam** ‘forehead’
päm ‘toucan’
- b. **sip** ‘tick’
säp ‘to stretch’
- c. **muk** ‘to hide’
mäk ‘to cover’
- d. **tyek’** ‘to step on’
tyäk’ ‘to join or stick together’, ‘sticky’
- e. **pok’** ‘gourd, a recipient where the tortillas are put’
päk’ ‘to plant’

Kaufman and Norman (1984: 85) provide a historical explanation about the development of the vowel *ä* in Chol. They state that “the contrast between long and short vowels was lost in Cholan: long vowels normally merged with their short counterparts, except for *aa and *a. The contrast between *aa and *a was maintained by a process in which *a became *ä and aa became *a.” As will be discussed in chapter 5, in general the vowel *ä* in transitive verbs corresponds to *a in reconstructed roots. However, these authors

⁴ Monosyllabic words do not drop the consonant in final position. The monosyllabic words listed in (10b) cannot lose the lateral consonant: **xke* ‘a type of bird’, **xchi* ‘grasshopper’.

suggest that there were some contexts where this shift was blocked, such as its adjacency to *j* (more information about this can be found in §5.1.1).

2.1.3. Practical orthography

The following is the list of symbols in the Chol practical alphabet as was ratified by Chol writers, bilingual teachers, and some linguists in several meetings on “normalization of the Chol writing system” that took place in several Chol villages during 2010. The first column is the phonetic representation and the second is the practical alphabet. This is the order proposed to be used in the lexical entries of Chol dictionaries.⁵

⁵ In addition to the representation of these sounds, there is a proposal from the same group of people to include the letters *n* between the nasals and *t* after *s*.

| | | |
|------|--------|-----|
| (13) | [a] | a |
| | [b] | b |
| | [tʃ] | ch |
| | [tʃʰ] | chʰ |
| | [e] | e |
| | [i] | i |
| | [x] | j |
| | [k] | k |
| | [kʰ] | kʰ |
| | [l] | l |
| | [m] | m |
| | [ɲ] | ñ |
| | [o] | o |
| | [p] | p |
| | [pʰ] | pʰ |
| | [r] | r |
| | [s] | s |
| | [ts] | ts |
| | [tsʰ] | tsʰ |
| | [tʃʰ] | ty |
| | [tʃʰʰ] | tyʰ |
| | [u] | u |
| | [w] | w |
| | [ʃ] | x |
| | [j] | y |
| | [ɨ] | ä |
| | [ʔ] | - |

2.2. STRESS

In general, there is a main lexical stress in Chol which commonly falls on the last syllable of the word, as can be seen in bi-syllabic examples in (14a). In the following examples, the stress is indicated by an acute accent on the vocalic nucleus. This is the pattern that also seems to be followed in borrowed words with more than two syllables (14b).

- (14) a. já' 'water'
 ja'ál 'rain'
 píx 'wrap'
 píxól 'hat'
 tyúñ 'stone'
 múty 'chicken'
 tyumúty 'eggs'
 ixím 'corn'
 ok'ól 'mud'
 ja'ás 'banana'
- b. alaxáx < Sp: naránja 'orange'
 kayetáj < Sp: galléta 'cookies'
 tyexeléx < Sp: tijéra 'scissors'
 kixtyañúj < Sp: cristiáno 'people'

Compound forms also place the main stress on the last syllable. An additional weak stress can be heard in the first part of the compound form. If it is bi-syllabic, the weak stress goes on the second syllable. The secondary or weak stress is indicated in bold in the following examples.

- (15) tyatymúty 'rooster' (male+chicken)
 chäkmé' 'a type of deer' (red+deer)
 matye'chityám 'wild boar' (forest+pig)
 bajlämtyé' 'a type of tree' (jaguar+tree)

Phrasal stress follows the same pattern. For instance when a predicate, as in (16a), takes the stative suffix *-VI*, the stress falls on the suffix and there is no additional secondary stress. But when more suffixes or clitics are added, the main stress moves toward the last syllable (16b-c). Notice in (16d) that the secondary stress has moved one step. This is caused by the overt realization of the person marker for the subject. This fact could tell us that the person marker is tightly bound to the stem, unlike the clitics.

- (16) a. buch-úl-ø
 seat-STAT-B3
 'S/he is seated'

- b. buch-**ul**-∅=kú
sleep-STAT-B3-AFFR
'yes, s/he is seated'
- c. buch-**ul**-∅=tyo=kú
seat-STAT-B3=still=AFFR
'yes, s/he is still seated'
- d. buch-**ul**-**oñ**=tyo=ku=lá
seat-STAT-B1=still=AFFR=PLINC
'yes, we are still seated'

The main stress moves toward the first syllable when the speaker wants to make a yes/no question out of a statement (17a-c). It seems that there is a slightly secondary stress in the last suffix of the stem (17b, c). However this point is subject to a more detailed study, including spectrographic analyses.

- (17) a. búch-**ul**-∅
seat-STAT-B3
'Is s/he seated?'
- b. búch-**ul**-∅=äch
seat-STAT-B3=AFFR
'Is it true that is s/he seated?'
- c. búch-**ul**-**oñ**=äch
seat-STAT-B1=AFFR
'Is it true that am I seated?'

2.3. THE SYLLABIC PATTERN

The following are the possible Chol syllable types.

- (18) CV
CVC
CVCC
CCVC
CCVCC

From these possibilities, the most common patterns are CV and CVC. Notice in the last couple of examples that bi-syllabic roots do exist.

- | | | | | |
|------|-------|-----------|-----------|--------|
| (19) | muty | [mutʰ] | ‘chicken’ | CVC |
| | pul | [pu] | ‘to burn’ | CVC |
| | jaʼ | [xaʔ] | ‘water’ | CVC |
| | ixik | [ʔi.xikʰ] | ‘woman’ | CV.CVC |
| | wiñik | [wi.ɲikʰ] | ‘man’ | CV.CVC |

As in other Mayan languages, such as Mam (England 1983) and Itzaj (Hofling 2000), the glottal onset exists in Chol. For this reason, roots apparently starting in V are in fact consonant-initial.⁶

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|--------|-------------------|-----|
| (20) | ich | [ʔitʃ] | ‘chili’ | CVC |
| | ax | [ʔax] | ‘a type of fruit’ | CVC |
| | ok | [ʔokʰ] | ‘foot’ | CVC |
| | ej | [ʔex] | ‘tooth’ | CVC |

Complex onsets only occur across morpheme boundaries, while complex codas are limited to clusters of *jC*. For instance, initial consonant clusters can appear when a noun takes inflection for possessor (21a), while in coda position the first consonant of the cluster must be *j* [x] (21b).

⁶ As was mentioned above, the glottal stop prevails only when the preceding consonant is a fricative, otherwise, it disappears when a preceding consonant is added to the word.

| | | | |
|---------|--------|-----------|--------------------|
| (21) a. | kpam | [kpam̩] | ‘my forehead’ |
| | ktyem | [ktʰem̩] | ‘my chair’ |
| | kpech | [kpetʃʰ] | ‘my duck’ |
| b. | ch’ujm | [tʃʰuxm̩] | ‘pumping’ |
| | tyujb | [tʰuxb̩] | ‘spit’ |
| | mujk | [muxkʰ] | ‘navel’ |
| | ch’ajb | [tʃʰaxb̩] | ‘to follow a diet’ |
| | k’ujts | [kʰuxtsʰ] | ‘cigar’ |

In sum, most syllable shapes in Chol are CV and CVC. Complex onsets surface only at morpheme boundaries, while in complex codas, the first consonant is limited to the fricative *j* [x].

2.4. PHONOLOGICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES

In this section, common morphophonemic and phonological rules are described. These include reduplication, assimilation, vowel harmony, metathesis, epenthesis, elision, simplification of geminate consonants, and other consonant alternations.

2.4.1. Reduplication

Reduplication is a productive resource in Chol and has many functions. For instance, affect words (discussed in §5.5) are derived by reduplicating the root plus the suffix *-ña* which is restricted to this class. In most cases the root $C_1V_1C_2$ can result in the reduplication $C_1V_1C_2.C_1V_1C_2$.

| | | |
|------|--------------|--|
| (22) | bojbojña | ‘noise (eg. somebody knocking a door)’ |
| | wojwojña | ‘dog barking’ |
| | ch’i’ch’i’ña | ‘chicken screeching’ |
| | kotykotyña | ‘somebody or something animate walking on four legs’ |
| | chakchakña | ‘somebody walking naked’ |

There are five color terms in Chol. All of them are indicated by reduplication. Only the word for ‘yellow’ totally reduplicates the root. In the remaining color terms other processes can be observed. For instance in the word for ‘green’, the last consonant in the root is velarized ($\text{ʃ} \rightarrow \text{x}$); while in the other words, the last consonant is dropped in the reduplicated forms.

| | | | |
|------|----------|------------|----------|
| (23) | k’āñk’āñ | | ‘yellow’ |
| | yäjyäch | * yäxyäch | ‘green’ |
| | säsäk | * säksäk | ‘white’ |
| | chächäk | * chäkchäk | ‘red’ |
| | i’ik’ | * ik’ik’ | ‘black’ |

The properties of nouns can be expressed by reduplication. In the reduplicated form, they can have the meaning ‘kind of...’, ‘a little...’ or ‘more or less...’.

| | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------------|------------------|---|--------|------------|
| (24) | a. | pajpaj | ‘a little sour’ | < | paj | ‘sour’ |
| | | chañchañ | ‘kind of high’ | < | chañ | ‘high’ |
| | | tsäwañtsäwañ | ‘a little cold’ | < | tsäwañ | ‘cold’ |
| | | yajyaj | ‘kind of thin’ | < | yaj | ‘thin’ |
| | b. | pe’pek’ | ‘kind of short’ | < | pek’ | ‘short’ |
| | | tyikätyikäw | ‘a little hot’ | < | tyikäw | ‘hot’ |
| | | ch’och’ok | ‘kind of unripe’ | < | ch’ok | ‘not ripe’ |

Finally, some descriptions of geographical conditions can be expressed by reduplication. As with the adjectives, they offer a meaning ‘a little...’ or ‘more or less...’, as in the following examples.

| | | |
|------|------------|-------------------------|
| (25) | lomlomtyäl | ‘more or less a valley’ |
| | pampamtyäl | ‘more or less flat’ |
| | bujbujtyäl | ‘more or less highland’ |

2.4.2 Assimilation

There are two instances of assimilation in Chol. First, the nasal \tilde{n} can assimilate to the property of the subsequent consonant at a morpheme boundary. For instance the nasal of the pronoun *jiñ* is labialized before *b* and velarized before *k*. Notice in example (26b) that before *l* this phoneme is realized as an alveolar.

- (26) a. *jiñäch* [xiɲɨtʃ] ‘yes, it is’
 jiñtyo [xiɲtʃo] ‘It is still it’
 jiñba [ximba] ‘Is it?’
 jiñku [xiɲku] ‘yes, it is’
- b. *joñoñ* [xoɲoɲ] ‘I’
 joñoñla [xoɲoɲla] ‘we (INC)’

Another instance of assimilation can be observed in vowels. For instance when the negative particle *mach* precedes the clitic =*tyo*, the vowel of the negation changes in order to be identical to the vowel of the clitic. The first line in example (27a) corresponds to the surface structure and the assimilation is noticeable. Most of examples from the data show the assimilation. However it is not quite consistent because some speakers do not show such assimilation (27b); even a single speaker can alternatively employ one or the other form.

- (27) a. *moxtyo akäñ-ä-ø*
 mach=tyo a-käñ-ä-ø
 NEG=still A2-know-TV-B3
 ‘you do not still know it?’ {031009_44}
- b. *maxtyo kom*
 mach=tyo k-om-ø
 NEG=still A1-want-B3
 ‘I don’t want it yet’ {080730_24b}

2.4.3. Vowel harmony

There are two contexts where vowel harmony is obligatory in Chol. First, CVC transitive roots in perfective aspect take a status suffix which is harmonic with the vowel of the root.⁷

| | | | |
|------|-----|---------------|--------------------|
| (28) | tyi | kbaja | ‘I nailed it’ |
| | tyi | kmek’e | ‘I hugged her/him’ |
| | tyi | kityi | ‘I untied it’ |
| | tyi | kpoko | ‘I washed it’ |
| | tyi | kmulu | ‘I watered it’ |
| | tyi | kpätyä | ‘I made it’ |

The second environment where a harmonic vowel is used is in the suffix of positional stative constructions. The stative suffix is *-Vl*, in which *V* is harmonic with the vowel of the root.

| | | |
|------|---------------|-------------------------------------|
| (29) | chakal | ‘s/he is bared’ |
| | mek’el | ‘she is hugged’ |
| | chikil | ‘it is strained’ |
| | wolol | ‘it is rounded’ |
| | buchul | ‘s/he is seated’ |
| | päkäl | ‘s/he is lying down with face down’ |

2.4.4. Metathesis

There are some instances of metathesis registered. In the Tila dialect, the *k* and *ch* can interchange their positions (30a), as can *l* and ’ [ʔ] (30b).

| | | | |
|------|----|---------------------------------|------------|
| (30) | a. | ejch’ak / ejk’ach | ‘nail’ |
| | b. | al’iyaj / a’liyaj | ‘to scold’ |

⁷ More discussion about it is in §5.1.1.

López López (2005) also reported some instances of metathesis of [l] and [ʔ] in some villages of the Tumbalá dialect (31a) and (31b). In this dialect, the metathesis between *x* and *k* was also reported by López López (31c).⁸

- (31) a. bul'ich / bu'lich 'to sweat'
 b. al'i'b / a'li'b 'daughter-in-law'
 c. muxuk' / mukux 'navel'

Probably this alternation is triggered by stylistic variation, since it is found in both Tila and Tumbalá Chol. A sociolinguistic study could result in more accurate conclusions on this.

2.4.5. Epenthesis

In Chol the vocalic sequence VV can surface as a result of morphological combinations. However vocalic hiatus is not allowed in this language. Epenthesis is the strategy for avoiding vowel hiatus. There are two environments where epenthesis seems to be required. In both cases, morpheme boundaries are involved. On the one hand, the sequence V₁V₂ could arise when the stem ending in a vocalic element is followed by first or second person absolutive marker, *-oñ* and *-ety*, respectively. This language uses the strategy of inserting the epenthetic glide *y* to avoid diphthongs (32a). Since the epenthetic element is not sensitive to the type of vowel of the stem, it means that in this environment, it is V₂ that triggers the epenthesis. In (32b) the stem does not end in a vocalic element, consequently the epenthesis is not required.

⁸ Notice that in the last example the occlusive consonant does not surface glottalized when is not in final position.

- (32) a. tyi wäyi-**y**-oñ < tyi wäy**ioñ** 'I slept'
 tyi kmek'**e-y**-ety < tyi kmek'**eety** 'I hugged you'
 tyi kp'aja-**y**-ety < tyi kp'aja**ety** 'I deceived you'
 tyi xkolo-**y**-ety < tyi xkolo**ety** 'I loosed you'
 tyi kpulu-**y**-ety < tyi kpulu**ety** 'I burn you'
 tyi kilä-**y**-ety < tyi kilä**ety** 'I saw you'
- b. mi kmek'-ety < mi kmek'**ety** 'I hug you'

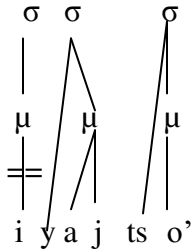
On the other hand, when the second or third person set A markers, which are *a* and *i*, respectively, are placed in front of a root or stem starting in a vowel, the sequence VV could potentially appear. However such a sequence never occurs in Chol because in the first case the glide *w* is inserted between the vowels (33a), while in the second case the glide *y* is required between the vowels (33b). (33c) shows that the vowels are the possessor markers in nouns starting in a consonant.

- (33) a. **awalaxax** < **aalaxax** 'your orange'
awax < **aax** 'your *ax* (a type of fruit)'
awotyoty < **aotyoty** 'your house'
awul < **aul** 'your atole'
awixim < **aixim** 'your corn'
awej < **aej** 'your teeth'
- b. **iyej** < **iej** 'his/her teeth'
iyich < **iich** 'his/her hot pepper'
iyalaxax < **ialaxax** 'his/her orange'
iyotyoty < **iotyoty** 'his/her house'
iyul < **iul** 'his/her atole'
- c. **apislel** 'your cloth'
imis 'his/her cat'

Interestingly, in the spoken form, the ergative pronoun third person singular sometimes surfaces without the vowel (34a). This feature is limited to third person because for the second person, the vowel is required (34b).⁹

- (34) a. (i)y-ajtso' 'his/her turkey'
 (i)y-ajkum 'his/her sweet potatoes'
- b. aw-ajtso' 'your turkey'
 * w-ajtso' Intended meaning: 'your turkey'
 * w-ajkum Intended meaning: 'your sweet potatoes'

Based on example (34a), it seems that a moraic element in Chol, and consequently a syllabic element, can be elided. V₂ cannot be bimoraic because, for instance, its length is not affected. Notice that the glide remains in the onset position.



This synchronic property of third person has a different historical explanation. The reconstructed form for the third person set A before vowels is *r and y is the proto-Tseltalan reflex of *r (Kaufman and Norman 1984: 91). Therefore y is a development from the prefix *r-. Consequently, y is not epenthetic at all, but rather is a development from the prefix *r-.¹⁰ The glide w in the second person set A marker on the other hand, seems to be historically as well as synchronically an epenthetic element inserted between the marker a- and the vowel initial stem.

In sum it is clear that Chol does not allow hiatus or geminate vowels. At some morpheme boundaries, which potentially generate the sequence VV, epenthesis is necessary in order to avoid sequences of vowels. After the root or stem, it is clear that it is V₂ that triggers the type of the epenthetic glide to be inserted. This vowel materialized as o or e, which

⁹ More discussion about it is found in the chapter about person inflection.

¹⁰ See chapter 4 for more discussion about it.

are vowels of first and second person set B respectively. There are no other possibilities. Both have [+high] features and consequently they must trigger the insertion of the glide *y*. On the contrary, before the root/stem, it is V_1 that defines the type of glide to be used. It is clear in the context where the glide *w* is inserted between the second person marker *a-* and the vowel of the stem. Third person set A seems to follow the same rule although historical processes are apparently also involved.

In previous works on Chol, Vazquez Álvarez (2002), Coon (2010: 191), and others, the Set A markers were analyzed as allomorphic variation when they precede a word starting in a vowel. Other Mayan languages, such as Itzaj, from the Yukatekan branch, also show the same feature. It was also analyzed by Hofling (2000: 11-12) as allomorphy of set A person markers. Hofling considers that in this environment, the glottal of the root-initial glottal stop changes to *w* with first and second person set A and changes to *y* with third-person set A person marker. Finally, in Tseltal, the second person Set A with the glide *w* can allow an adjective between them (35a), which is not possible in Chol (35b). This property may tell us that in Tseltal the glide is not just part of an allomorphic variation of the person marker.

Tseltal

- (35) a. **a** ch'in **w**-ijts'in=e
 A2 small w-brother=TOP
 'Your younger brother'

Chol

- b. * **a**-chuty **w**-ijts'iñ
 A2-small w-brother
 Intended meaning: 'Your younger brother'

2.4.6. Elision

There are several instances where a consonant or a vowel is deleted. For instance the imperfective marker *muk'* is frequently realized without the last consonant (36a). Notice

in this example that the glottal stop is required. When the imperfective takes the clitic =*ix*, it drops the last consonant and additionally, the vowel of the clitic is also dropped (36b). The clitic also drops the vowel when it is attached to the complementizer *che*' (36c). In all cases the resulting syllabic type is CVC. So probably the syllabic constraint governs the fusion of the morphemes.

- (36) a. mu' < muk' imperfective marker
 b. mux < muk'=ix imperfective plus the clitic =*ix*
 c. chex < che'=ix complementizer plus the clitic =*ix*

There are more instances of consonant deletion. For instance, the fricative consonant *j* [x] is dropped when the word is inflected for set A first person, as in the following examples.

- (37) kuloñib < **kj**juloñib 'my rifle'
 ka'añ < **kj**a'añ 'brother in law'
 kol < **kj**ol 'head'
 ki' < **kj**i' 'my sand'
 kuñ < **kj**uñ 'my paper'

In final position, the consonants *l* (38a) and *b* (38b) are commonly dropped. Notice when *b* is dropped, a glottal stop is required. This fact could be due to the devoiced property of these consonant in word final position. When a suffix is required after these consonants, *l* can be optionally restored if the suffix starts in a consonant; otherwise *l* is required (38c). In this context, the consonant *b* alternates with the glottal stop when either is followed by a consonant or a vowel (38d).

- (38) a. wäye < wäyel 'to sleep'
 kaje < kajel 'to start'
 majle < majlel 'to go'
 tyäle < tyälel 'to come'

- b. k'ä' < k'äb 'hand'
 wiñiko' < wiñikob 'men'
 chiki' < chikib 'basket'
 misuji' < misujib 'broom'
 xulu' < xulub 'horn'
- c. mi kwäyetyak < mi kwäyeltyak 'sometimes I sleep'
 mi iwäyelob 'they sleep'
- d. wiñiko'tyak < wiñikobtyak 'men'
 wiñiko'ik < wiñikobik 'if they were men'

The irrealis marker *kole* is represented in the written form by speakers without the last consonant *l*. However, it must be there underlyingly because it is restored when this word takes a clitic starting in a vowel, as in the following example; otherwise, we would have to consider *l* to be an epenthetic element.

- (39) kolel=äch i-ganariñ-oñ=bä
 IRR=AFFR A3-SP:beat-B1=REL
 'He almost bite me' {080704_20a}

Regarding vowel deletion, it can be observed in the context where locative words takes the affirmative clitic =äch. In this context the sequence V'V is produced at morpheme boundary which surfaces just as V. It means that it is V₁, the vowel of the locative that is deleted.¹¹

- (40) a. wäxtyo añoñi
 wä'=äch=tyo añ-oñ=i
 here=AFFR=still E-B1=ENC
 'yes, I am still here' {031009_44}
- b. yäxtyo añ
 ya'=äch=tyo añ-ø
 there=AFFR=still E-B3
 'yes, It is still there' {031102_43}

¹¹ In this particular environment there is also a change in the consonant, which is discussed below.

- (41) **läxtyo ta' lichiloñ**
la'=äch=tyo=tsa' lich-il-oñ
 here=AFFR=still=REA droopy-STAT-B1
 'I am still alive' Lit: '(although) droopy, I am still here' {080604_12a}

Finally, in the context of the use of the plural marker *la* placed in front of set A second person, which is a vowel *a-*, one vowel is dropped. In the resulting form, the glottal stop appears immediately after the plural maker. The glottal stop could be analyzed as the one that appears in vowel-initial roots which disappears in some contexts. It also could be a reflex of another strategy to separate sequence of vowels attested in other Mayan languages, but not longer productive in Chol.

- (42) a. **la'pi'äl**
la=a-pi'äl
 PL2=A2-friend
 'your (pl) friend' {070621_11a}
- b. **añ la'wotyoty**
añ-∅ la=aw-otyoty
 E-B3 PL2=A2-house
 'you have your house' {031102_43}

Apparently this rule can also be found across morpheme boundaries. For instance, the third person Set A is commonly dropped when occurs with the perfective marker *tyi*. As can be seen in (43), the perfective marker must surfaces with the glottal stop.

- (43) a. **tyi' su'boñ**
tyi i-su'b-oñ
 PRFV A3-tell-B1
 'He told me it' {070613_4}
- b. * **tyi su'b-oñ**

2.4.7. Geminate consonants

In Chol doubled consonants are not allowed. Geminate consonants can be potentially found in morpheme boundaries, and there are two strategies to avoid them. First, when the first person set A *k-* precedes a root starting with the same consonant, as in (44a), the person markers becomes *-j* ($k \rightarrow j / _k$). Second, when some words, e.g. nouns, ending in a consonant take a clitic which starts with a consonant identical to the last consonant of the root, as in (44b), the gemination is eliminated by simplification. The last process can also be observed when the noun class prefix *aj-* precedes a noun starting with *j* (44c).

- (44) a.

| | | | |
|---------|---|-----------------|---------------|
| jk'äb | < | kk' äb | 'my hand' |
| jkäkäw | < | kkäkäw | 'my cacao' |
| jkejlob | < | kkejlob | 'my shoulder' |
| jk'ujts | < | kk' ujts | 'my cigar' |
- b.

| | | | |
|---------|---|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| koleme | < | kole mm e | 'it is big' |
| wiñiku | < | wiñi kk u | 'yes, it is a man' |
| chutyö | < | chuty ty ö | 'it is still small' |
| jk'ä'bi | < | kk'ä bb i | 'it is said that it is my hand' |
- c.

| | | | |
|--------------|---|-----------------------|-------------------|
| aJose | < | ajJ ose | 'a proper name' |
| aJaime | < | ajJ aime | 'a proper name' |
| ajek'chityam | < | ajjek' chityam | 'the pork killer' |

The simplification of geminate consonants also occurs in contexts where transitive verbs ending in *b* takes the applicative suffix *-b*. The presence of the applicative suffix in these verbs is inferred by the type of the vowel that follows the applicative suffix: it is always followed by the suffix *-e* in the perfective aspect (45). Some verbs that has *b* as the last consonant are the following (more details of ditransitive constructions is in §10.6).

- (45)

| | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|
| su'b | 'to tell' |
| ch'u'b | 'to make a hole' |
| je'b | 'to serve (liquids)' |
| ts'ä'b | 'to turn on (light)' |
| ty'o'b | 'to scratch in order to make a hole' |

2.4.8. a → ä

In addition to the already described processes, there are a few more. One of them consists of the change of the quality of the vowel [a] in word initial position when it takes set A inflection. In this case, the vowel of the root is realized as *ä* [ɨ]. This change can be observed both in verbs (46a) and nouns (46b).¹²

- (46) a. al käl ‘I say’, ‘I think’
 ak’ käk’ ‘I gave it’¹³
- b. alak’ kälak’ ‘my fowl’, ‘my pet’
 ak’ach käk’ach ‘my turkey hen’
 ats’am käts’am ‘my salt’
 ak’iñ käk’iñ ‘my clearing (eg. the cornfield)’
 al’ib käl’ib ‘my daughter in law’

2.4.9. Dissimilation: ch →x

There is a context where the affricate consonant *ch* [tʃ] becomes fricative *x* [ʃ] before the occlusive palatal *ty* [tʃ] (tʃ → ʃ /_tʃ). One example can be observed in the negative particle *mach*. In this case, the last consonant of the negative marker can fricativize when it is followed by the occlusive palatal *ty* (47). Another example where the same rule is observed is when the clitic =*äch* is in front of *ty* (48a) and (48b).¹⁴

- (47) moxyo akäñä
 mach=tyo a-käñ-ä-ø
 NEG=still A2-know-TV-B3
 ‘Do you not know it yet?’ {031009_44}

¹² It is important to point out that this process on nouns is only observed in some bisyllabic words. Not all bisyllabic nouns behave in the same way. For instance *a’bäk* ‘charcoal’ does not change the vowel when it is possessed: *ka’bäk*. Monosyllabic words on the other hand, do not exhibit any change: *ka’b* ‘my hammock’ < *a’b*; *kak’* ‘my tongue’ < *ak’* and so on.

¹³ The root *alas* ‘to play’ is nominalized when it takes set A inflection and a change in the first vowel occurs: *kälas* ‘my toy’

¹⁴ In (48a) the consonant of the stative suffix is dropped because it is preceded by a consonant (see §2.4.6). Moreover, the vowel of the locative particle is also dropped in this context (see also §2.4.6).

- (48) a. **kuxuxtyo**
 kux-ul-ø=**äch**=tyo
 alive-STAT-B3=AFFR=still
 ‘she is still alive’ {031009_44}
- b. **wäxtyo añoñi**
 wä’=**äch**=tyo añ-oñ=i
 here=already=still E-B I=ENC
 ‘I am still here’ {031009_44}

2.4.10. x → j

The final phonological process observed in Chol is: [ʃ] → [x] /_[tʃ], [y]. This process can be observed in a composition (49a) or reduplication (49b). The shift in the point of articulation seems to be triggered for the following consonants which are palatal.

- (49) a. **ch’ijchum**¹⁵ ‘chayote’ < *ch’ix* ‘thorn’ + *chujm* ‘pumpkin’
- b. **yäjyäch** ‘green’ < *yäch* ‘green’ + *yäch* ‘green’

¹⁵ Notice also in this example that in the second noun, the fricative is dropped.

III

Morphology

This chapter is a brief introduction to Chol morphology. In the first section the major root and word classes are introduced. In the second section all types of affixes in Chol are presented. In section 3.3 the different types of clitics discussed in this work are described. Since composition and incorporation also play an important role in lexical formation, they are also summarized in the last section.

The details of the materials introduced in this chapter will be discussed further in the next two chapters.

3.1. ROOTS AND WORDS

Major roots and word classes in Mayan have been mostly defined by their inflectional, derivational, and syntactic properties (see Haviland 1994). Many studies on Mayan include the following major root and word classes: verbs (1a), nouns (1b), adjectives (1c), adverbs (1d), affect words (1e), and positionals (2). Often a root adds a derivational affix to form a word of a different class or with a different meaning from that of the root, which can result in derived words (as exemplified in the right column of the following examples). Some roots, such as positionals, require derivation to form words (see example (3), (4), below). In Chol the words for colors (1c), some adverbs (1d), and affect words are reduplicated (1e).

- (1) a. Verbs
wäy 'to sleep' wäy-is-añ-ø 'to make somebody sleep'
sleep-CAU-DT-B3

| | | | | |
|-----------------|----------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|
| b. Noun | | | | |
| ich | ‘chilis’ | wäy-ib | sleep-INST | ‘bed’ |
| c. Adjective | | | | |
| chañ | ‘high’ | k’än-k’añ | yellow-RED | ‘yellow’ |
| d. Adverb | | | | |
| se’b | ‘fast’ | ajñe-’ajñe | quickly-RED | ‘fast’ |
| e. Affect words | | | | |
| we’ | ‘scream’ | we’-we’-ña | scream-RED-AFV | ‘screaming’ |

Positional roots, which predicate the position, state or form of an object, have been considered to be a special root class in Mayan because they require derivation in order to form words (see England 1983: 78). In Tseltal for instance, Polian (2006: §3.3.5.3) analyzes positionals as derived words. This class can be identified just by its morphosyntactic properties, as in the following example from Tseltal.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| (2) | nak | ‘seat’ | nak-al | (stative pred.) | ‘seated’ |
| | | | nak-l-ej | (noun) | ‘in the position of...’ |
| | | | najk’-aj | (verb) | ‘to seat’ |
| | | | najk’-añ | (verb) | ‘to seat somebody’ |

In Chol positionals take special morphology restricted to this class to derive non-verbal predicates, adjectives, and verbs. As illustrated in (3a), a positional takes the suffix *-V₁l* to form the positional predicate (a non-verbal predicate). To derive intransitive verbs in the perfective aspect, the suffix *-le* is required (3b); while for the imperfective *-ty* is used (3c). To derive transitive forms, this class requires the form *-choko* in the perfective aspect (4a) and *-chokoñ* in the imperfective (4b).

- (3) a. **tyots'-ol** 'laying down'
buch-ul 'seated'
wa'-al 'standing up'
- b. **tyi tyots'-le-ø**
 PRFV lay.down-PPRFV-B3
 'S/he lay down'
- c. **mi i-tyots'-ty-äl**
 IMFV A3-lay.down-PIMFV-NF
 'S/he lies down'
- (4) a. **tyi i-tyots'-chok-o-ø**
 PRFV A3-lay.down-CAU-DT-B3
 'S/he laid it down'
- b. **mi i-tyots'-chok-oñ-ø**
 IMFV A3-lay.down-CAU-DT-B3
 'S/he lays it down'

Some classes of roots or words may also require some syntactic or morphological means to clarify to which class they belong. For instance, some words can offer either a verbal or nominal reading. The former reading applies when a word is preceded by the light verb *cha'l* (5a); otherwise, if the light verb is not used and the word takes Set A person marker inflection, it has a nominal reading (5b). The presence or absence of *cha'l* can also make an unergative and unaccusative distinction in intransitive verbs (see the contrast in examples 6).

- (5) a. **tyi k-cha'l-e-ø oñ-el**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 shout-NF
 'I shouted'
- b. **k-oñ-el**
 A1-shout-NF
 'my shout'

- (6) a. tyi k-cha'l-e-ø **wäy**-el
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 sleep-NF
 'I sleep intentionally'
- b. tyi **wäy**-i-y-oñ
 PRFV sleep-IV-EP-B1
 'I sleep (as I usually do in the evening)'

Finally, certain roots can have either an intransitive or transitive reading. When the root takes the status suffix for intransitive verbs and takes only one inflection for person marker, the root offers an intransitive reading (7a); on the contrary, if it takes the status suffix for transitive and has two inflected person markers, as in (7b), the reading must be transitive.

- (7) a. tyi **pul**-i-y-ety
 PRFV burn-IV-EP-B2
 'you got burnt'
- b. tyi i-**pul**-u-y-ety
 PRFV A3-burn-TV-EP-B2
 'S/he burned you'

3.2. AFFIXES

Affixes are bound forms that are added to roots or stems. Affixation is the main resource in Chol word formation. In this language there are prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Suffixes are considerably more abundant than the other affixes.

Concretely, there are two derivational prefixes, which refer to the noun class markers *aj-* and *x-*. The first one goes with proper names (8a); it can derive nouns from verbs (8b), and can be prefixed to some terms that refer to animals (8c). *X-*, on the other hand, also goes with proper names (9a) and with the name of some animals (9b); but additionally can be prefixed to the name of some trees and plants (9c).¹

¹ The variety of functions of these prefixes in Tumbalá Chol was detailed by Arcos López (2009).

- (8) a. **aj**-Maria ‘proper name’
 aj-Wañ ‘proper name’
- b. **aj**-xujch’ ‘the robber’
 aj-tsänsaj ‘the killer’
- c. **aj**-’uch ‘the opossum’
 aj-kuj ‘the owl’
- (9) a. **x**-Maria ‘a proper name’
 x-Wañ ‘a proper name’
- b. **x**-wax ‘the fox’
 x-k’uk’ ‘the quetzal’
- c. **x**-ch’ujtye’ ‘cedar’
 x-kulañtya ‘cilantro’

In addition, Set A inflections are prefixed to nouns (10a) and verbs (10b).

- (10) a. **k**-wex
 A1-pants
 ‘my pants’
- b. mi **k**-wäy-el
 IMFV A1-sleep-NF
 ‘I sleep’

Infixation is used with passivization and as a resource for deriving numeral classifiers. First of all, some transitive roots reduce valence by infixing *-j-* into the root. This process is accompanied by a reduction of the number of core arguments from two to one (see the contrasts in examples (11) and (12)), and the remaining argument referring to the patient is the subject of the verb.

- (11) a. tyi i-**päy**-ä-y-oñ
 PRFV A3-call-TV-EP-B1
 ‘S/he called me’

b. tyi pä<j>y-i-y-oñ
 PRFV call<+PAS>-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I was called’

(12) a. tyi i-**jats**’-ä-y-oñ
 PRFV A3-hit-TV-EP-B1
 ‘S/he hit me’

b. tyi ja<j>ts’-i-y-oñ
 PRFV hit<+PAS>-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I was hit’

The other context where infixation is used is in the derivation of numeral classifiers (13a) or measure words (13b). All of them must be placed after words referring to numbers, as is exemplified in (13c). These derivations come mostly from positionals and verbs.

(13) a. jäl (POS) ‘large and thin’ jäjł ‘large and thin’
 wol (V) ‘to round’ wojł ‘rounded’
 päk (V) ‘to fold’ päjk ‘folded’

b. much’ (V) ‘to put together’ mujch’ ‘masses of... (eg. any grain)’
 kuch (V) ‘to carry’ kujch ‘load’
 jap (V) ‘to drink’ jajp ‘drink’

c. mu’=ta’ y-äk’(-b)-eñ-ety jun-**kujch** aw-ixim
 IMFV=REA A3-give-APL-DT-B2 one-CL A2-corn
 ‘he gives you one load of corn’ {070621_11c}

d. * mu’=ta’ y-äk’(-b)-eñ-ety jun-**kuch** aw-ixim

Finally, suffixation is the main resource used to derive words or just to indicate grammatical inflection. In order to illustrate these processes, a few examples are presented next. For instance the suffix *-añ* on nouns can derive intransitive verbs (14a) (in the perfective aspect, the allomorph *-ä* is required)². The suffix *-is* causativizes some

² The contrast *-añ/-ä* in verbs is discussed with more detail in §5.1.1.

intransitive verbs (14b). The suffix *-b* derives ditransitive verbs (14c), and *-ty* derives some intransitive verbs by passivization of the corresponding transitive verb (14d). The relevant inflectional and derivative suffixes are highlighted.

- | | | | | |
|---------|-------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (14) a. | wiñik (N) | ‘man’ | wiñik- añ (IV) | ‘to be a man’ |
| b. | wäy (IV) | ‘to sleep’ | wäy- is -añ (TV) | ‘to make him/her sleep’ |
| c. | mään (TV) | ‘to buy’ | mään- b -eñ (DV) | ‘to buy X for somebody’ |
| d. | pejkañ (TV) | ‘to talk to’ | pejkañ- ty -el (DI) | ‘to be talked to’ |

On the other hand, some suffixes do not change the class or the valence of a word. The Set B inflection can mark person of the subject of non-verbal predicates, such as the one formed by a noun (15a). The same inflection on a verb indicates one direct argument, e.g. the intransitive subject (15b). The vowel *-i* indicates that a verb is intransitive in the perfective aspect (15c), while other vowels in the same place in harmony with the vowel of the root indicate a transitive verb, also in perfective aspect (15d). Finally, as can be observed in the last set of examples, there are different inflections for imperatives (15e-g).

- | | | | | |
|---------|------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| (15) a. | wiñik (N) | ‘man’ | wiñik- oñ | ‘I am a man’ |
| b. | wäy (IV) | ‘to sleep’ | wäy-i-y- oñ | ‘I sleep’ |
| c. | wäy (IV) | ‘to sleep’ | wäy- i | ‘s/he slept’ |
| d. | mään (TV) | ‘to buy’ | mään- ä | ‘S/he bought it (plus aspect)’ |
| e. | mään (TV) | ‘to buy’ | mään- ä | ‘buy it!’ |
| f. | wäy (IV) | ‘to sleep’ | wäy- eñ | ‘sleep!’ |
| g. | buch (POS) | ‘to sit’ | buch- i | ‘sit down!’ |

3.3. CLITICS

There are several grammatical elements that form a phonological unit mostly with the form that precedes them. We can identify three types of clitics in Chol. First of all, the plural markers of first person inclusive and exclusive follow or precede the root or stem without a change in the meaning of the construction, as can be seen in the following examples.³

³ The clitic =*la* is also the plural marker for second person (see next chapter).

- (16) a. k-otyoty=**la**
 A1-house=PLINC
 ‘Our (inclusive) house’
- b. **la**=k-otyoty
 PLINC=A1-house
 ‘Our (inclusive) house’
- (17) a. k-otyoty=**loñ**
 A1-house=PLEXC
 ‘Our (exclusive) house’
- b. **loñ**=k-otyoty
 PLEXC=A1-house
 ‘Our (exclusive) house’

Second, there are several clitics which are always added to the first word of the clause. In Tseltalan they are analyzed as second position clitics (see Polian 2006: §3.6). In (18a) the main predicate takes the reportative marker, which is a second position clitic in Chol. When the main predicate is preceded by an aspectual marker, as in (18b), this clitic is hosted by the aspect marker. If there is still more material before the aspect marker, this clitic moves toward the first word, as in (18c). Second position clitics cannot be attached to any word that is not in the first position.

- (18) a. majl-em-ø=**bi** tyi ts’äk-ään-ty-e(l)
 go-PART-B3=REP PREP cure-DT-PAS-NF
 ‘It is said that he went to be cured’ {070621_11c}
- b. tsa’=**bi** i-tyaj-a-ø jalaw(* =bi)
 PRFV=REP A3-find-TV-B3 jalaw
 ‘It is said that he found a *jalaw*’⁴ {070614_6a}

⁴ *Jalaw* is a large wild rodent known in Spanish as “tepezcuintle” or “paca”.

- c. añ-∅=**bi** tyi(* =bi) ujty-i-∅
 E-B3=REP PRFV happen-IV-B3
 ‘It is said that it happened’ {sf_74}

Thirdly, there is an intonational clitic that indicates the right edge of the clause. It commonly occurs with the determiner *li*. This enclitic represents an interesting resource to indicate a topicalized constituent (19b).⁵

- (19) a. ts=äch=**bi** majl-i-∅ li wiñik=**i**
 PRFV=AFFR=REP go-IV-B3 DET man=FIN
 ‘yes, it is said that the man went’ {070614_6a}
- b. li wiñik=**i**, ta’=bi tye<j>ch-i-∅
 DET man=FIN PRFV=REP raise<+PAS>-IV-B3
 ‘As for the man, he stood up’ {080704_20b}

Absolute person markers were originally cliticized pronouns but in Cholan they have become suffixes (see Kaufman and Norman 1984: 90). Regarding the ergative person markers, there are some investigations in Chol that have treated them as clitics (see Martínez Cruz 2007 and Arcos López 2009). That is because the ergative person marker goes in front of preverbal elements, as in (20b). In this work, I am considering the preverbal elements, as the one exemplified in (20b), as part of the verbal complex. Consequently the verb together with its modifier possibly participates in a compound form. This suggestion is in line with the properties observed in the analysis of secondary predication (see §13.2).

- (20) a. tyi **j**-k’el-e-∅ sajmä
 PRFV A1-see-TV-B3 today
 ‘I saw him today’
- b. tyi **k**-weñ-k’el-e-∅ sajmä
 PRFV A1-much-see-TV-B3 today
 ‘I saw it today (for a long time)’ {031009_44}

c. * *tyi weñ j-k'el-e-ø sajmä*

3.4. A NOTE ON PERFECTIVE AND IMPERFECTIVE ASPECT MARKERS

In Tsotsil (Aissen 1987), aspectual markers are prefixes. In Tseltal, however, only the incomplete morpheme for intransitive verbs is analyzed as a prefix (Polian 2006). The rest of the aspect markers in Tseltal, except for the perfect inflection, are auxiliaries. In Chol the aspect markers are auxiliaries, and additionally the perfective and imperfective markers exhibit a unique allomorphic distinction that was not developed in other Tseltalan languages, even in Chontal (see Osorio May 2005: §4.1). In Tila Chol, the bare morpheme for perfective aspect is *tyi* (21a). However if additional material is added into it, the allomorph *tsa'* or *ta'* is required (21b); otherwise the construction is not well formed (see example (21c)).⁶

- (21) a. **tyi** k-il-ä-y-ety
PRFV A1-see-DT-EP-B2
'I saw you'
- b. **tsa'**=ku k-il-ä-y-ety
PRFV=AFFR A1-see-DT-EP-B2
'yes, I saw you'
- c. * **tyi**=ku k-il-ä-y-ety

The same distribution is observed for the imperfective marker. In the bare form it surfaces as *mi* (22a). However when a second position clitic (22b) or a person marker inflection (22c) is added to it, the allomorph *mu'* or *muk'* is required. As (22d) shows, the bare form cannot take inflection for person.

⁵ See §11.2.

⁶ In Tumbalá Chol, this distinction does not exist since in this variety of Chol only *tsa'* is used, even in the bare form.

- (22) a. **mi** k-il-añ-ety
IMFV A1-see-DT-B2
'I see you'
- b. **mu'**=ku k-il-añ-ø
IMFV=AFFR A1-see-DT-B3
'yes, I see it' {031009_44}
- c. muk'-**oñ** tyi toñ-el
IMFV-B1 PREP work-NF
'I work' {031102_43}
- d. ***mi**=oñ tyi toñ-el

The distribution shown by these aspectual markers could be a piece of evidence that aspectual markers came from predicates historically.⁷

3.5. COMPOUNDING AND NOMINAL INCORPORATION

A word can be formed by two independent roots. On the one hand, compounding is a productive resource in word formation in Chol. This resource is particularly abundant in naming the flora and fauna. Most of the components are noun + noun, but also there are some instances of adjective + noun.

- (23) a. x-ch'äjyeñ-tyuñ 'a type of insect' (sad+eggs)
x-us-oko 'a type of wasp' (fly+?)
- b. x-k'u'-bu'ul 'a type of bird' (nest+beans)
x-paj-sa' 'a type of bird' (sour+pozol)
xulu'-muty 'a type of bird' (horn+bird)
- c. tsimiñ-tye' 'ceiba tree' (tapir+tree)
suts'-tye' 'a type of tree' (bat+tree)
käkä-tye' 'a type of tree' (cocoa-tree)
biloñ-tye' 'a type of tree' (thin and tall+tree)

| | | |
|------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| d. k'ä'tsats-max | 'a type of fruit' | (fruit+monkey) |
| way-ja'as | 'mamey' | (?+banana) |
| paj-pätyaj | 'a type of guava' | (sour+guava) |

Another kind of compounding occurs with verbs and modifiers. Kaufman and Norman (1984: 94-95) analyze roots or stems that appear within the verb word, like those in (24), as **incorporated modifiers**. They state that these forms have the semantic effect of qualifying the meaning of the verbal action. Such modifiers include a particle used in adult speech, glossed here as honorific markers (24a), intensifiers (24b) or attenuators (24c). All of them go within the verb itself, as the position of Set A person markers shows (24d).

- (24) a. mi k-**poj**-k'oty-el
 IMFV A1-HON-arrive-NF
 'I arrive (there)' {990109_70}
- b. ma'=ix mi k-**ñoj**-'il-añ-ø
 NEG=already IMFV A1-really-see-DT-B3
 'I don't see it much' {sf_66}
- c. mi i-**ts'itya'**-k'am-'añ-ø
 IMFV A3-little-get.sick-DT-B3
 'She gets sick a little bit' {990109_70}
- d. * mi ts'itya' i-k'am-'añ-ø

On the other hand a noun which is a core argument in a simple transitive clause (25a), can be realized within the verb itself in complex clauses (25b). In the last example, the verb with the noun incorporated into it is the complement of the matrix verb *cha'l* 'do'. The incorporation process is also morphologically indicated by the absence of the transitive suffix *-ä*.

⁷ See Coon 2010, for more details about this point.

(25) a. tyi k-päk'-ä-ø **repolloj**
PRFV A1-plant-TV-B3 SP:cabbage
'I planted cabbage' {080730_26b}

b. tyi k-cha'l-e-ø **päk'-repolloj**
PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 plant-SP:cabbage
'I planted cabbage'

Nominal incorporation can end up in a lexical form, as can be confirmed by the fact that this form can take the prefix *aj-*. This form refers to a person whose job has to do with the activity expressed by the verb.

(26) aj-päk'-repolloj-oñ
NCL-plant-SP:repollo-B1
'I am a cabbage planter'

The details of the topics introduced in this chapter will be discussed in the next two chapters.

IV

Person and number markers

This chapter is a description of the person and number markers that occur in the root/stem classes. In Chol, there are two sets of person markers: ergative and absolutive, generally labeled in the Mayan tradition as “Set A” and “Set B”, respectively. The functions and allomorphic distributions of Set A and Set B person markers are presented in §4.1. Since this language exhibits several constraints on plural inflection, section 4.2 is devoted to plurality. Finally, this chapter ends describing the properties of the suffix *-tyak*, a unique plural marker that shows more than one meaning.

4.1. PERSON MARKERS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

In Chol, as in almost all Mayan languages, there are two sets of person markers: ergative and absolutive. In this analysis, I will follow the Mayan tradition and I will refer to them as Set A and Set B, respectively.¹

4.1.1 Set A or ergative person markers

Most of the linguistic studies on Chol have analyzed the Set A or ergative person markers as prefixes; however Martínez Cruz (2007) and Arcos López (2009) described them as proclitics. In example (1) we can see that the Set A person marker attaches to the stem. But when there is additional material in front of the stem, such as an intensifier (2a) or an attenuator (3a), this set of person markers appears in front of the modifiers; otherwise, the construction is ungrammatical (see examples (2b) and (3b)).

¹ Chorti has developed a third set of pronouns. In this language set C marks intransitive subjects in imperfective aspect (see Quizar and Knowles-Berry 1988).

- (1) chuki mi i-k'ux-ø
 what IMFV A3-eat-B3
 'What does he eat?' {990109_70}
- (2) a. mi i-weñ-k'ux-ø k-ixim
 IMFV A3-SP:much-eat-B3 A1-corn
 'He eats a lot [of] my corn' {031009_44}
- b. * mi weñ i-k'ux-ø k-ixim
- (3) a. mi i-ts'itya'-k'am-añ
 IMFV A3-little-get.sick-INCH
 'She gets sick a little bit.' {990109_70}
- b. * mi ts'itya' i-k'am-añ

The same behavior is observed when the adverb is part of the verbal complex, as in (4a). In this example, the person marker must occur in front of the modifier, otherwise the construction is not accepted (4b).

- (4) a. mi i-xuk'u-ñäm-e(l)
 IMFV A3-slow-pass-NF
 'It passes slowly' {080729_22b}
- b. * mi xuk'ui-ñäm-el

This feature has generated two proposals regarding to the morphological status of Set A person markers. One analysis considers Set A person markers to be proclitics (see Martínez Cruz 2007 and Arcos López 2009). Under such a view, the modifiers must be analyzed as separate from the stem. A second proposal (Vázquez Álvarez 2002, Gutiérrez Sánchez 2004, and López López 2005) considers them to be prefixes, implying that the materials in front of the stem (e.g. the adverb in 4a) are tightly bound to the stem. This assumption will also have consequences in the analyses of nominals with a modifier, in

which the possessor precedes both the modifier and the nominal (see §5.3) and secondary predicates (§13.2). In this work, I suggest that Set A markers are prefixes.

Regarding the semantic roles of Set A person markers, they cross-reference A function arguments (Dixon's (1994) terminology) (example 5). Under conditions that lead to split ergativity (imperfective aspect), Set A markers also cross-reference S ("intransitive subject") function arguments (6).

(5) tyi i-k'el-e-y-ety
PRFV A3-see-TV-EP-B2
'He/She took care of you.' {040115_42b}

(6) mi i-sajty-el kixtyañuj
IMFV A3-die-NF SP:people
'People die.' {031102_43}

Moreover this set of person markers also encodes the possessor of nouns, as in (7).

(7) y-ijñam aj-Wañ Xañtyes
A3-wife NCL-Juan Sanchez
'Juan Sanchez's wife.' {080604_12a}

Contrasting the third person Set A marker in examples (5) and (6) with (7), we can observe morphophonemic variation. The variation is triggered by the first element of the root/stem, specifically whether it is a consonant or a vowel. The person marker in examples (5) and (6) occurs in preconsonantal position, whereas the one in (7) occurs in prevocalic position. This prevocalic and preconsonantal distinction is also observable in the second person singular, as in the following examples (see also §2.4).

(8) ma'añ-ø a-bu'ul
NEG+E-B3 A2-bean
'You don't have beans.' {080730_24c}

(9) jun-kujch aw-ixim
one-CL A2-corn
'one load of your corn' {070621_11c}

A final morphophonemic variant to point out for Set A is the fact that the first person marker *k-* turns into *j-* when the first consonant of the root/stem is *k* (contrast the following two examples).²

- (10) *ma'*=ix *kux-u-∅* **k**-papaj **k**-mamaj
 NEG-already alive-STAT-B3 A1-SP:father A1-SP:mother
 ‘My father and my mother are no longer alive.’ {031102_43}

- (11) *tyi* **j**-kajpelo
 PREP A1-SP:coffee.field
 ‘in my coffee field’ {080704_20b}

The properties of Set A singular discussed so far are summarized in the following Table 6.

Table 7. Set A person markers for singular.

| Person/number | <i>l_C</i> | <i>l_V</i> |
|-----------------|---|------------------------|
| 1 st | <i>k-</i> (<i>k-</i> → <i>j-</i> / <i>_k</i>) | <i>k-</i> |
| 2 nd | <i>a-</i> | <i>aw-</i> |
| 3 rd | <i>i-</i> | (<i>i</i>) <i>y-</i> |

An additional note must be made concerning the prevocalic third person marker. Some speakers only produce the glide *y* to indicate this person (12), however other speakers produce the vowel *i* attached in front of the *y*, (13).

- (12) **y**-ijñam **y**-ermañuj
 A3-wife A3-brother
 ‘His brother’s wife’ {070621_11c}

² In §2.4.6 it was also mentioned that *j*, the first consonant of the stem, is dropped when the first person set A is inflected. Under this condition, *jol* ‘head’ becomes *kol* for ‘my head’, not **kjol*.

- (13) **iy-ijñam** Lonko Peres
 A3-wife Domingo Perez
 ‘Domingo Perez’s wife’ {070621_11c}

The reconstructed form for the third person Set A before vowels is **r* and *y* is the proto-Tzeltalan reflex of **r* (Kaufman and Norman 1984: 91). Therefore *y* is a development from the prefix **r-* which can be confirmed by the change observed in other contexts. For instance the proto-Mayan word for ‘green’ **ra7x* is attested as *yäx* or *yäjyäx* in Chol (Kaufman 2003: 225). However an explanation is still required for the presence of *i* before *y* in (13). Under the historical analysis, the glide in the last example cannot be analyzed as epenthetic consonant at all, but rather is a development from the prefix **r-*³. It cannot be suggested that there is a double marker for the possessor because the presence or absence of the vowel does not change the meaning of the word, and double marking does not occur in other persons.⁴ It seems that there were other factors that contributed to this development. It could be that the vowel *i-* in the third person comes from the proto preconsonantal form **u* (Kaufman and Norman 1984: 91) and was retained in the prevocalic form as well in Chol. The analogy with the prevocalic form of Set A second person singular could favor this process.

The glide *w* for second person Set A, on the other hand, seems to be both historically and synchronically an epenthetic element inserted between the marker *a* and the vowel initial stem. It is a reflex of the proto-form **aaw* (Kaufman and Norman 1984: 91).

4.1.2 Set B or absolutive person markers

This set of person markers references the S (14) and O (transitive object) (15) arguments in Dixon’s (1994) terminology. Previous linguistic studies on Chol analyze them as suffixes.

³ It is important to highlight that this glide has an epenthetic use in other contexts, such as VV in post-verbal position.

⁴ In my analysis I will treat the vowel with the glide, *iy-*, as a single morpheme.

- (14) ya' tyi kol-i-y-**oñ** ya'i
 there PRFV grow-IV-EP-B1 there
 'I was born there' {070614_6a}
- (15) k-papaj=äch tyi ke i-päy-**oñ**
 A1-SP:father=AFFR PRFV start A3-call-B1
 'My father started to call me' {070620_10b}

Set B also indicates the subject of nonverbal predicates. In the following examples, the non-verbal predicate is a noun in (16), an adjective in (17) and an existential in (18).

- (16) koleñ wiñik-**oñ**
 big man-B1
 'I am a big man.' {031102_43}
- (17) che'ñak chuty-**oñ**=tyo
 when small-B1=still
 'when I was still a child' {070614_6a}
- (18) yäch añonloñ
 yä'=äch añ-**oñ**=loñ
 there=AFFR E-B1=PLEXC
 'We are there.' {070614_6a}

The absolutive singular person markers are summarized in the following table.

Table 8. Singular Set B person markers.

| Person/number | |
|-----------------|---------------|
| 1 st | - <i>oñ</i> |
| 2 nd | - <i>ety</i> |
| 3 rd | - \emptyset |

4.2. PLURAL MARKERS

There are three plural markers in Chol: *=la*, *=lo(jo)ñ*, and *-ob*. The first two are clitics and the last one is a suffix. With rare exceptions, they cross-reference human referents.⁵ The first two markers are used to indicate the exclusive/inclusive distinction observed for the first person plural. The clitic *=la* in example (19) includes both the speaker and the addressee; while in (20), with *=lo(jo)ñ*, the addressee is excluded. The allomorphic variant in the first person plural exclusive can be observed in the contrast between (20a) and (20b).

(19) **chuty-oñ=tyo=la**
small-B1=still=PLINC
'We (inclusive) are still children.' {070621_11b}

(20) a. **wajal=ix** **chuty-on=tyo=lojoñ**
time.ago=already small-B1=still=PLEXC
'It was a long time ago, when we (exclusive) were still children.' {011103_62}

b. **jiñjach kpoj k'ajtyiñtyakloñ**
jiñ=jach **mi** **k-poj-k'ajty-iñ-ø-tyak=loñ**
PRON3=only IMFV A1-HON-ask-DT-B3-PLIND=PLEXC
'That is all we (exclusive) ask.' {010201_69}

The clitic *=la* also pluralizes the second person when it accompanies either Set A or Set B inflections. In (21a) this clitic is pluralizing Set A, while in (21b) it pluralizes Set B.

(21) a. **ta=x** **a-choñ-o-ø=la**
PRFV=already A2-sell-TV-B3=PL2
'you (plural) already sold it' {070614_6a}

b. **ux-tyikil-ety=la**
three-CL-B2=PL2
'you are three' {031009_44}

⁵ Apparently, the third person plural *-ob* has been extended to non-human referents in Sabanilla. In that place, words such as 'dog' and 'chicken' can take the plural *-ob* (Rubén López, personal communication).

As was stated in §3.3, the plural markers discussed so far are clitics. They can follow or precede the stem. When the first person plural agrees with the possessor, it can be placed after (22a) or in front of the head (22b). It is important to point out that the speakers prefers to place the plural in front of the noun, but the post-nominal position is also accepted. Notice that in (22a) the plural marker follows the second position clitic =*tyo*.

- (22) a. k-lumal- \emptyset =tyo=**la**
 A1-town-B3=still=PLINC
 ‘It is still our (inclusive) town.’
- b. **la**=k-lumal- \emptyset =tyo
 PLINC=A1-town-B3=still
 ‘It is still our (inclusive) town’ {010201_69}

However, when the element after this plural marker is a vowel, the glottal stop described for vowel-initial words is kept and the Set A marker is dropped (see §2.4.6), as the surface structure in (23a) shows. This pattern is also used in the Set A prevocalic subset, as in (23b). It suggests that the sequence VV in the boundary between Set A and the vowel of the stem is eliminated by the use of the glide *w*; while such a sequence between the vowel of the plural marker and Set A is resolved by the use of the glottal stop (see the constraint on VV sequences in §2.4.5).

- (23) a. mu’ba ityä’lañ **la**’choltyak
 muk’=ba i-tyä’l-añ- \emptyset **la**=a-chol-tyak
 IMFV=INT A3-bother-DT-B3 PL2=A2-cornfield-PLIND
 ‘does it (the boar) bother (eat) your cornfield?’ {070614_6a}
- b. **la**’wotyotyäch
la=aw-otyoty- \emptyset =äch
 PL2=A2-house-B3=AFFR
 ‘yes, it is your house’ {080604_12a}

Regarding the plural marker for first person exclusive =*lojoñ* or =*loñ*, only the short form is allowed in front of the stem (see the contrast in (24a) and (24b)). In the post-nominal position it can appear either in the full or contracted form (24c).

- (24) a. lu' añ-∅=tyo loñ=k-otyoty ya'-tyak
 all E-B3=still PLEXC=A1-house there-PLIND
 'We still have our houses there' {010201_69}
- b. * lu' añ-∅=tyo lojoñ=k-otyoty ya'-tyak
- c. lu' añ-∅=tyo k-otyoty=lo(jo)n ya'-tyak
 all E-B3=still A1-house=PLEXC there-PLIND
 'We still have our houses there'

Finally the plural *-ob*, unlike the previous two plural markers, which are clitics, is a suffix; it appears only after the root or stem (see the contrast in (25)). Moreover, it cannot occur after the clitic =*tyo* (27b). This plural is frequently realized as *-o'* (26).

- (25) a. x-k'iñejel-**ob**
 NCL-fiesta-PL3
 'The people who organize the fiesta.' {010201_69}
- b. * x-**ob**-k'iñejel
- (26) i-señoraj-lel-**o'**
 A3-SP:lady-ABST-PL3
 'Their lady (participants in the fiesta).' {010201_69}
- (27) a. kux-ul-∅-**o'**=tyo k-ermañuj-o'
 alive-STAT-B3-PL3=still A1-SP:brother-PL3
 'My brothers are still alive' {070621_11a}
- b. * kux-ul-∅=**tyo-o'** k-ermañuj-o'

The plural markers are summarized in the following table.

Table 9. Plural markers for each person (used with Sets A and B).

| | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Person/number | |
| 1 st PLINC | = <i>la</i> |
| 1 st PLEXC | = <i>l(oj)oñ</i> |
| 2 nd PL | = <i>la</i> |
| 3 rd PL | - <i>ob</i> ~ - <i>o'</i> |

The full paradigm of both Set A and Set B person markers discussed in this chapter is summarized in the following table.

Table 10. Full paradigm of Chol person markers.

| Person/number | Set A | | Set B |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|
| | <i>/_C</i> | <i>/_V</i> | |
| 1 st | <i>k-</i> (<i>k-</i> → <i>j-/_k</i>) | <i>k-</i> | - <i>oñ</i> |
| 2 nd | <i>a-</i> | <i>aw-</i> | - <i>ety</i> |
| 3 rd | <i>i-</i> | (<i>i</i>) <i>y-</i> | - \emptyset |
| 1 st PLINC | <i>k-...=la</i> ~ <i>la=k-</i> ⁶ | <i>k-...=la</i> ~ <i>la=k-</i> | - <i>oñ=la</i> |
| 1 st PLEXC | <i>k-...=l(oj)oñ</i> ~ <i>loñ=k-</i> | <i>k-...=l(oj)oñ</i> ~ <i>loñ=k-</i> | - <i>oñ=l(oj)oñ</i> |
| 2 nd PL | <i>a-...=la</i> ~ <i>la=a-</i> | <i>aw-...=la</i> ~ <i>la=aw-</i> | - <i>ety=la</i> |
| 3 rd PL | <i>i-...-ob</i> ~ <i>i-...-o'</i> | (<i>i</i>) <i>y-...-ob</i> ~ (<i>i</i>) <i>y-...-o'</i> | - \emptyset - <i>ob</i> ~ - \emptyset - <i>o'</i> |

Some additional observations must be made regarding plurality. On the one hand, there is a constraint against using multiple plural markers when second or first person subjects and objects (Set A and Set B) are simultaneously pluralized, as in the following examples.

⁶ *k-* → *j-/_k*.

- (28) a. * **tyi lon=k-il-ä-ety=la**
 PRFV PLEXC=A1-see-DT-B2=PL2
 Intended meaning: ‘We saw you (plural)’
- b. * **tyi la=aw-il-ä-y-oñ=loñ**
 PRFV PL2=A2-see-DT-EP-B1=PLEXC
 Intended meaning: ‘You (plural) saw us’

An option to express the intended meanings consists of using the plural form of the independent pronoun which refers to the agent, while the agreement for this participant in the verb remains singular (see (29a) and (29b)).

- (29) a. **joñ=loñ tyi k-il-ä-ety=la**
 PRON1=PLEXC PRFV A1-see-DT-B2=PL2
 ‘We saw you (plural)’
- b. **jatyety=la tyi aw-il-ä-y-oñ=loñ**
 PRON2=PL2 PRFV A2-see-DT-EP-B1=PLEXC
 ‘You (plural) saw us’

It is important to clarify that this operation cannot be analyzed as a resource of disambiguation because for instance the construction *tyi k=il-ä-y-ety=la* (PRFV A1=see-DT-EP-B2=PL2) means only ‘I saw you (plural)’ and not ‘we saw you (plural)’.

Similarly, the third person plural *-ob* can be inflected only once on the word. In a transitive verb, the context provides the information about whether the plural suffix agrees with Set A, Set B, or both.⁷

- (30) **tyi y-il-ä-y-ø-ob**
 PRFV A3-see-DT-EP-B3-PL3
 ‘They saw him/her’
 ‘S/he saw them’
 ‘They saw them’ (Vázquez Álvarez 2002: 80)

⁷ This ambiguity is present in other Mayan languages, such as Itzaj (Hofling 2000: §2.1.4).

In addition to this characteristic, this plural marker is mainly restricted to human referents (31). The ungrammaticality of (32a) is due to the inflection for plural of a non-human referent. The plurality of the sentence (32b) is inferred by context.

(31) ili x-k'aläl-**ob** t=äch y-u'b-i-ø-y-**o'**
 DET NCL-girl-PL3 PRFV=AFFR A3-hear-DT-B3-EP-PL3
 'Yes, these girls listened to it.' {040115_42b}

(32) a. *ili sajk'-**ob** t=äch ju'b-i-ø-y-**ob**
 DET grasshopper-PL3 PRFV=AFFR descend-IV-B3-EP-PL3
 Intended meaning: 'Yes, these grasshoppers descended.'

b. ili sajk' t=äch ju'b-i-ø
 DET grasshopper PRFV=AFFR descend-IV-B3
 'Yes, these grasshoppers descended.'

However, I found some cases where this plural marker is used for non-human referents. In the following examples, (33a) and (33b), the predicates are inflected with *-ob*, which refers to “the grasshoppers”, a non-human referent. Notice that in both cases the noun is not overtly expressed since they were previously mentioned in the narrative. This means that the constraint on the use of the plural *-ob* for non-human referents is restricted to overt NPs because it can be inflected on the predicate to pluralize non-human referents when the plural noun is not lexically expressed in the sentence.

(33) a. ya' tyi kej-i-y-ø-**o'** tyi tyuñ
 there PRFV start-IV-EP-B3-PL3 PREP lay.egg
 'They (the grasshoppers) started to lay eggs there' {080730_24b}

b. y=äch ch'uj-läm-äl-ø-**o'**=i
 there=AFFR just-quiet-STAT-B3-PL3=FIN
 'yes, they (grasshoppers) are gathered up' {080730_24b}

It is important to point out that in elicitation with speakers from Tila, they prefer to avoid the use of the plural *-ob* with non-human referents, even in the predicate. But this

explanation would not be true in Sabanilla since this inflection for plural is attested even with an overt correferent noun (which is not human), as in the following example.⁸

- (34) pejtye animales ilu' k'uxo' ixim
 pejtyel animales mi i-lu'-k'ux- \emptyset -**ob** ixim
 all SP:animals IMFV A3-all-eat-B3-PL3 corn
 'All the animals eat corn.' {070614_6b}

The texts consulted show irregular use of this plural maker in predicates with non-human referents. For instance, in the narrative about the grasshoppers, the predicates were not always inflected with the plural, even with an argument that is semantically plural. This can be observed in the following examples, in which the last predicate does not have *-ob*.

- (35) ñuk-l-aj-tyik- \emptyset -**o'** pe tyuñ muk'- \emptyset
 faced.down-STAT-POSP-ATT-B3-PL3 SP:but lay.egg IMFV-B3
 'They are face down, but they are laying eggs' {080730_24b}

In conclusion, Chol exhibits a distinction between first person plural inclusive and exclusive by means of the clitics =*la* and =*lo(jo)ñ*. The former is also used to indicate plurality for second person plural. The plural marker for third person, *-ob*, is used preferentially for human referents. As was shown in this section, in Tila Chol this plural maker can be inflected on the predicate when the pluralized NP is not lexically expressed. However, in elicitation the speakers prefer to avoid *-ob* in the predicate even when the NPs are not lexically expressed.

4.2.1 The plural *-tyak*

There is another plural marker in Chol, *-tyak*, which is cognate with *-tak* from Tseltal and Chontal. This plural marker in Tseltal denotes nouns referring to kinship terms, while in Chontal it appears with positionals and adjectives in predicative function (Osorio May 2005: §3.3). The function of *-tyak* in Chol has been developed beyond those functions

⁸ According to Rubén López (personal communication), *-ob* is used in Sabanilla Chol even in nouns with animal referents, such as *ts'i'ob* 'dogs'.

reported in other Tzeltalan languages. Despite the meaning, in this work I am glossing it consistently as ‘indefinite plural’. One meaning of *-tyak* which was already reported in previous work (see Vázquez Alvarez 2002: 82) is “some portion of a totality”. As can be seen, it appears with non-human nouns (36a), nouns with human referents (36b), positionals (36c), and it can even follow *-ob* (36d).

- (36) a. ñichimtyak mi' ch'ämo' te
 ñichim-**tyak** mi i-ch'äm-ø-ob te
 candle-PLIND IMFV A3-bring-B3-PL3 DIR:toward
 ‘Some candles, they bring.’ {070613_4}
- b. mi' k'uk'ux k'otye kixtyañujtyak
 mi i-k'uk'ux-k'oty-el kixtyañuj-**tyak**
 IMFV A3-really-arrive-NF SP:person-PLIND
 ‘Some (of the) people arrive.’ {080704_20a}
- c. poj-päk-äl-ø-**tyak** k-cha'añ k-äk'ach
 HON-brood-STAT-B3-PLIND A1-RN A1-turkey.hen
 ‘Some of my turkey hens are brooding.’⁹ {990109_70}
- d. ya'=tyo tyi i-cha'l-e-y-ø-ob li ñox-**ob-tyak**
 there=still PRFV A3-do-DT-EP-B3-PL3 DET elder-PL3-PLIND
 ‘It was clear over there that (some of the) the elders used to have it (the fiesta).’
 {010201_69}

In addition to the reading ‘a portion of a totality’, it also offers the meanings ‘near to X place’ when it is in a prepositional phrase. In the following examples, this suffix cannot refer to ‘some churches’ or ‘some Teapa’ because the speaker refers to the only existing Catholic church of Tila in one case and refers to a specific town in the other. A rough interpretation of these examples is ‘near to such-and-such place’.

⁹ Referring to a turkey hen seated on eggs in order to incubate them.

(37) yä'äch mi ipoj kotychokoñob tyi ityi' klesiajtyaki
ya'=äch mi i-poj-koty-chokoñ-ø-ob tyi
there=AFFR IMFV A3-HON-stand-CAUS-B3-PL3 PREP
i-tyi' klesiaj-**tyak**=i
A3-mouth SP:church-PLIND=FIN
'Yes, they stand it by the door of the church' {010201_69}

(38) añ ajñ-oñ tyi Teapaj-**tyak**
E E-B1 PREP Teapa-PLIND
'I have been in (some place near to) Teapa.' {070620_9b}

Another interpretation found for this suffix is 'more or less' or 'approximately', when it accompanies numerals, as in the following example.

(39) mi k-poj-lok'-ø ochoj-**tyak** poj-nuevej-**tyak**
IMFV A1-HON-obtain-B3 eight-PLIND HON-nine-PLIND
'I obtain eight or nine approximately.' {080729_22b}

In order to include the last three examples in the current analysis it is more convenient to treat this suffix as "approximate reference" rather than as a type of "indefinite", since it has a particular referent, but it is a referent that is not precisely delimited.¹⁰ Following the previous analysis I will keep glossing this morpheme as a type of plural (PLIND).

In conclusion, there are two sets of person markers in Chol. Set A cross-references S (in imperfective aspect) and A functions; it also can indicate the possessor on nouns. This set exhibits allomorphic variation in prevocalic or preconsonantal position. Set B on the other hand, cross-references S (in perfective) and O arguments; it also indicates the subject of nonverbal predicates. Regarding plural inflection, Chol exhibits inclusive and exclusive distinction on first person plural. Interestingly, multiple plural markers are not allowed when Set A and Set B are simultaneously pluralized, and the plural marker for third person is allowed only once on the stem. This property on third person causes potential ambiguities in the interpretation. The constraint on first and second person plural can be solved by syntactic resources, while the property on third person plural can

be solved by the context. In elicitation, only human referents can be pluralized with *-ob* in Tila Chol. However, in the texts consulted, this plural marker appears also in predicates where the noun (animate non-human) is not syntactically expressed. Finally, the plural *-tyak* that has been analyzed as a suffix that means “some portion of the totality”, has more functions than those described for other Tseltalan languages. In Chol, this suffix is best analyzed as “approximate referent” because for instance it also means “near to such-and-such place” in prepositional phrases.

¹⁰ Thanks to Danny Law for highlighting this point.

Word/root classes and affixes

This chapter is a description of the main root/stem classes of Chol (verbs, nouns, adverbs, adjectives, affect words and positionals). As will be noted, some major classes are not root classes since they require some morphology in order to take inflection for person or to otherwise be used as words. Derivational and inflectional morphology as well as syntactic distribution is used in order to establish the class of some words that apparently belong to different categories (specifically the labile verbs, verbal nouns, and positionals). This chapter also deals with the minor classes, which will be constantly referred to in coming chapters.

5.1. VERBS

Two general classes of verbal roots can be identified in terms of valence: transitive and intransitive. In Mayan languages, the former takes two sets of person markers to agree with the core arguments, while the latter takes only one set of person markers which is in agreement with the single argument. In most Mayan languages there are two sets of person markers, each one with more than one function, commonly called Set A and Set B in the Mayan tradition (see §4.1 for these person markers in Chol). In Chol however, the two general classes mentioned can be further subdivided based on semantic and morphological criteria. For instance there is a class of intransitive verbs, the agentive, for which the S argument does not inflect directly on the verb; instead a complex construction is required (see also §14.1). Furthermore, as will be demonstrated in this chapter, some roots do not fit into a single class; depending on the morphology, some roots can be categorized as either intransitive or transitive and within intransitive verbs there are agentives or non-agentives. In such cases, the morphosyntactic properties of the

construction provide information about the class of the root. Additionally, the morphological and syntactic behavior of the perfective and imperfective aspects is an important distinguishing factor in Chol classes of verbs. As we will see below, verb classes can be differentiated according to the suffixes used in perfective and imperfective aspects and the affixes used to form passive constructions in these two aspects.

5.1.1 Transitive roots

Transitive verbs in Chol take ergative (Set A) and absolutive (Set B) inflection which agrees with A and O arguments, respectively. There are three sub-classes of transitive verbs. One sub-class has the root shape CVC while the second requires the suffix *-Vñ* in the imperfective aspect and *-V* in the perfective. A smaller third group consists of just two verbs which cannot be inflected for aspect. The morphosyntactic properties of each sub-class are presented next.

a. CVC transitive roots

Examples in (1) are instances of this sub-class of transitive verbs. In these examples, the roots are inflected with the ergative and absolutive person markers. Also we can see a suffix which consists of a vowel in harmony with the vowel of the root. I am considering this suffix as part of a “status marker”, an expression used by Kaufman and Norman (1984: 92) to analyze “... the obligatory presence on every verb of a suffix to mark the status of the verb as either plain, dependent, imperative, or perfect”. In Chol, the transitive status suffix indicates that the root is plain and appears in the perfective aspect.

- (1) a. tyi **i-k’el-e-y-ety**
 PRFV A3-see-TV-EP-B2
 ‘He took care of you’ {040115_42b}
- b. tyi a-käy-ä-y-oñ
 PRFV A2-abandon-TV-EP-B1
 ‘You abandoned me’ {040115_42b}

- c. tyi i-kuch-**u**-y-ø-o'
 PRFV A3-carry-TV-EP-B3-PL3
 'They carried it out' {080703_19b}
- d. tsa'=bi i-chil-**i**-ø jiñ lum
 PRFV=REP A3-take-TV-B3 DET land
 'It is said that he took the land' {080730_25a}
- e. ta'=bi i-tyaj-**a**-ø jum-p'e(j) juñ
 PRFV=REP A3-find-TV-B3 one-CL paper
 'It is said that he found a document' {070612_3}

However, as can be noticed because of the ungrammaticality of (2b), the vowel does not appear in the imperfective aspect. For convenience, only one example is provided which can be contrasted with (1c).

- (2) a. mi i-kuch-ø te
 IMFV A3-carry-B3 DIR:toward
 'They carries it here' {080604_12a}
- b. * mi i-kuch-**u**-ø

However, a more detailed discussion requires a consideration of those examples in which the vowel of the root is *a* since they do not completely conform to the rule of harmony. A harmonic *-a* can only be observed in CVC roots in which the last C is *j* (3a) and in a few roots in which the last C is not a fricative (4a).

- (3) a. baki tyi a-tyaj-**a**-ø
 where PRFV A2-find-TV-B3
 'where did you find it?' {040115_42b}
- b. * baki tyi a-tyaj-**ä**-ø
- (4) a. tyi i-pam-**a**-ø k-bux
 PRFV A3-fill-TV-B3 A1-bottle
 'He fills up my bottle.'

b. * tyi i-pam-ä-ø k-bux

Other CVj roots that follow the rule of vowel harmony are the following.

| | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|--|
| (5) | baj | baja | ‘to nail’ |
| | chaj | chaja | ‘to transfer washed corn to another container’ |
| | k’aj | k’aja | ‘to harvest corn’ |
| | laj | laja | ‘to match (one object with other)’ |
| | p’aj | p’aja | ‘to scorn something’ |
| | ts’aj | ts’aja | ‘to put something in the water’ |

Examples of roots with a non-fricative final C where vowel harmony can be observed are the following:

| | | | |
|-----|------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| (6) | jak | jaka | ‘to cut (especially corn, by hand)’ |
| | kañ | kaña | ‘to open (especially the eyes)’ |
| | k’al | k’ala | ‘to detach’ |
| | sap’ | sap’a | ‘to drain’ ¹ |

The rest of this CVC group in which the final C is not *j* does not follow the rule of vowel harmony. Instead of the expected suffix *-a* in (7a) and (8a), the suffix *-ä* is used.

| | | | | |
|-----|----|------------------------------------|------|-----------------|
| (7) | a. | Entonce | tyi | i-jak’-ä-ø |
| | | SP:then | PRFV | A3-answer-TV-B3 |
| | | ‘then he answered it’ {040115_42b} | | |

b. * tyi i-jak’-a-ø

| | | | | |
|-----|----|---|--------------------|----------------|
| (8) | a. | ta=x | k-lu’-jap-ä-ø | lon=k-sa’ |
| | | PRFV=already | A1-all-drink-TV-B3 | PLEXC=A1-pozol |
| | | ‘we already drank all of our pozol’ ² , {080729_22a} | | |

b. * ta=x k-lu’-jap-a-ø lon=k-sa’

¹ Some speakers prefer the contrast *säp’/säp’ä* for this meaning. Notice however that the vowel harmony is also used in this contrast.

² A traditional drink made out of corn.

Other CVC roots not following the rule of vowel harmony are:

| | | | |
|-----|-------|--------|----------------------------------|
| (9) | jach' | jach'ä | 'to chew' |
| | jak' | jak'ä | 'to answer' |
| | jam | jamä | 'to open' |
| | jats' | jats'ä | 'to fight' |
| | jaw | jawä | 'to chop up' (e.g. the firewood) |
| | kaw | kawä | 'to open' (e.g. the jaw) |

As was mentioned in chapter two, the explanation of this variation in the status marker when the vowel of the root is *a* can be found in Kaufman and Norman (1984). It seems to be associated with the loss of contrast between long and short vowels in Cholan: long vowels normally merged with their short counterparts, except for *aa and *a. The contrast between *aa and *a was maintained by a process in which *a became *ä and aa became *a.” (p. 85) That the thematic vowel *ä* reflects a situation in which the vowel of the root was historically a short *a* is confirmed by the following available reconstructed roots:

| | | |
|------|---------|--------------------------------|
| (10) | * hach' | 'to chew' (Kaufman 2003: 1213) |
| | * jam | 'to open' (Kaufman 2003: 852) |

Cases in which vowel harmony is observed, specifically in CV*j* roots, can be analyzed as contexts in which “the shift of *a to *ä was blocked”; such is the case when *a was adjacent to **h*. (Kaufman and Norman 1984) It also seems that *j* likewise blocked the shift as we can see in the reconstruction provided below:

| | | |
|------|--------|---------------------------------------|
| (11) | * b'aj | 'to nail' (Kaufman 2003: 922) |
| | * tah | 'to find' (Kaufman 2003: 154) |
| | * q'aj | 'to harvest corn' (Kaufman 2003: 863) |

Transitive verbs where vowel harmony is observed (see example (6) above), require an explanation different than the historical one; otherwise we would expect the vowel *-ä* instead of the harmonic *-a*. It seems that this group represents an innovation that happened after the reduction of long vowels took place. This innovation was perhaps

semantically motivated by closely related verbs. For instance *kañ* ‘to open the eyes’ is related to *käñ* ‘to know’, *k’al* ‘to detach’ is related to *k’ol* ‘to pull out (a stone for instance)’, and *sap’* ‘to drain’ to *sup’* to ‘to immerse’. In these innovated words, the harmonic vowel (which is synchronically systematic for other vowels) was applied.

Another characteristic to highlight for this class of transitive verbs consists of the resources to derive passive forms. Depending on the last consonant of the CVC transitive roots, these verbs employ two strategies for passivization. When the last consonant is not a fricative, the verb passivizes with the infix *-j-* in both perfective (12a) and imperfective (12b); but when the last consonant is a fricative, the verb passivizes with *-le* in the perfective (13a) and *-ty* in the imperfective aspect (13b).³

(12) a. **tyi** me<j>l-i-ø li otyoty
 PRFV make<+PAS>-IV-B3 DET house
 ‘The house was made.’ {080729_22a}

b. **mi** i-me<j>l-el li otyoty
 IMFV A3-make<+PAS>-NF DET house
 ‘The house is made.’

(13) a. **tyi** p’aj-le-ø li otyoty
 PRFV scorn-PAS-B3 DET house
 ‘The house was scorned’

b. **mi** i-p’aj-ty-äl li otyoty
 IMFV A3-scorn-PAS-NF DET house
 ‘The house is scorned.’

b. Derived transitive verbs

This class of transitive verb is differentiated from the previous group by the fact that they obligatorily take the derived status marker *-Vñ* or *-V*. When there are no additional derivational materials in the stem, these status markers have complementary distribution. Whereas *-Vñ* occurs in imperfective (14a), *-V* occurs in perfective constructions.

³ See §10.2 for a more detailed discussion.

(14) a. mi' pänts'uñ che'
 mi i-pänts'-uñ-∅ che'
 IMFV A3-move-DT-B3 like.this
 'It moves like this.' {080730_24a}

b. tyi i-pänts'-u-∅ che'
 PRFV A3-move-DT-B3 like.this
 'It moved like this.'

This distinction is neutralized when there are additional derivational suffixes. For instance this status marker surfaces as *-V* in both imperfective and perfective aspect when it co-occurs with the applicative suffix *-b*. In example (15a), we might expect the suffix *-Vñ* immediately after the root *il* 'see'. However, due to the presence of the applicative suffix, the status suffix following the root is realized as *-V*. Notice that the one following the applicative suffix is *-Vñ*. However, if the applicative construction takes the passive suffix, then the status marker placed immediately after the applicative suffix is neutralized in the form *-Vñ* and split ergativity takes place. In this derived form, the suffix *-Vl* is required in the imperfective aspect (16a) and the vowel *-i* appears in the perfective aspect (16b).

(15) a. mi k-il-ä-b-eñ-∅ i-mety
 IMFV A1-see-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-nest
 'I saw its nest.'

b. tyi k-il-ä-b-e-∅ i-mety
 PRFV A1-see-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-nest
 'I saw its nest.' {080703_19a}

(16) a. mi i-lu'-tyep'-b-eñ-ty-el
 IMFV A3-all-wrap-APL-DT-PAS-NF
 'It is wrapped all of it (the food) for them.'⁴{010201_69}

⁴ The single participant inflected in the verb is plural, because it refers to the participants in a fiesta in the village (the discussion of the facultative use of plural inflection was made in chapter 4).

- b. tyi lu'-tyep'-b-eñ-ty-i-y-ø-ob
 PRFV all-wrap-APL-DT-PAS-IV-EP-B3-PL3
 'It was wrapped all of it (the food) to them.'

Regarding the type of vowel in the status maker, it is unpredictable by rule. As we can see in the following examples, the vowel of the suffix is not harmonic with the vowel of the root. It is clear that this is neither a case of vowel harmony nor of disharmony.

- (17) a. ma'-añ mi i-wajl-eñ-oñ=la
 NEG-E IMFV A3-deceive-DT-B1=PLINC
 'He does not deceive us.' {031009_44}

- b. tyi i-wajl-e-y-on=la
 PRFV A3-deceive-DT-EP-B1=PLINC
 'He deceived us.'

- (18) a. mi i-jajp-iñ-ø-o'
 IMFV A3-rub-DT-B3-PL3
 'They rub it.' {010201_69}

- b. tyi i-jajp-i-y-ø-o'
 PRFV A3-rub-DT-EP-B3-PL3
 'They rubbed it.'

- (19) a. mi keje i-chajp-añ-ø-o'
 IMFV start A3-prepare-DT-B3-PL3
 'They will prepare it.' {080704_20b}

- b. tyi i-chajp-ä-y-ø-o'
 PRFV A3-prepare-DT-EP-B3-PL3
 'They prepared it.'

This class of transitives can be derived from unergatives (20b), from causativized unaccusatives (20c), from positionals (20d), and even from nouns (20e).

| | | | |
|------|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (20) | Imperfective | Perfective | |
| a. | pi'l- eñ | pi'l- e | 'to accompany' |
| | il- añ | il- ä | 'to see' |
| | tyum- iñ | tyum- i | 'to advise' |
| b. | pich- iñ | pich- i | 'to urinate something' |
| | tyujb- añ | tyujb- u | 'to spit something' |
| | k'äy- iñ | k'äy- i | 'to sing it' |
| c. | wäy-is- añ | wäy-is- ä | 'to make sleep somebody' |
| | lok'-s- añ | lok'-s- ä | 'to take out something' |
| | ju'-s- añ | ju'-s- ä | 'to put down something' |
| d. | ñok-ty- añ | ñok-ty- ä | 'to kneel down on...' |
| | buch-ty- añ | buch-ty- ä | 'to seat on...' |
| | tyots'-ty- añ | tyots'-ty- ä | 'to lie down on...' |
| e. | ixm- añ | ixm- ä | 'to shell corn' (< 'corn') |
| | otyoty- iñ | otyoty- i | 'to inhabit it' (< 'house') |
| | me'ba'- iñ | me'ba'- i | 'to take somebody as e.g. my orphan' |

In almost all cases identical vowels are observed in the status markers regardless of the aspectual form. An exception to this pattern can be observed in the contrast *-añ/-ä* (see above examples (20c), (20d), and others). In such examples the expected *-añ/-a* contrast is not realized. Interestingly I did not find a single example with *-äñ* in the imperfective. Again, like the status markers in CVC roots, this data represents important evidence for the development of the six vowel system in Chol. Following Kaufman and Norman (1984), who say that in Cholan *a became *ä and *aa became *a, the perfective status markers historically must have been a short vowel. Since the suffix *-äñ* does not appear it is possible that imperfective status markers were long vowels.⁵

Finally, this group of transitive roots forms passives with the suffix *-ty* in either perfective or imperfective aspect. As was mentioned above, in the passive form, the use of different status markers in the perfective and imperfective aspects is neutralized and

⁵ Thanks to Danny Law for this analysis.

only the *-Vñ* is used.⁶ The aspectual distinction now consists of different inflections for the subject: Set A for the imperfective and Set B for the perfective.⁷

(21) a. mi y-il-ään-ty-el
IMFV A3=see-DT-PAS-NF
'It is seen'

b. tyi il-ään-ty-i-ø
PRFV see-DT-PAS-IV-B3
'It was seen'

c. Irregular verbs

Finally, there are two irregular or defective transitive verbs: *om* 'want' and *uji* 'know'. These verbs do not take inflection for aspect. In order to code aspectual distinctions, auxiliary verbs are required. Either the derived transitive *mul* 'want', 'like' (22c), the light verb *cha'l* 'do' (23c), or *kaje* 'start' (23d) can be used.

(22) a. k-om-ø j-kään-ety
A1-want-B3 A1-know-B2
'I want to know you' {sf_72}

b. * mi k-om-ø j-kään-ety

c. tyi k-mul-ä-ø j-kään-ety
PRFV A1-like-DT-B3 A1-know-B2
'I liked to know you.'

(23) a. k-uji-ø=tyo jap-lembal
A1-know-B3-still drink-liquor
'I am still drinking liquor'

b. * tyi k-uji-ø jap-lembal

⁶ For more information about passive constructions, cf. §10.2.

⁷ The details about person markers were presented in §4.1.

- c. tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ jap-lembal
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 drink-liquor
 'I drank liquor.'
- d. mi j-kaje tyi jap-lembal
 IMFV A1-start SUB drink-liquor
 'I will drank liquor.'

In sum, there are two main groups of transitive verbs and one small group consisting only of two elements. The main groups are: CVC transitive roots and derived transitive roots (see Table 10). The first group takes a harmonic vowel in perfective aspect and allows two strategies of passivization, subject to phonological constraints. In this class, when the last consonant is not a fricative, the passive marker is the infix <ɟ> regardless of the aspect; if on the contrary it is a fricative, the passive marker is *-ty* in the imperfective form and *-le* in the perfective. The second group is the derived class which takes the suffixes *-Vñ/-V* in the imperfective/perfective contrasts. When derivational suffixes are added, this distinction is neutralized. In this last group, the passive marker *-ty* is used regardless of the aspect.

Table 11. Properties of main transitive verbs.

| | Status markers | Passive forms |
|--------------------|--|--|
| CVC roots | <i>-V₁</i> (only in perfective) | <ɟ> (for CVC _{non-fricative}) <i>-ty</i> ⁸ / <i>-le</i> ⁹ (for CVC _{fricative}) |
| Derived transitive | <i>-Vñ</i> ¹⁰ / <i>-V</i> ¹¹ | <i>-ty</i> |

⁸ In the imperfective aspect.

⁹ In the perfective aspect.

¹⁰ In the imperfective aspect.

5.1.2. Intransitive verbs

Chol intransitive verbs can be further subdivided into several groups: non-agentives, agentives, ambivalents, and ambitransitives. The morphosyntactic properties of each one are presented separately.

a. Non-agentives

Intransitive verbs contrast with transitives because unlike the latter, they indicate only one core argument. The non-agentive, also described as the “prototypical intransitive” or “unaccusative”, inflects the single participant in the action with Set B person markers in the perfective aspect (24a). In this aspect, this group of intransitives takes the status marker *-i*. However, in the imperfective aspect, Set A, not Set B, is used to indicate the subject. Additionally, in the imperfective, instead of the status suffix they take the non-finite suffix *-Vl* (24b).¹²

(24) a. ta'=bi sajty-**i-∅** la=k-pi'äl
PRFV=REP die-IV-B3 PLINC=A1-friend
'It is said that our friend died.' {080604_12c}

b. yariuj=ix mi **i-sajty-el** kixtyañuj
SP:every.day=already IMFV A3-die-NF SP:people
'Every day people die.' {031102_43}

The inflection for the intransitive argument in (24a) is the same inflection as that used for the semantic patients of transitives. These intransitives are instances of a grammatical system in which the argument of intransitive verbs is categorized with transitive patients (Mithun 1991: 511); that is, they are marked with the same set of person markers. According to Zavala Maldonado (2007c), this group includes eventive predicates which codify change of location (25a) or of state (25b), inchoatives (25c) and phasal verbs (25d).¹³

¹¹ In the perfective aspect.

¹² Split ergativity was also discussed in §1.9.4 and §4.1.

- (25) a. och 'enter'
 ju'b 'go down'
 jul 'arrive here'
 k'äj k 'climb'
 k'ax 'pass'
 k'oty 'arrive there'
 lets 'climb'
 majl 'go'
 ñijk 'move'
- b. chäm 'die'
 jejm 'collapse'
 jojch 'hach'
 jujp' 'get fat'
 kol 'grow up'
 lajm 'finish'
 ñajay 'forgot'
 p'ix 'wake up'
 pujk 'distribute'
 sijty' 'swell up'
 tyejch 'stand up'
 tyojm 'explode'
- c. säk-'añ 'become white'
 tsäts-'añ 'become hard'
 wiñik-iy 'become a man'
 tyuñ-iy 'become hard as a rock'
- d. ujty 'finish'
 joloñ 'finish'
 jil 'finish'
 säjl 'finish'
 kaj 'start'
 mejl 'can'

From the properties highlighted for non-agentive verbs, the split ergativity is the single property that consistently takes places in the inchoative group. As can be noted in the following examples the thematic vowel is not inflected in the perfective aspect (26a) and the non-finite suffix *-el* does not appear in the following inchoative predicate (26c).

¹³ More details about this system are in Vázquez Álvarez 2002 and Gutiérrez Sánchez 2004.

- (26) a. tyi k'ok'-ä-∅
 PRFV relieve-INCH-B3
 'He was relieved'
- b. mi i-k'ok'-añ
 IMFV A3-relieve-INCH
 'He becomes relieved' {040115_42b}
- c. * mi i-k'ok'-añ-**el**

It is important to highlight that intransitive verbs derived by the passive infix <j> (see §10.2) share the morphosyntactic properties of non-agentive verbs; in other words, they take the status suffix *-i* in perfective (27a) and *-el* in imperfective aspect (27b) and split ergativity can be observed.

- (27) a. tyi pä<j>y-i-y-oñ
 PRFV call<+PAS>-IV-EP-B1
 'I was called'
- b. mi k-pä<j>y-**el**
 IMFV A1-call<+PAS>-NF
 'I am called'

b. Agentive intransitives

The agentive intransitive or “unergative” does not follow the above patterns described for the prototypical intransitive group. As described in §14.1, agentive intransitives participate in complex constructions. As such, agentive intransitives are not directly inflected with subject markers. Instead, this argument is indicated by Set A on the light verb *cha'l* ‘do’ (28) and (29a), which is a derived transitive verb that takes the status suffixes proper for this type of verbs. Additionally, the intransitive status markers *-i* described in (24) above are not used.

(28) che' tyi i-cha'l-e-ø ty'añ
 that's.how PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 talk
 'That is how he talked.' {011103_62}
 Lit: 'That is how he did talking.'

(29) a. mi kcha'lenla xämbal
 mi k-cha'l-eñ-ø=la xämbal
 IMFV A1-do-DT-B3=PLINC walk
 'We walk.' {070614_6a}
 Lit: 'We do walking.'

b. *tyi xämbal-oñ=la
 PRFV walk-B1=PLINC
 Intended meaning: 'We walk'

This *-el-eñ* contrast is evidence that the light verb comes from a derived transitive verb (see §5.1.1, above). Interestingly, the light verb has an alternate form where the root takes the derivational suffix *-al-añ* instead of the contrast *-el-eñ* observed in (28) and (29a). This new contrast also includes the loss of the last consonant of the root (*cha'l* → *cha'*), as is shown in (30a) and (30b). It is important to mention that these variant forms do not contrast in meaning and apparently are not phonologically or morphologically motivated and cannot be attributed to dialectal variation as all data in this set was collected in the same variety of Chol and a single speaker can use both forms.

(30) a. dos año tyi i-cha'-a-ø troñ-e(l)
 SP:two SP:year PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 work-NF
 'He worked for two years.' {080730_26b}

b. mi' cha'añ otsajñichim
 mi i-cha'-añ-ø otsaj-ñichim
 IMFV A3-do-DT-B3 place-candle¹⁴
 'He prays.' (Lit: 'He places or offers candles.') {070613_4}

¹⁴ This is a cultural practice consisting of offering candles to the Saint in a church or any sacred place.

Unlike non-agentives, agentives have subjects that are like transitive agents (Vázquez Álvarez 2002 and Gutiérrez Sánchez 2004).

Zavala Maldonado (2007c) analyzed the complement of the light verb as a nominalized form. This property is evident in some agentive verbs that take the suffixes *-Vl* or *-bal* which Zavala Maldonado considers as nominalizers (see examples (33a)). It is clear the agentive intransitives do not have all the properties of a prototypical noun. Although they can take the determiner *li* (31a) and can be modified by a relative clause (31b), they do not allow the use of demonstratives (31c).

- (31) a. tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ **li** ajñ-el
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 DET ran-NF
 'I ran.'
- b. tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ **lekoj-∅=bä** ajñ-el
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 strange-B3=REL ran-NF
 'I ran strangely.'
- c. * tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ **ili** ajñ-el
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 this ran-NF
 Intended meaning: 'I did this run.'

Moreover, this type of verbs can be followed by directionals, as the the following examples show. This fact is further evidence of their verbal nature.¹⁵

- (32) a. tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ tse'ñ-al **majlel**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 laugh-NF DIR:away
 'I went laughing.'
- b. tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ oñ-el **tyälel**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 shout-NF DIR:toward
 'I came laughing.'

¹⁵ Directionals are presented in §5.7.8 and §6.9.

- c. tyi k-cha'l-e-ø tyujb **ochel**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 spit DIR:in
 Lit: 'I spit while I went in.'

Instances of agentive verbs are the following. The examples in (33b) are non-derived, since they do not take any suffix, as the ones in (33a) do.

- (33) a. ajñ-el 'run'
 ñuxej-el 'swim'
 oñ-el 'shout'
 oj-bal 'cough'
 si'-bal 'cut firewood'
 juch'-bal 'grind'
 lem-bal 'get drunk'
 ñaj-al 'dream'
 ch'uj-el 'prayer'
 misuj-el 'sweep'
 tse'ñ-al 'laugh'
 p'olm-al 'sell'
- b. pay 'call'
 k'al 'roof'
 k'ix 'warm'
 ch'ajb 'be on diet'
 tyujb 'spit'

There are some words that were treated as a separate class by Gutiérrez Sánchez (2004: §3.3.2). This author called the words that have either verbal or nominal readings “verbal nouns” even though they behave like unergatives, as he mentions.¹⁶ Since the words previously analyzed as unergatives also offer either verbal or nominal readings, I will treat them in this work as a single class. The term “verbal noun” was introduced by Schumann (1973) in the study of Chol and Kaufman (1990) used it the Mayan languages for words that, depending on the context, have verbal or nominal interpretation. The words analyzed previously as “verbal nouns” in Chol are the following. Notice that some of them are also derived by the suffix *-Vl* or *-bal*.

¹⁶ See the summary of the properties of unergatives (chart 3) and verbal nouns (chart 4) offered by Gutiérrez Sánchez (2004: 64 and 78).

Verbal reading Nominal reading

| | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| (34) | <i>soñ</i> | ‘to dance’ | ‘music’, ‘radio’ |
| | <i>kisiñ</i> | ‘to feel embarrassed’ | ‘embarrassment’ |
| | <i>bety</i> | ‘to get into debt’ | ‘debt’ |
| | <i>ñojk’</i> | ‘to snore’ | ‘snore’ |
| | <i>woj</i> | ‘to bark’ | ‘bark’ |
| | <i>chu’</i> | ‘to suck’ | ‘chest’ |
| | <i>chämel</i> | ‘to die’ | ‘sickness’ |
| | <i>uk’el</i> | ‘to cry’ | ‘tears’ ¹⁷ |
| | <i>ch’ujel</i> | ‘to go to church’ | ‘mass’ |
| | <i>misujel</i> | ‘to sweep’ | ‘garbage’ |
| | <i>tse’ñal</i> | ‘to laugh’ | ‘laugh’ |
| | <i>p’olmal</i> | ‘to sell’ | ‘sale’ |
| | <i>ojbal</i> | ‘to cough’ | ‘cough’ |
| | <i>si’bal</i> | ‘to cut firewood’ | ‘firewood’ |
| | <i>juch’bal</i> | ‘to grind corn’ | ‘ground corn’ |
| | <i>lembal/lembäl</i> | ‘to be drunk’ | ‘liquor’ |

As verbs, they indicate their subject by set A on the light verb *cha’l*, ‘do’.

(35) *mi* *a-cha’l-eñ-ø* ***soñ***
 IMFV A2-do-DT-B3 dance
 ‘You dance.’

(36) *mi* *k-cha’l-eñ-ø* ***oj-bal***
 IMFV A1-do-DT-B3 cough-NF
 ‘I cough.’

As nouns these forms can function as arguments of predicates. For instance *soñ* ‘radio’ is the direct object of the transitive verb *ñächty* ‘hear’ (37) and *oj* ‘cough’ is the subject of the transitive verb *tyä’l* ‘bother’ (38)..¹⁸

¹⁷ Notice that *uk’el* ‘to cry’ belongs also to the ambivalent group of intransitives.

¹⁸ The noun phrase is presented in chapter 8.

(37) cha'añ a-ñäch'ty-añ-ø **soñ**
 PREP A2-hear-DT-B3 radio
 Lit.: 'For you to listen to the radio.' {070620_9b}

(38) choñ ityä'lañoñ ojba
 choñkol **i**-tyä'l-añ-oñ **oj-bal**
 PROG A3-bother-DT-B1 cough-NF
 Lit.: 'This cough is bothering me.' {070621_11c}

The nominal property of these words is evident when set A is interpreted as the possessive marker, as in example (39). Moreover, it can be preceded by a demonstrative (40), but cannot be followed by a directional (41b). The directional must follow the predicate, as shown in (41a).

(39) mi la=k-säty-ø **la=k-p'**olma(l)
 IMFV PLINC=A1-lose-B3 PLINC=A1-merchandise
 'We lose our merchandise.' {080703_19c}

(40) mi la=k-choñ-ø **ili** la=k-p'olmal
 IMFV PLINC=A1-sell-B3 this PLINC=A1-merchandise
 'We sell our merchandise.'

(41) a. mi la=k-choñ-ø **majl-el** la=k-p'olmal
 IMFV PLINC=A1-sell-B3 DIR:away-NF PLINC=A1-merchandise
 'We go selling our merchandise.'

b. * mi la=k-choñ-ø la=k-p'olmal **majl-el**

In addition to these sub-groups, antipassives of incorporation must also be included in the category of intransitive agentives. As we can see in example (30b) above and (42a), compound constructions of the sequence Verb + Noun can follow the light verb *cha'(l)*. As discussed in §14.1.1 this syntactic position is reserved for intransitive predicates and the form V + N has to be treated as intransitive. More instances of compound forms of this class are listed in (42b).

(42) a. tyi a-cha'l-e-ø **kuch-ixim**
 PRFV A2-do-DT-B3 carry-corn
 'You carried corn.' {080703_19a}

b. juch'-waj 'grind corn'
 jap-kajpej 'drink coffee'
 k'aj-ixim 'harvest corn'
 tyuk'-kajpej 'harvest coffee'
 mäk'-ja'as 'eat banana'
 mel-otyoty 'make house'
 päk'-bu'ul 'plant been'
 mäñ-ats'am 'buy salt'
 kuch-ja' 'carry water'

Antipassives of incorporation that take the suffix *-aj* (43) can also be complements of the light verb *cha'l*. Notice that without or with the antipassive marker *-aj*, the antipassivized forms do not take nominalizers.

(43) tyi k-cha'l-e-ø **tsän-s-aj-muty**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 die-CAU-AP-chicken
 'I kill chickens.'

Antipassive absolutive verbs, such as those listed in (44c), also belong to the class of unergatives because they obligatorily require the light verb *cha'l* 'do' in order to inflect the subject (see the contrast in (44a-b)).

(44) a. tyi **k-cha'l-e-ø** chon-oñ-el
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 sell-AP-NF
 'I sold (e.g. groceries)'

b. *tyi chon-oñ-i-y-oñ

c. ts'isoñel 'to sew (cloth)'
 wuts'oñel 'to wash (cloth)'
 mäñoñel 'to buy (groceries)'
 choñoñel 'to sell'
 tsutsoñel 'to replant (corn)'

The properties shown by unergatives in Chol could be taken as support for the claim that there is only a weak distinction between intransitive verbs and nouns in Mayan (see Coon 2004: §3.3.1 and §3.3.2).

c. Ambivalent intransitives

Some intransitive roots behave either like non-agentive or agentive verbs. This group patterns with Dixon's (1994) analysis of Fluid-S in which the degree of volition implied in the action will determine the type of alignment that is used. For instance, example (45a) could be used in the context of sudden movement caused by a strong noise; while (45b) could be used to refer to a context in which this person is playing and jumping is part of a play.

- (45) a. tyi tyijp'-i-y-oñ
 PRFV jump-IV-EP-B1
 'I jumped (involuntary)'
- b. tyi k-cha'l-e-ø tyijp'-el
 PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 jump-NF
 'I jumped (intentionally)'

In sum, depending on the volition of the action, these verbs can be semantically agentive or not agentive. More roots of this group are:

- (46) wäyel 'to sleep'
 wejlel 'to fly'
 uch'el 'to eat'
 uk'el 'to cry'
 ts'ämel 'to bathe'
 puts'el 'to escape'

d. Ambitransitives

There are a few roots and stems that function either as intransitives or as transitives without further morphological markers. They were described as ambitransitive or labile verbs in a previous work in Chol (see Gutiérrez Sánchez 2004: §3.9). In this work I am

following the terminology used by Gutiérrez Sánchez. The root *pul* ‘to be burn’ ‘to burn something’ is an instance of this type of verb. As can be seen in the following example, this root can be interpreted as intransitive. In this reading, this verb behaves as a non-agentive. Consequently, split ergativity can be observed in the imperfective aspect as can the non-finite status marker (47a). In the perfective aspect, the status marker *-i* for this class is used (47b).

- (47) a. mi ipule
 mi i-pul-el
 IMFV A3-burn-NF
 ‘It is getting burnt/it is burning’ {080703_19b}
- b. tyi pul-i-∅
 PRFV burn-IV-B3
 ‘It burned.’ {070614_6b}

In the transitive version, this verb belongs to the CVC group. For this reason, no status marker is required for this root in the imperfective aspect (48a); in the perfective aspect, a status marker (which is a harmonic vowel) is required (48b). Moreover, it takes both Set A and Set B person markers.

- (48) a. much ipulo’ je’el
 muk’=äch i-pul-∅-ob je’el
 IMFV=AFFR A3-burn-B3-PL3 also
 ‘yes, they also burn it’ {031009_44}
- b. tyi i-pul-u-y-∅-ob
 PRFV A3-burn-TV-EP-B3-PL3
 ‘They burned it.’

Other verbs of this group pattern as agentives in the intransitive version. This group was called ambitransitive agentives by Gutiérrez Sánchez (2004: §3.9.1). An attempt to apply the morphology of non-agentives is ungrammatical (49b). In the transitive function, the root *jats*’ has the reading ‘hit’ and directly takes the inflections for the subject and the direct object (50).

(49) a. tyi i-cha'l-e-ø **jats'**
 PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 fight
 'He fought.'

b. * tyi jats'-a-ø

(50) mi ijats'o ibäj
 mi i-jats'-ø-ob i-bäj
 IMFV A3-hit-B3-PL3 A3-RN
 'They hit themselves' {010201_69}

Some verbs of this group, in the transitive reading, belong to the derived transitive class; in other words, they take the suffix *-Vñ/-V*, (51a) and (51b), depending on the aspect. As an intransitive, this type of verb belongs to the class of the agentives (52).

(51) a. choñ ipijtyañ
 choñkol i-pijty-**añ**-ø
 PROG A3-wait-DT-B3
 'He is waiting for it' {080730_24c}

b. tyi i-pijty-**ä**-ø
 PRFV A3-wait-DT-B3
 'He waited for it.'

(52) tyi k-cha'l-e-ø pijty
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 wait
 'I waited'

Other verbs of this group are:

| | Intransitive | Transitive |
|------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (53) | lok'el 'to exit' | 'to take something out' |
| | tyek' 'to have sexual intercourse' | 'to step on something' |
| | xujch' 'to steal' | 'to steal something' |
| | loty 'to lie' | 'to deceive someone' |

Finally *mejl* ‘can’ is a single modal intransitive form analyzed here as a defective intransitive verb since it takes Set B inflection but cannot take aspectual auxiliaries.

- (54) a. **mejl-ø** k-tyä’l-añ-ety
 can-B3 A1-bother-DT-B2
 ‘I can bother you.’

* **tyi** mejl k-tyä’lañ-ety

In sum, there are some roots/stems in Chol that behave as both intransitives and transitives without additional morphology. In the intransitive version, some of them indicate their subjects on the light verb by means of Set A (ambitransitive agentive) while others do it by means of Set B or Set A (depending on the aspect) directly inflected on the verb (ambitransitive non-agentive). In the transitive version, most of them patterns as transitive roots and very few as derived transitives.

Table 12. The properties of ambitransitive verbs.

| | Intransitive | | Transitive | |
|--------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------|
| | Agentive | Non-agentive | CVC | Derived |
| pul | | yes | yes | |
| lok’ | | yes | yes | |
| jats’ | yes | | yes | |
| tyek’ | yes | | yes | |
| loty | yes | | yes | |
| pijty | yes | | | yes |
| xujch’ | yes | | | yes |

5.2. NOUNS

Nouns can be defined as forms that function as the heads of noun phrases and (most) can be inflected for possession. In Mayan linguistics, nouns are analyzed according to the

type of change observed in their morphology when they are possessed, their strategies for compounding, and their syntactic functions. Regarding their morphological complexity, in Chol there are simple (5.2.1), complex, compound (discussed together in 5.2.2), and relational nouns (5.7.2).

5.2.1. Classification by possession

Nouns in Mayan have been classified in terms of possession. This is because it has been argued that the inherent or permanent relationship between a possessed noun with its possessor can be morphologically marked. For instance, Zavala Maldonado (1992) identifies four subclasses of nouns in Akatek based on their possession -- un-possessed nouns, nouns that are normally possessed but in the un-possessed form take the suffix *-e*, nouns that do not change in either the possessed or un-possessed form, and nouns that take the suffix *-Vl* in the possessed form.

In Chol nouns that cannot be possessed include proper names (55), place names (56), some wild animals (57), and other nouns (mostly natural phenomena) that according to Chol beliefs are impossible to possess (58).

| | | | |
|------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|
| (55) | Juan | * k-Juan | ‘a proper name’ |
| | Pedro | * k-Pedro | ‘a proper name’ |
| | María | * k_María | ‘a proper name’ |
| (56) | Tila | * k-Tila | ‘a place name’ |
| | Sabanilla | * k-Sabanilla | ‘a place name’ |
| | Palenque | * k-Palenque | ‘a place name’ |
| (57) | bajläm | * k-bajläm | ‘jaguar’ |
| | me’ | * k-me’ | ‘deer’ |
| | lukum | * k-lukum | ‘snake’ |
| (58) | ek’ | * k-’ek’ | ‘star’ |
| | panchañ | * k-panchañ | ‘sky’ |

It may be possible to find some contexts in which some nouns of this group can be possessed, like when the referent of the noun is drawn on a sheet of paper, as in the following examples. In these examples, the possessed nouns do not take a special suffix.

(59) a. tyi k-yul-u-ø **k-lukum**
 PRFV A1-color-TV-B3 A1-snake
 ‘I colored my snake.’

b. mi k-mul-añ-ø **k-bajläm**
 IMFV A1-like-DT-B3 A1-jaguar
 ‘I like my jaguar’

Unlike Akatek, in Tila Chol there is not a class of nouns that takes a special suffix when occur un-possessed, but rather such a suffix disappears when they are possessed. In this variety of Chol, I found two nouns, those exemplified in (60), that can optionally take the suffix *-äl* which disappears in the possessed form (see also examples 61c). For this reason this class of nouns can be categorized as the sub-class three in the classification that Zavala Maldonado (1992) describes for Akatek. However, interestingly, in Tumbalá Chol, this class of nouns patterns as Akatek, since they take the suffix *-Vl* when they are not possessed, but this suffix disappears in the possessed form (62). In this sub-class, the terms for body parts (62b) and kinship relationships (62c) can be included.

(60) chich(**äl**) ‘older sister’ k-chich ‘my older sister’
 uskuñ(**äl**) ‘older brother’ k-uskuñ ‘my older brother’

(61) a. bujk ‘T-shirt’ k-bujk ‘my T-shirt’
 wex ‘pants’ k-wex ‘my pants’
 pixol ‘hat’ k-pixol ‘my hat’
 xäñäb ‘sandals’ k-xäñäb ‘my sandals’

b. jol ‘head’ k-(j)ol ‘my head’
 k’äb ‘hand’ j-k’äb ‘my hand’

| | | | | |
|----|---------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| c. | uskuñ | ‘older brother’ | k-uskuñ | ‘my older brother’ |
| | chich | ‘older sister’ | k-chich | ‘my older sister’ |
| | ijts’iñ | ‘younger brother’ | k-ijts’iñ | ‘my younger brother’ |
| | ichañ | ‘uncle’ | k-ichañ | ‘my uncle’ |

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| | | | | | |
|------|----|-----------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| (62) | a. | bujkäl | ‘T-shirt’ | k-bujk | ‘my T-shirt’ |
| | | wexäl | ‘pants’ | k-wex | ‘my pants’ |
| | b. | jöläl | ‘head’ | k-(j)ol | ‘my head’ |
| | | k’äbäl | ‘hand’ | j-k’äb | ‘my hand’ |
| | c. | uskuñäl | ‘older brother’ | k-uskuñ | ‘my older brother’ |
| | | ijts’iñäl | ‘younger brother’ | k-ijts’iñ | ‘my younger brother’ |

A final sub-class in Zavala Maldonado’s analysis (1992) consists of nouns that take a suffix in the possessed form. This sub-class includes nouns like those referring to man and woman (63a), kin terms (63b), body parts (63c), natural phenomena (63d), possessed nouns with locative possessors (63e), and possessed nouns with inanimate possessor (63f).

| | | | | | |
|------|----|----------|---------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| (63) | a. | wiñik | ‘man’ | i-wiñiklel | ‘his manliness’ |
| | | ixik | ‘woman’ | y-ixiklel | ‘her womanliness’ ¹⁹ |
| | b. | alo’b | ‘boy’ | y-alo’bil | ‘his/her son’ |
| | | ixik | ‘woman’ | y-ixik’al | ‘his/her daughter’ |
| | c. | ch’i’ch’ | ‘blood’ | i-ch’ich’el k-ok | ‘my feet’s blood’ |
| | | bak | ‘bone’ | i-bäkel k-ok | ‘my feet’s bone’ |
| | | tsuts | ‘hair’ | i-tsutsel k-(j)ol | ‘my head’s hair’ |

¹⁹ Notice that in these examples, there is a lateral consonant before the suffix *-el*. At this point it is not clear if this consonant is part of the possessive suffix or represents another suffix. It may be a doubling of the *-VI* suffix, which is reported for other Mayan languages. It is important to mention that the form *wiñikil* or *wiñikel* does not exist in either possessed or unpossessed forms. The *-VI* suffix in general forms abstract nouns in Mayan languages; some nouns can only be possessed with this derivation.

| | | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---|--|---|
| d. | ik' chajk | 'wind' 'thunder' | y-ik' al ja'al i-chajk il ja'al | 'rain's wind' 'rain's thunder' |
| e. | ja' wits bij | 'water' 'hill' 'path' | y-a' lel Petalcingo i-wits il Sabanilla i-bij lel Tila | 'Petalcingo's river' 'Sabanilla's hill' 'Tila's path' |
| f. | tye' tyuñ k'ajk buts' | 'stick' 'stone' 'light', 'fire' 'smog' | i-tye' el k-otyoty i-tyuñ il k-otyoty i-k'äk' al karu i-buts' il karu | 'my house's stick' 'my house's stone' 'car's light' 'car's smog' |

The examples shown in this section may tell us that in this language there is an important process of lexicalization in possessed nouns. For this reason, under the classification by possession a single noun can belong to more than one sub-class. For instance *wiñik* 'man' can be analyzed either as a noun that does not take a suffix in the possessed form or as one that takes the suffix *-el* when it is possessed (64a). Moreover, as shown in the second example in (64a), the word for 'woman' cannot be possessed without the suffix *-el*. Finally, some nouns change the meaning slightly when the suffix *-Vl* is added, as in (64b).

| | | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------|--------------------|---|---|-------------------------------------|
| (64) | a. | wiñik ixik | i-wiñik *y-ixik | 'his/her worker' | i-wiñik lel y-ixik lel | 'his manliness' 'her femaleness' |
| | b. | chij bak | k-chij k-bak | 'my cord' 'my bone' ²⁰ | k-chij il k-bäk el | 'my vein' 'my bone (of my body)' |
| | c. | k'ajk tyuñ | i-k'ajk i-tyuñ | 'his/her/its light/fire' 'his/her stone' | i-k'äk' al i-tyuñ il | 'its light/fire' 'its stone' |

5.2.2. Simple, compound, and complex nouns

Nouns can also be classified by their morphological complexity. Under this criterion there are simple, compound, and complex nouns.

²⁰ For instance it could refer to the bone of my food.

a. Simple nouns

Most simple nouns are free forms and can take Set A possessive markers without any change in their morphology.

| | | | |
|------|-------|---------|---------------|
| (65) | ts'i' | k-ts'i' | 'my dog' |
| | ixim | k-ixim | 'my corn' |
| | tyem | k-tyem | 'my chair' |
| | waj | k-waj | 'my tortilla' |

Some nouns that also behave like agentive verbs (see §5.1.2, above) can be possessed without derivational morphology.

| | | | |
|------|------|--------|------------|
| (66) | xej | k-xej | 'my vomit' |
| | pich | k-pich | 'my urine' |
| | k'ay | j-k'ay | 'my song' |

b. Derived nouns

As in other Mayan languages (see Hofling 2000: §4.2.3.4 for Itzaj; England 1983: 119-20 for Mam, and Polian 2006: §3.3.4 for Tseltal), the suffix *-Vl* derives abstract nouns from several classes. In Chol abstract nouns can be derived from adjectives (67a), nouns (67b), adverbs (67c) and positionals (67d).

| | | | | |
|------|------------|------------|--------------|---|
| (67) | a. i'ik' | 'black' | y-ik'-el | 'its blackness' |
| | b. wiñik | 'man' | i-wiñikl-el | 'his manliness' |
| | c. k'uñ | 'soft' | i-k'uñl-el | 'its softness' |
| | d. wa'tyäl | 'standing' | i-wa'tyäl-el | 'its being in the position of standing' |

The suffix *-Vl* on nouns referring to some fruits, plants, or trees derives a reading of collectivity; concretely “the plot of land where X are (planted)”. Unlike in Itzaj (Hofling 2000: 263), the derived form in Chol is not necessarily possessed.²¹

²¹ More examples of this are presented in Meneses Méndez 1987.

- (68)
- | | | |
|--------|-------------------|---|
| ja'as | ja'as- il | 'a place where bananas are planted' |
| alaxax | alaxax- ol | 'a place where oranges are planted' |
| bu'ul | bu'l- el | 'a place where beans are planted' |
| tyaj | tyaj- ol | 'a place where pines are in abundance' |
| pätyaj | pätyaj- ol | 'a place where guavas are in abundance' |

As was discussed in §5.1.2, some verbs of the class of agentive intransitives take the nominalizer *-Vl* or *-bal*, as shown in the following examples.

- (69)
- | | |
|----------------|------------|
| uk'el | 'tears' |
| chämel | 'sickness' |
| tse'ñal | 'laugh' |
| p'olmal | 'sale' |
| oj bal | 'cough' |
| si' bal | 'firewood' |

The suffix *-(Vj)ib* can derive instrumental or locative nouns from verbs or positional roots, as in the following examples.

- (70)
- | | |
|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| wäy-ib | 'bed (from sleep)' |
| misuj-ib | 'broom (from sweep)' |
| letsij-ib | 'ladder (from climb)' |
| buch-l-ijib | 'a place to sit', 'bench (from sit)' |
| k'aj-'ojib | 'a place to rest (from rest)' |

Finally, the noun class prefixes *x-* and *aj-* can be used to derive agentive noun stems from verbs (71). When the constructions involve transitive verbs, they frequently incorporate the noun into the verbal complex (71b).

- (71) a. añ-ø-o'=äch li **aj**-soñ
 E-B3-PL3=AFFR DET NCL-dance
 'There are some dancers' {011103_62}
- b. **x**-kuch-si'-ø
 NCL-carry-fire.wood-B3
 'The person who carries firewood'

When they are used with toponyms, both *aj-* and *x-* indicate people who are from the place or region designated by the toponym.

- (72) a. *aj-Katarinaj-o'*
NCL-Catalina-PL3
'the ones from Catalina' {070614_6a}
- b. *añ-∅=ba aw-u'b-i-∅-y-o' tyi ty'añ x-tumbalaj-o'*
E-B3=INT A2-hear-DT-B3-EP-PL3 PREP talk CLN-Tumbala-PL3
'Have you heard the ones from Tumbala talk?' {070614_6a}

c. Compound and complex nouns

Compound nouns are forms based on two roots referring to a single lexeme. The compounding form has mainly the sequence noun + noun (73) and adjective + noun (74).

- (73) *jol-ts'i'*
head-dog
'a wild fruit' Lit: 'dog's head'

- (74) *yäx-tye'*
green-tree
'ceiba tree' Lit: 'green tree'

The possessor is inflected at the front of the compound form, indicating that it is a single unit.

- (75) *k-(j)ol-ts'i'*
A1-head-dog
'my wild fruit'

However, if in the compound form the first element is possessed by the second, this is analyzed as a complex noun (see England 1983: 70-71). According to England, if the form can be possessed, the second root receives the person marker (77).

(76) puru yopo koko
 puru i-yop-ol koko
 SP:only A3-leaf-POS SP:coconut
 ‘only the coconut’s leaf’ {070620_9b}

(77) i-yop-ol j-koko
 A3-leaf-POS A1-SP:coconut
 ‘my coconut’s leaf’

In this language, some complex nouns can also behave like compounds because the possessor marker goes on the first root (79). In this case, the third person marker in the first noun observed in (78) is dropped.²²

(78) i-pisl-el k-waj
 A3-cloth-POS A1-tortilla
 ‘My tortilla’s cloth.’

²² In Chol, there is an instance of apparent double application of the possessive marker, which is an unusual construction. When the first root in the compound is *al* ‘child of’ and the possessor of the compound form is first person, the inflection for third person possessor in the first root is apparently kept (c).

a. bajche’ y-al wakax=i
 as A3-son SP:cow=FIN
 ‘as a cow’s calf’ {080704_20b}

b. y-al k-wakax
 A3-son A1-SP:cow
 ‘My cow’s calf’

c. k-y-al wakax
 A1-A3-child.of SP:cow
 ‘My cows’s calf’

* **k-al wakax**

A possible analysis for this unique example is that *y-* has been integrated as part of the root by analogy with roots starting in consonants (see the discussion of *y-* as a person marker in §4.1.1). Notice in the following examples that the second person possessor goes only on the second root.

d. * **a-y-al** wakax
 A2=A3=son SP:cow
 Intended meaning: ‘Your cow’s calf’

e. y-al **a-wakax**
 A3-son A2-SP:cow
 ‘Your cow’s calf’

- (79) **k-pisl-el** waj
 A1-cloth-POS tortilla
 ‘My tortilla’s cloth.’

5.2.3. Affixes on nouns

There are several affixes that nouns can take. For instance, the plural marker *-ob* is used mostly for human referents.²³

- (80) **wiñik-ob** ‘men’
ixik-ob ‘women’
aläl-ob ‘children’
***ch’ix-ob** Intended meaning: ‘thorns’

In the Tila variety, this suffix can be attached to some animal referents but the reading is of a person acting like an animal (81) or of a nickname (82).

- (81) **ts’i’-ob**
 dog-PL3
 ‘people acting like dogs’
- (82) **chuch-ob**
 squirrel-PL3
 ‘The squirrels’ (nickname)

Non-humans can take the suffix *-tyak*, which has been analyzed as an “indefinite plural”. This suffix offers the meaning “some out of a totality” (Vázquez Álvarez 2002: 82).²⁴

- (83) **ch’ix-tyak** ‘some of the thorns’
wiñik-tyak ‘some of the men’
yäx-tye’-tyak ‘some of the ceiba trees’

²³ In Sabanilla, this plural can be used with animal referents: *mutyob* ‘chickens’. See more details about it in chapter 8.

²⁴ More details about *tyak* can be found in chapter 8.

The suffix *-tyak* can also be used with human referents and sometimes combined with the plural *-ob*.

- (84) li ñox-**ob-tyak**
 DET elder-PL3-PLIND
 ‘(some of) the elders’ {010201_69}

The noun class prefixes *aj-* and *x-* can be placed before nouns. These forms have been reconstructed as **7aj* and **7ix*, respectively by Kaufman (2003). According to this author, in the past the former was associated with “male, a relatively large/strong living thing” (pag. 83), while the latter was for “female, relatively smaller or weaker” nouns (pag. 80). In some Mayan languages these forms have been analyzed as masculine or feminine noun classifiers or linked to the sex of the nominal referent (Hofling 2000: 93-100). In Chol of the Tila variety, *aj-* is required in proper names, regardless of the gender (notice the oddness of the b examples).²⁵

- (85) a. y-ijñam **aj**-Wañ Xañtyes
 A3-wife NCL-Juan Sanchez
 ‘Juan Sanchez’s wife.’ {080604_12a}

b. ? y-ijñam Wañ Xañtyes

- (86) a. tyi och-i-∅ **aj**-Marleñ
 PRFV enter-IV-B3 CLN-Marlene
 ‘Marlene entered.’ {031009_44}

b. ? tyi och-i-∅ Marleñ

However, *aj-* can also be observed, albeit rarely, on nouns referring to some animals. As in the previous examples (85b) and (86b), without the noun class prefix the construction

²⁵ In the Tumbalá variety, only *x-* is allowed in proper names.

is strange (87b). Other nouns with animal referents that allow *aj-* are listed in (88a).²⁶ Other nouns of the same type are ungrammatical with *aj-* (88b).

(87) a. ma'añ-∅ käläx **aj**-chuch
 NEG+E-B3 many NCL-squirrel
 'There are not many squirrels.' {070621_11b}

b. ? ma'-añ-∅ käläx chuch

(88) a. aj-wax 'fox'
 aj-ejmech 'raccoon'
 aj-kuj 'owl'

b. * aj-mis 'cat'
 * aj-pajäy 'skunk'
 * aj tyatymuty 'roost'

The prefix *x-* is more productive than *aj-*. It also can be used with proper names regardless of the gender, as in (89) and (90), and with the word for 'woman' (91).

(89) a. y-alo'bil **x**-Lupej
 A3-son NCL-Lupe
 'Lupe's son.' {031009_44}

b. ? y-alo'bil Lupej

(90) **x**-Wañ
 NCL-Juan
 'Juan'

(91) ilekax-∅=bä **x**-ixik
 beautiful-B3=REL NCL-woman
 'beautiful woman' {sf_74}

²⁶ This set of nouns does not refer only to males, but to females as well.

It is also used obligatorily with names of animal referents, regardless of the gender, as in example (92).

- (92) a. mu'=bi i-weñ-k'oty-e(l) x-wax x-kuj
 IMFV=REP A3-SP:much-arrive-NF NCL-fox NCL-owl
 'That fox and owl always arrive' {070614_6b}
- b. * mu'=bi i-k'oty-el wax kuj

In summary, the male and female functions proposed for the protoforms *7aj and *7ix have shifted into new functions in Tila Chol (as in other Mayan languages as well). Only the words *x-ixik* 'woman' and *x-k'aläl* 'girl' apparently retain the female meaning. The use of *aj-* is now restricted to proper names, to nouns to indicate the inhabitants of a place, and to agentives of some nouns derived from verbs. In addition to these uses, Arcos López (2009: §3.5) argues that in San Miguel, which belongs to Tumbalá variety these prefixes can codify social relations between the speaker and a person who has been referred to in the discourse. In general, the use of both prefixes in names in this village shows respect, friendship, courtesy, and admiration. However, *x-* can be used by a boy to make fun of another boy when it is prefixed to a proper name. The prefix *aj-* can also be used by the same participants to indicate disagreement about actions. The findings in San Miguel are subject to a comparative study in Tila Chol in order to see how widespread these uses are.

5.3. ADJECTIVES

Previous studies of Mayan languages have highlighted the difficulty of analyzing adjectives. England (2004: 127) points out for Mam (Mamean) that adjectives can “function as the head of a stative non-verbal predicate, the complement of an existential non-verbal predicate, or can directly modify a noun within an NP”. Two features of adjectives referred to by England are pertinent in the study of Tseltal by Polian (2006: §3.3.5.2): Tseltal adjectives can function as the heads of nonverbal predicates and as modifiers of nouns. However, nouns also function as nonverbal predicates; furthermore,

as Polian points out, the property of attribution (modifier) does not distinguish adjectives from nouns because a noun can also be a modifier (see the following example from Tseltal).

Tseltal

- (93) ach'al oxom
 mud pot
 'mud pot'

A previous study of adjectives in Chol was done by Martínez Cruz (2007). Based on the features observed in the morphosyntax, this study concludes that there are nearly 100 adjectives in Chol; which is twice the number reported for Mam by England (2004).²⁷ While this class in Mam relates to dimension, value, color, physical properties, quantification, and position, adjectives in Chol relate to dimension, age, value, color, physical properties, and human propensity.

- (94) Dimension
 bik'ity 'small'
 kolem 'big'
 pim 'thick'
- (95) Age
 ch'ok 'newborn child'
 sejel 'young'
 ñox 'old'
- (96) Value
 p'ump'uñ 'poor'
 mañaj 'restless '
- (97) Color
 säsäk 'white'
 chächäk 'red'
 i'ik' 'black'

²⁷ England (personal communication) points out that what she counts is what she thought to be adjectival roots. Such a strategy would take out the words for human propensities in Chol.

- (98) Physical properties
 ch'aj 'bitter'
 k'uñ 'soft'
 paj 'sour'
- (99) Human propensities
 ch'äyem 'sad'
 ch'aplom 'anxious'
 simaroñ 'fierce'

As in other Mayan languages (cf. Mam, England 2004: 127), this class can function as the heads of nonverbal predicates. In this function they take inflection for the person/number of a subject (100). This property is shared with nouns (101).

- (100) meru ñox-**oñ**=ix
 SP:just old-B1=already
 'I am already just and old guy' {080604_12c}

- (101) wiñik-**oñ**
 man-B1
 'I am a man'

Both nouns and adjectives contrast with verbs in that, unlike verbs, they do not allow marking for aspect.

- (102) * tyi ñox-**oñ**=ix
 PRFV old-B1=already
 Intended meaning: 'I was old.'

- (103) * tyi wiñik-**oñ**
 PRFV man-B1
 Intended meaning: 'I was a man.'

One property that distinguishes adjectives from nouns is that the former cannot be possessed (104a).

(104) a. * **k-säsäk**
 A1-white
 Intended meaning: ‘My white one.’

b. **k-otyoty**
 A1-house
 ‘My house.’

The sequence adjective + noun has been traditionally analyzed in Mayan as a context of attributive uses of adjectives (England 1983: §1.4; Zavala Maldonado 1992: §3.5; Hofling 2000: §4.5.1, 9.7.1). In Chol, the adjective in this context can appear unmarked (Martínez Cruz 2007), that is without a relative marker (see §8.6).

(105) **chächäk** bu’u(l)
 red bean
 ‘red bean’ {070621_11c}

(106) konla j-k’el-ø **ch’ok ja’as**
 let’s.go A1-see-B3 unripe banana
 ‘Let’s go to see unripe bananas.’ {080604_12b}

In the form with the relativizer, it can be placed before or after the noun without an apparent change in meaning. As Martínez Cruz (2007: 75-78) mentions, with the relative marker other classes can also modify the noun, such as nouns, positionals, and verbs.

(107) a. **chächäk-ø=bä** bu’ul
 red-B3=REL bean
 ‘The bean that is red.’

b. bu’ul **chächäk-ø=bä**
 bean red-B3=REL
 ‘The bean that is red.’

In the unmarked form, a possessive marker goes before the adjective (108); but this construction is ungrammatical when the adjective is accompanied by =*bä* (109a).

(108) **k-chächäk** bu'ul
A1-red bean
'My red bean.'

(109) a * **k-wel-e(l)-ø=bä** tye'
A1-flat-STAT-B3=REL board
Intended meaning: 'My flat board.' {Martínez Cruz 2007, ex. 63a}

b. wel-e(l)-ø=bä **k-tye'**
flat-STAT-B3=REL A1-board
'My flat board.' {Martínez Cruz 2007, ex. 64a}

As Martínez Cruz notes, the plural *-tyak* cannot interrupt the sequence adjective + noun (110b), unless the former has the relative marker (110c).

(110) a. ch'ok-bu'ul' **-tyak**
tender-bean-PLIND
'string beans' {Martínez Cruz 2007, ex. 76a}

b. * ch'ok-**tyak** bu'ul'
tender-PLIND bean
Intended meaning: 'string beans' {Martínez Cruz 2007, ex. 76b}

c. ch'ok-ø-**tyak=bä** bu'ul'
tender-B3-PLIND=REL bean
'string beans' {Martínez Cruz 2007, ex. 76c}

5.3.1. Derived adjectives

Intransitive verbs take the suffix *-em* or *-eñ* to derive stative (participial) readings. As Martínez Cruz (2007) notes, some of these derivations can be placed before the noun (111). However, as the ungrammaticality of examples in (112) shows, this sequence is not productive. In order to avoid ungrammatical readings in this sequence, the clitic *=bä* is required (113).

- (111) chäm-eñ ‘dead’ chämeñ ts’i’ ‘dead dog’
 pul-em ‘burned’ pulem waj ‘burnt tortilla’
- (112) ju’b-eñ ‘taken down’ * ju’beñ wajtyañ ‘taken down corn plant’
 jujl-em ‘shot’ * jujlem kanso ‘shot goose’
- (113) ju<j>l-em-ø=**bä** kanso
 shot<+PAS>-PART-B3=REL SP:goose
 ‘shot goose’

Some nouns derive adjectives by reduplication (114a). These forms can modify nouns (114b).

- (114) a. ja’ja’ ‘watery’
 sa’sa’ ‘doughy’
 lumlum ‘earthy’
 kaskas ‘smelling of oil’ (kerosene)
- b. ja’-ja’ sa’
 water-RED pozol
 ‘watery pozol’

In summary, unmarked adjectives in Chol relate to dimension, age, value, color, physical properties, and human propensity. Since they precede the noun that they modify and the suffix *-tyak* cannot be placed between the modifier and the noun, adjectives exhibit properties similar to compound nouns. In order to show that the sequence adjective + noun is not a compound form, Martinez Cruz (2007: §4.6) indicates that more than one adjective can be used before a noun, whereas only one noun is allowed in front of noun, in noun compounds. In this language, the use of the relativizer =*bä* in the modifier is very productive.

5.4. THE POSITIONAL ROOTS

Positional roots “typically indicate the position, condition, state, or form that an object is in” (Dayley 1985: 58). In an analysis of Mam, England (1983) adds that since positionals

“... are a root class only, the root must be derived to form a stem...” (p. 78). That stem must be a positional predicate and not an adjective because for instance it cannot be used attributively. The following are examples of positional roots in Chol.

| | | |
|-------|--------|---|
| (115) | buch | ‘sitting’ |
| | tyots’ | ‘lying down’ |
| | wa’ | ‘standing up’ |
| | päk | ‘lying face down’ |
| | le’ | ‘sitting with legs open’ |
| | wech | ‘thrown down’ (a sheet of paper) |
| | jäl | ‘thrown down’ (a large and thin object, like a snake) |
| | bäñ | ‘thrown down’ (a large and cylindrical object) |

A few roots refer to a relation between figure and ground (116), the texture of the object (117) or spatial arrangement (118).

| | | |
|-------|-------|--|
| (116) | läp’ | ‘attached to...’ |
| | läts | ‘above something.’ |
| | ñety’ | ‘between...’ |
| (117) | pats | ‘pasty’ |
| | bay | ‘shiny’ |
| (118) | wuj | ‘scattered’ (grains) |
| | ji’ | ‘spread out’ (grains – as in for drying) |

These roots take several derivational suffixes, some of which are shared with other root classes. First of all, we already know that all positionals take the suffix *-V_ll* to derive predicates with a stative meaning (119). In all cases, the vowel is in harmony with the vowel of the root. It is important to mention that this property is shared with some CVC transitive (120a) and intransitive roots (120c), also adding stative readings. Consequently this suffix is glossed as stative in this study.

- (119) buch-**ul** ‘seated’
 tyots’-**ol** ‘lying down’
 wa’-**al** ‘standing up’
- (120) a. mek’ ‘to hug’ mek’-**el** ‘he is hugged’
 mäk ‘cover’ mäk-**äl** ‘it is covered’
- b. jak’ ‘answer’ *jak’-**al** Intended meaning: ‘answered’
- c. wäy ‘sleep’ wäy-**äl** ‘he is asleep’
 p’ix ‘wake up’ p’ix-**il** ‘he is awake’

Second, positionals can be derived as intransitive verbs by taking the suffixes *-ty* plus the non-finite suffix in the imperfective aspect (121a) and *-le* in the perfective aspect (121b)

- (121) a. ya’ mi j-k’äch-**ty**-äl=(l)a ma
 there IMFV A1-ride-PIMFV-NF=PLINC DIR:away
 ‘There we ride.’ {070620_9b}
- b. tyi k’äch-**le**-ø tyi pañ-tye’
 PRFV ride-PPRFV-B3 PREP above-tree
 ‘He sat on the top of the tree.’ {sf_65}

In addition the positional root plus the suffix *-ty* forms a base that allows the use of the suffixes *-V* or *-Vñ*, which were analyzed as transitive stem formatives in (§5.1.1). These latter suffixes allow set A and set B inflection, indicating transitivity of the verb, as in the examples in (122). This type of derived transitive seems to offer locative or instrumental readings as can be observed more clearly in the examples (122c) and (122d), where the verbs refer to “a place to live” and an “object to sit on”.

- (122) a. ma’ix ma’ ty’uchtyañ ok’o
 ma’=ix mi a-ty’uch-ty-**añ**-ø ok’ol
 NEG=already IMFVA2-step.on-PIMFV-DT-B3 mud
 ‘You don’t walk on mud anymore.’ {080703_19c}

- b. ma'=ix tyi a-ty'uch-ty-ä-ø ok'ol
 NEG=already PRFV A2-step.on-PIMFV-DT-B3 mud
 'You didn't walk on mud anymore' {080703_19c}
- c. cha=jach tyi wa' jom-och-i-ø
 like=only PRFV quickly all-enter-IV-B3
 i-chuñ-ty-añ-ø-o'=i
 A3-live-PIMFV-DT-B3-PL3=FIN
 'The people just come to it (my land) to live {080730_24a}
- d. mi a-buch-ty-añ-ø
 IMFV A2-seated-PIMFV-DT-B3
 'You sit on it'

Two observations must be made regarding this process of derivation. First of all, verbal roots with the stative suffix do not inflect with the suffixes *-ty* and *-le* (123). Second, these last two suffixes function as a passive marker for some transitive verbs (124) and (125).²⁸

- (123) mek'-el 'hugged.' * mi k-mek'-**ty**-äl
 ñäch'-el 'quiet' * mi k-ñäch'-**ty**-äl
 p'ix-il 'awake' * mi k-p'ix-**ty**-äl

- (124) mi i-k'ux-**ty**-äl
 IMFV A3-bite-PAS-NF
 'He is bitten.'

- (125) ma'añ tyi k'ux-**le**-ø
 NEG PRFV bite-PAS-B3
 'He was not bitten.' {080703_19c}

Finally, positionals can be derived as transitive verbs by using the form *-chok* 'put', which can be analyzed as a causative suffix.²⁹

²⁸ Passive constructions are discussed in §10.2.

- (126) a. mi i-poj-koty-**chok-oñ**-ø-ob
 IMFV A3-HON-stand-CAU-DT-B3-PL3
 ‘They stand it up.’ {010201_69}
- b. tyi i-koty-**chok-o**-ø
 PRFV A3-stand-CAU-DT-B3
 ‘He stands it up’

As predicates, positionals have two important morphosyntactic functions. On the one hand, with the suffix *-bä* they function as relative clauses that modify nouns (127) (see §8.6).

- (127) [**koty-ol-ø=bä**]_{RC} ts’i’
 stand-STAT-B3=REL dog
 ‘the dog that is standing up’

On the other hand, all positionals can function as secondary predicates (128a). Also all can participate in synthetic constructions with depictive meanings (128b).³⁰

- (128) a. **buch-ul** mi k-wäy-el=(l)a
 seat-STAT IMFV A1-sleep-NF=PLINC
 ‘We sleep seated.’ {080604_12b}
- b. mi k-buch-wäy-el=(l)a
 IMFV A3-seat-sleep-NF=PLINC
 ‘We sleep seated.’

In sum, all positional roots take the suffix *-V_ll* to derive predicates with a stative meaning, and all participate as secondary predicates and in synthetic constructions with depictive meaning. However, not all can take the suffix *-tyl-le* or *-choko(ñ)* to derive intransitive or transitive verbs respectively. There are about 35 roots (out of 205) that do not take the above mentioned suffixes to derive verbs because they belong

²⁹ Although this causative marker still has the morphology of a derived transitive verb (see §5.1.1), it is evident that it is being grammaticalized as a causative marker because it appears only attached to a positional root and never as a verbal head.

³⁰ More details about secondary predication can be found in §13.2.

simultaneously to the class of verbs, that is, they are mixed roots that share properties of verbs and positionals. Some examples are the following.

- (129) *bäk'* 'wrapped', 'covered (children)'
 k'ech 'carried (on somebody's shoulder)'
 k'uy 'dislocated'
 moch' 'clenched fist'
 poch 'peeled (with hot water)'

5.5. AFFECT WORDS

Affect words are “roots or derived stems that refer to actions, movements, the moment of beginning of an action, and sounds”³¹ (England 2006: 154). As England indicates in her article, Smith-Stark (1982) noticed that this class differs from positionals because the former refers to “dynamic attributes” while the latter refers to “states”.

In Chol, affect constructions emphasize the non-punctuality or the iteration of the action or sounds perceived visually or heard by the speaker. As in Chontal (Osorio May 2005: 271), affect words in Chol are formed by reduplicating the root and adding the suffix *-ña*.³² In some cases, the source of this class of roots is onomatopoeia.

- (130) *chol-chol-ña-ø* *ch'ich'*³³
 liquid.falling-RED-AFV-B3 blood
 'The blood is constantly running.' {031102_43}

Verbs are also sources of affect words. The derived transitive stem *bejl* 'to carry', becomes *bel* in the affect derivation in order to match the canonical CVC syllable structure (132).

³¹ My translation from Spanish.

³² Itzaj also has a similar structure: affect words take the suffix *-nak* after reduplicated roots (see Hofling 2000:172-73).

³³ *Chol* is the representation of the noise of water falling in a waterfall. In this example, the speaker uses this form to indicate that the blood was abundant.

- (131) woj-woj-ñā-∅
bark-RED-AFV-B3
'It (the dog) barks' {sf_65}
- (132) bel-bel-ñā-∅ mi i-t-el tyi camioñ
carry-RED-AFV-B3 IMFV A3-come-NF PREP SP:car
'(the people) come in trucks, one after the other' {990109_70}
- (133) mero k'am-k'am-ñā-y-∅-o'=jach
SP:true sick-RED-AFV-B3-EP-B3-PL3=only
'They sometimes (or regularly) get sick' {990109_70}

Also positionals are a source of affect words.

- (134) mero wa'-wa'-ñā-∅=x=tyo
SP:true stand-RED-AFV-B3=AFFR=still
'He still walks a little.' {070614_6b}

Instead of reduplicated root, another way to form affect words is through a suffix. Instead of full reduplication, the suffix $-V_1k$ derives affect words, where V is the same as the vowel of the root. It is important to point out that this alternation applies to any root that can undergo full reduplication without a change in meaning. The consonant k in this alternation may have the same source as that reported for Itzaj (Hofling 2000).³⁴

- (135) puj-**uk**-ñā-∅=ku=tsa' ik' (from pujpujña)
noise.in.trees-*uk*-AFV-B3-AFFR=REA wind
'The wind goes *puj*' {070614_6a}
- (136) jājā', we'-**ek**-ñā-∅
yes scream-*ek*-AFV-B3
'yes, it goes *we*' {070614_6b}

There is another suffix, $-la(w)$, that I also gloss as affective. This suffix appears only on non-reduplicated roots coming preferably (but not exclusively) from words of symbolic

³⁴ This is also the same morphological shape used to describe geographical features, meaning 'it has more or less X feature' or 'almost X feature': *k'ejekña* 'more or less a hillside', *pamakña* 'more or less flat.'

sounds (137a-c); (137d) is an instance of the use of *-law* in positionals. In reduplicated roots the use of *-law* is not allowed (137e); likewise, this suffix cannot co-occur with *-ña* (137f).

- (137) a. lu' wij-**law**-∅ tyi majl-i-y-∅-o'
 all whistle-AFV-B3 PRFV go-IV-EP-B3-PL3
 'all of them went along whistling' {sf_71}
- b. ty'is-**la**-∅ jiñ mesa
 noise.in.table-AFV-B3 DET SP:table
 'that table goes *ty'is*' {080704_20b}
- c. ñup'-**la**-∅ kin-**law**-∅
 noise.of.things-AFV-B3 noise.of.things-AFV-B3
 'the things (in the house) go *ñup'*, *kin* (during the earthquake)' {080730_24a}
- d. ts'ej-**law**-∅
 sideways-AFV-B3
 'He is moving from side to side'
- e. * ts'ej-ts'ej-**law**-∅
- f. * ts'ej-**law**-ña-∅

Unlike Chontal (Osorio May 2005: §6.2.3.2) affect words in Chol do not take aspectual markers, even with the reduplicated root (138b) or with the root with the suffix *-law* (138c).

- (138) a. * tyi we'-**ek**-ña-∅
 PRFV scream-*ek*-AFV-B3
 Intended meaning: 'He went *we*.'
- b. * tyi we'-we'-**ña**-∅
 PRFV scream-RED-AFV-B3
 Intended meaning: 'He went *we*.'

- c. * tyi ts'ej-**law**-∅
 PRFV sideways-AFV-B3
 Intended meaning: 'He was moving from one side to other.'

In the non reduplicated form, the roots coming from onomatopoeia are not necessarily interpreted predicatively.

- (139) e', che'=bi li lukum=i
 scream say=REP DET snake=FIN
 'e' says the snake.' {080703_19c}

5.6. ADVERBS

There are three main types of adverbs: manner, locative and time. They do not have a uniform morphological shape, and some of them function like other classes of roots as well. Their syntactic position helps to determine this category. Each type is listed separately below.

5.6.1. Manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are expressed in many forms. First of all, some of them can optionally be reduplicated, as in example (140b). More adverbs behaving similarly are listed in (141)

- (140) a. **xuk'u**=jach mi aw-äk'-∅
 slow=only IMFV A2-put-B3
 'Put it slowly' {031009_44}
- b. **xuk'u-xuk'u**=ch tyi kej-i-∅ tyi lajm-el
 slow-RED=AFFR PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP finish-NF
 'It was calmed slowly' {010201_69}
- (141) k'uñtye' k'uñtye'-k'uñtye' 'slowly'
 ajñel ajñe-ajñe 'quickly'³⁵
 ch'uj ch'ujch'uj 'all the time'

Other adverbs come from Spanish: *ora* ‘fast’, *weñ* ‘good’, and *komoñ* ‘together’. The first can be reduplicated (142b).

(142) a. *oraj* mi jkotyääntyela
oraj mi j-koty-ään-ty-el=la
 fast IMFV A1-get.help-DT-PAS-NF=PL
 ‘We got help fast’ {070621_11a}

b. **ora-oraj** mi j-koty-ään-ty-el=la

c. *weñ* ma’ kotychokoñ
weñ mi a-koty-chok-oñ-ø
 SP:well IMFV A2-stand-CAU-DT-B3
 ‘You stand it up well.’ {080706_40}

d. *lajkomo* mel
 mi la=j-**komoñ**-mel-ø
 IMFV PLINC=A1-SP:together-do-B3
 ‘We make it together.’ {040115_42b}

Some adverbs can function as intensifiers (143a-c) or as attenuators (143d) of predicates.

(143) a. *kolen chole* mi iñoj melo’
 kole^m chole^l mi i-ñoj-mel-ø-ob
 big cornfield IMFV A3-really-make-B3-PL3
 Lit: ‘A big cornfield, they really make’ {070613_4}

b. *k’uk’ux* kux ta’
k’uk’ux k-uji-ø=ix=ta’
 really A1-know-B3=already=REA
 ‘I really know (how to do) it.’ {080625_34a}

c. *yoke* kujich
yoke k-ujil-ø=äch
 really A1-know-B3=AFFR
 ‘I really know (how to do) it’ {080625_34a}

³⁵ This meaning can also be expressed as *seb*, without reduplication.

- d. pe **ts'itya'**-ñuk-ø=ix
 SP:but little-big-B3=already
 'but it is a little big.' {070620_9a}

Other manner adverbs are the following:

- (144) a. tyi **wa'**-lajm-i-ø
 PRFV quickly-die-IV-B3
 'He died quickly.' {070614_6b}
- b. mi k-**loloñ**-bo'ye=la
 IMFV A1-in.vain-get.tired=PLINC
 'We get tired in vain' {070614_6b}
- c. tyi **lu'**-lajm-i-ø
 PRFV completely-die-IV-B3
 'It completely died.' {070614_6a}
- d. mi k-**muku**-och-e(l)=la ma
 IMFV A1-covertly-enter-NF=PLINC DIR:away
 'We enter covertly.' {080604_12b}
- e. mu-ø=ch i-**chäk**-jajp-iñ-ø-o' i-bäj
 IMFV-B3=AFFR A3-constantly-rub-DT-B3-PL3 A3-RN
 'yes, they constantly rub themselves' {010201_69}
- f. ta=x ke i-cha'-**k'uñ**-jap-ø i-sa'
 PRFV=already PROSP A3-again-slowly-drink-B3 A3-pozol
 'He started again slowly to drink his pozol.' {080704_20b}
- g. ya' mi i-**weñ**-k'oty-e(l)
 there IMFV A3-SP:a.lot-arrive-NF
 'it arrives a lot there' {070614_6b}
- h. **uts'aty** muk'-ø-o' tyi uch'-e(l)
 well IMFV-B3-PL3 PREP eat-NF
 'they eat well' {080604_12c}

i. **tyoj** muk'-ety tyi toñ-el=i
 correct IMFV-B2 PREP work-NF=FIN
 'you work correctly' {070613_4}

j. jumujk' mi' k'otye
jumujk' mi i-k'oty-e(l)
 fast IMFV A3-arrive-NF
 'he arrives fast' {070620_9b}

5.6.2. Locative adverbs

Locative adverbs are expressed by deictic particles. Except *la'* (145c), all of them can be reduplicated.³⁶

(145) a. **wä'**=tyo xik'-i-ø tyi ñojpa'
 here=still end-IV-B3 PREP river
 'It (the land) ends here in the river.' {070614_6a}

b. ch=äch je' **wä'-wä'**=i
 like.that=AFFR also here-RED=FIN
 'also here is like that' {070614_6a}

c. **la'** añ-ø
 here E-B3
 'here it is' {070613_4}

d. ya' ya'-ya' 'there'
 ix ix-ix 'there' (further away than *ya'*)

This group derives another group that moves freely in the sentence (see §9.4). Except *ibi* 'that', all refer to something visible.

(146) a. mi k=poj-jok'-chokoñ-ø **ila**
 IMFV A1=HON-hang-CAU-B3 here
 'I hang it here' {031009_44}

³⁶ More details about locatives are presented in §9.5.3

b. ya=x a-wäy-e(l)=la **ixi**, che'eñ
 there=already A2-sleep-NF=PL2 there say
 'You sleep there, he says' {070621_11a}

c. iwä' 'here'
 iya' 'there'
 ibi 'that' (something audible)

Other locative adverbs are the following. They are not deictic like the previous group, and all can be reduplicated.

(147) a. mero ts'itya' **läk'ä**
 SP:little little near
 'a little near' {080703_19a}

b. ix tyi **chañ**
 there PREP high
 'There, up high.' {031009_44}

c. ñajty ñajty-ñajty 'far'
 pek' pek'-pek' 'low'

5.6.3. Temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs can be analyzed in opposite pairs. They do not have a fixed position in the sentence (see § 9.4). They can be placed in front or at the end of the sentence (see examples (149) and (150)).

(148) a. wa'li/wajali 'now'/'a long time ago'
 sajmä/wale 'a little while ago'/'in a little while'
 a'bi/ijk'ä 'yesterday'/'tomorrow'
 cha'biji/cha'bij 'two days ago'/'in two days'
 yuxk'iñi/uxij 'three days ago'/'in three days'
 ñaxañ/wi'il 'first'/'last'

- b. säk'añ/ik'añ 'morning'/'afternoon'
 xink'iñil/xiñ-a'bälel 'noon'/'midnight'
 k'iñil/a'bälel 'day'/'night'

(149) a. **wa'li** ma'=ix puy
 now NEG=already snail
 'Today there is no snail.' {080604_12b}

- b. mach ñoj weñ=ix mi i-mel-ø-o' **wa'li**
 NEG really SP:well=already IMFV A3-do-B3-PL3 now
 'They do not do it very well today' {010201_69}

(150) a. **wajali** ñoj weñ mi i-mel-ø-o'
 time.ago really SP:well IMFV A3-do-B3-PL3
 'In the past they did it very well.' {010201_69}

- b. mo=x=tyo ba'-añ-ø parke **wajali**
 NEG=AFFR=still where-E-B3 SP:town.square time.ago
 'There was no town square in the past.' {010201_69}

The above examples (148b) are preferably used with the preposition *tyi* (see (151b) and (151c)), and they can appear in front (151b) or at the end of the sentence (151c).

(151) a. säk'añ mi kmala, cho'oñ
säk'añ mi k-majl-el=la, cho'-oñ
 morning IMFV A1-go-NF=PLINC say-B1
 'We go in the morning, I say.' {080730_26b}

- b. **tyi** **säk'añ** tyi p'ix-i-ø
 PREP morning PRFV wake.up-IV-B3
 'He woke up in the morning.' {sf_65}

- c. mi i-k'oty-el-o' **tyi** **säk'añ**
 IMFV A3-arrives-NF-PL3 PREP morning
 'They arrive in the morning.' {080730_25a}

As can be observed in the following examples, a number plus the classifier *p'ej*, followed by the word *k'iñ* 'day', is used to count days after three. To refer to the past, the

existential *añ* plus the clitic *=ix* is required (151); while for the future, the particle *la'* plus the suffix *-tyak* is used (152).

(152) *añ-ø=ix chäm-p'ej k'iñ*
 E-B3=already four-CL day
 'It was four days ago.'

(153) *la'=tyo tyi chäm-p'ej k'iñ*
 PART=yet PREP four-CL day
 'It will be in four days.'

The combination of *ijk'äl* 'tomorrow' and *cha'bij* 'in two days', results in a future meaning, specifically 'in the coming days.'

(154) *koty-ä-b-eñ-oñ ijk'ä-cha'bij*
 help-DT-APL-DT-B1 tomorrow-in.two.days
 'Help me with him in the coming days' {990109_70}

Years are counted suffixed directly to the numerals (155). To count months and weeks, the numeral classifier *-p'ej* is required (156).

(155) *junja'bil* 'a year ago'
junja' 'in one year'

(156) *junp'ej uj* 'a month'
junp'ej semañaj 'a week'³⁷

Other time adverbs are the following.

³⁷ In Chol, a week is referred to as *waxk'iñ*.

| | | |
|-------|----------|----------------------------|
| (157) | cha' | 'again' |
| | bixetyik | 'sometimes', ³⁸ |
| | bele' | 'always' |
| | jal | 'taking a long time' |
| | wäle | 'today', 'now' |

5.7. CLOSED WORD CLASSES

Minor word classes in Chol include prepositions, relational nouns, pronouns, the existential predicate, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, directionals and determiners. Each one is presented briefly.

5.7.1. Prepositions

Chol has two prepositions: *tyi* and *cha'añ*. The former indicates both locative and case relationships. In example (158a) *tyi* is introducing location, while in the last two examples it introduces an instrument (158b) and the underlying agent of a passive construction (158c).³⁹

- (158) a. ix **tyi** cuevaj
 there PREP SP:cave
 'In that cave.' {070613_4}
- b. tyep'-e-ø-tyak=ix **tyi** yopom
 wrape-STAT-B3-PLIND=already PREP yopom
 'Some of them are wrapped up with *yopom*.'⁴⁰ {010201_69}
- c. la=k-ermañuj ta'=bä tyä'l-añ-ty-i-ø
 PLINC=A1-SP:brother PRFV=REL bother-DT-PAS-IV-B3
tyi x-ajaw-i
 PREP NCL-ajaw=FIN
 'Our brother who was bothered by the *ajaw*.'⁴¹ {080704_20b}

³⁸ Also expressed as *añ k'iñil*.

³⁹ More details about the syntactic function of *tyi* is presented in §9.5

⁴⁰ A big and broad leaf.

⁴¹ *Ajaw* refers to a supernatural entity.

On the other hand, *cha'añ* (unpossessed) does not introduce locative meanings but refers to some case relationships such as benefactive or purposive, as shown in the following examples.

- (159) a. mi' ch'ämo' cha'añ poste
 mi i-ch'äm-ø-ob **cha'añ** poste
 IMFV A3-take-B3-PL3 PREP SP:post
 'They take it to use as fence post' {070620_9b}
- b. mi' k'ajtyiño' ibeñtyisioñ cha'añ itoñel
 mi i-k'ajty-iñ-ø-ob i-beñtyisioñ **cha'añ** i-troñ-el
 IMFV A3-ask-DT-B3-PL3 A3-SP: blessing PREP A3-work-NF
 'They ask for a blessing for their work.' {070613_4}
- c. mi k-mäñ-ø ixim **cha'añ** k-alo'b-il-ob
 IMFV A1-buy-B3 corn PREP A1-child-POS-PL3
 'I buy corn for my children.'

Cha'añ also precedes purpose clauses (159a) and (159b), and cause clauses (159c).

- (160) a. ya=x mi i-k'ex-ty-ä-y-e(l) li motor
 there=already IMFV A3-change-PAS-DT-EP-NF DET SP:engine
cha'añ k'älä=x mi i-cha'-ma
 PREP as.far.as=already IMFV A3-again-go
 'There they change the engine (of the train) so it can get to its final destination.' {070620_9b}
- b. tyi i-pejk-ä-y-ø-o' **cha'añ** mi i-lok'-ø=e'
 PRFV A3-ask-DT-EP-B3-PL3 PREP IMFV A3-take.out-B3=ENC
 'They call him in order to take it (the corn) out.' {070614_6b}
- c. tyi k'am-'ä-ø **cha'añ** tyi ach'-ä-ø
 PRFV sick-INCH-B3 PREP PRFV get.wet-INCH-B3
 'He got sick because he got wet.'

As will be discussed next, *cha'añ* is also a relational noun. However, as was shown in this section, it may be extending its function as it becomes increasingly reanalyzed as a preposition.

5.7.2. Relational nouns

Relational nouns indicate location or oblique grammatical roles in a sentence. They obligatorily inflect with a Set A marker which refers to the object of the relational noun.

Some locative relations are based on body parts, as in the examples in (161a). These nouns indicate on the one hand some parts of an object based on the shape (161b) and (161c); and on the other hand, refers to spatial location in relation to a ground (161d-f). Notice that some relational nouns require the preposition *tyi*.

| | | | | |
|----------|------|------------|--------|----------------------------------|
| (161) a. | jol | ‘head’ | i-jol | ‘on’ |
| | pam | ‘forehead’ | i-pam | ‘on’, ‘above’ |
| | ñi’ | ‘nose’ | i-ñi | ‘on the tip’ |
| | ok | ‘foot’ | y-ok | ‘at the bottom’ |
| | tyi’ | ‘mouth’ | i-tyi’ | ‘at the entrance’, ‘at the edge’ |

b. ya’ tyi yoke **i-ñi’**
there PREP really A3-nose
‘there, exactly on the tip (of the object)’ {080624_29a}

c. tyi **i-jol** otyoty
PREP A3-head house
‘On the house.’

d. tyi **i-tyi’** x-chejopa’
PREP A3-mouth NCL-Chejopa’
‘On the bank of *Chejopa*.’ {070614_6a}

e. tyi **i-paty** jiñ silla
PREP A3-back DET SP:chair
‘In the back of the chair.’ {080706_39}

f. tyi **i-pam** silla
PREP A3-forehead SP:chair
‘Above the chair.’ {080626_37a}

As in Tseltal (Polian 2006: 40), in Chol there are other relational nouns with locative relations which are not based on body parts, as shown in the following examples. (162b-d) are instances of their use in sentences.

- (162) a. y-e'bal 'below'
 i-mali 'inside'
 i-xujk 'at/on the corner'
 i-xäk' 'branch'
- b. tyi **iy-e'bal** wits
 PREP A3-below hill
 'below the hill' {sf_72}
- c. tyi **i-mali** y-otyoty-lel aw-ixim=i
 PREP A3-inside A3-house-ABST A2-corn=FIN
 'inside of your corn's house' {sf_75}
- d. pejtyel **i-xujk** li kolem lum=i
 all A3-corner DET big land=FIN
 'All the corners of the big plot of land.' {080729_22b}

Relational nouns that show case relationships are listed in (163). The case relations that each relational noun can indicate are shown in parentheses. One of these nouns, *cha'añ*, has been presented in the previous section as a preposition. However, in contrast to the prepositional form, *cha'añ* as a relational noun is inflected for Set A, as illustrated in (164). In this example, this relational noun indicates the agent in the sentence.

- (163) cha'añ 'about', 'by' (possessive, agent)
 ik'oty 'with' (comitative, instrument)
 kaj 'by', 'because of' (causative, reason)
 tyojle 'by' (agent, patient)
 pejtyele 'all' (agent, theme)
 bajñel 'alone' (agent, subject)
 bäj 'reflexive/reciprocal'

- (164) k'ajal-ety=äch=me i-cha'añ
 remember-B2=AFFR=PRE A3-RN
 'Yes, he remembers you.' {990109_70}

The relational noun *ik'oty* has two arguments in the comitative function, as Set A and Set B inflections show in (165b). However, when it indicates an instrument role, the inflection is always third person. For this reason the Set B inflection on it can be lost when it introduces instrument role (165c).

- (165) a. **y-ik'oty-ø** aw=uskuñ-o'
 A3-with-B3 A2=brother-PL3
 'with your brothers' {080703_19c}

- b. tyi jul-i-ø aj-Wañ **y-ik'oty-oñ**
 PRFV arrive-IV-B3 NCL-Juan A3-with-B1
 'Juan arrived with me'

- c. tyi k-tsep-e-ø **y-ik'oty** machity
 PRFV A1-cut-TV-B3 A3-with SP:machete
 'I cut it with machete.'

Interestingly, the Set A inflection in the relational noun can be coreferential with the subject of the predicate, as in (166a) or not (166b). In the last example, such inflection refers to the comitative participant and the meaning of the construction in both sentences seems to be the same. The last example can be associated to the possible absence of Set B inflection in the relational noun.

- (166) a. buch-ul-oñ **k-ik'oty-ø** aj-Wañ
 sit-stat-B1 A1-with-B3 NCL-Juan
 'I am sitting with Juan.'

- b. buch-ul-oñ **y-ik'oty** aj-Wañ
 sit-stat-B1 A1-with NCL-Juan
 'I am sitting with Juan.'

More examples of the use of relational nouns are the following.

- (167) a. tyi **i-kaj** li zapatistaj-o'
 PREP A3-because DET SP:Zapatista-PL3
 'because of the Zapatistas' {070614_6a}
- b. tyi k-ts'äk-ä-y-ety tyi **i-tyojle** la=k-yum
 PRFV A1-cure-DT-EP-B2 PREP A3-in.the.care PLINC=A1-God
 'I cured you in the care of our God.'
- c. tyi k-choñ-o-ø tyi **i-pejtyele**
 PRFV A1-sell-TV-B3 PREP A3-all
 'I sold all of them.'

The relational noun *bajñel* alternates with *baja* and *ba* without apparent motivation (see the contrast in (170a-c)). The shorter form cannot be the same as that analyzed as reflexive in the example (171), below, since this sentence is ungrammatical when the reflexive form is used (170d).

- (168) a. tyi k-choñ-o-ø **k-bajñel**
 PRFV A1-sell-TV-B3 A1-RN
 'I sold it'
- b. tyi i-tyä'l-ä-y-oñ **k-bajñel**
 PRFV A3-bother-DT-EP-B1 A1-RN
 'He bothered me'
- (169) a. jay-tyikil-ø-o' **i-baja**
 how.many-CL-B3-PL3 A3-RN
 'How many of them were there?' {010201_69}
- b. jay-tyikil-ø-ob **i-bajñel**
- (170) a. mu=x **k-bo'y-e(l)** **k-ba**
 IMFV=already A1-get.tired-NF A1-RN
 'now I get tired.' {070621_11b}
- b. muk'=ix **k-bo'y-el** **k-baja**

c. muk'=ix k-bo'y-el **k-bajñel**

d. * muk'=ix k-bo'y-el **k-bäj**

Reflexive constructions are indicated with the relational noun *bäj*. In this type of construction, the inflection on the relational noun is coreferential with the agent of the sentence. The reciprocal reading is obtained when the agent is plural (171b).

(171) a. mu=ch j-käñty-añ-ø **k-bäj**
IMFV=AFFR A1-take.care-DT-B3 A1-RN
'If I take care of myself.' {080704_20a}

b. mi la=j-käñty-añ-ø **la=k-bäj**
IMFV PLINC=A1-take.care-DT-B3 PLICIN=A1-RN
'We take care to each other.'

5.7.3. Pronouns

The different types of pronouns in Chol are: interrogatives, independent pronouns, demonstratives and the relative pronoun.

Interrogative pronouns are listed in (172a). They can be used to question direct and oblique arguments, as in examples (172b-g).

(172) a. chuki 'what'
baki 'where'
chokoch 'why'
jalaj 'when'
majchki 'who'
bajche' 'how', 'how much'
jay-p'ej 'how many'

b. **chuki** mi i-läp-ø-o'
what IMFV A3-wear-B3-PL3
'What do they wear?' {010201_69}

- c. **baki** ch'oyo-ø
 where live-B3
 'Where does he live?' {070614_6a}
- d. **chokoch** tyi puts'-i-ø te
 why PRFV escape-IV-B3 DIR:toward
 'Why did he escape?' {070613_4}
- e. jalaj kmala cheñ
jalaj mi k-majl-el=la cheñ
 when IMFV A1-go-NF=PLINC then
 'So, when do we go?' {070620_9b}
- f. **majchki** tyi i-päs-b-ety
 who PRFV A3-teach-APL-B2
 'Who taught you that?' {080604_12b}
- g. bajche' tyi' tyajayo' ixim
bajche' tyi i-tyaj-a-y-ob ixim
 how PRFV A3-find-TV-EP-PL3 corn
 'How did they find the corn?' {070614_6b}

The pronoun *bajche'* 'how' is also used with the borrowed word from Spanish *ora* 'hour' to ask the time. In this case the meaning is 'what time...', as in the following example.

- (173) **bajche'** ora mi la=k-och-e(l)
 how SP:hour IMFV PLINC=A1-enter-NF
 'What time do we enter?' {070620_9a}

The interrogative pronoun *jay* requires a classifier (see §5.7.6) in order to formulate questions about quantity.

- (174) a. **jay-p'ej** finca a-käñ-ä-ø
 how.many-CL SP:finca A2-know-TV-B3
 'How many *fincas* do you know of?' {070614_6a}

- b. **jay-tyiki** tyi käy-le-y-ety=la
 how.many-CL PRFV stay-PPRFV-EP-B2=PL2
 ‘How many of you stayed?’ {080604_12a}

Another group of pronouns is the independent personal pronouns. The historical source of the set of pronouns given below could be the Proto-Mayan base **ha* plus the grammaticalized enclitic **iñ*. With some phonological reduction, the resulting form in Chol is *jiñ*, which is the form for third person singular. For the first person, it seems that the absolutive inflection for first person was added to the base **ha + iñ*. If it was the case, the vowel *i* was dropped and *a* changes to *o*, resulting in the current form *joñoñ*. Finally, it seems that the pronoun for second person maintains the base form **ha’*. The form in modern Chol also seems to be a reflex of the absolutive form for second person singular **at* reconstructed for Proto-Cholan-Tzeltalan. This fact is present in modern Tseltal, where the independent second person pronoun is *ja’at*. Probably *ety* was added to this base form with some phonological reduction resulting in the current form *jatyety*. More discussion about this can be found in Mora-Marin (2009).

- | | | |
|-------|------------------|---------------|
| (175) | joñoñ | 1sg |
| | jatyety | 2sg |
| | jiñ | 3sg |
| | joñoñla | 1pl inclusive |
| | joñoñloñ | 1pl exclusive |
| | jatyetyla | 2pl |
| | jiñob | 3pl |

When these pronouns are used in a sentence, they usually appear at the beginning of the sentence. In this position, as in Tsotsil (Aissen 1992), they function as focus markers (see §11.3).

- (176) **joñoñ** mi j-käñ-ety
 PRON1 IMFV A1-know-B2
 ‘I know you.’ {070614_6b}

The demonstratives (see §5.7.10 and §8.2) also belong in the category of pronouns.

In addition to the association with spatial denotation, the demonstratives can function as pronouns. Concretely they can function as anaphora when they are used sentence finally. In the following examples they are filling the position of a noun in the sentence. In (177a), *ili* refers to people present in the room where the conversation is taking place. In (177b), *jiñ* refers to “el Señor de Tila” a saint of the village that can now be observed in the church of Tila. *ix’ä* in example (177c) refers to the foot of an object that the speakers are manipulating. Finally, with *ibi* (177d) the speakers are referring to the possessor of the bird, a supernatural entity.

- (177) a. mu=ch=ta’ mejle a-jak’-b-eñ-ø-o’ **ili**
 IMFV=AFFR=REA can A2-answer-APL-DT-B3-PL3 this
 ‘you are answering them (correctly)’ {070614_6a}
- b. ta’=ta’ i-ñoj-tyaj-a-y-ø-o’ **jiñ**
 PRFV=REA A3-really-find-TV-EP-B3-PL3 that
 ‘they really found it (the saint of the church of Tila)’ {070613_4}
- c. ts’in ts’ej-e-ø **ix’ä**
 little move-IMP-B3 that
 ‘move that a little bit’ {080706_41a}
- d. jiñ=bi i-muty **ibi**
 FOC=REP A3-bird that
 ‘It is said that it is his bird’⁴² {070614_6a}

In this position, they can optionally take the phrase final enclitic =*i*, as in the following examples.

- (178) a. che=x=bi oraj bajche’ ili-y=i
 like.this=already=REP SP:hour like this-EP=FIN
 ‘that was already around this time (of day).’ {sf_74}

⁴² In this example, *ibi* apparently has a locative function; however, looking at the context from which it was extracted it refers to the noun ‘el Negro’ a supernatural entity in Chol mythology.

- b. ñojtye'e-ø=tyo i-ba **ix'ä-y=i**
 forest-B3=still A3-RN that-EP-ENC
 'That area is still a forest (referring to a portion of land)' {070613_4}

Interestingly, these pronouns can also function as cataphora. For instance in (179a), *ibi* is referring to *jalatyaty* 'godfather', which is stated later. In addition to the syntax, the prosody could provide additional hints in the analysis of these particles. For instance, in the cataphorical function, a pause between the particle and the following element is perceptible. This proposal would account for example (179), in which the demonstrative is not directly modifying a noun and there is nothing audible for it to be indexing. This analysis contrasts with that presented in previous investigations of Chol, which treat these particles simply as determiners (see Martínez Pérez 2005, Coon 2004, and Martínez Cruz 2007).

- (179) a. tyi pas-i-ø **ibi**, ch'oy-o-ø=bä tyi Tabasco
 PRFV arrive-IV-B3 that live-STAT-B3=REL PREP Tabasco
 k-alatyaty=i
 A1-godfather=FIN
 'that one, who lives in Tabasco, my godfather, came'

- b. poj pasi ibi li kalatyatyi
 tyi poj-pas-i-ø **ibi**, li k-alatyaty=i
 PRFV HON-arrive-IV-B3 that DET A1-godfather=FIN
 'that one, my godfather, arrives' {080730_26a}

As can be confirmed in the following examples, all the demonstratives can also function as cataphoric pronouns. In the following examples there is nothing audible (180a) or visible (180b) and (180c) that the demonstratives are referring to, and they are not directly modifying the following nouns.

- (180) a. tyi och-i-ø tyi mal **ibi** x-ch'ix-wiñik=i
 PRFV enter-IV-B3 PREP inside that NCL-thorn-man=FIN
 'that one, the thorn man, enters.'⁴³ {sf_75}

- b. añ-∅=ba aw-u'b-i-∅ bajche' añ-∅ **jiñ** ty'añ=i
 E-B3=INT A2-hear-DT-B3 how E-B3 that talk=FIN
 'Have you heard that, that type of story?' {070613_4}
- c. chuki yes **ix'ä** tyäl-el=i, cho'-oñ,
 what is that come-NF=FIN say-B1
 ts'i'-∅=tyo=ba=tyi
 dog-B3=still=INT=DUB
 'What is that one that is coming, I said, is it a dog?' {080704_20b}

The numeral one plus a classifier is analyzed in this work as an indefinite marker. However there are some contexts in which it does not give information about the referentiality of a noun. As with demonstratives, it seems that the numeral one plus the classifier can have a pronominal function. Under this function, the numeral with a classifier can be preceded by the definite article *li* (181a), (181b). In (181a), *juñtyiki* refers to *ñojloch'bä ajkaxlañ* 'curly haired ladino';⁴⁴ in (181b), *juñk'oj* refers to *sa* 'pozol'. However, as can be noted in the second utterance of the numeral with a classifier in (181a), it does not necessarily need to be preceded by the article *li*. In this example, this numeral in both mentions seems to refer to the same noun, "the curly haired Ladino".

- (181) a. tyi ke i-su'b(-b)-eñ-oñ **li juñ-tyiki**, ta'=ta'
 PRFV PROSP A3-tell-APL-DT-B1 DET one-CL PRFV=REA
 pas-i-∅ te **juñ-tyiki**, poj mero ñojloch'-∅=bä
 come-IV-B3 DIR:toward one-CL HON SP:little curl-B3=REL
 aj-kaxlañ
 NCL-SP:Ladino
 'one_i started to tell me, (because) a person_i came, a Ladino_i with hair that
 was a little curly' {080729_22c}
- b. poj jo-p'e peso **li juñ-k'oj** li sa'
 HON five-CL SP:peso DET one-CL DET pozol
 'It cost five pesos, the pozol' {080729_22b}

⁴³ A supernatural entity that is part of Chol mythology.

⁴⁴ Ladino is a social category that is used to indicate non-Indians.

More instances where the numerals do not necessarily surface with the article *li* in their function as pronouns are the following. Example (181) shows that the numeral two can also function pronominally.

- (182) ya' tyi sajty-i-∅ **juñ-tyikil** wä'=bä ch'oy-o-∅
 there PRFV die-IV-B3 one-CL here=REL live-STAT-B3
 iwä'
 here
 'That is where one (man) who lived here died' {031102_43}

- (183) ya' wa'-a-∅ **cha'-tyiki** ix tyi karetera
 there stand-STAT-B3 two-CL there PREP SP:road
 'There are two (men) in the road' {070621_11a}

Another pronoun for Chol is the locative relative pronoun *ba'*. It introduces relative clauses modifying a location, and it is placed after the modified constituent, which can be a noun, a demonstrative, or a sentence.

- (184) a. i-lum=äch ya' **ba'** chum-ul-∅
 A3-land=AFFR there where stay-STAT-B3
 'Yes, it is his land where he lives.' {070614_6a}
- b. wä' **ba'** chum-u(1)-∅ aj-Katarinaj-o'
 here where live-STAT-B3 CLN-SP:Catarina-PL3
 'Here, where the Catarinians live.' {070614_6a}
- c. che'=ta' mi y-äl-∅-o' **ba'** añ-oñ
 like.this=REA IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3 where E-B1
 'That is how people say where I live' {070614_6a}

5.7.4. Existential

The existential *añ* functions as a non-verbal predicate. It expresses the existence of X (184) or a locative meaning when it precedes the preposition *tyi* (186).

(185) **añ-∅** k-otyoty
 E-B3 A1-house
 Lit: ‘It exists my house’ / ‘I have a house’

(186) **añ-∅** tyi y-e’ba ñoj-bij
 E-B3 PREP A3-under main-path
 ‘It is down below the path.’ {070613_4}

The existential goes with the negative marker *ma* to negate verbs (187a) or nouns (187b). In this language the negative marker requires the existential in the following instances. They are apparently so tightly bound that they are frequently analyzed as a single morpheme.

(187) a. ma’**añ** tyi i-tyaj-a-∅
 NEG+E PRFV A3-find-TV-B3
 ‘He did not find it.’ {sf_65}

b. ma’**añ** kawayu’
 NEG+E SP:horse
 ‘There is no horse.’ {070613_4}

5.7.5. Numerals

The numeral system in Chol is base-twenty. The integers are unique roots from ‘one’ to ‘ten’, but between ‘ten’ and ‘nineteen’ they combine the numbers from ‘one’ to ‘nine’ with the root for ‘ten’ (except for ‘twelve’, which has an irregular form). Above ‘twenty’, however, the system is purely base-twenty.

| | | | | |
|-------|---------|---------|------------|-------------|
| (188) | juñ | ‘one’ | juñläjäm | ‘eleven’ |
| | cha’ | ‘two’ | lajchäm | ‘twelve’ |
| | ux | ‘three’ | uxläjäm | ‘thirteen’ |
| | chãñ | ‘four’ | chãnläjäm | ‘fourteen’ |
| | jo’ | ‘five’ | jo’läjäm | ‘fifteen’ |
| | wäk | ‘six’ | wäkläjäm | ‘sixteen’ |
| | wuk | ‘seven’ | wukläjäm | ‘seventeen’ |
| | waxäk | ‘eight’ | wäxäxläjäm | ‘eighteen’ |
| | bolom | ‘nine’ | bolomläjäm | ‘nineteen’ |
| | lä(jä)m | ‘ten’ | juñk’al | ‘twenty’ |

The form for ‘forty’ involves two twenties; the form for ‘sixty’ involves three twenties and so on.

(189) cha’-k’al
two-twenty
‘Forty.’

(190) ux-k’al
three-twenty
‘Sixty.’

Four hundred is *bajk’*, eight thousand is *pijk*, and sixteen thousand is *cha’pijk*.

| | | |
|-------|----------|--------------------|
| (191) | jumbajk’ | ‘four hundred’ |
| | jumpijk | ‘eight thousand’ |
| | cha’pijk | ‘sixteen thousand’ |

Ordinal numbers are derived by suffixing the generic classifier *-p’ej* plus the suffix *-lel* to the numeral roots which always appear possessed by third person singular. Notice that number one does not follow this derivation because it uses the suppletive form *ñaxañ*.

| | | |
|-------|----------------|----------|
| (192) | ñaxañ | ‘first’ |
| | i-cha’p’ej-lel | ‘second’ |
| | y-uxp’ej-lel | ‘third’ |
| | i-chämp’ej-lel | ‘fourth’ |

The native system of counting is being lost in all Mayan languages, and instead, the borrowed system from Spanish is used. In Chol, the numbers that are still named in the local language are one through six, ten, twenty, forty, sixty, eighty, one hundred and four hundred. This last one is preserved because it is still used to count the corn which is harvested each season.

5.7.6. Numeral classifiers and measure words

Arcos López (2009) made a detailed study of numeral classifiers and measure words of San Miguel Chol, which belongs to the Tumbalá variety. He reported 140 numeral classifiers and 22 measure words mostly derived from positional roots. Some examples of numeral classifiers and measure words are presented in (193) and (194), respectively. As their names indicate, they are obligatory inflected to numerals or to the interrogative word *jay* ‘how many’. The former specifies the properties of a noun while the latter are used in a measure system.

| | | |
|-------|---------|---|
| (193) | -p’ej | ‘generic’ |
| | -tyikil | ‘person’ |
| | -kojty | ‘animals’, ‘chili’ |
| | -tsijty | ‘small, thin and large things’ (e.g. pencil, machete, fire wood) |
| | -k’ej | ‘flexible, square, rectangle or rounded things’ (e.g. sheet of paper) |
| | -sejl | ‘rounded things’ (e.g. comal) |
| | -pijty | ‘rounded things’ (e.g. a ball) |
| | -lejch | ‘somewhat flat things’ (e.g. banana tree leaf) |
| | -tyejk | ‘tree’ |

| | | |
|----------|---------|--|
| (194) a. | -p’is | ‘measure’ |
| | -jajl | ‘armful’ |
| | -ñajb | ‘the distance from thumb to tip of index finger’ |
| | -tyajk’ | ‘step’ |
| | -k’al | ‘twenty’ |
| | -bajk’ | ‘four hundred’ |
| | -pijk | ‘eight hundred’ |

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|---|-------------------------|
| b. -mujch' | 'pile' | < | 'to meet' |
| -jojp | 'pile' | < | 'to put together' |
| -pujch | 'pile' | < | 'load' (e.g. fire wood) |
| -kujch | 'load' | < | 'to carry' |
| -tsima | 'pozol cup' | < | 'cup' |
| -chikib | 'basket' | < | 'basket' |
| -koxyal | 'bag' | < | 'bag' |

Both numeral classifiers (195a) and measure words (195b) go attached to any numeral, resulting in the sequence NUM+classifier/measure N.

(195) a. **jun-tyejk** ixim
 one-CL corn
 'one plant of corn'

b. **jun-kujch** ixim
 one-CL corn
 'one load of corn'

They can also go attached to the interrogative word *jay* 'how many'.

(196) a. **jay-tyiki(1)** alumno
 how.many-CL SP:student
 'How many students?' {080730_26b}

b. **jayp'ej** k'iñ ma' k'otyela
 k'iñ mi a-k'oty-el=la
 how.many-CL day IMFV A2-arrive-NF=PL2
 'In how many days do you arrive?' {080604_12a}

(197) **jay-kujch** ixim
 how.many-CL corn
 'How many loads of corn?'

Although they are structurally identical, there are some semantic and syntactic differences. First of all, numeral classifiers emphasize the shape or disposition of the object that is modified while measure words emphasize the amount of nouns (mainly mass nouns, but also aggregates of count nouns). Second, as López Arcos noted, numeral

classifiers cannot function as an independent words (198b), as some measure words can (199b).

(198) a. **ux-ts'ijty** ixim
 one-CL corn
 'three corncob'

b. * ka'bäl ixim **ts'ijty-ø**
 many corn CL-B3
 Intended meaning: 'Many corncob'

(199) a. **ux-mujch'** ixim
 one-CL corn
 'one plant of corn'

b. ka'bäl ixim **much'-ul-ø**
 many corn pile-STAT-B3
 'Many (ears of) corn piled up'

Finally, as was argued by Martínez Cruz (2007: 29-30) and Arcos López (2009: 59-62), numerals with a classifier can function as a noun modifier while the measure word is the head of the noun phrase. This is because semantically, a numeral with a classifier can contain information inherent to the noun, while the measure word always adds semantic information that is not inherent to the noun. The syntactic evidence that supports such a claim involves the scope of the relative clause in constructions where the measure word follows a numeral with a classifier suffixed to it, as in example (200). In this example it is understood that the relative clause has scope over the measure word, not the noun that it follows. Under such an assumption, the measure word must be the head and the noun following the measure word must be functioning as a modifier. (see Martínez Cruz 2007: 29).

(200) ux-p'ej **i-chiki'-lel** ixim **päk'beñ-ø=bä**
 three-NCL A3-basket-ABST corn spoil-B3=REL
 'three spoiled baskets of corn (that is, the baskets are spoiled, not the corn)'

However, when the measure word is suffixed to the numeral, as in (201), then the head of the construction is the noun since it is the word that is modified by the relative clause, as is shown in the following example.

- (201) a. ux-chiki' **ixim päk'beñ-ø=bä**
 three-NCL corn spoil-B3=REL
 'Three baskets of corn that is spoiled.'

A final property of numeral classifiers or measure words to be highlighted is regarding their syntactic function. They can function as noun modifiers (202), as anaphoric pronouns (203), and predicative heads (204). The following are examples adapted from Arcos López (2009: 3).

- (202) ta' k-äk'-e-ø **cha'-k'ej** waj
 PRFV A1-give-DT-B3 two-CL tortilla
 'I gave him two tortillas'

- (203) mi i-mäñ-ø cha'-p'ej alaxax, **jum-p'ej** k'äñ-ø=iχ=bä
 IMFV A3-buy-B3 two-CL orange one-CL ripe-B3=already=REL
jum-p'ej ch'ok-ø=tyo=bä
 one-CL unripe-B3-still=REL
 'He buys two oranges, one ripe and one that is still unripe'

- (204) añ-ø ts'i' tyi bij, **jun-kojty-ø=jach**
 E-B3 DOG PRFV path one-CL-B3=only
 'there is a dog in the path, only one'

5.7.7. Quantifiers

As can be observed in the following list, there are few quantity words in Chol. All of them function predicatively, as exemplified in (205b).

- (205) a. ka'bäl 'many'
 oñ 'many'
 ts'itya' 'few'
 pejtyel 'all'
 tyemel 'together'
- b. **ka'bäl-ø-o'** wiñik-o'
 many-B3-PL3 man-PL3
 'many men' {070621_11c}

The combination of the number one and two with a classifier on each has the quantity meaning 'few'.

- (206) poj **jum-p'e** **cha-p'ej** k'iñ toñe
 HON one-CL two-CL day work
 'Few days of work' {080729_22b}

- (207) **juñ-tyiki** **cha'-tyiki** tyi jul-i-ø
 one-CL two-CL PRFV arrive-IV-B3
 'A few people arrived here' {080730_25a}

Finally, the reduplication of the numeral root plus a classifier with each of these roots derives distributive quantity meanings. The reading can be 'for each one' (208), 'two by two' or 'three by three' depending on the numeral (209).

- (208) jum-p'e kilo **ju-juñ-tyiki**
 one-CL SP:kilogram one-RED-CL
 'One kilogram for each one.' {080730_24c}

- (209) **cha'-cha'-tyikil**, **ux-'ux-tyikil** mi i-majl-el-ob tyi mǎñ-oñ-el
 two-RED-CL three-RED-CL IMFV A3-go-NF-PL3 PREP buy-AP-NF
 'They go shopping two by two or three by three.' {sf_72}

The distributive quantitative can also have the reading 'five each', as was used to answer the question: how many candles did you put in them? (210). These different distributive meanings are only differentiated by context.

- (210) **jo'-jo'-p'ej**
 five-RED-CL
 'Five each.' {070621_11a}

5.7.8. Directionals

In Chol, directionals are derived from intransitive verbs of motion except *käytyäl* 'stay' (referring to the absence of movement), which apparently comes from a positional. Unlike Tzutujil (Dayley 1985: 98), where directionals are prefixed to the verbal stem, in Chol they occur after the root. In this position all of them can occur with the non-finite suffix *-Vl*, as can be seen in the right column. Two of them, *majlel* 'go' and *tyälel* 'come' can be expressed in a reduced forms, while the rest can optionally drop the last consonant.

| | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| (211) | <i>Intransitive verbs</i> | <i>Directional</i> | |
| | majl 'to go' | majl-e(l), ma | 'away' |
| | tyäl 'to come' | tyäl-e, ty-el, t-el, t-e | 'toward' |
| | k'oty 'to arrive there' | k'oty-e(l) | 'here to there' |
| | jul 'to arrive here' | jul-e(l) | 'there to here' |
| | ñäm 'to pass' | ñäm-e(l) | 'pass by' |
| | sujty 'to return' | sujty-e(l) | 'return' |
| | käyty 'to stay' | käyty-ä(l) | 'remain' |
| | och 'to enter' | och-e(l) | 'in' |
| | lok' 'to exit' | lok'-e(l) | 'out' |
| | lets 'to climb' | lets-e(l) | 'up' |
| | ju'b 'to descend' | ju'b-e(l) | 'down' |

Based on formal or semantic properties, there are several proposals of classification of these words. For instance Haviland (1991) classifies them as deictically anchored motion (go, arrive here, arrive there), point-oriented motion (pass, return, remain), enclosure or region-oriented motion (enter, exit), vertical axis motion (ascend, descend), and aspectuals (finish, start). On the other hand, Zavala Maldonado (1994a) highlighted three paradigms of directionals in Akatek based on their distribution, which are: directionals with adverbial content (returning, staying), directionals vertically oriented or a bounded

area (pass, enter, exit, descend, ascend), and directionals with deictic information (go, come, arrive here, arrive there).

Motion verbs take aspect and person markers and receive the status marker *-i* for intransitive in the perfective aspect (see §5.1.2). *Käytyäl* ‘stay’ is the exception since it requires *-le* in the perfective aspect, a typical property of intransitives derived from positionals (212c).

(212) a. tyi **majl-i-y-ø-o’** tyi jolsibakil
 PRFV go-IV-EP-B3-PL3 PREP Jolsibakil
 ‘They went to Jolsibakil’ {011103_62}

b. wä=x tyi **tyäl-i-y-on=loñ** iwä’
 here=already PRFV come-IV-EP-B1=PLEXC here
 ‘We’ve come here already’ { 080729_22a}

c. ya=x tyi **käy-le-y-ø-o’**
 there=already PRFV stay-PPRFV-EP-B3-PL3
 ‘They already stayed there.’ {070614_6a}

As directionals, the set of verbs listed in (211) are placed post-verbally without inflection for aspect, person or the status markers *-i* or *-le* (this last suffix is only for the stem *käyty* ‘remain’). Interestingly, the stem *käyty* ‘remain’ kept the suffix *-ty*, which is used with positional roots in the imperfective aspect (see §5.4). However, they take the non-finite suffix *-Vl*, except *majl* ‘away’ in the reduced form (213b).

(213) a. mi a-lets-e=la **majl-el** tyi lum
 IMFV A2-climb-NF=PL2 DIR:away-NF PREP town
 ‘You go up to town.’ Lit: ‘you climb up going toward town’ {010201_69}

b. tyi k-päy-ä-ø **ma**
 PRFV A1-bring-TV-B3 DIR:away
 ‘I bring him with me.’ {031102_43}

- c. tyi' pul-e käytyä ich
 tyi i-pul-b-e-ø **käy-ty-äl** ich
 PRFV A3-burn-APL-DT-B3 DIR:remain-PIMFV-NF chili
 '(to the owl) He left chilis burning.' {070614_6b}

The directional *tyäl* 'toward' also exhibits different degrees of phonological reduction. Taking *tyäl* (214a) as the basic form, it can surface as is shown in examples (214b) to (214e). This property contrasts with the majority of directionals which only optionally lose the last consonant (see list in (215)).

- (214) a. ya' tyi i-tyech-e-ø **tyäl-el** tyi Jolja'
 there PRFV A3-start-TV-B3 DIR:toward-NF PREP Jolja'
 'He started from *Jolja*' {011103_62}

- b. tyä' paty ma' kuch tyäle
 tyi a-paty mi a-kuch-ø **tyäl-e**
 PREP A2-back IMFV A2-carry-B3 DIR:toward-NF
 'You carry it on your back' {070613_4}

- c. tsä'=äch=bi pas-i-ø **ty-el**
 PRFV=AFFR=REP come-IV-B3 DIR:toward-NF
 '(somebody says that) he came.' {sf_72}

- d. ya' jomok-ña-ø **t-el** xux
 there masses-AFV-B3 DIR:toward-NF wasp
 'The wasps are coming in masses.' {sf_64}

- e. ta=jach k-majñ-ä-ø **t-e**
 PRFV=only A1-borrow-DT-B3 DIR:toward-NF
 'I only borrowed it.' {031009_44}

More examples of use of the directionals are presented next.

- (215) a. mi' (i-)kuch-ø-o' **k'oty-e(l)** li tye'=bä
 IMFV A3-carry-B3-PL3 DIR:here.to.there-NF DET wood=REL
 'They carry the wood there.' {070620_9b}

- b. bik'i-tye' ya' chej-chej-ñā-ø **nam-e(l)**
 small-wood there ONOM-ONOM-AFV-B3 DIR:pass.by-NF
 '(it is like the noise of) small sticks passing by there' {070614_6b}
- c. tres venado mi i-kuch-ø-o' **sujty-e(l)**
 SP:three SP:deer IMFV A3-carry-B3-PL3 DIR:return-NF
 'They carry back three deer.' {080730_26a}
- d. mi i-tyemp-añ-ø-o' **käyty-ä(l)** li ixim
 IMFV A3-put.together-DT-B3-PL3 DIR:remain-NF DET corn
 'They keep the corn gathered together.' {070614_6a}
- e. kwets'loñ oche tyi koral
 mi k-wets'-ø=loñ **och-el** tyi koral
 IMFV A1-drive-B3=PLEXC DIR:in-NF PREP SP:corral
 'we drive (the horse) into the corral' {070620_9a}
- f. mi' ch'äm lok'e
 mi i-ch'äm-ø **lok'-el**
 IMFV A3-take-B3 DIR:out-NF
 'He takes it out.' {070613_4}
- g. tyi i-ch'äm-b-oñ **lets-e(l)**
 PRFV A3-bring-APL-B1 DIR:up-NF
 'He brought it up to me.' {070621_11c}
- h. chek'-la-ø **ju'b-e(l)** li pächij=i
 noise-AFV-B3 DIR:down-NF DET skin=FIN
 'It is the sound of skin falling.' {070614_6b}

Unlike other Mayan languages, such as Akatek (Zavala Maldonado 1994a) where a chain of up to three directionals exists, in Chol up to two directionals can co-occur. In this sequence the last one must be either *majlel* 'away' or *tyälel* 'toward'.

- (216) tyi i-kuch-u-ø **lok'-el majl-el**
 PRFV A3-carry-TV-B3 DIR:out-NF DIR:away-NF
 'He carried it away (e.g. departing inside a house).'

- (217) tyi i-chok-o-ø **ju'b-el** **tyäl-el**
 PRFV A3-carry-TV-B3 DIR:down-NF DIR:toward-NF
 'He threw it down toward here.'

The shift of function from verbs of movement to directionals has been identified in other Mayan languages, such as Mam (England 1983), Tsotsil (Haviland 1991), and Akatek (Zavala Maldonado 1994a). Two aspects of Zavala's analysis need to be highlighted. First, he notes for Akatek that in some contexts "the directionals are no longer directly codifying the notion of movement or shift; now, they are codifying the path or location of the figure, in relation to the perspective or point of view in the description of an event" (p. 3).⁴⁵ Second, phonological reduction in Akatek is a sign of grammaticalization. As was already mentioned phonological erosion can also be observed in Chol.

5.7.9. Determiners and demonstratives

The list of determiners and demonstratives in Chol is given in (218a) and (218b), respectively. Except the use of the numeral 'one' (*juñ*) with a classifier, they offer a definite reading to the noun phrase. It is important to highlight that *li* 'the' is not used in the Tumbalá variety.

- (218) a. *li* 'the'
 juñ+CL 'a', 'an'
- b. *ili* 'this'
 jiñ 'that (near to the addressee)'
 ix-ä 'that (far but visible from both the speaker and hearer)'
 ibi 'that (audible)'

As can be noted in the following example, the numeral one plus a classifier placed in front of a noun offers an indefinite reference to the noun. For this reason it is commonly used in the first mention of a participant in the narrative. The subsequent mentions of the same participant can be accompanied by *li* which offers a definite reading of the noun, as shown in the last phrase in the following example.

(219) **juñ-tyikil wiñik**

one-CL man
'a man'

tsa'=bi majl-i-ø,
PRFV=REP go-IV-B3
'He went'

no se chuki tyi ma i-k'el-b-eñ-ø
SP:no SP:know what PRFV go A3-see-APL-DT-B3
'I do not know what he went to see'

tsa'=bi och-i-ø tyi i-mali ch'eñ **li** **wiñik=i**
PRFV=REP enter-IV-B3 PREP A3-inside cave DET man=FIN
'The man went into the cave' {070614_6a}

The demonstratives go immediately in front of the noun that they modify. They specify the nominal that they refer to.

(220) a. bajche' **ili** la=k-pisle
as this PLINC=A1-clothing
'as this, our clothing' {011103_62}

b. tyi i-k'ux-ø tyumuty **jiñ** ts'i'
PRFV A3-bite-B3 egg DET dog
'That dog ate some eggs.'

c. mäk-ä(l)-ø **ix'ä** potrero
close-STAT-B3 there SP:paddock
'That paddock was closed.' {080730_25b}

d. majchki **ibi** cabroñ che'-ø=bi
who there SP:person say-B3=REP
'Who is that person (hearable), he says.' {080704_20b}

It was described in §5.7.3 that the numeral one with a classifier can be preceded by the determiner *li* when it is functioning as a pronoun. However, a context where the

⁴⁵ My translation from Spanish.

determiner and the numeral one are followed by a noun, as in (221a), the construction is not accepted as a grammatical sentence for most Chol speakers. It is interesting that all speakers agree that in the order where *li* follows the numeral one with a classifier, plus a pause between them, as in (221b), the sentence is grammatical. This could be an instance of the anaphoric use of the numeral one with a classifier, already described in §5.7.3. Since there are some Chol speakers that accept (221a) as a well formed sentence, it could be more functions of the numeral one with a classifier to be investigated in addition to the pronominal function already discussed in §5.7.3.

- (221) a. ? tyi y-äl-ä-ø **li** **juñ-tyikil** wiñik
 PRFV A3-say-TV-B3 DET one-CL man
 ‘The man say it.’
- b. **juñ-tyikil, li** wiñik tyi y-äl-ä-ø
 one-CL DET man PRFV A3-say-TV-B3
 ‘One (a person), the man say it.’

There is a restriction in the use of definite determiners after prepositions. In this position, only the indefinite article is allowed (see the ungrammaticality in (222b)).

- (222) a. poj añ-ø lon=k-sa’ tyi **jum-p’e** bolsaj
 HON E-B3 PLEXC=A1-pozol PREP one-CL SP:plastic.bag
 ‘We have our *pozol* in a plastic bag.’ {080729_22a}
- b. * añ-ø lon=k-sa’ tyi **li/ili/jiñ/ix-ä** bolsaj
 E-B3 PLEXC=A1-pozol PREP DET SP:platic.bag
 Intended meaning: ‘We have our *pozol* in the plastic bag.’

The prepositional phrase does not necessarily occur with a determiner (223). It seems that without the determiner the resulting reading is that of an indefinite noun.

- (223) tyi bolsaj
 PREP SP: plastic.bag
 ‘in the plastic bag’

5.8. CLITICS

There are several enclitics in Chol that mainly have aspectual and modal meanings. In this language, an important group is called second position clitics. The main feature of these clitics is that they follow the first word in a clause. For this reason they are used to identify the left edge of clauses.

Concretely there are two clitics that offers aspectual meanings: *ix* and *tyo*. They are present among Tseltalan languages such as Tseltal (Polian 2006) and Tsotsil (Aissen 1987 and Haviland 1981), and Q'anjobalan languages such as Akatek (Zavala Maldonado 1992), among others. The aspectual meaning in each language varies. In Chol it focuses the edges of a stage. More details about them are in §6.6.3.

- (224) a. wäy-äl-ø=**ix**
sleep-STAT-B3-already
'He is already sleeping.'
- b. wäy-äl-ø=**tyo**
sleep-STAT-B3-still
'He is still sleeping.'

Another abundant group of second position clitics offers modal and evidential meanings. The complete list is presented next.

- (225)
- | | |
|---------|-----------------|
| bi | 'reportative' |
| ba, ki | 'interrogative' |
| ik | 'irrealis' |
| tsa' | 'realis' |
| äch, ku | 'affirmative' |
| me | 'predictive' |
| ka | 'dubitative' |

Examples of their use are presented here (227-28) and throughout the next chapters especially in chapter 9 and 11. What I would like to point out here is their restrictions in their concatenations. For instance, due to their opposite meanings in the time spectrum, the aspectual clitics cannot co-occur (226).

- (226) * wäy-äl=**ix=tyo**
 sleep-STAT=already=still
 Intended meaning: ‘S/he is already still sleeping.’

The aspectual clitics are likely to co-occur with modal clitics. When this occurs, the sequence must be ASP+modal as in (227a) and (228a). There is one exception: the aspectual clitics cannot co-occur with the clitic =*ik* (227b) and (228b).

- (227) a. wäyäl=**ix=bi** ‘It is said that s/he is already sleeping’
 wäyäl=**ix=ba** ‘Is s/he already sleeping?’
 wäyäl=**ix=tsa** ‘S/he is already sleeping, I know it’
 wäyäl=**ix=ku** ‘yes, s/he is already sleeping’
 wäyäl=**ix=me** ‘s/he is already sleeping, I tell you’
 wäyäl=**ix=ka** ‘I’m wondering if s/he is already sleeping?’

- b. * wäyäl=**ix=ik**

- (228) a. wäyäl=**tyo=bi** ‘It is said that s/he is still sleeping’
 wäyäl=**tyo=ba** ‘Is s/he still sleeping?’
 wäyäl=**tyo=tsa** ‘S/he is still sleeping, I know it’
 wäyäl=**tyo=ku** ‘yes, s/he is still sleeping’
 wäyäl=**tyo=me** ‘s/he is still sleeping, I tell you’
 wäyäl=**tyo=ka** ‘I’m wondering if s/he is still sleeping?’

- b. * wäyäl=**tyo=ik**

As was listed in (225), there are two clitics for the affirmative modal. Interestingly, only =*ku* can follow the aspectual clitic (see examples (227a) and (228a), above). The other one, =*äch*, can occur only before the aspectual clitic, as can be seen in the next examples. Notice that *ch* → *x* / _*ty* (229b).

- (229) a. wäyäl=**äch=ix** ‘yes, s/he is already sleeping’

- b. wäyäl=**äch=tyo** ‘yes, s/he is still sleeping’

- c. * wäyäl=**tyo=äch**

Few combinations of modals are allowed. The main one is where the affirmative =*äch* is followed by =*ku*, =*bi*, =*tsa'*, =*me* and =*ka* (230a). Some others are where =*bi* is followed by =*ku* and =*tsa'* or preceded by =*me* (230b).

- (230) a. wäyäl=**äch=ku** 'yes s/he is sleeping'
 wäyäl=**äch=bi** 'It is said that yes, s/he is sleeping'
 wäyäl=**äch=tsa'** 'yes s/he is sleeping, I know it'
 wäyäl=**äch=me** 'yes s/he is sleeping, I tell you'
 wäyäl=**äch=ka** '(I am wondering if) s/he is actually sleeping'
- b. wäyäl=**bi=ku** 'It is said that yes, s/he is sleeping'
 wäyäl=**bi=tsa'** 'It is said that s/he is sleeping and I know it'
 wäyäl=**me=bi** 'It is said that s/he is sleeping, I tell you that'

In Chol there is another clitic that is not present in other Mayan languages: =*bä*. This clitic is cognate with a form =*pä?* present in Zoquean languages (see §5.7.3 and chapter 8).

- (231) wäy-äl-ø=**bä** ts'i'
 sleep-STAT-B3=REL dog
 'The dog that is sleeping'

- (232) tyi k-mäñ-ä-ø ixim chonkol=**bä** i-choñ-ø li x-ixik
 PRFV A1-buy-DT-B3 corn PROG=REL A3-sell-B3 DET NCL-woman
 'I bought the corn that the woman is selling.'

Another enclitic appears only with CVC transitive roots. The enclitic =*e*' cannot occur in perfective aspect (233b). As can be seen in (234b), its use is also restricted to third person absolutive; with absolutive first person the construction is ungrammatical.

- (233) a. chonkol i-xik'-ø=**e**
 PROG A3-command-B3=ENC
 'He is commanding him.' {070614_6a}

b. * **tyi** i-xik'-ø=e'
 PRFV A3-command-B3=ENC
 Intended meaning: 'He was commanding him.'

(234) a. ame i-xul-ø=e'
 NEG A3-break-B3=ENC
 'He should not break it.' {031009_44}

b. * **mi** i-xul-oñ=e'
 IMFV A3-break-B1=ENC
 Intended meaning: 'He hurts me.'

Finally, there is an intonational final clause enclitic =i. It indicates the right edge of the sentence (235) and of topicalized constituents (236).⁴⁶

(235) tyi k-mäñ-ä-ø li ixim=i
 PRFV A1-buy-DT-B3 DET corn=FIN
 'I bought the corn'

(236) li wiñik=i, ta=x=bi ke-ø tyi wäy-e(l)
 DET man=FIN PRFV=already=REP start-B3 PREP sleep-NF
 'As for that man, it is said that he started to sleep.' {080704_20b}

5.9. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, in this chapter I described the major classes of words: verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and the special class of positionals, as well as affect words. Some of them can be further sub-classified based on their morphosyntactic properties. It was argued that not all can be analyzed as major word classes since, for instance, they require some morphology in order to allow inflection for person and number. The minor classes were also presented, mostly particles, which have special syntactic functions. Finally, different types of clitics in this language were listed. The last two categories will be discussed with more detail in subsequent chapters.

⁴⁶ More discussion about this clitic is in chapter 9 and 10.

VI

The verb complex

This chapter consists of a description of the verbal complex of Chol, here referring to the verb with necessary elements including all inflectional categories, directionals, incorporated elements, and modifiers. It does not include other elements in the larger verb phrase such as objects, complements, and non-incorporated adverbs. These elements will be discussed in the chapter IX. The minimal structure of the verb complex consists of the aspectual marker and the head. Other elements that can be added to the structure are intensifiers, attenuators or adverbial modifiers and directionals. The discussion begins with the inflection of the main arguments in the head. It is followed by the presentations of several suffixes inflected in the predicates, such as voice markers, causative, applicative, and status suffixes. Special attention is given to the allomorphic properties of the aspectual auxiliaries. The aspectual suffixes and clitics are discussed in a separate section. There is also a discussion of the internal information of a situation, which basically refers to the combination of distinct aspectual forms. Going back to the head, verbal compounds with modifiers and nominal incorporation are discussed. Finally, directionals, which were already described in §5.7.8, are included as part of the verbal phrase. Negation will be analyzed in the context of simple sentences in §9.7.

6.1. CORE ARGUMENTS

It is well known that in most Mayan languages there are two sets of person markers: ergative and absolutive sets. In this investigation I term them Set A and Set B

respectively, as is usual in Mayan linguistics.¹ In this section, the functions of these two sets of person markers in verbal categories presented in §4.1 will be discussed.

As was shown in §5.1.1, transitive verbs take both Set A and Set B person markers. The former agree with the A argument and the latter with the O argument. (1a) is a CVC transitive root and (1b) a derived transitive root.

- (1) a. tyi **i-k'el-e-y-ety**
 PRFV A3-see-TV-EP-B2
 'He took care of you.' Lit: 'He saw you.' {040115_42b}
- b. tyi **aw-il-ä-ø=la** woko
 PRFV A2-see-DT-B3=PL2 suffering
 'you (PL) suffered.' Lit: 'you saw suffering' {080604_12a}

In contrast, intransitive verbs take only a single inflection which agrees with the S argument. From the intransitive classes presented in §5.1.2, similar properties can be observed in non-agentives (2a), ambivalents (2b), and ambitransitives (2c). These verbs take Set B inflection in perfective aspect. This property defines Chol as an ergative language since the S argument patterns similarly to the O argument.

- (2) a. tyi jul-i-y-ety, che'eñ
 PRFV arrive-IV-EP-B2 he.says
 'You arrive, he says.' {080729_22b}
- b. baki tyi wäy-i-y-ety
 where PRFV sleep-IV-EP-B2
 'Where did you sleep?' {070620_9b}
- c. tyi pul-i-ø lon=k-otyoty
 PRFV burn-IV-B3 PLEXC=A1-house
 'Our house was burned.' {080703_19b}

However, in imperfective aspects, the agreement changes; instead of Set B, the inflection is now indicated by Set A. Consequently the ergative alignment changes into accusative

¹ See the full paradigm of Chol person markers in Table 9 in chapter 4.

because S is now indicated by Set A. This pattern is a type of split ergativity, conditioned by aspect.

- (3) a. mi **i-jul-e(l)** ty'añ iwä'
 IMFV A3-arrive-NF information here
 'The information arrives here.' {080730_25a}
- b. mi **k-wäy-e(l)** tyi matye'e
 IMFV A1-sleep-NF PREP woodland
 'I sleep in the woodland.' {070621_11b}
- c. mi **i-pul-e(l)**
 IMFV A3-burn-NF
 'It (the house) burns.' {080703_19b}

Agentives, which are also semantically intransitives, do not directly take the inflection for the subject. The single argument is inflected on the light verb *cha'l* 'do' (see §5.1.2), resulting in a complex construction (see §14.1). Notice in (4c) that the inflection for the subject does not change in imperfective aspect. This pattern was described as agentive alignment in §1.9.4.

- (4) a. tyi **k-cha'-a-ø** toñ-e(l)
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 work-NF
 'I worked.' {070620_9a}
- b. che' tyi **k-cha'l-e-ø** ñaj-al=i
 like.this PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 dream-NF=FIN
 'That is how I dream.' {080704_20b}
- c. mi **k-cha'l-en-ø=la** xäm-ba(l)
 IMFV A1-do-DT-B3=PLINC walk-NMZ
 'we walk' {070614_6a}

Finally, non-verbal predicates always indicate their single argument with Set B. They will be discussed in chapter 7.

- (5) a. che'ñak chuty-**oñ**=tyo
 when small-B1=still
 'when I was still a child...' { 070614_6b}
- b. ñox-**oñ**=ix=la
 elder-B1=already=PLINC
 'We are already elders.' {080604_12c}

In sum, except for agentive intransitives, intransitive verbs and non-verbal predicates take just one inflection for person (either Set B or Set A, depending on the aspect for intransitive verbs and always Set B for non-verbal predicates) and transitive verbs take both Set A and Set B person markers.

6.2. VOICE MARKERS

Valence reduction in transitive verbs, on the one hand, and valence increasing on the other, are morphologically indicated. The inflections for valence operations are discussed in this section.

As was stated in (§5.1.1), based on the morphology, there are two types of transitive verbs: CVC transitive roots and derived transitives. In the former class, when the last consonant is non-fricative, it passivizes with the infix *-j-* in both the perfective (6a) and imperfective (6b) aspect. As may be expected, this type of derived intransitive behaves like a non-agentive as shown by the fact that the vowel *-i* appears in the perfective and the ergative pattern split is observed in the imperfective aspect.

- (6) a. tyi ja<j>w-i-ø
 PRFV split<+PAS>-IV-B3
 'It (the stone) was split.' {070614_6b}
- b. mi i-ja<j>w-el
 IMFV A3-split<+PAS>-NF
 'It is split.'

If the last consonant in CVC roots is a fricative, then the passive suffixes *-le* and *-ty* are required instead of the infix *-j-*. The former is used in perfective aspect constructions (7a)

while *-ty* is for imperfective constructions (7b). As in the previous passive construction, the split in the ergative pattern also occurs.

- (7) a. *tyi tyaj-le-∅ k-mam*
 PRFV find-PAS-B3 A1-grandchild
 ‘My grandchild was found.’ {010201_69}
- b. *mi i-tyaj-ty-äl k-mam*
 IMFV A3-find-PAS-NF A1-grandchild
 ‘My grandchild is found.’

Derived transitive verbs passivize with the suffix *-ty* in both perfective (8a) and imperfective (7b) constructions. This type of transitive neutralizes the perfective/imperfective distinction in the stem formative and uses only *-Vñ* in the passive form (see §5.1.1). As in all passive constructions, split ergativity is observed in imperfective aspect as well.

- (8) a. *tyi me'ty-äñ-ty-i-∅*
 PRFV crush-DT-PAS-IV-B3
 ‘He was crushed (by a tree).’ {040115_45}
- b. *mi i-me'ty-äñ-ty-el*
 IMFV A3-crush-DT-PAS-NF
 ‘He is crushed.’

A summary of the passive affixes is presented in the following table.

Table 13. Passive markers

| Classes of transitives | Perfective | Imperfective |
|------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| CVC _{non-fricative} | | <i>-j-</i> |
| CVC _{fricative} | <i>-le</i> | <i>-ty</i> |
| Derived transitive | | <i>-ty</i> |

An antipassive voice can be derived using both the suffix *-oñ* and *-aj*. The former has been treated as an antipassive absolutive (Vázquez Álvarez 2002 and Gutiérrez Sánchez 2004). The latter was first described by Gutiérrez Sánchez (2004) as *-Vyaj*. It is evident that the distribution of the antipassive suffixes is due to the class of the verb. The suffix *-oñ* is restricted to CVC roots, while *-aj* occurs with derived transitives. For this reason, the first vowel in *-Vyaj* in Gutiérrez Sánchez’s analysis must be treated as the derived stem in the perfective aspect (see §5.1.1); the glide between the vowels is an epenthetic element. As it is shown in the following examples, antipassivized verbs with both *-oñ* (9b) and *-aj* (10b) result in agentive-type verbs, as could be expected; in other words, they require the light verb *cha'al* ‘do’ to inflect the subject. (9a) and (10a) are the respective active forms of the antipassivized constructions.

(9) a. mi i-choñ-∅ machity
IMFV A3-sell-B3 SP:machete
‘He sells machetes.’ {070621_11b}

b. mi k-cha'l-eñ-∅ choñ-oñ-el
IMFV A1-do-DT-B3 sell-AP-NF
‘I sell (something).’

(10) a. mi k-lu'-ts'äk-añ-∅-o'
IMFV A1-all-cure-DT-B3-PL3
‘I cure them all.’ {080604_12b}

b. icha'le ts'äkayaj, tyi icha'le kotyayaj
tyi i-cha'l-e-∅ ts'äk-a-y-**aj**, tyi i-cha'l-e-∅
PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 cure-DT-EP-AP PRFV A3-do-DT-B3
koty-a-y-**aj**
help-DT-EP-AP
‘He (Jesus) cured, he helped.’ {040115_42b}

As can be contrasted in the following examples, the vowel of the stem formative is kept in the antipassive form (11a). It seems that an exception occurs when the stem formative is *-eñ* (10b). In this case, the vowel in the antipassive form can surface as either *-e* or *-i*.

- (11) a. chajpañ chajpayaj ‘to prepare’
 pi’leñ pi’leyaj ‘to accompany’
 jajpiñ jajpiyaj ‘to rub’
 pojpoñ pojpoyaj ‘to grill’
 ts’ijbuñ ts’ijbuyaj ‘to write’
- b. cha’leñ cha’liyaj ‘to do’
 al’eñ al’iyaj ‘to scold’

Finally, the antipassive suffix *-aj* can surface with some transitive verbs (12), including derived agentives (13). In this context, as in Chontal (Osorio May 2005: §5.3.3), the verb can surface with the patient as a compound form (13a); however in some cases, the presence of the incorporated noun is not obligatory, as can be observed in example (13b). Osorio May provides morphological evidence that the noun is tightly bound to the verbal stem, which also applies for Chol. For instance, the noun class marker and Set B enclose the antipassivized form (14a), which can include the patient (14b). As can be observed in the ungrammaticality in (14c), the patient cannot be outside of the predicate.²

- (12) tyi k-cha’l-e-∅ kãñty-**aj**-wakax
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 take.care-AP-SP:cow
 ‘I took care of cows.’ {070620_9a}

- (13) a. aw-u=ba tsän-s-**aj**-wakax
 A2-know=INT die-CAU-AP-SP:cow
 ‘Do you know how to kill cows?’ {070620_9a}

- b. t=äch weñ ujty-i-∅ tsän-s-**aj**, tsa’=ku
 PRFV=AFFR SP:much happen-IV-B3 die-CAU-AP PRFV=AFFR
 ‘yes, killing happens a lot, yes’ {080604_12b}

- (14) a. **aj**-tsän-s-aj-ety
 NCL-die-CAU-AP-B2
 ‘You are a killer.’

² See also §6.8 in this chapter.

b. **aj**-tsän-s-aj-wakax-**ety**
 NCL-die-CAU-AP-SP:cow-B1
 ‘You are a cow-killer.’

c. * **aj**-tsän-s-aj-**ety** wakax

An antipassive of incorporation can also be formed without any additional morphology, as in the following example. In this example, the verb with the incorporated patient functions as a complement of the light verb *cha'l*.

(15) tyi k-cha'l-e- \emptyset **tsep-tye'**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 cut-tree
 ‘I cut trees.’

6.3. CAUSATIVE

In Chol there are different strategies of causativization depending on the verbal class. For instance predicative positionals take the morpheme *chok* ‘put’ to form a transitive reading. This morpheme is followed by the suffix *-oñ* in the imperfective (16a) and *-o* in the perfective aspect (16b).³

(16) a. mi k-poj-jok'-**chok-oñ**- \emptyset ila
 IMFV A1-HON-hang-CAU-DT-B3 here
 ‘I hang it here.’ {031009_44}

b. tyi i-xity-**chok-o**- \emptyset
 PRFV A3-turn.over-CAU-DT-B3
 ‘He turned him over.’ {031102_43}

Non-agentives, which can be non-derived (17) or derived intransitives from noun/adjective+inchoative (18), take the suffix *-(i)s*. As with the previous examples, the stem formative suffix for transitives *-añ/-ä* can be observed after the causative suffix.

³ See also §5.4.

- (17) a. *ijk'ä=tyo mi aw-ujty-is-añ-ø*
 tomorrow=still IMFV A2-finish-CAU-DT-B3
 'You will finish it tomorrow.' {070621_11b}
- b. *tyi aw-ujty-is-ä-ø*
 PRFV A2-finish-CAU-DT-B3
 'You finished it.'
- (18) a. *mu'=ta' i-be-k'uñ-i-s-añ-ø lum*
 IMFV=REA A3-further-soft-INCH-CAU-DT-B3 land
 'It makes the land smoother.' {080730_24b}
- b. *mi la=k-woch'-i-s-añ-ø tyi k'iñ*
 IMFV PLINC=A1-toasted-INCH-CAU-DT-B3 PREP sun
 'We toast it in the sun.' {080703_19c}

More instances of the use of the causative marker *-(i)s* are presented in (19). In these examples the causative suffix surfaces without the vowel *-i*.

- (19) a. *mu'=bi i-ñun-s-añ-ø-ob y-a'-lel Catarina*
 IMFV=REP A2-pass-CAU-DT-B3-PL3 A3-water-POS Catarina
 'It is said that they cross Catarina's river' {080730_25a}
- b. *ma' letsañ ilayi*
mi a-lets-s-añ-ø ila-y=i
 IMFV A2-climb-CAU-DT-B3 here-EP=FIN
 'You take it up here.' {080624_29a}

When the last consonant of the verbal root is either /b/ or /k/, it is deleted when it co-occurs with the causative suffix *-(i)s*, as the surface forms in (20a) and (21a) show. Without the causative form, the occlusive consonants are realized, (20b) and (21b).

- (20) a. *mi iwa' ju'sañ*
mi i-wa'-ju'b-s-añ-ø
 IMFV A3-fast-descend-CAU-DT-B3
 'He takes it down fast.' {070614_6b}

- b. mi i-ju'b-el
IMFV A3-descend-NF
'S/he descends.'
- (21) a. mi klo'sañ ktirador
mi k-lok'-s-añ-∅ k-tirardor
IMFV A1-exit-CAU-DT-B3 A1-SP:slingshot
'I take my slingshot out.' {080704_20b}
- b. mi i-lok'-el
IMFV A3-exit-NF
'S/he goes out.'

The root *och-* 'to enter' becomes *ots* in the causative form. It appears that the causative *-s* attracts the affricate to its point of articulation, resulting in an alveolar affricate (*ch*→*ts*).

- (22) a. mi yotsañ ñajal
mi y-och-s-añ-∅ ñaj-al
IMFV A3-enter-CAU-DT-B3 dream-NF
'It causes (one) to enter bad dreams.' {080704_20b}
- b. mi y-och-el
IMFV A3-enter-NF
'S/he enters.'

The rest of the verbs of movement, listed in (23), do not take the causative suffix *-s*. In order to causativize, they require the verb *ak'* 'to give', which function as a matrix verb (23f). In this context, the non-finite intransitive verb functions as a complement (see §14.1).

- (23) a. majl 'to go' * majlis
b. tyäl 'to come' * tyälis
c. k'oty 'to arrive there' * k'otyis
d. jul 'to arrive here' * julis
e. käy-ty 'to stay' * käytyis

- f. mi y-**äk'**-ø käy-ty-äl
 IMFV A3-give-B3 stay-PIMFV-NF
 'S/he allows her/him to stay here.'

Finally, there are some roots and stems that require a special derivation in order to take the causative suffix *-s*. It is not clear what triggers this requirement. I am glossing this suffix as a derived stem for the causative. Chol verbs identified so far that require the suffix *-ty* include transitives (24a), non-agentives (24b), agentives (24c), and nonverbal predicates (24d). Their use in sentences is presented in (25).

- (24) a. bā'ñ 'to scare' bā'tyis 'to frighten'
 kāñ 'to learn' kāñtyis 'to teach'
 joch 'to take off' jochtyis 'to empty'
- b. ñajay 'to forgot' ñajatyis 'to forget'
 joloñ 'to finish' jolotyis 'to finish it'
- c. xāñ 'to walk' xāñtyis 'to set out for'
- d. tsik 'evident' tsiktyis 'to announce'
 ch'uj 'blessed' ch'ujutyis 'to bless'

- (25) a. loktoraj=ix mi i-kāñ-**ty**-is-añ-oñ
 SP:doctor=already IMFV A3-know-SCAU-CAU-DT-B1
 'It is a doctor who teaches me now.' {080604_12b}
- b. xāñ-**ty**-is-aj-aläl tyi andadera
 walk-SCAU-CAU-AP-child PREP SP:baby.walker
 'to walk a baby in a baby walker' {070620_9a}
- c. wersa mi la=k-tsik-**ty**-is-añ-ø
 SP:strength IMFV PLINC=A1-announce-SCAU-CAU-DT-B3
 'We are encouraged to announce it.' {040115_42b}
- d. mi la'=a-ch'uju-**ty**-is-añ-ø tyi la=k-yum
 IMFV PL2=A2-sacred-SCAU-CAU-DT-B3 PREP PLINC=A1-Lord
 'You bless it in (the name of) our Lord.' {040115_42b}

6.4. APPLICATIVE SUFFIX

The suffix *-b* has been traditionally glossed as an applicative suffix in the study of Chol (see Vázquez Álvarez 2002: §5.4). This suffix can be inflected in non-derived (26) or derived transitive verbs. Derived verbs include those taking the suffix *-V/-Vñ* (27), causativized intransitives (28) or positional predicates (29). This suffix allows a third argument to be syntactically treated identical to the only object of monotransitive verbs (e.g. it is coreferential with Set B inflection in the verb). In example (27a) the Set B agreement refers to a participant different from *baso* ‘glass’, which functions as the only object in the monotransitive construction in (27b). The referentiality is more evident when the third participant is non-third person, as in (26a). In this example, Set B refers to the benefactive.⁴

(26) a. mu'=ba a-ty'ox-**b**-eñ-oñ aw-ixim
 IMFV=INT A2-split-APL-DT-B1 A2-corn
 ‘will you split your corn for me?’ {070621_11a}

b. mu'=ba a-ty'ox-∅ aw-ixim
 IMFV=INT A2-split-B3 A2-corn
 ‘will you split your corn?’

(27) a. tyi j-k'ajty-i-**b**-e-∅ jum-p'e baso
 PRFV A1-ask-DT-APL-DT-B3 one-CL SP:glass
 ‘I asked him for a glass’ {070613_4}

b. tyi j-k'ajty-i-∅ jum-p'e baso
 PRFV A1-ask-DT-B3 one-CL SP:glass
 ‘I asked for a glass’

(28) ma alo'säbeñ cha'ts'ijty
 mi a-lok'-**s-ä-b**-eñ-∅ cha'-ts'ijty
 IMFV A2-exit-CAU-DT-APL-DT-B3 two-CL
 ‘you will take out two from there’ {031009_44}

⁴ More details about the functions of the applicative *-b* and the syntax of ditransitive constructions are in §10.6.

- (29) ma' pitychokobeñ tyi' pam
 mi a-pity-**chok-o-b**-eñ-ø tyi i-pam
 IMFV A2-rounded-put-DT-APL-DT-B3 PREP A3-above
 'you will put it above (this one)' {080625_35a}

6.5. STATUS SUFFIXES

In Chol, as in all Mayan languages (Kaufman and Norman 1984: 92-93, there are some suffixes that indicate the class, aspect, and mood of the verb (see table 13 below). In this section I will summarize the “status suffixes” of verbal predicates in Chol.

As can be observed in the following examples, CVC transitive roots take a harmonic vowel in the perfective aspect.

- (30) a. t=äch i-ch'äm-**ä**-ø ma
 PRFV=AFFR A3-take-TV-B3 DIR:away
 'Yes, he took it away.' {070613_4}
- b. tyi' tyajayo' ixim
 tyi i-tyaj-**a**-y-ø-ob ixim
 PRFV A3-find-TV-EP-B3-PL3 corn
 'They found corn.' {070614_6b}
- c. tyi i-jok'-**o**-y-ø-o' lum
 PRFV A3-dig-TV-EP-B3-PL3 land
 'They excavated the land.' {080703_19a}
- d. tyi k-mel-**e**-ø k-chol
 PRFV A1-make-TV-B3 A1-corn.field
 'I made my cornfield.' {070621_11b}
- e. tyi i-p'is-**i**-y-ø-o'
 PRFV A3-measure-TV-EP-B3-PL3
 'They measure it.' {080730_25a}
- f. tyi' pulu ich
 tyi i-pul-**u**-ø ich
 PRFV A3-burn-TV-B3 chili
 'He burned chili.' {070614_6b}

In the imperfective aspect, this type of transitive does not take any status suffix.

- (31) a. mi i-ch'äm-ø
 IMFV A3-receive-B3
 'S/he receives it.'
- b. mi i-tyaj-ø 's/he finds it'
 mi i-jok'-ø 's/he excavates it'
 mi i-mel-ø 's/he makes it'
 mi i-p'is-ø 's/he measures it'
 mi i-pul-ø 's/he burns it'

The derived transitives take the suffix *-V* in the perfective aspect (32a) while in the imperfective this suffix surfaces as *-Vñ* (32b). As was stated in §5.1.1, the vowel in the status suffix of derived transitives is not predictable by rule.

- (32) a. tyi k-il-ä-ø woko
 PRFV A1-see-DT-B3 suffering
 'I saw the suffering.' {080604_12a}
- b. ma'=ix mi k-il-añ-ø wa'li
 NEG=already IMFV A1-see-DT-B3 now
 'now I do not see it anymore' {080730_26a}

Since agentive intransitives require the light verb *cha'l* 'do' to inflect the subject, the aspectual distinction is noticeable only in the light verb because it functions as a transitive main verb, with the agentive verb as its complement (see more about this in §14.1).

- (33) a. tyi i-cha'l-e-ø ty'añ
 PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 speak
 'He spoke.' {011103_62}

- b. mi i-cha'l-**eñ**-ø ty'añ
 IMFV A3-do-DT-B3 speak
 'He speaks.'

Other derived verbs, such as causatives (34) and (35) as well as applicatives (36) take this suffix (-V, -Vñ). The causative for positionals takes the status suffix -o for perfective and -oñ for imperfective, while the other causatives show the distinction -ä/-añ. Finally, the applicative exhibits the distinction -e/-eñ. Note that for verbs with the applicative, the aspectual distinction in the stem is neutralized to -ä, which is the status marker used in the perfective aspect. This is because the required distinction triggered by the aspect is now indicated after the applicative suffix by means of the -e/-eñ contrast.

- (34) a. ta=x a-koty-chok-**o**-ø ila
 PRFV-already A2-stand-CAU-DT-B3 here
 'You have stood up it here.' {080625_34a}

- b. mi k-poj-jok'-chok-**oñ**-ø ila
 IMFV A1-HON-hang-CAU-DT-B3 here
 'I hang it here.' {031009_44}

- (35) a. tyi aw-ajñ-is-**ä**-ø
 PRFV A2-run-CAU-DT-B3
 'You scared it off.' {080703_19c}

- b. mi' k'am'isañ
 mi i-k'am-'is-**añ**-ø
 IMFV A3-get.sick-CAU-DT-B3
 'It (the bats) makes it (the cow) get sick' {080730_24b}

- (36) a. tyi j-käñty-**ä**-b-**e**-ø i-muty aj-Maria
 PRFV A1-take.care-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-chicken NCL-María
 'I took care of María's chicken.'

- b. mi j-käñty-**ä**-b-**eñ**-ø i-muty aj-Maria
 IMFV A1-take.care-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-chicken NCL-María
 'I take care of María's chicken.'

Intransitive verbs also exhibit a set of status suffixes triggered by perfective/imperfective aspect. Non-agentives have the suffix *-i* in the perfective aspect (37a) while in the imperfective aspect the nonfinite suffix *-e(l)* is required (37b). Additionally, the ergative pattern is split; in other words, the subject in the imperfective aspect is indicated by Set A, which is the same inflection for transitive subjects.

- (37) a. tyi jul-**i-∅** li ty'añ
 PRFV arrive-IV-B3 DET message
 'The message arrived.' {080604_12c}
- b. bajchki mi i-jul-**e(l)** ty'añ
 how IMFV A3-arrive-NF message
 'How does the message arrive?' {080730_26b}

Some passive forms follow this pattern. For instance passivization in CVC transitive roots, where the last consonant is not fricative (38), as well as derived transitives (39), takes the suffixes *-i/-el* depending on the aspectual form of the phrase. Notice that a neutralization of the stem formative in the imperfective also takes place in this process (39a-b). Such neutralization happens because the distinction demanded by the aspect comes after the passive suffix. In all cases, the split in the ergative pattern can be observed.

- (38) a. tyi me<j>l-**i-∅** i-chol
 PRFV make<+PAS>-IV-B3 A3-corn.field
 'His cornfield was made.' {031009_44}
- b. mi i-me<j>l-**el** i-chol
 IMFV A3-make<+PAS>-NF A3-corn.field
 'His cornfield is made.'
- (39) a. tyi koty-**añ**-ty-**i**-y-on=la
 PRFV help-DT-PAS-IV-EP-B1=PLINC
 'we got help'

- b. mi jkotyään̄tyela
 mi j-koty-ään̄-ty-el=la
 IMFV A1-help-DT-PAS-NF=PLINC
 ‘we get help’ {070621_11a}

However, in the passivization of CVC transitive roots, where the last consonant is a fricative, the suffix *-äl* surfaces in imperfective aspect (40b) whereas the perfective aspect does not trigger the overt status suffix. Notice that split ergativity occurs as well in these examples.

- (40) a. tyi ch’oj-le-∅ tyi lukum
 PRFV bite-PAS-B3 PREP snake
 ‘S/he was bitten by the snake.’
- b. mu’=bä i-ch’oj-ty-äl-o’ tyi lukum=i
 IMFV=REL A3-bite-PAS-NF-PL3 PREP snake=FIN
 ‘who are bitten by the snake’ {070614_6b}

Finally, as was discussed in §5.4, positional roots can function as intransitive verbs when they take the suffix *-le* in the perfective (41a) and *ty+äl* in imperfective (41b). It is evident that this morphology is closely related to the passive strategy presented in the last example.

- (41) a. tyi ty’uch-le-∅ tyi tye’
 PRFV perch-PPRFV-B3 PREP tree
 ‘It perched in the tree.’
- b. mi’ ty’uchtyälo’ tyi tye’
 mi i-ty’uch-ty-äl-ob tyi tye’
 IMFV A3-perch-PIMFV-NF-PL3 PREP tree
 ‘They (the grasshopper) perch in the tree.’ {080730_24b}

The summary of the status suffixes illustrated in this section is presented in the following table.

Table 14. Status suffixes in Chol

| | perfective | imperfective |
|---|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| CVC transitive | $-V_1$ | no overt suffix |
| derived transitive | $-V$ | $-V\tilde{n}$ |
| intransitive agentive | $-e$ (in light verb) | $-e\tilde{n}$ (in light verb) |
| causative for positional | $-o$ | $-o\tilde{n}$ |
| causativization with $-s$ | $-ä$ | $-a\tilde{n}$ |
| applicative | $-e$ | $-e\tilde{n}$ |
| non-agentive | $-i$ | $-el$ |
| passive (except in $CVC_{\text{fricative}}$) | $-i$ | $-el$ |
| passive in $CVC_{\text{fricative}}$ | no overt suffix | $-äl$ |
| intransitive positional predicative | $-le$ | $-ty+äl$ |

6.6. ASPECT

This section is about aspectual inflections in Chol. I will illustrate that the aspectual system of Chol can be indicated by auxiliaries, clitics and suffixes. Each one is discussed separately.

6.6.1 Aspectual auxiliaries

Chol has grammatical representations for perfective, imperfective, progressive, irrealis in the preterite, and prospective aspects which are used in all types of verbal predicates. It is clear that they come from verbs since there are some contexts where they take inflection for person; in other words, they can be analyzed as matrix verbs. However, as shown next, there are also contexts where they function as auxiliaries since they do not take inflection for person. Due to phonological reductions or morphological constraints, almost all of them exhibit allomorphic alternations.

a. Perfective

The bare morpheme *tyi* indicates that the actions or events denoted for verbal predicates have terminated (42a). When a clitic is attached to it, the allomorph *tsa'* is used (42b).⁵ This allomorph can end up in the short forms *ta'* (42c), *ts* (42d), and *t* (42e); the last two occur preferably where the next element is a vowel.

- (42) a. **che'** **tyi** i-mel-e-ø
 like.this PRFV A3-make-TV-B3
 'That is how he made it.' {010201_69}
- b. **tsa'**=bi tyäl-i-ø
 PRFV=REP come-IV-B3
 'It is said that he came.' {070613_4}
- c. **ta'**=bi och-i-ø ya'
 PRFV=REP enter-IV-B3 there
 'It is said that he entered there.' {070613_4}
- d. **ts=äch=bi** i-tyaj-a-ø
 PRFV=AFFR=REP A3-find-TV-B3
 'It is said that he found it.' {070614_6a}
- e. **t=äch** i-ch'äm-ä-ø ma
 PRFV=AFFR A3-receive-TV-B3 DIR:away
 'Yes, he took it away.' {070613_4}

As was stated in §6.5, in the perfective aspect the verb takes different status suffixes depending on the class. For instance the status suffix for CVC transitive roots in this aspectual form is a vowel in harmony with the vowel of the root (see examples (42a, d, e), above), while non-agentive intransitives take the suffix *-i* (see (42b, c), above). Another property of constructions in perfective aspect is with regard to the alignment type. As was shown in §1.9.4, in the perfective aspect the ergative pattern prevails.

⁵ It is important to highlight that in the Tumbalá variety, the form *tsa'* is mostly used, which sometimes surfaces as *ta'*. In the Tila variety, this allomorph occurs only if a clitic is attached to it. This aspectual marker, unlike the imperfective, cannot take person markers.

The allomorph *tsa'* or any reduced version of it can be used to answer questions without inflection for person. Notice in (43c) that person markers are not allowed in answering questions. For this reason, this aspect marker is an auxiliary.

- (43) a. Did they go by themselves?
 b. *tsa'*=ku
 PRFV=AFFR
 'yes, they did' {080730_24c}
- c. * *tsa'*-**ø**-**ob**=ku
 PRFV+go-B3-PL3=AFFR
 Intended meaning: 'yes, they did'

There is one verb, *ajñ* 'go', that incorporates the short form of the perfective allomorph into the stem. As we can see by contrasting the verb in imperfective aspect in example (45), the aspectual marker attached to the verb is *ts* (44a). In this particular verb, the bare form of the perfective cannot be used (see the ungrammaticality in (44b)). This property may tell us that *tsa'* is the older form of the perfective morpheme and *tyi* is an innovation.

- (44) a. *pejtye kixtyañu tsajñ-i-y-ø-o'*
 all SP:people PRFV+go-IV-EP-B3-PL3
 'all people went' {070621_11b}
- b. * *pejtye kixtyañu tyiajñ-i-y-ø-ob*

- (45) *ya=jach mi k-ajñ-e(l)=loñ*
 there=only IMFV A1-go-NF=PLEXC
 'We only go there.' {080604_12a}

The status suffix *-i* for intransitive verbs (see §6.5) does not necessarily surface when there is more material after it, such as the non-finite suffix (see above example (45)), or the plural marker *-ob*, as in (46).

- (46) pejtye kixtyañu tsajñ-ø-ob
 all SP:people PRFV+go-B3-PL3
 ‘All people went.’

Although the form *ajñ* ‘go’ with the aspect fused into it can have person markers inflected on it when it is used to answer questions (48c), we can also analyze it as an auxiliary since it can be used to answer questions without necessarily adding inflection for person (48b).

- (47) a. tsajñ-i i-k’el-oñ iwä’
 PRFV+go-IV A3-see-B1 here
 ‘She came to see me.’ {080704_20b}

- (48) a. tsajñ-i=ba j-k’el-ety
 PRFV+go-IV=INT A1-see-B2
 ‘Did I come to see you?’

- b. tsajñ-i=ku
 PRFV+go-IV=AFFR
 ‘yes’

- c. tsajñ-ety=ku
 PRFV+go-B2=AFFR
 ‘yes, you did’

b. Imperfective

The imperfective aspect indicates actions or events denoted for verbal predicates that have not terminated. This aspect is indicated by the bare morpheme *mi* when it does not take a person marker or any clitic (49a). However when it takes a clitic, the allomorphs *muk’* (49b), *mu’* (49c), or *mu* (49d) are used. The first allomorph is used preferably before vowels, the second before either a vowel or consonant, and the last one only when the first vowel of the clitic is dropped, as in (49d).

- (49) a. **mi** i-sajty-el kixtyañuj
 IMFV A3-die-NF SP:people
 ‘People die.’ {031102_43}
- b. **muk’=äch** j-k’ixñan=la
 IMFV=AFFR A1-get.drunk=PLINC
 ‘Yes, we get drunk.’ {010201_69}
- c. **mu’=äch** k-siempre-pensal-iñ-ø
 IMFV=AFFR A1-SP:always-SP:think-DT-B3
 ‘I always think about him.’ {990109_70}
- d. **mu=ch** i-pul-ø-o’ je’el
 IMFV=AFFR A3-burn-B3-PL3 also
 ‘They also burn it.’ {031009_44}

There are some properties to be highlighted in the imperfective aspect. On the one hand, the verbs in this aspectual form take different status suffixes (see §6.5). As can be seen from the examples presented above, non-agentives takes the suffix *-VI* (49a), derived transitives takes *-Vñ* (49c), and transitive CVC roots do not have overt status suffixes (49d). On the other hand, the ergative pattern is split in the imperfective aspect. In this alignment type, the subject of intransitive verbs is morphologically indicated by Set A, which is the same morpheme used to indicate the agent of transitive verbs (see §1.9.4).

The imperfective allomorph *muk’* can occur with the inflection for person, as seen in (50). This property has been used to argue that imperfective constructions, such as those presented in (49), are complement structures (Coon 2010c). As a complement construction, the aspect marker functions as the matrix predicate while the lexical verb functions as a possessed nominalized complement. Moreover, unlike the perfective, the imperfective aspect can also trigger “raising” of the subject of the lower verb, in which the complement is headed by the preposition *tyi*. In this context, *tyi* assigns case (50).

- (50) a. **muk’-oñ** tyi ojba
 IMFV-B1 PREP cough
 ‘I cough’ {070621_11b}

- b. **mu'-on=la** tyi toñ-e(l)
 IMFV-B1=PLINC PREP work-NF
 'we work' {070613_4}

The imperfective aspect marker can take inflection for person when is used to answer questions (52c). However it also functions as an auxiliary since in the same context can be used without inflection for person, as in example (52b).

- (51) a. Do they go there?
 b. **muk'=äch**
 IMFV=AFFR
 'yes' {070613_4}

- (52) a. Do you go there?
 b. **muk'=äch**
 IMFV=AFFR
 'yes'

- c. **muk'-oñ=äch**
 IMFV-B1=AFFR
 'yes, I do'

c. Progressive

The ongoing situation is grammatically represented by the morpheme *chonkol* (53a). As with the previous aspectual morphemes, the progressive marker has some allomorphs consisting of short forms; in one case only the last consonant is missing (53b); in another, the last syllable is completely dropped (53c).

- (53) a. **chonkol** k-lets-el
 PROG A1-go.up-NF
 'I am going up.'
- b. che' **chonko** i-k'e-ø ma i-che'=i
 like PROG A3-watch-B3 DIR:away A3-like=FIN
 'It is facing that.' {080706_38a}

- c. la' ba' **chon** la=j-k'eI-ø=i
 here where PROG PLINC-A1-watch-B3=FIN
 'here where we are looking at' {080624_27b}

It is important to mention that the nasal assimilates to the point of articulation of the following consonant, as can be observed in the following examples where it surfaces as a labial due to the bilabial consonant /b/.

- (54) **chom**=bä i-k'e-ø ma ila tyi
 PROG=REL A3-watch-B3 DIR:away here PREP
 kanchaj
 SP:basketball.court
 'that is looking towards the basketball court' {080624_29a}

The predicates in progressive aspect take the same status suffixes as the imperfective *mi/muk'*. For instance non-agentive intransitives take the suffix *-VI* (53a) and CVC transitive roots do not take overt status suffix (53b, c). Finally in this aspectual form accusative alignment or split ergativity prevails.

As with the imperfective, the progressive has also been analyzed as a complement structure (Coon 2010c). In such an analysis the progressive functions as a main predicate while the lexical verb functions as a complement. Moreover, raising subject constructions also take place in the progressive aspect. As with the imperfective, the preposition is required to assign case.

- (55) laja bajche' maestroj-o' **chonkol**-oñ tyi ty'añ
 like as SP:teacher-PL3 PROG-B1 PREP talk
 'I am talking like teachers.' {080625_34a}

As with the previous aspectual markers, the progressive also functions as an auxiliary verb (57b) despite the fact that it can include inflectional person markers to answer questions, as can be seen in example (57c).

- (56) a. Is the Government sending more doctors to this town?
 b. **chonko=ku**
 PROG=AFFR
 ‘yes’ {070621_11a}

- (57) a. are you singing?
 b. **chonkol=ku**
 PROG=AFFR
 ‘yes’

- c. **chonkol-oñ=ku**
 PROG-B1=AFFR
 ‘yes, I am’

d. Irrealis in the preterite

In previous work, I analyze the morpheme *kole(l)* as an aspectual marker which “indicates a situation in the past that did not happen” (see Vázquez Álvarez 2002: §3.3.1.2). In this work, as in the previous one, I gloss it as “irrealis in the preterite”. The closest English equivalent seems to be ‘almost’. In the texts consulted, this aspect surfaces always as *kole* (58), except when it is immediately followed by a vowel, as in example (59) where the lateral consonant comes up.

- (58) a. **kole** i-sajty-e(l) che’ñak tyi k’am-ä-ø
 IRRP A3-die-NF when PRFV get.sick-DT-B3
 ‘He almost died when he got sick.’ {sf_72}

- b. cha’ **kole** k-sujty-e(l)
 again IRRP A1-return-NF
 ‘I almost returned again.’ {080730_26a}

- (59) **kolel=äch** i-ganariñ-oñ
 IRR=AFFR A3-SP:beat-B1
 ‘He almost beat me.’

When this aspect marker co-occurs with the clitic =*ix* ‘already’, the lateral consonant of the aspect marker and the first vowel of the clitic is dropped, as the surface form shows in the following example.

- (60) kolex ilajmelo'
 kolel=ix i-lajm-el-ob
 IRRP=already A3-die-NF-PL3
 'They almost die.' {080604_12c}

Finally, this aspect marker can be realized in the short form *ko*.

- (61) ma'=ix=ta' **ko** k-chojl-oñ-ø
 NEG=already=REA IRRP A1-clear-DT-B3
 'I barely clear it.' {070620_9b}

As with the aspect markers already presented, any clitic can be suffixed to this morpheme. Moreover, the verbs following *kole(l)* take the same status suffix for imperfective and also exhibit split ergativity.

Unlike the imperfective or progressive aspect, it does not allow person markers. In other words, there is no raising construction involved with this aspectual form (62).

- (62) * kolel-oñ tyi chäm-el
 IRRP-B1 PREP die-NF
 'Intended meaning: 'I almost died'

This morpheme can still be used to answer questions. Notice in (64c) that person markers are not allowed in this context. This means that unlike to imperfective and progressive markers, the irrealis in the preterite functions only as an auxiliary.

- (63) a. so did he almost die?
 b. kole=x=ku
 IRRP=already=AFFR
 'yes' {080604_12c}

- (64) a. Did you almost die?
 b. kole=ku
 IRRP=AFFR
 'yes'

- c. * *kole=on̄=ku*
 IRRP=B1=AFFR
 Intended meaning: ‘yes, I did’

In sum, despite the fact that some aspectual marker presented in this section show some verbal properties (e.g. they can take inflection for person in some contexts), they can be analyzed as auxiliaries since they do not necessarily require person markers when used to answer questions. Unlike to the imperfective or progressive morphemes, the perfective marker *tyi* or *tsa’* cannot take inflection for person. There is an alternate form, where the perfective has the form *ajñ* ‘go’ attached to it, that allows inflection for person. This form, as for the imperfective *mu(k)’* and the progressive, participates in raising constructions as the preposition *tyi* indicates (see §14.1). The irrealis aspect marker *kole(l)* does not take Set B inflection and as a consequence does not allow subject raising constructions. This property prevails in the contexts of answering questions where person markers are not allowed in the aspectual marker.

Table 15. Properties of aspectual auxiliaries

| | hosts clitics | Set B (Raising) | answers | structure |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|---|
| <i>tyi/tsa’</i> perfective | yes | <i>tsajñ</i> | yes | TV: PRFV A-TV-B IV: PRFV IV-B/ <i>tsajñ</i> -B <i>tyi</i> V |
| <i>mil/muk’</i> imperfective | yes | yes | yes | TV: IMFV A-TV-B IV: IMFV A-IV/ <i>mu(k)’</i> -B <i>tyi</i> V |
| <i>chonkol</i> progressive | yes | yes | yes | TV: PROG A-TV-B IV: PROG A-IV/PROG <i>tyi</i> V |
| <i>kole(l)</i> irrealis | yes | no | yes | TV: IRRP A-TV-B IV: IRRP A-IV |

e. Prospective

There is an aspect that is indicated periphrastically. The combination of imperfective *mi* with the prospective *keje* or *kaje* or other allomorphs derives an aspectual form that indicates a pre-state reference; this pre-state is not necessarily one of an intention (Bohnmeyer 1998: 707).

- (65) a. **mi keje** i-me<j>l-e(l) k-bu'l-el
 IMFV PROSP A3-make<+PAS>-NF A1-beans-ABST
 'My bean field is going to be made.' {080704_20b}
- b. **mi kaje** la-k-mel-ø la-j-k'iñ
 IMFV PROSP PLINC-A1-prepare-B3 PLINC-A1-fiesta
 'We are going to prepare our fiesta.' {040115_42b}

Sometimes these morphemes surface in the following short forms.

- (66) a. **mi ke** j-k'añ-ø jiñ tyak'iñ
 IMFV PROSP A1-use-B3 DET money
 'I am going to use that money.' {070613_4}
- b. **mi ka** a-poj-lok'-e(l)
 IMFV PROSP A2-HON-exit-NF
 'You are going to go out.' {080704_20a}

Since the prospective marker cannot directly take any clitic, the imperfective morpheme is required when a clitic is used.

- (67) a. **mu'=ix** keje i-majl-el ijk'ä
 IMFV=already PROSP A3-go-NF tomorrow
 'He is going to go tomorrow.' {990109_70}
- b. * **keje=ix** i-majl-el ijk'ä
- (68) a. **mu'=me** keje k-ch'äm=e' k-uloñib
 IMFV=PRED PROSP A1-take-B3=ENC A1-rifle
 'I am going to take my rifle.' {sf_72}

b. * **keje=me** k-ch'äm=e' k-uloñib

As can be observed in the following examples, the presence of the imperfective morpheme is optional when second position clitics are not present. Without *mi*, the prospective meaning is maintained.

(69) a. **keje** i-ñok'-añ-ø-o', **keje** i-cha'l-eñ-ø-o'
 PROSP A3-prepare-DT-B3-PL3 PROSP A3-do-DT-B3-PL3
 'They are going to prepare (the cotton), they are going to do it.' {080730_24c}

b. **kaje** a-k'e-ø a-bãñäk
 PROSP A2-see-B3 A2-food
 'You are are going to take care of your food.' {080730_24c}

It is important to highlight that *ke(je)* or *ka(je)* loses its prospective meaning when it co-occurs with the perfective aspect. Instead of indicating the prospective, it offers an inceptive reading, as in (70). In this context, it is grammatically equivalent to *tyech* (see the next section).

(70) tyi **ke** k-il-añ-ø k-ba jiñ che'ñak
 PRFV PROSP A1-see-DT-B3 A1-myself that when
 tyi kol-i-y-oñ
 PRFV grow.up-IV-EP-B1
 'I started to see it when I grew up.' {080730_24c}

Person markers can be inflected in the prospective marker via argument raising, as in the following examples.⁶

(71) che' mi **i-keje** tyi soñ=i, mi i-k'ech-ø=e'
 when IMFV A3-PROSP PREP dance=FIN IMFV A3-carry-B3=ENC
 'When he is going to dance, he carries it.' {010201_69}

⁶ See more about raising in §14.1.

In order to answer questions, the allomorph *muk'* of the imperfective with the affirmative clitic can be used. Optionally, the prospective marker can be used. In the construction with the prospective morpheme, the person marker can be attached to it.

(72) a. mu'=ba **a-keje** tyi soñ
 IMFV=INT A2-PROSP PREP dance
 'Are you going to dance?'

b. mu'=ku (j-kaje)
 IMFV=AFFR A1-PROSP
 'yes'

6.6.2. Internal information of a situation

In the preceding section it was argued that sometimes the prospective aspect requires the imperfective before the prospective marker. When second position clitics are used, the imperfective marker is obligatorily retained. Interestingly, if such a sequence of aspectual markers is inverted in its order, the starting point of a situation that already happened is referred to. In Comrie's (1976: 3) terms, this "presents the background to some event". For instance, example (73) refers to the death of a person in "the beginning of his eating". In (74), two people are looking for a place to spend the night before the danger comes. Finally, example (75) refers to a local authority who disappeared during his last trip to the capital when he was requesting documents for the village. Contrary to the pattern described in the previous section, in this new sequence second position clitics are allowed with *kaje* (75).⁷

(73) kaje muk'-ø tyi uch'-e(l)
 PROSP IMFV-B3 PREP eat-NF
 'He was starting to eat (and then died)' {031102_43}

⁷ In this specific context, instead of as a prospective marker, *kaje* could be glossed just as the verb 'start'. I will provisionally keep glossing it as prospective in this context.

(74) ya'=bi kaje muk'-ø-ob tyi wäy-el
 there=REP PROSP IMFV-B3-PL3 PREP sleep-NF
 'It is said that they were starting to sleep there (then the danger comes)' {sf_75}

(75) kajex muk' tyi lok'e tyi icargo
 kajel=**ix** muk'-ø tyi lok'-el tyi i-cargo
 PROSP=already IMFV-B3 PREP exit-NF PREP A3-SP:post
 'He is concluding his position (and then he disappears)' {080730_25b}

The starting point of a situation can also be indicated by the word *tyech* 'start', which was analyzed as an inceptive aspectual form in my previous work (Vázquez Álvarez 2002: §3.3.2.1). The indication of the starting point can be present in all the aspectual form described so far. I will start with the inceptive indication of the prospective in order to follow the preceding examples. Although example (76) can have an irrealis reading, *tyech* emphasizes the beginning of a potential event.

(76) mi **ke** i-**tyech**-ø i-chuk-on=la
 IMFV PROSP A3-start-B3 A3-catch-B1=PLINC
 'it (the illness) is going to start to catch us' {080704_20b}

As was stated above (70), the co-occurrence of the prospective with the perfective cancels the prospective reading; instead, an inceptive in the perfective one is established. This assumption is confirmed by the following example (77). This example is also interesting in that the inceptive *tyech* co-occurs with *ke(je)* which was suggested to have some inceptive meaning in the sentence when the use of perfective marker is involved (see example (70) above). For this reason there are two potential analyses of this sentence. First, *ke(je)* indicates the starting point of the beginning (expressed by *tyech*) of the measurement of the land. Second, *ke(je)* and *tyech* are collapsed to form a single meaning of inception; in other words, the starting of the "measurement". This point requires more investigation.

(77) tyi **ke** i-**tyech**-ø i-p'is-ø-o' ili p'is=i
 PRFV PROSP A3-start-B3 A3-measure-B3-PL3 DET border=FIN
 'they started to measure the border land (of the village)' {080730_25a}

The inceptive sense is present in the rest of the aspects discussed so far: in the perfective (78), imperfective (79), progressive (80), and irrealis in the preterite (81).

(78) mach=äch ba'añ **tyi** i-saj-**tyech**-e-ø i-p'is-ø-o'
 NEG=AFFR PRON PRFV A3-little-start-TV-B3 A3-measure-B3-PL3
 li lum=bä
 DET land=REL
 'They did not start to measure the land at all.' {080730_25b}

(79) **mi** i-cha'-**tyech**-ø i-tsep-ø-o' i-tye'
 IMFV A3-again-start-B3 A3-cut-B3-PL3 A3-wood
 'they start to cut wood (to build house) again' {080703_19b}

(80) **chonkol** i-**tyech**-ø i-tsep-ø tye'
 PROG A3-start-B3 A3-cut-B3 tree
 'He is starting to cut tree.'

(81) **kole** i-**tyech**-ø i-tsep-ø tye'
 IRRP A3-start-B3 A3-cut-B3 tree
 'He almost starts to cut tree.'

The ending point of a situation can be expressed by the word *ujtyel* 'to finish'. This morpheme was treated as "terminative" in my previous work (Vázquez Álvarez 2002: §3.3.2.3). This aspect can assert a post-state of the target event. It is true when this aspect co-occurs with the perfective. When it co-occurs with the progressive, it refers to the ending point of an event or activity that is still in progress; while with the prospective and irrealis in the preterite, the whole sentence exhibits an irrealis reading.

(82) **tyi** ujty-i-ø k-tsep-ø tye'
 PRFV finish-IV-B3 A1-cut-B3 tree
 'I finished cutting the tree.'

(83) **mi** y-ujty-el k-tsep-ø tye'
 IMFV A3-finish-NF A1-cut-B3 tree
 'I finish cutting the tree.'

- (84) **chonkol** y-ujty-el k-tsep-∅ tye'
 PROG A3-finish-NF A1-cut-B3 tree
 'I finishing cutting the tree.'
- (85) **kole** y-ujty-el k-tsep-∅ tye'
 IRRP A3-finish-NF A1-cut-B3 tree
 'I almost finish cutting the tree.'
- (86) mi **keje** y-ujty-el k-tsep-∅ tye'
 IMFV PROSP A3-finish-NF A1-cut-B3 tree
 'I am going to finish cutting the tree.'

Concluding the discussion about auxiliary aspect markers, in this section, five aspectual grammatical markers were exemplified: perfective, imperfective, progressive, irrealis in the preterite, and prospective. The last one requires the imperfective allomorph *muk'* when the sentence has a second position clitic. It also was shown that moving the prospective marker in front of the perfective causes the whole sentence to lose its prospective reading. Finally, all the five aspects presented in this section can be indicated their starting and ending point by the use of the aspectual verbs *tyech* and *ujty*, respectively.

In the following section, more aspectual distinctions are presented, particularly those indicated by clitics and suffixes.

6.6.3. Clitics and suffixes

There are some clitics and suffixes that express aspectual meaning as well. On the one hand, there are two second position clitics: *=ix* and *=tyo*, which are glossed as 'already' and 'still', respectively. On the other hand, the perfect and participles are indicated by the suffixes *-V₁l* and *-em*, respectively.

a. The clitics *=ix* and *=tyo*

The clitic *=ix* or the reduced form *=x* when it is following a vowel (89), indicates the starting point of a situation or state. For instance, in non-verbal predicates, this clitic

offers the meaning “already in the state of...” This clitic is analyzed as a second position clitic. Since this is not hosted on the modifiers, as in the following examples, the modifiers must be integrated into the verb. More evidence about it will be presented in §9.8.

(87) a. ts'itya'-ñuk-ø=**ix** tyi sajty-i-ø
 little-grow-B3=already PRFV die-IV-B3
 ‘He died after he had already grown a little.’ {080604_12a}

b. lu'-p'is-il-ø=**ix**
 all-weigh-STAT-B3=already
 ‘It is already all weighted.’ {070621_11a}

As is illustrated in the following group of examples, =*ix* can co-occur with all aspectual forms already described. In the verbal phrase, as for stative predicates, this clitic implies that the event described by the predicate has reached the temporal frame established by the type of aspect that it co-occurs with. In this sense, it offers some realis meaning because, for instance, in the perfective aspect the event has happened and consequently the event was true. Its use in other aspectual forms also adds realis readings, as in the imperfective (89), progressive (90) and prospective (91). In the last example it is asserted as a fact that it is going to happen for sure.

(88) tsax kñijkä
 tsa'=**ix** k-ñijk-ä-ø
 PRFV=already A1-move-TV-B3
 ‘I already moved it.’ {080706_41a}

(89) mu=**x** i-chok-ø-o'
 IMFV=already A3-throw.out-B3-PL3
 ‘They already throw it out.’ {070620_9b}

(90) chonkol=**ix** i-ñijk-añ-ø li i-xänwijib
 PROG=already A3-move-DT-B3 DET A3-car
 ‘He is already driving his car.’ {990109_70}

- (91) mu=**x** ke i-tyaj-∅ cincuenta año
 IMFV=already PROSP A3-get-B3 SP:fifty SP:year
 ‘It is going to be fifty years (since I left that place).’ {070614_6a}

The realis meaning of =*ix* in verbal phrases is apparently cancelled when it co-occurs with *kole*, the irrealis in the preterite. Even with the presence of the clitic, the phrase with *kole* describes a situation where the event was not successfully achieved, as in (92a) and (92b). A possible analysis for this situation, which I would like to leave open for future research, is that *kole* refers to a pre-state and =*ix* refers to the beginning of such a pre-state condition; in other words, the pre-state is achieved (realis) but the situation following this pre-state does not happen.

- (92) a. kole=**x** i-sajty-e je’e
 IRRP=already A3-die-NF also
 ‘He also almost died.’ {080604_12c}
- b. kox ixujty’e yok
 kolel=**ix** i-xu<j>ty’-el y-ok
 IRRP=already A3-broke<+PAS>-NF A3-foot
 ‘It almost broke its leg.’ {080706_41a}

As can be confirmed in the examples with =*ix* presented so far (88-92), all aspectual markers can host this clitic. It must be placed in the second position in the sentence.

Another clitic with an aspectual meaning is =*tyo* ‘still’. Contrary to the meaning of =*ix*, which refers to starting point of a situation, =*tyo* refers to the final stage of a situation or state. The following example implies that the activity denoted by the predicate was performed by the subject before it was expected due to his age. In other words, the speaker started to make candles in the final stage of his childhood, an activity that is supposed to be restricted to adults.

- (93) chuty-oñ=**tyo** tyi ke k-ñop-∅=e’
 small-B1=still PRFV PROSP A1-try-B3=ENC
 ‘still a boy I started it (making candles)’ {031009_44}

As can be observed in the following examples, it can be suffixed in all the aspectual forms of the verbal phrase. In all cases, it is placed in the second position in the sentence. As for stative predicates, in verbal phrases emphasize the ending point of a situation, for instance, the ending period of “cutting straw” in the village (94); example (95) emphasizes where the activity of cutting wood would end, and so on.

(94) **ta'=tyo** k-weñ-bok-o-ø jam je'
 PRFV=still A1-SP:much-pull.up-TV-B3 straw also
 ‘I still cut the straw also.’ {080604_12a}

(95) **mu'=tyo** a-mero-tsep-ø ila
 IMFV=still A2-SP:little-cut-B3 here
 ‘You will still cut here.’ {070621_11a}

(96) **chonko=tyo** k-be-käñty-is-ãñ-ty-e(l)
 PROG=still A1-more-learn-CAU-DT-PAS-NF
 ‘I am still being taught.’ {080604_12b}

(97) **kole=tyo** k-pul-ø k-chol
 IRRP=still A1-burn-B3 A1-corn.field
 ‘I almost burn the land for my corn field.’

(98) **mu'=tyo** ke a-mäk'-ø
 IMFV=still PROSP A2-eat-B3
 ‘Are you still going to eat it?’ {070620_9b}

It is important to point out that *che'ñak* ‘when’ apparently cannot take this clitic directly (99a). When the speaker attaches =*tyo* to this subordinator, it is repeated in the next morpheme, which can be an aspectual marker, as in (99b). It is important to mention that this constraint applies for both aspectual clitics.

(99) a. **che'ñak** chuty-oñ=**tyo**, mi k-weñ-bä'ñ-añ-ø
 when small-B1=still IMFV A1-much-get.scared-DT-B3
 ‘When I was a child, it scared me a lot.’ {070614_6a}

b. che'ñak=**tyo** mu'=**tyo** i-kuch-∅ pasajej=i
 when=still IMFV=still A3-carry-B3 SP:passenger=FIN
 'when he still carries passengers' {070620_9a}

c. ? che'ñak=**tyo** mi i-kuch-∅ pasajej=i

In sum, I suggest that both =*ix* and =*tyo* can be analyzed as an aspectual resource of Chol to emphasize the internal component of a state or situation. The former refers to the beginning, while the latter refers to the final stage of such a state or situation. Under this view, (100a) must be analyzed as referring to the entering stage of being strong, while (100b) to the ending stage of being strong.

(100) a. p'äty-äl-oñ=**ix**
 strong-STAT-B1=already
 'I am already strong'

b. p'äty-äl-oñ=**tyo**
 strong-STAT-B1=still
 'I am still strong'

Finally, =*ix* and =*tyo* cannot co-occur in the verb phrase (101). This constraint is due to the semantics of each clitic; in other words, each one refers to opposite stages of a situation and consequently they cannot be used simultaneously in a single phrase. An apparent concatenation as in examples in (102a) and (102b) is the result of fricativization of *ch* and other related phonological changes (see chapter 2). In these examples, *x* comes from the affirmative clitic =*äch* (102a) and from the consonant *ch* of the negative particle (102b).

(101) * ya'=**ix=tyo** añ-oñ
 there=still=already E-B1
 Intended meaning: 'I am already still there.'

(102) a. wäxyo añoñi
 wä'=äch=tyo añ-oñ=i
 here=AFFR=still E-B1=FIN
 'I am still here.' {031009_44}

b. moxyo akäñä
 mach=tyo a-käñ-ä-ø
 NEG=still A2-know-TV-B3
 'you do not know it yet' {031009_44}

b. Suffixes *-V₁l*, *-bil*, and *-em*.

In Chol there are three aspectual suffixes, those exemplified in (103). In this language, their distribution depends mainly on the class of the root or stem they are attached to. For instance *-V₁l* goes with positionals (103a), *-bil* with derived transitives (103b), and *-em* with non-agentive intransitives (103c). As in Itzaj (Hofling 2000: §6.3), it seems that in Chol these suffixes do not make a clear distinction between participle and perfect readings. Hofling (2000: 165) suggests that in Itzaj, a passive sense is most prominent with transitive stems, while a perfect sense is most salient with intransitive stems.

(103) a. buch-**ul**-oñ
 sitting-STAT-B1
 'I am sitting.'

b. ts'äk-ä-**bil**-ø
 cure-DT-PART-B3
 'It is cured.'

c. pas-**em**-ø
 grow-PART-B3
 'It is grown.'

As can be seen in the following examples, the suffix *-V₁l*, where *V* is a copy of the vowel in the root, indicates a state resulting from events. In addition to positionals (103) and

(104), this suffix can be observed in some intransitive verbs (105)⁸, and non-derived transitive verbs (106).

(104) ch'uj-buch-**ul**-ety tyi ji'
all.the.time-seat-STAT-B2 PREP sand
'You are seated in the sand (immobile).' {070620_9b}

(105) ch'uj p'ix-**il**-oñ=*ix*=loñ
all.the.time awake-STAT-B1=*already*=PLEXC
'We were already awake.' {070621_11b}

(106) ma'añ mos-**ol**-ety tyi sabana
NEG+E cover-STAT-B2 PREP SP:blanket
'You are not covered by the blanket.' {080729_22b}

The stative reading of these examples is grammatically indicated by the fact that they only takes Set B inflection and do not allow auxiliary aspects (107a-b). For this reason I am glossing this suffix as a stative marker (STAT) through this work.

(107) a. * ma'añ **tyi** mos-ol-ety
 NEG+E PRFV cover-STAT-B2
 Intended meaning: 'You were not covered.'

 b. * ma'añ **mi** k-mos-ol-ety
 NEG+E IMFV A1-cover-STAT-B2
 Intended meaning: 'I do not covered you.'

As all non-verbal predicates (see Chapter 7), these constructions can take the aspectual clitics =*ix* and =*tyo*.

(108) a. pech-el- \emptyset =**ix** i-ñäk' x-'i'b
 flat-STAT-B3 =*already* A3-belly NCL-armadillo
 'The belly of the armadillo is already flat' {080624_27a}

⁸ Since this suffix occurs in two intransitive verbs, such as *wäy* 'sleep' and *p'ix* 'wake up', it opens the question whether these forms have some positional properties.

- b. pech-el- \emptyset =**tyo** i-ñäk' x-'i'b
flat-STAT-B3 =still A3-belly NCL-armadillo
'The belly of the armadillo is still flat'

It is interesting that not all non-derived transitive verbs take the suffix $-V_1l$. The following roots do not allow this suffix. They must be passivized in order to derive forms with perfect readings (see the discussion on $-em$ below).

- (109) a. jak' 'answer' * jak'al
b. mok 'sexual intercourse' * mokol
c. tsil 'tear (paper)' * tsilil
d. kol 'release' * kolol
e. lok' 'take out' * lok'ol
f. sik' 'smell' * sik'il

It was stated above that among transitives, only non-derived roots (except those listed in (109)) take the suffix $-V_1l$. Derived transitive verbs do not take this suffix. Instead of $-V_1l$, this class takes the suffix $-bil$.⁹ This suffix shares the same constraint as the previous one because for instance it does not allow aspectual or Set A person markers on transitives (112b); in other words, it derives non-verbal predicates.¹⁰

- (110) poj-p-o-**bil**- \emptyset
roast-DT-PART-B3
'It is roasted.' {070620_9b}

- (111) wä säkl-ä-**bil**- \emptyset =äch
previously search-DT-PART-B3=AFFR
'Yes, it (the money) is previously searched.' {080703_19a}

- (112) a. bā'ñ-ä-**bil**- \emptyset wajali
scare-DT-PART-B3 time.ago
'back then, (people) were scared of it (the illness)'

⁹ In Tsotsil (Aissen 1987), this suffix is analyzed as a passive participle. Following these analyses, I am also glossing the suffix $-bil$ in Chol as participle (PART).

¹⁰ It is important to highlight that this last suffix is the single perfect suffix used in Tumbalá Chol, also used for intransitives.

- b. * **tyi** **k-bä'ñ-ä-bil-ø** wajali
 PRFV A1-scare-DT-PART-B3 time.ago
 Intended meaning: 'Back then, I was scared of it.'

Transitive derivations by causative means can also take the suffix *-bil*, usually in a short form, without the last consonant.

- (113) ts'ej-**chok-o**-bi-ø k-cha'añ
 sideway-put-DT-PART-B3 A1-RN
 'I put it in sideways.' {080625_34a}
- (114) woch'-i-**s-ä**-bi-ø tyi semejty
 toast-INCH-CAU-DT-PART-B3 PREP comal
 'It is toasted in a comal.' {080703_19c}

As with the previous perfect suffix, *-bil* can co-occur with the clitics =*ix* and =*tyo*.

- (115) a. weñ kãñty-ä-bil-ø=**ix**
 SP:well take.care-DT-PART-B3=already
 'It (the coffee field) is already well taken care of.' {070620_9b}
- b. weñ kãñty-ä-bil-ø=**tyo**
 SP:well take.care-DT-PART-B3=still
 'It is still well taked care of.'

A third suffix that expresses an aspectual meaning in Chol is *-em*. This suffix encodes perfect form for intransitive verbs. In Chol this suffix is restricted to all non-agentive roots (115), ambitransitive verbs (see §5.1.2) that pattern as non-agentives in the intransitive version (117), and derived intransitives by means of the passivizing infix *-j-* (118). It is important to point out that the group of non-derived transitives that cannot take the suffix *-VI* (see example (108), above) derive participial reading by taking the suffix *-em*, after valence reduction by passivization (119).

- (116) jim=bi li ijts'iñ-ä lets-**em**-ø
 FOC=REP DET younger.brother-ABST climb-PART-B3
 'It was the younger brother who was above (the tree).' {070614_6b}

- (117) mach=bi ba'añ pul-**em**-ø
 NEG=REP where+E burn-PART-B3
 '(somebody says that) it is not burned.' {080703_19b}
- (118) meru be<j>k-**em**-ø=bi li la=k-lew
 SP:little spill<+PAS>-PART-B3=REP DET PLINC=A1-lard
 'It is said that the lard was spilled a little' {080703_19c}
- (119) ja<j>k'-**em**-ø
 answer<+PAS>-PART-B3
 'It is answered'

Finally, as with the previous aspectual suffixes, this one can also co-occur with the clitics =*ix* (119) and =*tyo* (121).

- (120) porque me<j>l-**em**-ø=**ix**
 SP:because make<+PAS>-PART-B3=already
 'since it is already done' {080730_25b}
- (121) lets-**em**-ø=**tyo** tyi tye'
 climb-PART-B3=still PREP tree
 'He is still up in the tree' {sf_64}

As summarized in the following Table of the participle suffixes, *-V₁l* goes with positionals, some intransitives, and CVC transitive roots, *-bil* with derived transitive verbs, and *-em* with intransitives, either non-agentive or derived by the passive infix *-j-*.

Table 16. Distribution of participle suffixes.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| - <i>Vil</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positionals¹¹ • Some intransitives • Non-derived transitives |
| - <i>bil</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Derived transitives |
| - <i>em</i> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intransitives (non-agentive) • Intransitive derived by passive -<i>j</i>- |

6.7. VERBAL COMPOUNDS WITH MODIFIERS

There are several modifiers that can precede a predicate. They include manner adverbs, intensifiers, attenuators, the numeral two, borrowed words from Spanish, and other predicates.¹² All of them can form compound predicates. This is confirmed by the fact that inflection for person and aspect comes in front of the verb with the modifier attached to it (122b).

(122) a. **oraj** mi i-jil-e
fast IMFV A3-finish-NF
‘It (the pozol) runs out fast.’ {080729_22b}

b. mi y-**ora**-jil-el
IMFV A3-fast-finish-NF
‘It runs out fast.’

This type of structure deserves some observations. First, not all modifiers (or predicates) allow the same contrast observed in (122). For instance the honorific marker *poj* (123) and intensifier *ñoj* (124) can only appear in the compound version.

¹¹ There are two intransitive verbs that apparently take this suffix: *wäy* ‘sleep’ and *p’ix* ‘wake up’. Since it is not a generalized property of this class of verbs, I will assume that the exceptions shown for these two verbs are due to some positional property that they have.

¹² Similar structures will be discussed in §13.2.

(123) a. kpoj k'ajtyiñtyakloñ
 mi k-**poj**-k'ajty-iñ-ø=tyak=loñ
 IMFV A1-HON-ask-DT-B3=PLIND=PLEXC
 'we ask it' {010201_69}

b. * **poj** mij-k'ajty-iñ-ø=tyak=loñ

(124) a. ma'añ mi i-**ñoj**-jis-añ-ø
 NEG+E IMFV A3-really-finish-DT-B3
 'He does not finish it all.' {080703_19a}

b. * ma'añ **ñoj** mi i-jis-añ-ø

Second, of the manner adverbs that can optionally be reduplicated (see §5.6.1), not all reduplicated adverbs can appear in the compound form (125a) and (126a). Notice that examples (127) and (128) are not ungrammatical or marginal even with the reduplication.

(125) a. ? mi a-**k'uñtye'-k'uñtye'**-majl-el
 IMFV A2-slow-RED-go-NF
 'You go slowly.'

b. mi a-**k'uñtye'**-majl-el
 IMFV A2-slow-go-NF
 'You go slowly.'

(126) a. ? mi aw-**oraj-oraj**-majl-el
 IMFV A2-fast-RED-go-NF
 'You go quickly.'

b. mi aw-**oraj**-majl-el
 IMFV A2-fast-go-NF
 'you go quickly.'

(127) mi' k'uk'ux k'otye kixtyañujtyak
 mi i-**k'u-k'ux**-k'oty-el kixtyañuj-tyak
 IMFV A3-INT-RED-arrive-NF SP:person-PLIND
 'Many people arrive.' {080704_20a}

- (128) mi k-**loloñ**-bo'ye=la
 IMFV A1-in.vain-get.tired=PLINC
 'We get tired in vain.' {070614_6b}

Finally, the meaning of the sentence apparently does not change in the compound / non-compound form, except in one case. The borrowed form *weñ* in the compound version means 'much' (129a), while in the non-incorporated form it means 'well' (129b).

- (129) a. mi i-**weñ**-k'ux-∅ k-ixim
 IMFV A3-SP:much-eat-B3 A1-corn
 'He eats a lot of my corn' {031009_44}
- b. **weñ** mi i-k'ux-∅ ixim
 SP:well IMFV A3-eat-B3 A1-corn
 'He eats the corn well (or appropriately).'

6.8. NOUN INCORPORATION

Nouns can be integrated into the verbal stem to derive compound forms. This structure is a type of antipassive, consequently, a type of agentive verb. In Gutiérrez Sánchez (2004) it has been treated as the antipassive of incorporation. Most transitive roots do not require the antipassive suffix to incorporate a noun (130). In contrast, intransitive stems inflected with the causative *-(i)s* require the antipassive suffix *-aj* (131). Some derived transitives can take the suffix *-aj* (132a) but others of the same class do not allow this suffix (132b). At this point it is not clear what motivates such a distribution on derived transitives.

- | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (130) | kuch-sa' | carry-pozol | 'to carry pozol' |
| | su'b-ñichim | announce-candle | 'to offer candles' |
| | k'el-juñ | see-paper | 'to study' |
| | k'aj-ixim | cut-corn | 'to harvest corn' |
| | päk'-bu'ul | plant-bean | 'to plant beans' |
| | jap-sa' | drink-pozol | 'to drink pozol' |
| | k'ux-waj | eat-tortilla | 'to eat tortilla' |
| | mäñ-tyumuty | buy-egg | 'to buy eggs' |

- | | | | |
|----------|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| (131) | xǎñtyis aj -aläl | walk(CAUS)-child | ‘to entertain children’ |
| | wäyis aj -aläl | sleep(CAUS)-child | ‘to help children to sleep’ |
| | tsäns aj -wakax | die(CAUS)-cow | ‘to kill cows’ |
| | ots aj -ñichil | enter(CAUS)-candle | ‘to offer candles’ |
| | | | |
| (132) a. | bejl aj -si’ | bring-fire.wood | ‘to bring firewood’ |
| | kǎñty aj -wakax | take.care-cow | ‘to take care of cows’ |
| | bu’s aj -muty | feed-chicken | ‘to feed chickens’ |
| | ts’äk aj -wakax | cure-cow | ‘to cure cows’ |
| | | | |
| b. | * il aj -wakax | see-cow | ‘to see cows’ |
| | * ch’uj aj -tyak’iñ | accept-money | ‘to accept money’ |
| | * lajch aj -jol | scratch-head | ‘to scratch the head’ |
| | * jos aj -tye’ | peel-wood | ‘to peel wood’ |

These compound forms behave like agentive verbs because they require the light verb *cha’l* ‘do’ in order to take aspect and indicate their subject, as shown in the following examples.

- | | | | |
|-------|------|-------------|---|
| (133) | tyi | k-cha’l-e-ø | päk’-bu’ul |
| | PRFV | A1-do-DT-B3 | plan-bean |
| | | | ‘I planted beans.’ |
| | | | |
| (134) | tyi | k-cha’l-e-ø | xǎñty-is- aj -aläl |
| | PRFV | A1-do-DT-B3 | walk-CAU-AP-child |
| | | | ‘I walked (rocked) the baby.’ ¹³ {070620_9a} |
| | | | |
| (135) | tyi | k-cha’l-e-ø | bejl- aj -si’ |
| | PRFV | A1-do-DT-B3 | bring-AP-fire.wood |
| | | | ‘I brought firewood.’ |

Consequently, the compound form can participate in complement construction with non-finite verbs subject to structural control which is restricted to intransitive verbs (136a). Transitive roots are ungrammatical in this type of complex sentence (136b). For this

¹³ It means to walk with the baby in order to stop him/her crying.

reason, the nouns in the bracketed forms in examples (136c) and (136d) must be analyzed as incorporated forms.¹⁴

- (136) a. tyi i-tyech-e-y-ø-ob [__ wäy-el]
 PRFV A3-start-TV-EP-B3-PL3 sleep-NF
 ‘They started to sleep.’
- b. * tyi i-tyech-e-y-ø-ob [__ k’el]
 PRFV A3-start-TV-EP-B3-PL3 see
 Intended meaning: ‘They started to see it.’
- c. tsa’=ix=bi i-tyech-e-y-ø-ob [__ k’e-juñ] i-pi’äl-ob
 PRFV=already=REP A3-start-TV-EP-B3-PL3 see-paper A3-friend-PL3
 ‘His friends have already started to study.’ {990109_70}
- d. tyi i-tyech-e-y-ø-ob [__ xäñty-is-aj-aläl]
 PRFV A3-start-TV-EP-B3-PL3 walk-CAU-AP-child
 ‘They started to walk with (to entertain) the baby.’

Finally, the noun class prefix *aj-* and Set B can enclose the verb with the noun attached to it in order to produce a predicate agentive reading (137a) and (138a). Neither the noun class prefix (137b) nor Set B (138b) can intervene in the sequence verb + noun.

- (137) a. **aj-su’b-ñichim-oñ**
 NCL-offer-candle-B1
 ‘I am the person who offers candles (e.g. the prayer).’
- b. * su’b-**aj-ñichim-oñ**
- (138) a. **aj-kuch-sa’-oñ**
 NCL-carry-pozol-B1
 ‘I am the pozol carrier.’ {070621_11b}
- b. * aj-kuch-**oñ-sa’**

¹⁴ A more detailed discussion about non-finite constructions is in §141.1.

6.9. DIRECTIONALS

The final elements of the verb phrase that must be taken into account are directionals. As was stated in §5.7.8, directionals are derived from verbs of motion and can indicate the direction of movements, the path, or the location of objects in relation to the point of view in the description of an event. In that section, eleven directionals were listed. All of them occur after the verb and in the non-reduced form have the suffix *-Vl*. It is important to highlight that only two of them are used with more frequency: *tyälel* ‘toward’ and *majlel* ‘away’. For this reason these two exhibit an advanced process of phonological reduction with respect to the rest of the group of directionals, they end up in the form *te* (140) and *ma* (139c), respectively (see also §5.7.9).

- (139) a. mi a-kuch-ø **tyäl-e(l)**
 IMFV A2-carry-B3 DIR:toward-NF
 ‘You carry it (toward here).’ {070613_4}
- b. alas dose mi a-lok’-e(l) **majl-e(l)**
 SP:to SP:twelve IMFV A2-exit-NF DIR:away-NF
 ‘You go out at noon.’ {070621_11c}
- c. mi k-muku-och-e=la **ma**
 IMFV A1-covertly-enter-NF=PLINC DIR:away
 ‘We have to enter covertly.’ {080604_12b}
- d. mi k-lu’-wets’-ø=la **och-e(l)** ya’
 IMFV A1-all-drive-B3=PLINC DIR:in-NF there
 ‘We drive all of them (the grasshoppers) in there.’ {080730_24b}
- (140) tyi ke-ø tyi och-e(l) **te** carretera
 PRFV start-B3 PREP enter-NF DIR:toward SP:road
 Lit: ‘The road started to come in.’ {080729_22a}

The two most used directionals offer deictically oriented meanings while the rest of the directionals indicate orientation without deixis. In this language up to two directionals can co-occur. In the chain DIR₁ DIR₂, DIR₂ must be a deictically oriented directional; in other words, either *ma(jlel)* ‘away’ or *t(yäl)e* ‘toward’. This property of Chol contrasts

with the one reported for other Mayan languages, such as Akatek, where a chain of up to three directionals can be found (see Zavala Maldonado 1994a).

- (141) ibe ts'äp oche ma
 mi i-be-ts'äp-ø **och-e(l)** **ma**
 IMFV A3-more-bury-B3 DIR:in-NF DIR:away
 'He buries it more.' {080730_24b}
- (142) tsa=x i-tsep(-b)-e-y-ø-o' **lok'-e(l)** **ma**
 PRFV=already A3-cut(-APL)-DT-EP-B3-PL3 DIR:out-NF DIR:away
 i-jol
 A3-head
 'They already cut his head away.' {070613_4}
- (143) tyi i-chok-o-ø **ju'b-el** **te**
 PRFV A3-throw-TV-B3 DIR:down-NF DIR:toward
 'He threw it down.'
- (144) tyi i-k'ech-e-ø **lets-e(l)** **ma**
 PRFV A3-carry-TV-B3 DIR:up-NF DIR:away
 'He carried it up.'

Finally, the properties of directionals in Chol contrast with those reported in other Mayan languages, such as Akatek (see Zavala Maldonado 1992) in the sense that directionals in Chol always code movement. Constrasting the example of Akatek (145) with Chol (146), we can see that directionals in Chol always indicate movement. Under this view, the main interpretation of the sentence in (147) is that the subject 'left with his cigar' and not that the subject 'took his cigar away'.

Akatek (Zavala Maldonado 1992: 67)

- (145) x-ø-y-uk'='ey=toj naj te' 'an
 COMP-B3-A3-drink=DIR:down=DIR:away PRO:man NCL:wood liquor
 'He drank the liquor.'
- (146) tyi i-jap-ä-ø **ma** x-lembal
 PRFV A3-drink-TV-B3 DIR:away NCL-liquor
 'He went drinking liquor.'

- (147) tyi' ch'ämä majle li' k'ujts
 tyi i-ch'äm-ä-ø **majl-e** li i-k'ujts
 PRFV A3-take-TV-B3 DIR:away-NF DET A3-cigar
 'He went away carrying his cigar.'

Even with stative predicates, the use of directionals implies movement, as shown in the following examples.

- (148) buch-ul-oñ majl-el
 seat-STAT-B1 DIR:away-NF
 'I go seated.'
- (149) ch'äjy-em-oñ tyäl-el
 get.sad-PART-B1 DIR:toward-NF
 'I came sad.'

In sum in Chol a chain of up to two directionals can be used after the main predicate. In such a chain the last must be either *majlel* 'away' or *tyälel* 'toward'. Interestingly, these two directionals exhibit the shortest form *ma* and *te*, respectively. As in other Mayan languages, the phonological erosion is a sign of their grammaticalization. Finally, unlike other Mayan languages, such as Akatek, where the directionals code trajectory, in Chol always code movement, even co-occurring with stative predicates.

6.10. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude this chapter, we can state that the basic structure of the Chol verbal complex consists of the head plus aspectual markers and directionals. It was shown that the complex can take up to two directionals and they do not lose their semantic of movement. In addition to these elements, it was also shown in this chapter that adverbs and other modifiers are bound to the verb. A noun functioning as direct object can also be incorporated into the verb, which can be, but is not necessarily, indicated by the antipassive suffix *-aj*. Noun incorporation is analyzed here as a type of antipassive form.

Finally, the status suffixes in Chol are part of a complex system that indicate the valency, morphological class, and aspect of the predicate to which is suffixed.

VII

Non-verbal predicates

This chapter presents the predicative function of words that cannot take aspectual markers, called in Mayan linguistics non-verbal predicates. Words functioning as non-verbal predicates include nouns, adjectives, stative positionals, affect words, adverbs, numerals, quantifiers, and the existential. The properties of nonverbal predicates to be discussed are also shared by verbal roots inflected by the suffix for the perfect participle, already described in the previous chapter, since they also do not take any aspect markers and mark person with Set B.

This chapter starts with the common morphosyntactic properties of stative predicates, such as Set B inflection and the constraint with regard to aspectual inflection. The particles or modifiers that are allowed in front of the head are also presented, as well as the elements following the head. Finally, the negation of non-verbal predicates is presented.

7.1. NON-VERBAL PREDICATES AS HEAD OF PHRASES

In Mayan languages all major word classes can function predicatively. For instance, it is well known that nouns and adjectives in all Mayan languages function predicatively when they are inflected by Set B. As can be observed in the following examples, Chol follows this pattern. Unlike verbs, non-verbal predicates cannot take aspectual markers (see ungrammaticality of the examples in (b)).

- (1) a. *puru* x-'ixik-on=loñ
SP:only NCL-woman-B1=PLEXC
'We are only women.' {080604_12a}
- b. * *tyi* x-'ixik-on=loñ
PRFV NCL-woman-B1=PLEXC
Intended meaning: 'We were women.'

- (2) a. tyuj-**∅**
 stinky-B3
 ‘It is stinking.’ {080730_24b}
- b. * **tyi** tyuj-**∅**
 PRFV stinky-B3
 Intended meaning: ‘It was stinking.’

Positional roots in the stative form also function as non-verbal predicates. Under this function, this class takes the suffix *-V₁l*. The vowel of the suffix is in harmony with the vowel of the root. As in the previous set of examples, positionals in the stative form do not take aspectual auxiliaries (3c).

- (3) a. buch-ul-**∅** tyi lum
 sitting-STAT-B3 PREP ground
 ‘He is sitting on the ground.’ {031102_43}
- b. buch-ul-**oñ** tyi lum
 sitting-STAT-B1 PREP ground
 ‘I am sitting on the ground.’
- c. * **tyi** buch-ul-**oñ**
 PRFV sitting-STAT-B1
 Intended meaning: ‘I was sitting.’

In addition to nouns (see example (1)), adjectives (2), and positionals (3), adverbs (4), affect words (5), quantifying words (6), and numerals (7) also function as non-verbal predicates. All of them share the properties already described for the previous classes; for instance they are inflected by Set B person markers and they cannot take aspect markers.

- (4) a. ajñel-**oñ**
 quickly-B1
 ‘I am fast.’
- b. * **tyi** ajñel-**oñ**
 PRFV quickly-B1
 Intended meaning: ‘I was fast’

(5) a. um-'um-ña-y-oñ bajche' uma'
 trying.to.speak-RED-AFV-EP-B1 like mute
 'I was making um-um, like a voiceless person.' {080704_20b}

b. * **tyi** um-'um-ña-y-oñ

(6) a. ka'bäl-ety=la
 many-B2=PL2
 'You are a lot.' {070620_9b}

b. * **tyi** ka'bäl-ety=la

(7) a. cha'-tyikil-ø-o'=bi
 two-CL-B3-PL3=REP
 'That they are two (people).' {070614_6b}

b. * **tyi** cha'-tyikil-ø-ob

The existential *añ* also shares the properties of non-verbal predicates since it can be inflected by Set B person markers but cannot take aspectual markers.

(8) a. wä=x añ-oñ tyi Tila
 here=already E-B1 PREP Tila
 'I am already in Tila.' {070620_9b}

b. * **tyi** añ-oñ

In addition to these predicate classes, in §5.1.1 was presented two defective transitive roots that cannot be accompanied by aspect markers. Both *om* 'want' (9) and *uji* 'know' (10) can inflect with a Set A person maker.

(9) a. k=om-ø xämba
 A1=want-B3 walk
 'I want to walk.' {070614_6b}

b. * **tyi** k-om-ø

(10) a. y-**uji**-∅ la=k-ty'añ
 A3-know-B3 PLINC=A1-word
 'He speaks Chol (Lit: He knows our language).' {070614_6a}

b. * **tyi** y-uji-∅

The single intransitive defective verb is *mejl* 'can', which only takes Set B person markers but not aspect markers.

(11) a. **mejl**-∅ k-ts'ijb-uñ-∅
 can-B3 A1-write-DT-B3
 'I can write it' {080703_19c}

b. * **tyi** mejl-∅

Both intransitive and transitive defective verbs are treated as statives by Coon (2010c).

Finally, as was described in the previous chapter, participles can be formed from both transitive and intransitive verbs. Participles are stative nonverbal predicates since they are inflected with Set B person markers. Participles formed from transitives cannot take Set A person markers. For this reason, in some Mayan studies it has been suggested that participles may have passive sense in transitive forms (see Hofling 2000: §6.3). In Chol there are three participle suffixes. The distribution in the use of the different participle forms depends on the class of the predicates. For instance transitive roots can take the suffix *-VI* (12b) but if they are passivized the participle suffix *-em* is used (12b). In both structures the same reading apparently prevails. In both cases, aspectual markers are prohibited.

(12) a. mi j-käch-∅-ob tyi laso
 IMFV A1-tie-B3-PL3 PREP cord
 'I tie them with cord.'

b. käch-**äl**-∅-o' tyi laso
 tie-STAT-B3-PL3 PREP cord
 'They are tied with cord.' {080730_25b}

c. kǎ<j>ch-**em**-ø-ob
tie<+PAS>-PART-B3-PL3
'They are tied.'

c. * **tyi** kǎch-ǎl-ø-o'

d. * **tyi** kǎ<j>ch-em-ø-o'

Positional roots also take the suffix *-VI* (13a). However, in the derived form, the participle suffix *-bil* is used (13b). It is the same suffix used with derived transitives (14). In all cases, the presence of an aspect auxiliary is not allowed.

(13) a. pǎk-**ǎl**-ø-ob
lying.down-STAT-B3-PL3
'They are lying down.'

b. pǎk-chok-o-**bil**-ø-ob
lying.down-CAU-DT-PART-B3-PL3
'They are lying down.'

c. * **tyi** pǎk-ǎl-ø-o'

d. * **tyi** pǎk-chok-o-bil-ø-ob

(14) a. pejk-ǎ-**bil**-ø
speak-DT-PART-B3
'he was talked to' {080704_20b}

b. * **tyi** pejk-ǎ-bil-ø

Non-agentive intransitive verbs take the suffix *-em* to form perfect participle readings. As with the previous examples, the use of any auxiliary aspects are not allowed (15b).

- (15) a. **majlem** ‘gone’ ‘has gone’
yajlem ‘fallen’ ‘has fallen’
tyälem ‘come’ ‘has come’
julem ‘arrived’ ‘has arrived’

b. **tyi maj-em-ø**

In sum, several word classes function as nonverbal predicates, such as: nouns, adjectives, adverbs, affect words, positionals, quantifiers, numerals, the existential *añ*, and participles. As can be seen in the next section, non-verbal predicates can take some modifiers.

7.1.1. Modifiers with stative predicates

The modifiers presented in §3.5 and §5.6.1, such as intensifiers, attenuators, honorifics and others can precede non-verbal predicates.

- (16) a. **poj-añ-ø=äx=tyo**
HON E-B3=AFFR=still
‘Yes, it still exists.’ {070620_9a}
- b. **ñoj-ka’bä-ø**
really-many-B3
‘They are so many.’ {070613_4}
- c. **weñ-oñ-ø** mi ka aw-ixm-añ-ø aw-ixim
SP:much-many-B3 IMFV PROSP A2-shuck-DT-B3 A2-corn
‘You will shuck your corn a lot.’ {070614_6b}
- d. **yoke-kolem-ø**
really-big-B3
‘It is really big.’ {080624_29a}
- e. **ts’itya’-sejb-ø**
little-light-B3
‘It is a little light.’ {070621_11a}

Very few restrictions have been identified in the use of modifiers in non-verbal predicates. For instance, the modifier *muku* ‘covertly’ does not co-occur with nouns, adjectives and adverbs functioning as predicates but can go with positionals, affect words, verbs in the perfect, and the existential. In example (17a) *muku* does not occur with a noun as a non-verbal predicate, but it is allowed with a positional (17b). It seems that *tyoj* ‘straight’ also follows the same constraint (see examples (18a) and (18b)).

(17) a. * *muku-wiñik-oñ*
covertly-man-B1

b. ***muku***-buch-ul-oñ
covertly-seat-STAT-B1
‘I am covertly seated.’

(18) a. * ***tyoj***-wiñik-ø
straight-man-B3

b. ***tyoj***-tyäs-ä(l)-ø bajche ili mesaj
straight-lay.down-STAT-B3 how this SP:mesa
‘It is straight (or flat) as this table.’ {070620_9b}

Finally, a chain of two modifiers in stative phrases seems to be very limited in its use. A specific context that can trigger such a chain is the use of the honorific markers *poj* (19a) and *ya* (19b), before other modifiers.

(19) a. ***poj***-ñoj-sel-ek-ña-ø
HON-really-round-RED-AFV-B3
‘really rounded-type’ {080706_40}

b. ***ya***-ñoj-sel-ek-ña-ø
HON-really-round-RED-AFV-B3
‘really rounded-type’

What I call modifiers in this work cannot take the so called second position clitic, with apparently few exceptions. The clitic, if there is one in the phrase, follows the predicate, as in examples (20a) and (21a). The predicates that do not take inflection for aspect also

share this property (see the contrast in example (22a) and (22b)). Modifiers having this property can consequently be analyzed as elements of the complex predicates.

(20) a. *poj* *aj-päsbij-ø=bi*
 HON NCL-guide-B3=REP
 ‘is is said that he is the guide’ {080729_22a}

b. * *poj=bi* *aj-päsbij-ø*

(21) a. *ts’itya’-ñuk-ø=ix*
 little-big-B3=already
 ‘He is already a little big.’ {070620_9a}

b. * *ts’itya’=ix* *ñuk-ø*

(22) a. *ñoj* *y-uji-l-ø-o’=äch*
 really A3-know-EP-B3-PL3=AFFR
 ‘yes, they really know it’ {080604_12a}

b. * *ñoj=äch* *y-uji-l-ø-o’*

There are few exceptions to this property. From the modifiers, mostly described as manner adverbs (§5.6.1), there are two exceptions identified so far: *tyoj* ‘correct, previously’ and *wen* ‘well, many’. These modifiers can take second position clitics which tell us that in this position they function as secondary predicates, as in (23a) and (24a). However, there is a change in the meaning; in other words there is a polysemous relation, which is noticeable when they surface with the existential, as shown by the contrast in the following examples.

(23) a. *tyoj=ix* *añ-ø*
 correct=already E-B3
 ‘it is already placed correctly’ {080624_29a}

b. *tyoj-añ-ø=ix*
 previously-E-B3=already
 ‘it previously existed’

- (24) a. *weñ=ix* *añ-∅*
 well=already E-B3
 ‘Is it already placed well?’ {080624_29a}
- b. *weñ-añ-∅=ix*
 many-E-B3=already
 ‘it already existed a lot’

With other classes of stative predicates, such as positionals, the change in meaning in the incorporated form is also evident (see the contrast in (25a-b)). However, the modifier *weñ* without the clitic, as in (24b) above, does not offer the meaning ‘many’. It seems that the best translation in the context of the example (26b) could be ‘previously’.

- (25) a. *tyoj=ix* *buch-ul-∅*
 correct=already sitting-STAT-B3
 ‘it is already sitting correctly’
- b. *tyoj-buch-ul-∅=ix*
 previously-sitting-STAT-B3=already
 ‘it is previously sitting’
- (26) a. *weñ=ix* *buch-ul-∅*
 well=already sitting-STAT-B3
 ‘is it already sitting well’
- b. *weñ-buch-ul-∅=ix*
 previously-sitting-STAT-B3=already
 ‘it was previously sitting’

In addition to the particles preceding the stative phrases, there are a few elements after the head, which are discussed next.

7.1.2. Elements after the head

A few elements after the head of stative phrases are allowed. For instance it is common to find the adverbial particle *je’e* ‘also’ (27a-d) and *wale* ‘maybe’ (28a-b) after all non-verbal predicates.

- (27) a. wakax- \emptyset =äch **je'e**
 cow-B3=AFFR also
 '(what is produced there) it is also a cow' {070614_6a}
- b. kuch-u- \emptyset k-tirador **je'e**
 carry-STAT-B3 A1-SP:slingshot also
 'My slingshot is also carried out (by me).' {080704_20b}
- c. oñ-on=loñ **je'e**
 many-B1=PLEXC also
 'We are also a lot.' {070621_11a}
- d. añ- \emptyset =äch **je'e**
 E-B3=AFFR also
 'It (the raccoon) also exists.' {031009_44}
- (28) a. kux-u- \emptyset **wale**
 alive-STAT-B3 maybe
 'Maybe he is alive.' {080604_12a}
- b. buch-ul- \emptyset **wale**
 sitting-STAT-B3 maybe
 'Maybe he is sitting.'

There is another resource to express the meaning 'maybe'. As can be seen in the following examples, the root *u'bi* takes the third person Set A inflection *y*. However, in this particular context none of the remaining person markers of the same set can occur. This is probably because this form has been grammaticalized as a modal particle. For this reason this "particle" can be considered to be part of the phrase.

- (29) a. aj-päsbij- \emptyset =bi **yu'bi**
 NCL-guide-B3=REP maybe
 'It seems that he was the guide, it is said.' {080729_22a}
- b. campanaj- \emptyset =äch=bi **yu'bi**
 SP:bell-B3=AFFR=REP maybe
 'Yes, it is said that it seems that it was a bell.' {070614_6a}

The final set of elements that can occur after the stative head are the directionals (see §5.7.8.). As can be noted in the following examples, the inherent meaning of movement of these forms prevails in their function as directionals.

- (30) a. kul-kul-ña-∅ **te**
 noise.of.train-RED-AFV-B3 DIR:toward
 ‘(the train) comes making noise’ {070620_9b}
- b. buch-ul-ety=la **te**
 seat-STAT-B2=PL2 DIR:toward
 ‘You come here seated.’ {070620_9b}
- c. tsul-uk-ña-∅ **ma**
 moving.fast-RED-AFV-B3 DIR:away
 ‘It goes fast.’¹ {070620_9b}
- d. lok’-eñ-∅ **ma** tyi xämbal
 go.out-PART-B3 DIR:away PREP walk
 ‘He goes out for a walk.’ {070614_6a}
- e. kuch-u-∅ **lok’e** k-machity
 carry-STAT-B3 DIR:out A1-machete
 ‘My machete is carried out (by me).’ {080704_20b}

7.2. NEGATION IN NON-VERBAL PREDICATES

In order to talk about negation in non-verbal predicates, it is convenient to start with the negation of the existential *añ*. There is a general negative marker in Tila Chol, which is *mach*. When this negative marker goes with the existential *añ* it results in a tightly bound form, as can be observed by the elision of the last consonant in the negative particle and the insertion of the glottal stop in order to break the sequence VV, which is not allowed in this language. Consequently, the general negative marker and the existential cannot be analyzed separately (31b).² The resulting meaning is ‘it does not exist’ (31a).

¹ Referring to a small instrument used to transport the workers in railroads.

² For this reason in this work I am glossing this negation as NEG+E.

(31) a. **ma'añ**
NEG+E
'It does not exist.'

b. * **mach añ-ø**

Interestingly, the complex form *ma'añ* can be used before nouns, where it negates the existence of the noun (32a). However, when the noun is functioning as a non-verbal predicate, the negative marker *mach* is used (32b) and (32c).

(32) a. **ma'añ** kawayu'
NEG+E SP:horse
'There is no horse.' / 'A horse does not exist.' {070613_4}

b. **mach** kawayu'-ø
NEG SP:horse-B3
'It is not a horse.'

c. **mach** tabaskeñoj-ø-o'
NEG SP:Tabasqueño-B3-PL3
'they are not *Tabasqueños*.'³ {070613_4}

However, other non-verbal predicates such as adjectives (33), positionals (34), adverbs (35), affectives (36), quantifying words (37), and numerals (38) require the existential attached to the negative particle in order to be negated. This could mean that the existential is losing its meaning when it goes with the negative particle.

(33) **ma'añ** ch'äjyem-ø-o' yu'bi
NEG+E sad-B3-PL3 maybe
'Maybe they are not sad.' {080703_19c}

(34) a. **ma'añ** mos-ol-ety tyi sabana
NEG+E cover-STAT-B2 PREP SP:blanket
'You are not covered with a blanket.' {080729_22b}

³ That is what Chol speakers from Tila call people who come from Tabasco.

- b. **ma'añ** ts'uy-u(l)-ø aw-ok yu'bi
 NEG+E stick-STAT-B3 A2-foot maybe
 'You feel that your feet are not attached to the land.' {080730_24a}
- (35) **ma'añ** xuk'ul-oñ
 NEG+E slow-B1
 'I am not slow'
- (36) **ma'añ** ñok-ñok-ña-y-oñ
 NEG+E kneeling-RED-AFV-EP-B1
 'I am not kneeling.'
- (37) a. **ma'añ** oñ karuj cheñ
 NEG+E many SP:car then
 'there are no so many cars, you know.' {080729_22a}
- b. **ma'añ** ka'bäl-oñ=loñ
 NEG+E many-B1=PLEXC
 'We are not so many.'
- (38) a. **ma'añ** jum-p'ej-ø=ik vivienda
 NEG+E one-CL-B3=IRR SP:residence
 'There isn't any residence.' {080730_26a}
- b. **ma'añ** cha'-tyikil-oñ=loñ
 NEG+E two-CL-B1=PLEXC
 'We are not two.'

Participles also are negated with *ma'añ*, as can be seen in the following examples.

- (39) **ma'añ** pejk-ä-bil-ø
 NEG+E speak-DT-PART-B3
 'S/he has not been spoken to.'
- (40) a. **ma'añ** pas-em-ø
 NEG+E grow-PART-B3
 'It is not grown.' {070621_11a}
- b. **ma'añ** uch'-em-oñ=la
 NEG+E eat-PART-B1=PLINC
 'Without having eaten our food.' {080604_12b}

- (41) **ma'añ** käch-äl-ø
 NEG+E tie-PART-B3
 'It has not been tied up/It is not tied.'

Finally, the predicates that do not allow inflection for aspect can be negated with the generic negative marker. This set of predicates does not take the negative with the existential attached to it.

- (42) **mach** (* ma'añ) k=om-ø toñel
 NEG A1=want-B3 work
 'I don't want to work.' { 070621_11b }

- (43) **mach** (* ma'añ) y-uji-ø
 NEG A3=know-B3
 'He does not know (our language).' {070621_11b }

- (44) **mach** (* ma'añ) mejl-ø k=ts'ijb-uñ-ø juñ=bä
 NEG can-B3 A1=write-DT-B3 paper=REL
 'I cannot write (on a sheet of paper).' {080703_19c }

In conclusion, in this language, as in all Mayan languages, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, stative positionals, affect words, numerals, quantifying words, and the existential word function as non-verbal predicates. The salient properties of non-verbal predicates are that they take Set B inflection but do not take aspectual auxiliaries. As was shown in this chapter, in Chol, verbs inflected by the participle marker have the same structure of non-verbal predicates. Several modifiers or particles can occur in front of the head, forming at most a chain of two particles. After the head, directionals are the favorite elements. In this position, a restricted set of adverbs can occur. Finally, non-verbal predicates are mostly negated by the negative form that has the existential particle attached to it. Nouns working as non-verbal predicates and defective verbs require the generic negative marker *mach*.

VIII

Noun Phrase

This chapter is a description of the structure of the noun phrase in Chol. The noun phrase can indicate core and oblique arguments of the clause without case markers. Chapter 5.2 presented simple (1), compound (2) and complex (3) nouns. They can have some derivational morphology, as in examples (2b) and (3b). All of them can function as the head of the noun phrase.

- (1) tyuñ
 rock
 ‘rock’
- (2) a. tyi’-otyoty
 mouth-house
 ‘door’ Lit.: ‘house’s mouth’
- b. lets-ib-tye’
 climb-INST-tree
 ‘ladder’
- (3) a. wuty-alaxax
 eye-orange
 ‘orange fruit’ Lit.: ‘orange’s eye’
- b. pis-lel-waj
 cloth-ABST-tortilla
 Lit.: ‘tortilla cloth’

The complex and compound forms are analyzed as single words, and the inflection for possessor goes in front of the word.

(4) **k-tyi'**-otyoty
A1-mouth-house
'My door' Lit.: 'My house's mouth'

(5) **k-pis-l-el-waj**
A1-cloth-ABST-tortilla
Lit.: 'My tortilla's cloth.'

Moreover, the noun class marker (*x-*, *aj-*) that some animate nouns take cannot split the compound or complex word into two forms, as can be seen in the ungrammaticality of examples (6b) and (7b).

(6) a. **x-ja'**a-ts'i'
NCL-water-dog
'nutria' Lit.: 'dog of water'

b. *ja'a x-ts'i'

(7) a. **x-matye'**-muty
NCL-woodland-chicken
'bird' Lit.: 'chicken of woodland'

b. *matye' x-muty

They can also be modified by a numeral plus a classifier, as in the following examples.

(8) a. **cha'-kojty** x-tyaty-muty
two-CL NCL-father-chicken
'two roosters' {080703_19b}

b. **juñ-tyiki** x-chuty-alo'
one-CL NCL-small-child
'A small child.' {080704_20a}

Compound and complex forms can take the plural markers *-ob* and *-tyak*. It is important to remember that *-ob* is preferable and used mostly with human referents while *-tyak* is

used with either animate or inanimate referents. When they appear in compounds or complex nouns, these markers cannot split these nouns into two words, as in examples (9b) and (10b).

(9) a. x-ja'a-ts'i'-**tyak**
 NCL-water-dog-PLIND
 'some nutrias'

b. * x-ja'a-**tyak** ts'i'

(10) a. x-ñojloch'-jol-**ob**
 NCL-curly-hair-PL3
 'curly hair people'

b. * x-ñojloch'-**ob** jol

Interestingly, the noun class marker can derive nominal forms from antipassives of incorporation (§5.2.2.). Since in this type of antipassive the transitive verb has incorporated the object, it has intransitive properties (e.g. it works as an unergative and consequently it functions as the complement of the light verb *cha'l* 'do'). As was mentioned, with the non-class marker prefixed to it, the analysis must be of a nominal form (11b). Notice that the plural *-ob* goes after *me'* 'deer' which is unusual considering that such a plural marker is generally either affixed to a verb or affixed to a noun with a human referent. For this reason, this compound form must be analyzed as a single lexical form with a human referent.

(11) a. tyi k-cha'l-e-ø **chuk-me'**
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 hunt-deer
 'I hunted deers.'

b. **aj-chuk-me'**-ob
 NCL-hunt-deer-PL3
 'The deer hunters (people who hunt deers).'

Finally, in this language, there are also some instances of nouns which are formed by two related concepts. These concepts are collapsed into one referent. Such uses are likely restricted to formal speech. They are always possessed and most often inflected with the first person plural inclusive, as shown in the following examples.

- (12) a. la=k-wa'-ty-äl la=j-kux-ty-äl
 PLINC=A1-stand-STAT-NF PLINC=A1-be.alive-STAT-NF
 'our healthiness'
- b. k-ch'utyaty k-ch'ujña'
 A1-holy.father A1-holy.mother
 'my God'
- c. la=k-waj la=k-sa'
 PLINC=A1-tortilla PLINC=A1-SP:pozol
 'our food'
- d. la=k-otyoty la=k-ajñib
 PLINC=A1-house PLINC=A1-place.to.stay
 'our home'
- e. la=k-tyaty la=k-ña'
 PLINC=A1-father PLINC=A1-mother
 'our ancestors'

8.1. THE NP CONSTITUENTS

All the exemplified nouns function as the head of nominal phrases, which syntactically function as the lexical arguments of intransitive verbs, the agent and patient of transitive verbs, the primary and secondary objects of ditransitive constructions, and complements of prepositions or relational nouns.¹ In a previous work on the Chol noun phrase, Martínez Cruz (2007, chapter 3) lists the following elements of a noun phrase.

¹ For more details, see Martínez Cruz (2007: §3.2)

Left {
 Determiners
 Demonstratives
 Numerals with numeral classifiers or measure words and quantifiers
 Set A functioning as possessor
 Adjective or pre-nominal relative clause

Head

Right {
 Possessor noun phrase
 Post-nominal relative clause
 The phrase-final enclitic

These components of the noun phrase are exemplified in the following sections.

8.1.1 Determiners

In this section I will discuss the property of one morpheme that has also been traditionally considered to be a determiner: the definite article *li*. This discussion also includes the strategy of constructing indefinite noun phrases through the use of the numeral ‘one’ with a classifier.

The particle *li* is reported in Gutierrez Sánchez (2004: §3.3.1.1) and Martínez Cruz (2007: §3.4.1) as a determiner in Tila Chol. This particle limits the reference of a noun in the discourse, which allows the addressee to identify the noun. In the following lines, the first mention of *wiñik* ‘man’ is not preceded by the determiner *li*; it is in the second mention where it appears.

- (13) añ-∅=bi jiñi, juñ-tyikil **wiñik**
 E-B3=REP hm one-CL man
 ‘There was a man’
- tsa’=bi majl-i-∅,
 PRFV=REP go-IV-B3
 ‘he went’
- no se chuki tyi ma i-k’el-b-eñ-∅
 SP:no SP:know what PRFV DIR:away A3-see-APL-DT-B3
 ‘I do not know what he went to see’

tsa'=bi och-i-∅ tyi i-mali ch'eñ **li** **wiñik=i**
 PRFV=REP enter-IV-B3 PREP A3-inside cave DET man=FIN
 'the man went into the cave.' {070614_6a}

The definite article in Chol does not agree with the noun that it precedes, either in gender (see the contrast in (14a) and (14b)) or in number; the plurality of the noun 'house' in (14c) is inferred by context.

(14) a. jiñ y-ijñam **li** wiñik
 FOC A3-wife DET man
 'It is the man's wife' {sf_75}

b. i-kãñ-ä-y-∅=äch=bi **li** x-ixik=i
 A3-know-TV-EP-B3=AFFR=REP DET NCL-woman=FIN
 'It is said that he knows the woman.' {sf_74}

c. tsa=x lajm-i-∅ **li** y-otyoty
 PRFV=already finish-IV-B3 DET A3-house
 la=k-pi'äl-ob-tyak=i
 PLINC=A1-friends-PL3-PLINDF=FIN
 '(Building) our friends' houses were finished.' {010201_69}

In contrast, indefinite referentiality of a noun can be obtained by using the numeral 'one',² plus a classifier placed after a predicate.³ The indefinite - definite contrast can be observed in example (14) above. In such an example, the first mention of the noun *wiñik* 'man' is preceded by the numeral one plus the classifier *tyikil*, which is restricted in its use to human referents. This resource indicates that the noun is not yet specific. When the noun is already identified by the speakers, the determiner *li* is allowed, as can be seen in the second mention of the same referent in example (13). More indefinite - definite contrasts are the following.

² Cruz Martínez (2007) suggests that the absence of determiners can also be analyzed as indefinite.

³ Numeral classifiers were also discussed in §5.7.6.

(15) a. tyi j-k'ajty-i-b-e-∅ **jum-p'e** baso
 PRFV A1-ask-DT-APL-DT-B3 one-CL SP:glass
 'I ask him for a glass.' {070613_4}

b. tyi j-k'ajty-i-b-e-∅ **li** baso
 PRFV A1-ask-DT-APL-DT-B3 DET SP:glass
 'I ask him for the glass.'

(16) a. ya' añ-∅ **juñ-tyikil** wiñik
 there E-B3 one-CL man
 'There is a man.' {080703_19a}

b. ts-äch=bi majl-i-∅ **li** wiñik=i
 PRFV-AFFR=REP go-IV-B3 DET man=FIN
 'It is said that the man went.' {070614_6a}

Under the current analysis, examples (15a) and (16a) are used in contexts where the referent is not yet specific; while in (15b) and (16b) the speakers refer to a specific noun which is given information in the discourse context. Consequently, for the last examples, it is expected that the addressee is already familiarized with the nouns referred to.

The property of the numeral 'one' contrasts with higher numbers, for instance 'two', because the latter do not function as an indefinite determiner, as in (17). Unlike the numeral 'one' with a classifier, the following example cannot be interpreted as non-specific.

(17) añ-∅=bi **cha'-tyikil** la=k-pi'äl-ob tsajñ-∅-o'=bä
 E-B3=REP two-CL PLINC=A1-friend-PL3 went-B3-PL3=REL
 tyi mǎñ-oñ-el
 PREP buy-AP-NF
 'That there were two of our friends who went shopping.' {sf_75}

It is important to highlight that numerals also function as pronominals (see §5.7.3) and non-verbal predicates (see chapter 7). The particle *li* seems to work only as a determiner, specifically as a definite article. This particle contrasts in meaning with the numeral 'one' (plus a classifier) in specific contexts, which offers an indefinite interpretation to the noun that it modifies.

8.1.2 Demonstratives

As was discussed in §5.7.9, there are four demonstrative particles in Chol which have a spatial denotation based on the location of the participants in the speech act. The spatial demarcation is not fixed because it depends on how the speakers map it. In order to illustrate how the space can be established, the ideal context is given in parenthesis. The demonstratives are:

- (18) *ili* ‘this’ (near the speaker)
jiñ ‘that’ (near the addressee)
ix’ä ‘that’ (far but visible to both participants in the speech act)
ibi ‘that’ (only audible for the participants in the speech act)

In addition to pronominal functions (§5.7.3), all of these can directly modify a noun. In this context, the demonstratives are in front of the noun that they modify. The first one, the demonstrative *ili* ‘this’, does not imply an absolute proximity to the speaker, only a relative proximity or saliency. The speakers can stretch the space depending on the context, as in (20), where the space includes two villages: one where the speakers are located (referred to as *ili* ‘this’) and the one to which the first is being compared.

- (19) a. k’ux-ø **ili** k-ok
hurt-B3 this A1-feet
‘My feet, this one, hurts me.’ {070614_6b}
- b. tyoj tyäs-ä(1)-ø bajche **ili** mesaj
straight lay.down-STAT-B3 how this SP:mesa
‘It is straight (or flat) as this table.’ {070620_9b}
- (20) cha=jach ñojo bajche’ **ili** coloñaj
like=only big how this SP:village
‘as the size of this village’ {070620_9a}

Coon (2004: §49) points out that the demonstrative *jiñ* ‘that’ has more to do with saliency than with spatial location (see discussion of focus below). However, some contexts can

show the spatial reference of *jiñ*, as in (21), where this pronoun refers to a specific table, near to the hearer.

- (21) tyi ke k-pom-iñ-ø **jiñ** mesaj
 PRFV start A1-incense-DT-B3 that SP:table
 ‘I start incensing that table’ {080704_20b}

The demonstrative *ix’ä* ‘that’ can also be placed before a noun, preferably with visible referents, as in (22). In this particular example, the speaker points directly to a region below a little mass of cloud which is moving slowly near to the ground, where the cornfield is. However, there are some instances, as in (23), where the speaker points with the finger to a region that is not at that moment visible because the speech act took place in the evening. It seems that this example is still an instance of spatial use of this demonstrative.

- (22) ba’ añ-ø **ix’ä** tyokal=i
 where E-B3 that cloud=FIN
 ‘(my cornfield is) where that cloud is’ {070613_4}

- (23) cha=jach=ix=ta’ ñajtye añ-ø bajche’ **ix’ä** tyi’-ñojpa’
 like=only=already=REA far E-B3 how that edge-river
 ‘It was already just about as far away as that river bank.’ {070614_6a}

Finally, *ibi* ‘that’, offers demonstrative meaning based on sound. The following examples can be formulated in the context of a noise (not visible) generated by a scared chicken.

- (24) chuki mi i-cha’l-eñ-ø **ibi** muty
 what IMFV A3-do-DT-B3 that chicken
 ‘What is happening to that (hearable) chicken?’

In addition to the association with spatial denotation, the demonstratives can function as pronouns (either as anaphora or cataphora, see §5.7.3). *Jiñ* can also be used with a

focused constituent.⁴ Chol is a verb initial language (25a); however, when a constituent, such as the subject, is focused this constituent can be fronted (25b). This process requires the particle *jiñ* which functions as a focus marker in this context (and is glossed FOC). *Jiñi* in the second part of the sentence in (25b) is likely working just as hesitation.

(25) a. mi y-äl-ø k-tätaj
 IMFV A3-say-B3 A1-SP:father
 ‘My father says it.’

b. **jiñ** k-täta’ mi y-äl-ø che’ mi y-äl-ø
 FOC A1-SP:father IMFV A3-say-B3 like.this IMFV A3-say-B3
 jiñi k-tätaj
 hm A1-SP:father
 ‘It is my father who says it, that is how he says, hm, my father’ {070614_6a}

Hesitation is especially evident for *jiñi* (25b), above, and in (26b) and (26c), and for *ix’ä* (26a).⁵ In these contexts there is a perceptible pause after their utterance, which is indicated by a comma. This point is crucial for the analysis of *jiñ* vs. *jiñi* since they have both been treated as determiners in previous studies on Chol (see Martínez Cruz, 2007 and Coon, 2004). Subject to more detailed study, I suggest that the short form *jiñ* (in addition to its function as focus marker) works as a demonstrative or determiner. The long form *jiñi* contains the enclitic =*i*, which has been analyzed as a phrase boundary marker in other Tseltalan languages (see Tsotsil, Aissen 1987). After the utterance of *jiñi*, a pause is noticeable, suggesting a function different from that of a determiner when it goes in front of a noun (that is, a hesitation, as in 26c). Also, an analysis that recognizes the difference between *jiñ* and *jiñi* accounts for the fact that in phrase or sentence final position, this pronoun usually surfaces in its long form.⁶

⁴ Focus is discussed with more detail in §10.3.

⁵ Interestingly, in Spanish the determiner *este* ‘that’ is also used as hesitation. It could be interesting to explore its analogy with Chol.

⁶ The type of bilingualism among young Chol speakers must be taken as a variable in the study of these determiners or pronouns.

- (26) a. *chuki* *yes* *chon* *la'=w-äl* *che'*, ***ix'ä***, *ma'an=ta'*
 what is PROG PL2=A2-say COMP hm NEG+E=REA
muk'-ety=la *tyi* *kastiyaj*
 IMFV-B2=PL2 PREP SP:Spanish
 'What are you saying that, hm, you are not using Spanish?' {080729_22c}
- b. *ta=x=bi* *ke* *i-päy-ø* *te*, ***jiñi***,
 PRFV=already=REP start A3-call-b3 DIR:toward hm
i-päy-ø-o' *te* *i-pi'äl-o'*
 A3-call-B3-PL3 DIR:toward A3-friend-PL3
 'They start to call, hm, call their friends.' {070613_4}
- c. ***jiñi***, *ñichim* *mi* *y-ajñ-e* *y-ots-añ-ø-o'*
 hm, candle IMFV A3-go-NF A3-put-DT-B3-PL3
 'hm, it is a candle they go to put in' {070613_4}

There is a restriction in the use of determiners that Martínez Cruz (2007) has already pointed out. In his terms, not all determiners can modify proper names. Martínez Cruz suggests that *li* and *ix'ä* can be placed before proper names preceded by a predicate. I argue that only the former can occupy this place (as in (27a)). The presence of the other morphemes in this position, if there are any, must be analyzed under other functions (e.g. as a hesitation or emphatic marker). For this reason, with regard to the two particles discussed by Martínez Cruz, I consider only *li* to be a determiner; *ix'ä* functions as a demonstrative and sometimes as a cataphoric pronoun or a hesitation marker.

- (27) a. *mu'=bi=ta'* *ke* *i-ma* ***li*** *aj-Alejantruj*
 IMFV=REP=REA start A3-go DET NCL-Alejandro
 'It is said that Alejandro will go.' {070621_11c}
- b. *mu'=bi=ta'* *ke* *i-ma* ****ili/ix'ä/jiñ/ibi*** *aj-Alejantruj*

Cruz Martínez (2007) also stated that not all determiners can occur before possessed nouns. According to him, *jiñ* before a possessed noun makes the sentence ungrammatical. However, as we can see in the following example, there are instances where *jiñ* appears in front of the noun. It is likely that in this context, *jiñ* is working as pronoun because for instance there is no spatial frame of reference.

- (28) che' ta=x lu'-jil-i-ø **jiñ** i-yopo, ma'=ix
 when PRFV=already all-finish-IV-B3 that A3-leaf NEG=already
 ke i-ñejp-añ-ø jiñ ixim
 start A3-ripe-DT-B3 that corn
 'When that, the leaves are finally all gone, the corn is not going to ripen.'
 {080703_19a}

Finally, the restriction in the simultaneous use of both the demonstratives and the determiners as suggested by Martínez Cruz (2007) can be accounted for in light of the present analysis. I suggest that more than one determiner or a determiner with a demonstrative in the noun phrase cannot occur. Apparent strings of demonstratives and determiners are due to the polysemous property of the demonstratives. For instance when *jiñ* precedes a noun modified by a determiner, it is because *jiñ* is functioning as a focus marker. The first two particles in the following example are candidates to be treated as demonstratives. I propose that in sequences like this, *jiñ* is a focus marker, *ibi* is a cataphorical pronoun, and *li* is a definite article.

- (29) **jiñ ibi li** y=ijñam mi k'äjke i=käñty-añ-ø
 FOC that DET A3=wife IMFV go.up A3=attend-DT-B3
 li' (i-)puesto
 DET A3-)P:store
 'It is that one, his wife, who goes to attend the store.' {080704_20b}

In conclusion, the demonstratives *ili*, *jiñ*, *ix'ä*, and *ibi* can directly modify a noun. In addition to their function as demonstratives, sometimes they mark hesitation, or as was described in (5.7.3), are used as pronouns. *Jiñ* also functions as a focus marker (see §11.3). Sometimes the syntactic distribution helps to figure out the function of these forms in a sentence.

8.1.3 Numerals with classifiers or measure words

As was discussed in (§5.7.6), numerals always require a numeral classifier or measure word suffixed to them. The former specifies some properties of the noun that it modifies,

while the latter is a strategy used to quantify nouns by specifying a measure for counting mass nouns or aggregating other nouns for counting in units.⁷ A numeral with a classifier or measure word suffixed to it can be part of the noun phrase, as in the following examples. The suffixes in the numerals in examples (30a) and (30b) are classifiers; *-tyikil* is used exclusively for human referents and *-kojty* for animals, chilis and some inanimates such as a car. In (31), *-tsima* ‘bowl’ is used to measure the amount of the beans; consequently it is functioning as a measure word.

(30) a. añ-ø=bi **cha’-tyikil** la=k-pi’äl-ob
 E-B3=REP two-CL PLINC=A1-friend-PL3
 ‘It is said that there are two friends of ours.’ {sf_75}

b. tyi i-tyaj-a-y-ø-o’ **cha’-kojty** x-much
 PRFV A3-find-TV-EP-B3-PL3 two-CL NCL-frog
 ‘They found two frogs.’ {sf_64}

(31) tyi k-cho’-o-ø **cha’-tsima** bu’ul
 PRFV A1-peel-TV-B3 two-CL bean
 ‘I shell two bowls of beans.’

Some measure words that are derived from nouns, including those borrowed from Spanish or other Mesoamerican languages, can work as bare nouns, following a numeral with the generic classifier *-p’ej*, as in (32a). More examples of this sequence are (32b).

(32) a. jum-p’ej **kiluj** ñichim
 one-CL SP:kilogram parafin
 ‘a kilogram of parafin’ {031009_44}

b. jump’ej **chiki’** ja’as ‘a basket of bananas’
 chap’ej **koxyal** kajpej ‘two bags of coffee’
 uxp’ej **lata** lew ‘three cans of lard’
 chämp’ej **pok’** waj ‘four gourds of tortillas’
 jump’ej **baso** ja’ ‘a glass of water’

⁷ In Chol, countable nouns, such as *waj* ‘tortilla’ which is classified as *k’ej* ‘thin and round’, can also be quantified using the strategy for mass noun; in other words, using a measure word, for instance by using

Not all measure words following a numeral with the generic classifier *-p'ej* are grammatical. For instance, the word *-kujch* 'load' cannot co-occur with *-p'ej* (33a).

- (33) a. * mi y-äk'-eñ-ety jum-**p'ej** **kujch** aw-ixim
 b. mu'=ta' y-äk'-eñ-ety **jun-kujch** aw-ixim
 IMFV=REA A3-give-DT-B2 one-load A2-corn
 'He gives you a load of corn.' {070621_11c}

As was seen, syntactically, numerals with a classifier or measure word are structurally identical; they have the sequence: NUM+classifier/measure N. Although a numeral with a classifier and a measure word have the same structure, previous work on this topic in Chol pointed out that the former can function as a noun modifier while the latter functions as the head of the noun phrase (see the discussion on it in §5.7.6)

8.1.4 Quantifiers

Quantifying words can also modify nouns or pronoun functioning as a verbal argument. 'Many' can be expressed in several forms, (see (34a-d)) and there is just one form for 'few' (34e). As exemplified below, there is another strategy to express the quantity 'few' by using numerals. As in Itzaj (Hofling 2000: 245), quantifiers can optionally be preceded by the intensifier or attenuative particles, such as *weñ* (34a).

- (34) a. weñ **ka'bäl** kristianuj mi keje i-k'oty-el
 SP:much many SP:people IMFV start A3-arrive.there-NF
 'A lot of people will arrive there.' {031009_44}
 b. **käläx** trespisal-o' mi' (i-)jul-el-o'
 many SP:chief-PL3 IMFV A3-arrive.here-NF-PL3
 'many chiefs arrive here' {070613_4}
 c. **tyemel** kixtyañuj tyi jul-i-ø-ob
 many SP:people PRFV arrive.here-IV-B3-PL3
 'Many people arrived here'

pok 'gourd': *jumpok waj* 'a gourd of tortilla'.

- d. ma'añ oñ karuj
 NEG+E3 many SP:car
 'There are not many cars.' {080729_22a}
- e. k-om-∅ ts'itya' sa'
 A1-want-B3 little pozol
 'I want a little bit of pozol.' {Martínez Cruz, 2007: 31}

The root *oñ* 'much', 'many', expresses the same meaning when it appears inflected by third person Set A, which at the same time triggers the use of the abstract suffix *-lel*. It is important to point out that this form is only inflected by A3; other grammatical persons are not allowed (35c).

- (35) a. **y-oñ-le(l)** x-toñel-o'
 A3-many-ABST NCL-work-PL3
 'many workers' {070620_9b}
- b. **y-on-le(l)** kixtyañu cheñ
 A3-many-ABST SP:people then
 'many people, you know' {080604_12a}
- * c. **aw-onlel**

'Few' can also be expressed using numerals. Depending on the numerals involved, the amount of nouns as things which are 'few', can be adjusted. For instance one and two can express "very few" (36a) while three and four can be read as "few, but more than 'very few' " (36c).

- (36) a. **juñ-tyikil cha'-tyikil** kixtyañuj
 one-CL two-CL SP:people
 'few people'
- b. **cha'-tyikil ux-tyikil** kixtyañuj
 two-CL three-CL SP:people
 'few people'

- c. uxytyiki chãñtyiki tyi mayonloñ
ux-tyikil chãñ-tyikil kistyañuj tyi majl-i-y-ø-ob
 three-CL four-CL SP: people PRFV go-IV-EP-B3-PL3
 ‘few people went’

Finally, when the numerals are reduplicated, they derive a distributive quantitative meaning (see also §5.7.7).

- (37) kuch-lew, **ju-jum-p’e** lata **ju-juñ-tyiki**
 carry-lard one-RED-CL SP:can one-RED-CL
 ‘to carry lard, one can (of lard) each one’⁸ {070621_11a}

8.1.5 Possession

As was stated in chapter 4, Set A person markers function as possessors of nouns. They are inflected on the head of the noun phrase and agree with the person and number of a possessor. As was also shown in Table 6 in chapter 4, there are two paradigms of Set A, depending on whether the first element of the noun is a consonant or vowel. For instance, the possessor for the second person singular is *a-* when the noun starts with a consonant (38a); otherwise, the allomorph *aw-* is required, as in (38b).

- (38) a. ma’añ **a-bu’ul**
 NEG+E A2-bean
 ‘You don’t have beans.’ {080730_24c}
- b. baki añ-ø **aw-otyoty**
 where E-B3 A2-house
 ‘Where is your house?’ {070621_11b}

The full paradigm of possessive inflection, both preconsonantal (39a) and prevocalic (39b), is presented next. The details for the position of the first and second person plural in relation to the head (before or after the head), were presented in (§4.2).

⁸ The speaker is talking about his purpose for traveling to another village: it is to carry lard in a can with his father and his uncle, in order to sell the lard.

- (39) a. **k-bu'ul** 'my bean'
a-bu'ul 'your bean'
i-bu'ul 'his/her bean'
lon=k-bu'ul/k-bu'u=lo(jo)ñ⁹ 'our (exc) bean'
la=k-bu'ul/k-bu'ul=la 'our (inc) bean'
la'=a-bu'ul/a-bu'ul=la¹⁰ 'your (pl) bean'
i-bu'ul-ob 'their bean'
- b. **k-otyoty** 'my house'
aw-otyoty 'your house'
y-otyoty 'his/her house'
lon=k-otyoty/k-otyoty=lo(jo)ñ 'our (exc) house'
la=k-otyoty/k-otyoty=la 'our (inc) house'
la'=aw-otyoty/aw-otyoty=la 'your (pl) house'
y-otyoty-ob 'their house'

Since typologically Chol is a head-marking language (Nichols 1986), the NP correferential with the possessor person marker is not obligatorily expressed. However when the possessor is third person, this participant can be expressed lexically and the resulting order is possessed + possessor.

- (40) **ba' tsop-ol-ø y-otyoty xux**
 where hang-STAT-B3 A3-house wasp
 'Where the wasp's house is hanging.' {sf_64}

As in Mam (England 1983: 142) and other Mayan languages, a possessor in Chol can also be possessed itself, resulting in strings of possessed nouns.

- (41) a. **tyi y-otyoty la=k-yum Jesucristo¹¹**
 PREP A3-house PLINC=A1-Lord Jesus.Christ
 'in our Lord Jesus Christ's house' {040115_42b}

⁹ Only the short form *loñ=* of this plural marker is allowed in front of the head.

¹⁰ This plural surfaces as *la'* when it goes in front of the noun, to avoid the sequence VV, which is not allowed in this language. This process also sometimes causes the drop of A2, which is the second vowel in the sequence VV or (*a-* or *aw-* in prevocalic contexts).

¹¹ *Lakyum* also means 'our grandfather' but in the context of this example, it means 'our Lord'.

- b. wä' tsajñ-i-∅ i-chu⟨j⟩k-el tyi i-mali
 here come-IV-B3 A3-capture<+PAS>-NF PREP A3-inside
y-otyoty-lel aw-ixim=i
 A3-house-ABST A2-corn=FIN
 'He was captured here inside your corn house.' {sf_72}

In Chol, as in other Mayan languages (see England 1983: §2.8 and 2.9; Dayley 1985: §5.1.2.3), the possessive markers come in front of compound forms.

- (42) a. añ-∅ añ-∅=bä y-ajtso', añ-∅=bä i-tyaty-muty
 E-B3 E-B3=REL A3-turkey E-B3=REL A3-father-chicken
 'there is (a person) who has turkeys, who has roosters' {080730_24b}
- b. tyi sajty-i-∅ juñ-tyiki k-chuty-alo'b=i
 PRFV die-IV-B3 one-CL A1-small-child=FIN
 'one of my children died'¹² {070614_6b}

Finally, there are some phrasal nouns in which both nouns take possessive inflection, as the following example, which is derived from the compound form *tyaty-ñä'* (father-mother) 'ancestor'.

- (43) i-pensal la=k-tyaty la=k-ñä'
 A3-SP:think PLINC=A1-father PLINC=A1-mother
 'Our ancestors thought.' Lit: 'our father-mother's think' {070621_11b}

This type of noun mostly appears in formal or ritual speeches, such as metaphor, and it is unlikely to be used in ordinary speech.

8.1.6 Attributive modifiers

Like other classes of roots and stems, such as nouns, adverbs, numerals and quantifiers, adjectives also function predicatively. However, when they precede a noun, they modify it attributively (Martínez Cruz 2007). There are two ways to modify a noun attributively:

¹² The noun class prefix *x-* is dropped when the noun takes the person marker inflection (see examples b in 9 and 10).

by using either an unmarked adjective or by relative clauses (see also §5.3).¹³ The unmarked adjective includes property concepts such as dimension, age, value, color, physical properties, and human propensities. The relative clause can be applied to the class of unmarked adjectives (44) but also to other word classes, such as verbs, nouns, positionals, adverbs, numerals and quantifiers. Examples (45) are instances of a verb, positional, and adverb functioning as different kinds of predicates in relative clauses.

(44) a. *ixku säsäk-ø=bä ixim, añ-ø=tyo tyi' (i-)ye'ba*
 as.for white-B3=REL corn E-B3=still PREP A3-underneath
 ‘as for the corn which is white, it is at the very bottom’ {070614_6b}

b. *ixku säsäk-ixim, añ-ø=tyo tyi i-ye'ba*¹⁴
 as.for white-corn E-B3=still PREP A3-underneath
 ‘as for the white corn, it is at the bottom’

(45) a. *wäy-äl-ø=bä ts'i'*
 sleep-STAT-B3=REL dog
 ‘dog that is sleeping.’

b. *jäm-äl-ø=bä a'b*
 hang-STAT-B3=REL hammock
 ‘hammock that is hanging’

c. *ajñël-ø=bä tronel*
 fast-B3=REL work
 ‘work which is fast’

A complex word with the relative suffix can modify a noun, as in the following example, where the non-reduplicated form of the adjective *i'ik* ‘black’ is added to the noun *bä'tyäl* ‘body’, which is placed in front of the noun *muty* ‘chicken’.

¹³ The relative clause can also follow the noun that modifies without apparent change in the reading. See next section.

¹⁴ *Ixku* can be morphologically analyzed as *ix* plus the clitic modal *ku*. It is not clear from what form *ix* was derived. It could be related to the locative *ixi* but also can be related to the Spanish linking word *y* ‘and’. It is close to the English meaning ‘what about...’ or ‘as for...’.

- (46) jiñ ix'ä **x-ik'-bä'tyal-ø=bä** **muty**
 FOC that NCL-black-body-B3=REL chicken
 'That, the dark bodied chicken' {sf_74}

Martínez Cruz (2007) highlighted that possession goes only on the unmarked modifier, as in (53b).

- (47) a. * max=tyo ba' añ-ø **k-boñ-ol=bä** tsiji' biyete
 NEG=still where E-B3 A1-paint-STAT=REL new SP:money
 Intended meaning: 'he still didn't have my painted bill' {Martínez Cruz, 2007: 35}
- b. max=tyo ba' añ-ø boñ-ol=bä **k-tsiji'** biyete
 NEG=still where E-B3 paint-STAT=REL A1-new SP:money
 'he still did not have my painted bill' (Martínez Cruz, 2007: 34)

8.1.7 The right side of the head

As was already discussed by Martínez Cruz (2007), the slot at the right side of the head can be occupied by the possessor of the noun phrase, a relative clause, and a phrase final enclitic.

The possessor of a noun is not obligatorily required. It is always inflected by Set A in the possessed noun. However when the possessor is third person, it can be expressed immediately after the head, as in the following examples.

- (48) a. y-otyoty **xux**
 A3-house wasp
 'wasp's house' {sf_64}
- b. y-otyoty **aj-Cheyu**
 A3-house NCL-Cheyu
 'Cheyu's house' {080703_19a}

As was described in §8.6 above, a noun can be modified by means of the relative clause. In contrast to most other Mayan languages, it can precede the noun that it modifies, but it

also can follow it without an apparent change in the reading, as in the following examples.

- (49) a. lum **joch-o(l)-ø=bä**
 land empty-STAT-B3=REL
 ‘Land that does not have an owner.’ {080730_25b}
- b. **joch-ol-ø=bä** lum
 empty-STAT-B3=REL land
 ‘Land that does not have an owner.’
- (50) a. x-ixik **wäy-ä(l)-ø=bä**
 NCL-woman sleep-STAT-B3=REL
 ‘The woman who is sleeping.’ {080704_20b}
- b. **wäy-äl-ø=bä** x-ixik
 sleep-STAT-B3=REL NCL-woman
 ‘the woman who is sleeping’

Finally, the phrase final enclitic can appear attached to the last word of the clause, as in the following examples.

- (51) kajpe tsa’=bä wejty-u-y-ø=i
 coffee PRFV=REL spread-DT-EP-B3=FIN
 ‘Coffee that was spread.’ {080730_24b}
- (52) ix tyi y-otyoty suts’=i
 there PREP A3-house bat=FIN
 ‘there, in the bat’s house’ {080703_19a}

In conclusion, the head of the noun phrase can be preceded by determiners, demonstratives, numerals with numeral classifiers or measure words, quantifiers, possessive markers (Set A), and adjectives or prenominal relative clauses. As this chapter has shown, nominal modification by means of relativization can also be placed after the head. In addition to the relative clause, the possessor of a noun phrase can optionally be

expressed lexically. Finally, the last element that can be found on the right edge of the noun phrase is the phrase final enclitic =*i*.

IX

Simple sentence

The Chol simple transitive sentence consists minimally of a transitive verb, which has the basic structure: [ASP Set A + Verb + Set B]. Non-agentive intransitive verbs take either Set A or Set B to cross-reference the single argument, depending on aspect. Agentive intransitive verbs occur in a light verb construction. Nonverbal predicates (which never mark for aspect) take only Set B. In all cases, when the core participants are third persons, lexical NPs are allowed in the sentence. In this chapter, the basic structure of Chol simple sentences is described, as well as additional elements, such as adverbs, directionals, non-core arguments, negation, interrogation and clause-level clitics.

9.1 VERBAL PREDICATES

Unlike nonverbal predicates, verbal predicates can take the following aspectual markers: perfective, imperfective, progressive, inceptive, terminative and potential (see §6.6). Moreover, all of them can take person markers to cross-reference their arguments and suffixes to indicate their status (see §6.5). In the following sections, the structure of intransitive and transitive simple sentences will be discussed separately.

9.1.1 Intransitive verbs

Section 5.1.2 presented the different classes of Chol intransitive verbs, including non-agentive, agentive, and ambivalent. The non-agentive verbs take inflection for Set B in the perfective aspect (1a) or for Set A in the imperfective aspect (1b). In this language, there are also some suffixes that provide information about the sub-class and the aspectual form of the predicates. In Mayan linguistics, this element has been called a

“status suffix”. The non-agentive verbs in Chol take the status suffix *-i* (glossed as IV) only in the perfective aspect (1a). In the imperfective (1b), the intransitive verb appears in the nominalized (non-finite) form and marks its subject as possessor with Set A.

- (1) a. tyi k’oty-**i**-y-**oñ**=loñ
 PRFV arrive.there-IV-EP-B1=PLEXC
 ‘We arrived there.’ {070620_9b}
- b. mi **j**-k’oty-**e(I)**
 IMFV A1-arrive.there-NF
 ‘I arrive there.’ {080704_20b}

Additionally, a directional can follow the verb. However, this particle is not obligatory because, for instance, its absence does not change the basic meaning of the sentence (2b).

- (2) a. mi i-lets-el **ma**
 IMFV A3-climb-NF DIR:away
 ‘He climbs.’ {010201_69}
- b. mi i-lets-el
 IMFV A3-climb-NF
 ‘He climbs.’

The second class of intransitive verbs, the agentives, appear as complements of a light verb (§14.1), and do not inflect directly for subject. Instead, the notional subject is encoded in the transitive light verb by Set A, used in any aspectual form.

- (3) a. che’ tyi **i**-cha’l-e-∅ [(*)i-)ty’añ]
 that PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 speak
 ‘That is how he spoke.’ {011103_62}
- b. che’ mi **i**-cha’l-eñ-∅ [(*)i-)ty’añ]
 that IMFV A3-do-DT-B3 speak
 ‘That is how he speaks.’

If a directional is used, it must immediately follow the agentive verb. The fact that they can be followed by directionals can be evidence that they still have verbal properties despite the fact that some verbs in this position take the suffix *-VI*. The sequence [V+agentive] could also be a case of complex predicate followed by a directional.

- (4) a. che' tyi i-cha'l-e-∅ [ty'añ **ma**]
 that PRFV A3-do-DT-B3 speak DIR:away
 'That is how John speaks.'
- b. tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ [uk'-el]
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 cry-NF
 'I cried.' Lit: 'I do crying.'

Finally, the last class, ambivalent intransitive verbs, share the properties of both, the first and the second group, depending on the volitionality of the action described.

- (5) a. tyi k-cha'l-e-∅ uk'-el
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 cry-NF
 'I cried (e.g. intentionally).'
- b. tyi uk'-i-y-oñ
 PRFV cry-IV-EP-B1
 'I cried (e.g. without intention).'

9.1.2 Transitive verbs

There are two main classes of Chol transitive verbs: simple and derived forms. The first one inflects the main arguments in the verb: Set A cross-references the transitive subject and Set B the object. In the perfective aspect this class takes a status suffix, which is a vowel that is harmonic with the root vowel, as shown in (6b); in the imperfective aspect there is no such status suffix.

- (6) a. mi i-k'el-∅-o'
 IMFV A3-see-B3-PL3
 'They see it.' {080730_25b}

- b. tyi **i-k'el-e-∅** pami
 PRFV A3-see-TV-B3 world
 'He saw the world.' {080604_12a}

Derived transitive verbs take the suffix *-V* or *-Vñ*, depending on the aspect, to form the transitive stem (see §5.1.1). Contrary to the previous group, the vocalic suffix in the perfective aspect is not harmonic with the vowel of the root (7a) and (8a). As for the other class of transitives, the direct arguments are indicated on the verbs by means of Set A and Set B inflections.

- (7) a. tyi k-il-**ä**-∅
 PRFV A1-see-DT-B3
 'I saw him.' {070619_8c}

- b. mi k-il-**añ**-∅
 IMFV A1-see-DT-B3
 'I see him.'

- (8) a. tyi k-otyoty-**i**-∅
 PRFV A1-house-DT-B3
 'I inhabited it.'

- b. mi k-otyoty-**iñ**-∅
 IMFV A1-house-DT-B3
 'I inhabitate it.'

The directional, as in the intransitive forms, follows the transitive root/stem.

- (9) tyi' (i-)päy-ä-∅ **te**
 PRFV A3-call-TV-B3 DIR:toward
 'He call him (to come).' {070612_3}

9.2 NON-VERBAL PREDICATES

Unlike verbal predicates, non-verbal predicates do not take aspect markers (10c). They may be headed by: positionals, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, affect words, quantifiers, participles, and the existential particle (see chapter 7). Non-verbal predicates are monovalent and their single argument is always codified with Set B. The following example is a participial predicate.

- (10) a. wäy-äl-**oñ**
sleep-STAT-B1
'I am sleeping'
- b. wäy-äl-**∅**=ix
sleep-STAT-B3=already
'He is already sleeping.' {070614_5}
- c. * tyi wäy-äl-**∅**=ix
PRFV sleep-STAT-B3=already
Intended meaning: 'He was already sleeping.'

As with verbal predicates, non-verbal predicates can be followed by directionals.

- (11) ya' jom-ok-ña-**∅** **tel** xux
there bunch-RED-AFV-B3 DIR:toward wasp
'Those wasps are coming (in a swarm).' {sf_64}

In sum, the basic structure of the simple sentence in Chol consists of obligatory inflection for person/number (all predicates) and aspect (verbal predicates), and optional directionals following the predicate. The status suffixes signal the valence and the aspectual form of the verb.

9.3 LEXICAL NPS INDICATING THE CORE ARGUMENTS

When the main participants are third person, overt NPs can follow the verb. In the following example (12a), the single argument is inflected with the third person

absolutive, which cross-references the noun *castigo*. Notice that the lexical NP can be preceded by a determiner and a modifier (12b, c).

- (12) a. tyi tyäl-i-∅ castigo
 PRFV come-IV-B3 SP:punishment
 ‘The punishment was administered.’ Lit.: ‘The punishment came.’
- b. tyi tyäl-i-∅ **li** castigo
 PRFV come-IV-B3 DET SP:punishment
 ‘The punishment was administered.’
- c. tyi tyäl-i-∅ **kolem** castigo
 PRFV come-IV-B3 big SP:punishment
 ‘Big punishment was administered.’

For first or second person, independent pronouns can optionally follow the verb (13).

- (13) ya’=tyo mi k-ajñel=(l)oñ (**joñon=loñ**)
 there=still IMFV A1-stay=PLEXC PRON1=PLEXC
 ‘We used to go there.’ {010201_69}

In a transitive construction, when the main arguments are third persons, the ergative pronoun (Set A) cross-references the NP expressing the agent and the absolutive pronoun (Set B) cross-references the NP functioning as the patient. In this active transitive construction the order of the constituents is VOS.¹

- (14) tyi i-päk’-ä-∅ ixim aj-Wañ
 PRFV A3-plant-TV-B3 corn NCL-Juan
 ‘Juan planted corn.’

However, in texts coming from natural speech, it is not common to observe lexical NPs cross-referencing the two core arguments of transitive verbs. When an NP is lexically expressed, it can cross-reference either the patient (15a), or the agent (15b).

¹ This order may change due to pragmatic issues, such as negation, interrogation, topic and focus (see §9.6, 9.7 and chapters 11 and 12)

- (15) a. tyi **i-tyaj-a-y-ø-o'** **cha'-kojty** **x-much**
 PRFV A3-find-DT-EP-B3-PL3 two-CLNUM NCLN-frog
 They found two frogs.' {sf_64}
- b. tyi **i-pik-i-y-ø-o'** **la=k-pi'äl-o'**
 PRFV A3-level-DT-EP-B3-PL3 PLINC-A1-friend-PL3
 'Our friends leveled it.'

Finally, when the single argument for intransitive verbs (16) or non-verbal predicates (17) is third person, an overt NP can cross reference the person marker.

- (16) mi **i-k'oty-el** **kolem** **avioñ**
 IMFV A3-arrive-NF big SP:airplane
 'It arrives big airplane.'
- (17) **jäñ-äk-ña-ø** te li **avioñ=ta'**
 machine.noise-RED-AFV-B3 DIR:toward DET SP:airplane=REA
 'making noise, the airplane is coming.' {080703_19b}

In order to have some idea about the frequency of the use of lexical NPs in clauses, I looked at over 455 clauses, as shown their distribution in Table 16. Interestingly, from 126 transitive clauses, not one lexically expresses both the object and the subject of the verb. When a lexical NP is realized in the clause, it generally corresponds to the object, with 33 occurrences which contrast with 10 lexical realizations of the transitive subject. Regarding intransitive and non-verbal predicates, there is also a tendency to avoid overt realization of their single direct argument.

Table 17. Realization on lexical NPs in the clause.

| Predicates | O, S | O | S | no overt NP | Total |
|------------|------|----------------|----|-------------|-------|
| TV | 0 | 33 | 10 | 83 | 126 |
| IV | -- | -- | 40 | 123 | 163 |
| NVP | -- | -- | 60 | 101 | 161 |
| DT | 0 | 3 ² | 0 | 2 | 5 |
| | | | | Total | 455 |

This survey confirms that pronominal marking on the verb is the main strategy for encoding participants in Chol.

It is important to highlight that non-core arguments are introduced by prepositions, including the agent in passive (18) or benefactive (19a) constructions. The arguments introduced by prepositions are not cross-referenced by Set B inflection in the verb. However, when the applicative suffix is inflected in the verb, as in (19b), the preposition is no longer required and in this construction the Set B inflection cross-references the third argument (see the contrast in (19a, b)). In this construction the order can be V - Secondary Object - Primary object - Agent, as shown in (19b). More details about applicative constructions are presented in §10.6.

- (18) tyi tyä'l-ään-ty-i-ø li aläl **tyi** x-ixik
 PRFV bother-DT-PAS-IV-B3 DET boy PREP NCL-woman
 'The boy was bothered by the woman'

- (19) a. tyi i-mään-ä-ø ts'ak li x-ixik **cha'añ** y-alo'bil
 PRFV A3-buy-TV-B3 medicine DET NCL-woman PREP A3-son
 'The woman bought medicine for her son'

- b. tyi i-mään-**b**-e-ø ts'ak y-alo'bil li x-ixik
 PRFV A3-buy-TV-B3 medicine A3-son DET NCL-woman
 'The woman bought medicine for her son.'

9.4 ADVERBS

There are several adverbial forms which may modify the predicate. Some of them include adverbs of time, of manner, and location.

Adverbs of time can be formed under several strategies. One strategy consists of deriving them from any numeral. When the time reference is to days, with the exception of those derived from the number one the resulting meanings are: ‘two days ago’, ‘in three days’, etc. (see Table 17). To express the meaning ‘four days ago’ or ‘in four days’, the preferred strategy is to use the existential (20b) and the preposition (20c), respectively. As we can see in example (20a), the position of this type of adverb in the clause is not fixed, it can be placed pre-verbally, post-verbally or sentence final.

- (20) a. **ijk’ä**=tyo=bi mi i-mel-ø (**ijk’äl**) i-cha’añ (**ijk’äl**)
tomorrow=still=REP IMFV A3-make-B3 A3-RN
‘He says that he will do it for him tomorrow.’ {031009_44}
- b. **añ**-ø=ix chäm-p’ej k’iñ
E-B3=already four-CL day
‘four days ago’
- c. **tyi** chäm-p’ej k’iñ
PREP four-CL day
‘in four days’

Table 18. Chol temporal adverbs.

| Num | Chol root | Past | Future |
|-----|--------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 2 | <i>cha’-</i> | <i>chä’biji</i> ‘two days ago’ | <i>cha’bij</i> ‘in two days’ |
| 3 | <i>ux-</i> | <i>uxk’iñi</i> ‘three days ago’ | <i>uxij</i> ‘in three days’ |
| 4 | <i>chäñ</i> | <i>chäñk’iñi</i> ‘four days ago’ | <i>tyi chäñp’ej k’iñ</i> ‘in four days’ |

The numerals are also used when the time reference is to years. The word for ‘year’ is *ja’bi(l)* when it refers to the past and *ja’* when it refers to the future. Numbers are prefixed to these forms to refer to how many years in the past or future the speaker

² It refers to primary objects.

wishes to indicate. As in the example for days, these forms do not have a fixed position in the sentence.

- (21) a. ma'añ tyi ñujp'-i-ø (**juñ-ja'bil**) i-pak'-ø **juñ-ja'bi(l)**
 NEG+E PRFV finish-IV-B3 A3-plant-B3 one-year
 'He did not finish planting it last year.' {070621_11c}
- b. ke ta ke (**juñ-ja'**) ma'=ix kux-ul-oñ **juñ-ja'**
 COND<SP:que.tal.que NEG=already alive=EST-B1 one-year
 'Imagine if I'm not alive next year.' {031009_44}

A second type of adverb of time involves terms that are not formed from numerals, such as: *sajmä* 'today (before this moment)', *ujtye* 'some minutes ago', *wale* 'later'. These expressions take as their reference point the moment of speech. As in the previous strategy, these adverbs do not have a fixed position in the sentence, they can be preverbal or postverbal.

- (22) (**sajmä**) ta' k-il-ä-y-ø-o' (**sajmä**) tyi lum **sajmä**
 PRFV A1-see-DT-EP-B3-PL3 PREP Tila today
 'I saw them in Tila today.' {010201_69}

A third strategy to introduce adverbial expressions involves the use of the preposition *tyi* plus a temporal noun, producing meanings like: 'in the morning', 'at noon', 'in the afternoon', 'in the night', and 'at midnight'. In the following example (23a), the adverbial expression consisting of the preposition and the noun is fronted; the meaning does not change with the prepositional phrase in the post-verbal position (23b).

- (23) a. tyi **a'bäle** mi y-ajñ-e(l)
 PREP night IMFV A3-arrive-NF
 'It arrives at night.' {031009_44}
- b. mi y-ajñ-e(l) tyi **a'bäle**
 IMFV A3-arrive-NF PREP night
 'It arrives at night.'

The same preposition can introduce additional adverbial meanings like: ‘the other day’, ‘last week’, ‘last year’, and so on. Fronting the adverbial expression does not change the meaning of the sentence (24b).

- (24) a. **tyi** k-su’-b-e-∅ **tyi yam-∅=bä k’iñ**
 PRFV A1-say-APL-DT-B3 PREP other-B3=REL day
 ‘I told it to him the other day.’ {031009_44}
- b. **tyi yam-∅=bä k’iñ** tyi k-su’b(-b)-e-∅
 PREP other-B3=REL day PRFV A1-say-APL-DT-B3
 ‘I told it to him the other day.’

Finally, the dichotomy between the adverbs *wajali/wa’li* ‘some time ago/today’, also expresses time. In both cases, the adverb usually occurs sentence finally but can also take the preverbal position.

- (25) (**wajali**) mu=ch i-low-∅-o’ i-bäj **wajali**
 IMFV=AFFR A3-hurt-B3-PL3 A3-RN time.ago
 ‘Yes, some time ago they hurt themselves.’ {010201_69}
- (26) (**wa’li**) mach ñoj weñ=ix mi i-mel-∅-o’
 NEG really SP:good=already IMFV A3-make-B3-PL3
 wa’li
 today
 ‘It is not really good how they do things today.’ {010201_69}

Adverbs of manner can also be formed through several strategies. One of them consists of reduplicating the adverbial root. With this strategy, adverbs cannot occur post-verbally.

- (27) **xuk’u-xuk’u-∅=ch** tyi kej-i-∅
 slow-RED-B3=AFFR PRFV start-IV-B3
 tyi lajm-el (* **xuk’u-xuk’u-∅=ch**)
 PREP finish-NF
 ‘Little by little, it was being finished.’ {010201_69}

We can see in the following examples that the reduplication is not always required. Notice also that *jach* ‘only’ can be attached to the adverb.

- (28) a. **xuk’u=jach** mi a-wäk’-ø (***xuk’u-jach**)
 slow=only IMFV A2-put-B3
 ‘Put it down slowly.’ {031009_44}
- b. **jumujk’=jach** mi i-tyä’l-añ-oñ=la
 fast=only IMFV A3-bother-DT-B1=PLINC
 ‘It bothers us quickly (e.g., a disease).’ {sf_73}

Jach ‘only’ can also appear on the reduplicated form of adverbs (29a), moreover, the non-reduplicated form can be expressed without *jach* (29b).

- (29) a. **xuk’u-xuk’u-ø=jach** mi a-wäk’-ø
 slow-slow-B3=only IMFV A2-put-B3
 ‘You put it down slowly.’
- b. **xuk’u** mi a-wäk’-ø
 slow IMFV A2-put-B3
 ‘You put it down slowly.’

Jach can be attached to other roots, such as the imperfective marker (30). Since it always attaches to the first word in the sentence, it is a second position clitic. *Jach* is the single adverb identified so far as a second position clitic in Chol.

- (30) **mu’=jach** k-ajñ-el k-yojch’-oñ-ø-ob
 IMFV=only A1-stay-NF A1-see-DT-B3-PL3
 ‘I only go there to look at them.’ {010201_69}

Another resource to create adverbs of manner consists of using: *wa’* ‘fast’, *ñoj* ‘really’, *k’uk’ux* ‘really’, *cha* ‘again’, or *bele* ‘always’. All of them come before the predicate.

- (31) a. **wa’** koty-ol-ø=ix=bi=tsa’ (***wa’**)
 fast stand.up-STAT-B3=already=REP=REA
 ‘It stands up suddenly.’ {sf_74}

- b. **ñoj** p'äty-äl-ø=bi
 really strong-STAT-B3=REP
 'It is really strong.' {070614_6a}

Apparently, the adverb forms complex predicates together with the verb because for instance the ergative inflection comes before the adverb (32). In this example, the movement verb is working as a main verb and the imperfective aspect splits the ergative pattern. However, as it is shown in (32b), such inflection can take place after the adverb and the meaning of the sentence apparently does not change (see also §13.2).

- (32) a. mi **i-ñoj-och-e(l)**
 IMFV A3-really-enter-NF
 'It really enters.' {080604_12b}

- b. mi ñoj **y-och-el**
 IMFV really A3-enter-NF
 'It really enters.'

For transitive verbs, the inflection for the agent must come before the adverb otherwise, the resulting construction is ungrammatical.

- (33) tsa'=bi **i-wa'** (*i-)k'el-e-ø
 PRFV=REP A3-fast see-TV-B3
 'He suddenly saw it.' {sf_72}

Finally, location can be expressed adverbially by the deictic particles *wä* 'here', *la* 'here (close than *wä*)', *ya* 'there', and *ix* 'there (further than *ya*)'. These expressions can be reduplicated. The reduplicated forms are restricted to post-verbal position (34a), (35a); the use of the reduplicated form pre-verbally makes the construction ungrammatical (34b). Example (35b) shows that reduplication in the post-verbal position is not obligatory.

(34) a. *ya'* añ-∅ ***ya'-ya'***=i
 there E-B3 there-there=FIN
 'It is there.' {070613_4}

b. * ***ya'-ya'*** añ-∅ *ya'-ya'*=i

(35) a. *wä'* chili-∅ ***wä'-wä'***=i
 here ends-B3 here-here=FIN
 'It ends here.' {070614_6a}

b. *tyi'* (i-)ñop-o-∅ ***wä'***=i
 PRFV A3-try-TV-B3 here=FIN
 'He tried here.' {070614_6a}

As we can see in (35b, above), the post-verbal placement of the adverb does not necessarily require a pre-verbal manifestation of this adverb and inversely, the pre-verbal presence of the adverb does not require the occurrence of the same adverb in the post-verbal position, (36) and (37). The pre-verbal, post-verbal, or simultaneous use of these adverbs does not cause a noticeable change of the meaning of the sentence. It probably corresponds to differences of style.

(36) ***wä'*** *mi* i-mel-∅-ob *wajali*
 here IMFV A3-do-B3-PL3 time.ago
 'Some time ago, they were doing it here.' {010201_69}

(37) ***ya'*** *tyi* i-tyaj-a-y-∅-o' *cha'-kojty* x-much
 there PRFV A3-find-TV-EP-B3-PL3 two-CL NCL-frog
 'They found two frogs there.' {sf_64}

There is another group of locative particles that comes from the previous one, such as *iwä'* 'here', *ila* 'here (closer than *iwä'*)' and *ixi* 'there'. Unlike the previous one, this group only appears at the end of the sentence.

(38) (* *iwä'*) *mu'*=bi i-käy-∅ i-pächäl-e ***iwä'***
 IMFV=REP A3-leave-B3 A3-skin-POS here
 'It is said that it leaves his skin here.' {070614_6b}

- (39) (* *ila*) mi y-äl-ø-o' **ila**
 IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3 here
 'It is said here.' {070613_4}
- (40) (* *ixi*) mi j-k'äj-k-e ma **ixi**
 IMFV A1-climb-NF DIR:away there
 'I walk through there (uphill).' {080730_25a}

Ibi 'that (referring to something hearable)' belongs to this group. In the following examples, the speech participants refer to an audible event.

- (41) i-muty-ø **ibi**
 A3-bird-B3 that
 'That is his bird.'
- (42) majch=ki **ibi**, cabroñ, che'=bi
 who=INT that damn say=REP
 'Damn!, who is that? he says.' {080704_20b}

This group of adverbs sets up the location in two parts: a) visible: *iwä* 'here', *ila* 'here', *ixi* 'there' and b) audible: *ibi* 'that'.

In conclusion, adverbs of time, manner and location can occur in the simple sentence and some of them do not have a fixed position because they can occur pre-verbally or post-verbally. Some of the adverbial information is coded as part of complex predicate where the adverb precedes the verb.

9.5 Obliques

We saw that the main arguments inflected on the verb can optionally cross-reference lexical NPs. These arguments are the intransitive subject, the transitive agent and the transitive patient. As I will show next, non-core arguments are treated as adjuncts, preceded by relational nouns or prepositions. The adjuncts to be discussed in the

following sections are: comitative, instrumental, locative, benefactive, and agents of passive constructions.

9.5.1 Comitative

As was mentioned in §5.7.2 the relational noun *ik'oty* can offer a comitative meaning. It is clear that this relational noun can take both Set A and Set B inflection (see examples (44)). Interestingly, Set A inflection on the relational noun can refer either to the comitative participant (43a) or to the subject of the predicate (43b). However, with local participants, Set A inflection in the relational noun must refer to the subject of the predicate, as shown in examples (44).

(43) a. tyi jul-i-y-oñ **y-ik'oty-ø** li x-chuty-alob
 PRFV arrive-IV-EP-B1 A3-with-B3 DET NCL-small-child
 'I arrived with the child.'

b. tyi jul-i-y-oñ **k-ik'oty-ø** li x-chuty-alob
 PRFV arrive-IV-EP-B1 A1-with-B3 DET NCL-small-child
 'I arrived with the child.'

(44) a. tyi jul-i-y-oñ **k-ik'oty-ety**
 PRFV arrive-IV-EP-B1 A1-with-B2
 'I arrived with you.'

b. tyi jul-i-y-ety **aw-ik'oty-oñ**
 PRFV arrive-IV-EP-B2 A2-with-B1
 'You arrived with me.'

With transitive verbs, the object can be coreferential with Set A inflection in the relational noun (45), but not necessarily, as show in (45b). In both examples apparently the same meaning prevails.

(45) a. tyi k-il-ä-y-ety **aw-ik'oty-ø** a-ts'i'
 PRFV A1-see-DT-EP-B2 A2-with-B3 A2-dog
 'I saw you with your dog.'

- b. tyi k-il-ä-y-ety y-ik'oty-ø a-ts'i'
 PRFV A1-see-DT-EP-B2 A3-with-B3 A2-dog
 'I saw you with your dog.'
- (46) a. tyi k-il-ä-ø y-ik'oty-ø i-ts'i' li x-'ixik
 PRFV A1-see-DT-B3 A3-with-B3 A3-dog DET NCL-woman
 'I saw the woman with her dog.'
- b. tyi aw-il-ä-ø y-ik'oty-ø i-ts'i' li x-'ixik
 PRFV A2-see-DT-B3 A3-with-B3 A3-dog DET NCL-woman
 'You saw the woman with her dog.'

At this point it is not clear what triggers such situation. Speakers accept both options.

As can be seen in the examples already presented, the relational noun can occur between the predicate and the lexical realization of the subject. However, as shown in (48a), it can follow the noun referencing the subject or even preceding the predicate (48b).

- (47) a. tyi wäy-i-ø tyi i-ch'ak jiñ x-chuty-alo'
 PRFV sleep-IV-B3 PREP A3-bed that NCL-small-child
y-ik'oty-ø i-ts'i'
 A3-with-B3 A3-dog
 'The boy slept in his bed with his dog.' {sf_65}
- b. **y-ik'oty-ø** i-ts'i' tyi wäy-i-ø li x-chuty-alo'
 A3-with-B3 A3-dog PRFV sleep-IV-B3 DET NCL-small-child
 'The boy slept with his dog.'

9.5.2 Instrumental

There are two mechanisms to encode the instrument used by the agent to instigate an action. They are related to the oblique treatment of non-core arguments. First, the preposition *tyi* can introduce the instrument, as in the following example. It is important to point out that this structure can also offers a locative meaning, as shown in example (48b) (see §9.5.3).

- (48) a. (mi) k-mu(l)-ø=la **tyi** bombaj
 IMFV A1-drain-B3=PLINC PREP SP:pump
 ‘We drain it with a pump.’ {070620_9a}
- b. mi j-käch-ø **tyi** alamprej
 IMFV A1-tie-B3 PREP SP:wire
 ‘I tied it with wire.’
 ‘I tied it on the wire’

Second, the instrument can be introduced by the relational noun *ik’oty*. In this context, the relational noun always takes inflection for third person singular Set A (see the ungrammaticality in 50b)

- (49) mi k-lets-el **y-ik’oty** letsibtye’
 IMFV A1-climb-NF A3-with ladder
 ‘I climb with ladder.’
- (50) a. tyi k-xoty’-o-ø si’ **y-ik’oty** machity
 PRFV A1-cut-TV-B3 firewood A3-with SP:machete
 ‘I cut firewood with machete.’
- b. * tyi k-ts’ij-i-ø si’ **k-ik’oty** machity
 PRFV A1-cut-TV-B3 firewood A1-with SP:machete
 Intended meaning: ‘I cut firewood with machete.’
- (51) tyi k-tsep-e-ø k-bäj **y-ik’oty** machity
 PRFV A1-cut-TV-B3 A1-RN A3-with SP:machete
 ‘I cut myself with machete.’

This property of the relational noun contrasts with its other function of introducing comitatives because in the comitative function, the inflection is not restricted to third person (see §9.5.1, above). In comitative, Set A can refer to the subject and Set B to the comitative, whereas in instrumental Set A marked on the RN refers to the instrument.

9.5.3 Locative

Another function of the preposition *tyi* is to introduce NPs with locative meanings as adjuncts. The NP expressing location follows the verb (52) and (53), but it can also precede (54a) or follow (54b) the overt NP referencing the main argument in the verb, if there is one.

(52) ma'=ix tajñ-oñ **tyi** k-chol a'bi
NEG=already go-B1 PREP A1-corn.field yesterday
'I did not go to my cornfield yesterday.' {031009_44}

(53) käläx-ø=ix kixtyañuj **tyi** Mexikuj
many-B3=already people PREP Mexico
'There are a lot of people in Mexico.' {031009_44}

(54) a. **tyi** majl-i-y-ø-o' **tyi** **Jolsibakil**
PRFV go-IV-EP-B3-PL3 PREP Jolsibakil
'They went to Jolsibakil.' {011103_62}

b. **tyi** **Jolsibakil=ix** **tyi** majl-i-ø
PREP Jolsibakil=already PRFV go-IV-B3
'He went to Jolsibakil.' {011103_62}

Another resource to introduce locative adjuncts is presented in §14.4.2.

9.5.4 Benefactive

Benefactive arguments can be expressed either as adjuncts or as direct arguments (see §10.6). As adjuncts, they are preceded by *cha'añ*. In the texts consulted, *cha'añ* appears without the inflection for Set A when it introduces the adjunct, for this reason, in this context, I glossed it as a preposition.

(55) a. **tyi** tyäl-i-ø j-k'ajty-i-b-eñ-ety beñtyixoñ
PRFV come-IV-B3 A1-ask-DT-APL-DT-B2 SP: blessing
cha'añ k-otyoty
PREP A1-house
'I came here to ask you for a blessing for my house.' {990109_70}

- b. mi k-mǎñ-ø ts'ak **cha'añ** k-papaj
 IMFV A1-buy-B3 medicine PREP A1-SP:father
 'I buy medicine for my father.'

Interestingly, when the beneficiary is first or second person, they cannot be treated as adjuncts; instead, the applicative construction must be used, as in the following examples.

- (56) a. tyi i-mǎñ-b-oñ ts'ak k-papaj
 PRFV A3-buy-APL-B1 medicine A1-SP:father
 'My father bought the medicine for me.'
- b. tyi i-mǎñ-b-ety ts'ak a-papaj
 PRFV A3-buy-APL-B2 medicine A2-SP:father
 'Your father bought the medicine for you.'
- c. * tyi i-mǎñ-ä-ø ts'ak a-papaj **cha'añ** jatyety
 PRFV A3-buy-TV-B3 medicine A2-SP:father PREP PRON2
 Intended meaning: 'Your father bought the medicine for you.'

9.5.5 Agent of passive

When the active voice changes to passive, the A argument can be introduced by the preposition *tyi*, indicating that this is an oblique argument (57b). In the active form, the A argument cannot be treated as an adjunct (57a).

- (57) a. tyi i-k'ux-u-ø (* tyi) **lukum**
 PRFV A3-bit-TV-B3 snake
 'The snake bit it.'
- b. ta=x=bä k'ux-le-ø **tyi lukum**
 PRFV=already=REL bit-PAS-B3 PREP snake
 'Who was already bitten by the snake.' {070614_6b}

9.5.6 Multiple adjuncts

The Chol simple sentence can have a combination of two adjuncts. The combinations allowed in this language are explored in this section.

When the locative and comitative adjuncts form a chain in the simple sentence, the comitative adjunct can follow the locative, but the opposite order is also accepted.

- (58) tyi k-päk'-ä-ø ja'as (k-ik'oty-ø k-papa)
 PRFV A1-plant-TV-B3 banana
tyi j-kajpe-lol k-ik'oty-ø k-papa
 PREP A1-SP:coffee-ABST A1-with-B3 A1-SP:father
 'I planted banana in my coffee-field with my father.'

In another combination, the instrument can be followed by a benefactive (59a), locative (59b) or comitative (59c).

- (59) a. tyi j-k'äs-ä-ø si' **tyi j-k'ä'** **cha'añ**
 PRFV A1-cut-TV-B3 firewood PREP A1-hand PREP
k-ijts'iñ
 A1-sister
 'I cut firewood with my hands for my sister.'
- b. tyi k-sek'-e-ø tye' **tyi motosierra**
 PRFV A1-cut-TV-B3 tree PREP SP:motosierra
tyi j-kajpe-lol
 PREP A1-SP:coffee-ABST
 'I cut trees with a chain saw in my coffee-field.'
- c. tyi k-sek'e-ø tye' **tyi motosierra k-ik'oty-ø**
 PRFV A1-cut-TV-B3 tree PREP SP: motosierra A1-with-B3
k-papa
 A1-SP:father
 'I cut the three with a chain saw with my father.'

Finally, the agent of passive, treated as an adjunct, can be followed also by a locative or comitative (60b).

- (60) a. tyi k'ux-le-∅ k-ts'i' **tyi lukum tyi cholel**
 PRFV bit-PAS-B3 A1-dog PREP snake PREP cornfield
 'My dog was bitten by the snake in the cornfield.'
- b. tyi k'ux-le-∅ k-papa **tyi lukum y-ik'oty-∅ i-ts'i'**
 PRFV bit-PAS-B3 A1-SP:father PREP snake A3-with-B3 A3-dog
 'My father was bitten by the snake with his dog.'

In conclusion, non-core arguments such as comitative, instrument, locative, benefactive, and agent of passive are introduced by a relational noun or a preposition. They can form a chain in the simple sentence of up to two adjuncts.

9.6 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

The discussion for the formation of questions in Chol will be divided into three parts: intonation, polarity and wh-questions.

9.6.1 Intonational polarity questions

Intonation plays an important role in forming questions in Chol. As discussed above, in a pragmatically neutral form, the stress in Chol falls on the last syllable of the word (§2.2). In the following fragment of conversation, the speaker A expresses a neutral sentence and the speaker B uses only the predicate of the sentence uttered by A, with emphasis on the first syllable of the root (**bold**), instead of the last syllable. This forms a question where an affirmative or negative answer is expected, as A does by using an affirmative exclamation (61c).

- (61) a. A jiñ=bi li y-al mi ke i-k'ux-on=la
 FOC=REP DET A3-offspring IMFV start A3-bite-B1=PLINC
 'It is its offspring that will bite us.'
- b. B (mi) i-**k'ux**-on=la
 (MFV A3-bite-B1=PLINC
 Doesn't it bite us?)

- c. A **jäjä'**
 INTJ
 'yes.' {070613_4}

The stress occurs at the beginning of the interrogative sentence. In the following examples, the speaker B, (62b), is interested in the certainty of the action expressed by the speaker A, and restates part of the sentence with a rising pitch in *chá'* (bold).

- (62) a. A **chá**=ch mi y-äl-ø-o' ba' añ-oñ je'e
 that's.how=AFFR IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3 where E-B1 also
 'So they say where I live too.'

- b. B **chá'**=äch mi y-äl-o'
 that's.how=AFFR IMFV A3-say-PL3
 Do they? Lit.: 'Do they say that?'

- c. A melel=äch=bi
 true=AFFR=REP
 'It is true.' {070614_6b}

When the interrogative sentence carries a negative particle (63a), a negative answer is expected (63b).

- (63) a. A **ma'**añ tsik-il-ø majch chonkol-ø i-xik'-ø=e'
 NEG+E visible-STAT-B3 who PROG-B3 A3-comand-B3=ENC
 'Is it not known (Lit.: not visible) who was commanding him?'

- b. B **jä'**ä
 INTJ
 'No.' {070614_6a}

The following piece of conversation illustrates the contrast between declarative and interrogative sentences. The declarative expression of the speaker B in (64b) contrasts with the interrogative form in (64d), when unexpectedly the speaker A (64c) mentions that Peter's son also died. (64b) and (64d) have the same structure, but the last one has a rising pitch in the first syllable of the verb (bold).

- (64) a. A ya' chum-u-∅ jiñi don Pegro, tyi lajm-i-∅,
 there live-STAT-B3 hm SP:Mr Pedro PRFV die-IV-B3
 tyi sajty-i-∅
 PRFV die-IV-B3
 'That is where Mr. Peter lived, he passed away, he died (Lit.: he was finished, he was lost)'
- b. B tyi sajty-i-∅
 PRFV die-IV-B3
 'He died.'
- c. A i-yalob-i(l), tyi sajty-i-∅
 A3-son-POS PRFV die-IV-B3
 'His son (Peter's son) died.'
- d. B tyi **sajty-i-∅**
 PRFV die-IV-B3
 'Did he (his son) die?' {070613_4}

9.6.2 Other yes/no questions

The interrogative pronoun *ubi*, together with the clitic *ta'* or *tsa'* placed after the existential particle (65), the perfective marker (66) or the complementizer (67b), offers the meaning 'isn't it true that...?'. The answer to this type of questions is always affirmative because the speaker who formulates the question using *ubi* either has previous information about the certainty of the facts stated, or the speaker is restating the information just announced by the other speaker (see (67b)).

- (65) **ubi** an=**ta'** tyi pami-tyak=bä
 is.that.true E=REA PREP outside-PLIND=REL
 tyi wäy-i-y-∅-o'-tyak
 PRFV sleep-IV-EP-B3-PL3-PLIND
 'Isn't it true that there is somebody who slept outside?' {080730_24b}

(66) **ubi** ta=x=**ta'** k'ax-i-∅ majle
 is.that.true PRFV=already=REA pass-IV-B3 DIR:away
 tyi y-otyoty aj-Victor
 PREP A3-house NCL-Victor
 'Isn't it true that Victor had already gone to his house (to live)?' {031009_44}

(67) a. A chakal-oñ=la mi k-och-el=(1)a
 bare-B1=PLINC IMFV A1-enter-NF=PLINC
 'We go naked inside it.'

b. B **ubi** che'=ta'=i
 is.that.true like.this=REA=FIN
 'Isn't that true?' {031009_44}

Ubi and *ta'* cannot be adjacent. The structure of the interrogation in (67b, above), cannot be as follows.

(68) * **ubi** ta'=i
 is.that.true REA=FIN

The interrogative second place clitic *ba* also formulates yes/no questions. The use of this interrogative clitic requires a negative (69b) or affirmative (70b) answer or at least the speaker B (as in (71b)) must state that he does not have information about the veracity of the assertion. In this last example (71b), the speaker B implies that he does not know if X is or was literate.

(69) a. A mu'=ba i-tyemp-añ-∅-o' i-bäj li wakax
 IMFV=INT A3-meet-DT-B3-PL3 A3-RN DET cow
 y-ik'oty-∅ li bajläm
 A3-with-B3 DET jaguar
 'Do the cows and the jaguars meet?'

b. B ma'añ
 NEG+E
 'No.' {010201_69}

- (70) a. A ta'=ba chäm-i-ø wiñik tyi estaros unido...
 PRFV=INT died-IV-B3 person PREP SP:United States
 Did people in the US die?
- b. B tä'=äch
 PRFV=AFFR
 'yes.' {010201_69}
- (71) a. A yuj(-il)=ba k'e(l)-juñ ibi li aj-kole
 know(-STAT)=INT see-paper that DET NCL-grow
 che'jiñ=i
 then=FIN
 Is then this person literate?
- b. B bajche'=äch=ix=ka
 how=AFFR=already=DUB
 'Who knows.' {011103_62}

9.6.3 Wh-questions

The wh-questions in Chol are formulated with several interrogative pronouns: *chuki* 'what', *majchki* 'who', *baki* 'where', *jalajki* 'when', and *bajche'ki* 'how' or 'how much'. Probably *ki* was historically a suffix but it seems that it has been frozen into the root in some cases, because for instance *jalajki* 'when' and *bajche'ki* 'how' or 'how much', take this suffix optionally (77), but the others require *ki*.

- (72) a. A **chuki** mi i-läp-ø-o', majts
 what IMFV A3-fit-B3-P3L skirt
 'What are they trying on?, a skirt?'
- b. B mach jiñ, bestiduj=äch
 NEG PRON3, SP:dress=AFFR
 'No, it is a dress' {010201_69}
- (73) **majchki** weñ muk'-ø-ob-tyak tyi soñ
 who SP:much IMFV-B3-PL3-PLIND PREP dance
 'Who dances a lot?' {010201_69}

- (74) a. A **baki** mi a-tyaj-∅ a-tyijom=bä
 where IMFV A2-find-B3 A2-tyijom=REL
 ‘Where do you get your *tyijom*?’³
- b. B añ-∅=ch=ix i-ñich tyi k-chol
 E-B3=AFFR=already A3-flower PREP A1-cornfield
 ‘It already has its flower in my cornfield.’ {031009_44}
- (75) a. A **jalajki** mi a-tyech-∅ a-pul-∅=e’=la che’jiñ=i
 when IMFV A2-start-B3 A2-burn-B3=ENC=PL2 then=FIN
 ‘When will you start to burn it then?’
- b. B tyi trenta y uno
 PREP SP:thirty and one
 ‘On the thirty-first’
- (76) **bajch(e’)=ki** tyi aw-u’b-i-∅=la ila che’jiñ=i
 how=INT PRFV A2-hear-DT-B3=PL2 here then=FIN
 ‘How did you hear it here then?’ { 011103_62}
- (77) a. A **bajche’(=ki)** i-tyojo k-we’j-e(l)=la jun-yajle
 how.much=INT A3-cost A1-eat-NF=PLINC one-CL
 ya’-ya’=i
 there-RED=FIN
 ‘How much does it cost to eat there one time?’
- b. B **bajche’=äch=ix=ka** i-tyojo=bä
 how.much=AFFR-already=DUB A3-cost=REL
 ‘How much can it be?’ { 031009_44}

‘Why’ questions are formulated with *chokoch* and this interrogative does not take *ki*.

- (78) **chokoch(* ki)** tyi kej-i-∅ tyi lajm-el che’jiñ=i
 why PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP finish-NF then=FIN
 ‘Why did it start to stop?’ { 010201_69}

³ A type of flower.

Another interrogative root is *jay*, plus a numeral or measure classifier suffixed to it. The resulting meaning is ‘how many’ or ‘how much’. *Ki* can be attached after to the classifier (80c).

(79) a. A **jay-p’ej** k’iñ tyi i-cha’l-e-ø
 how.many-CL day PRFV A3-do-DT-B3
 ‘How many days did it take?’

b. B **semañaj ya’** añ-ø
 SP:week there E-B3
 ‘He was there for a week.’ {011103_62}

(80) a. A **jay-ts’ijty** mi i-ch’än-ø te
 how.much-CL IMFV A3-bring-B3 DIR:toward
 ‘How much does it include?’

b. B **dosej jum-p’ej kajaj**
 SP:twelve one-CL SP:box
 ‘Twelve per box.’ {031009_44}

c. **jay-ts’ijty=ki** mi i-ch’än-ø te
 how.much-CL=INT IMFV A3-bring-B3 DIR:toward
 ‘How much does it include?’

In previous work on Mayan, Smith Stark (1988) identified pied piping in interrogative constructions that involve prepositional phrases, relational nouns and possessive constructions. As shown in example (81b), in the interrogative form the relational noun can go in front of the interrogative pronoun, preserving the order of the declarative construction: RN - possessor. However, as Smith Stark indicates in his investigation, pied-piping also occurs with “inversion”, as in (81c), where the wh-word precedes the relational noun.

(81) a. tyi a-tsep-e-ø tye’ **y-ik’oty** **machity**
 PRFV A2-cut-TV-B3 tree A3-with SP:machete
 ‘You cut the tree with the machete.’

b. **y-ik’oty chuki** tyi a-tsep-e-∅ tye’
 A3-with what PRFV A2-cut-TV-B3 tree
 ‘With what did you cut the tree?’

c. **chuki y-ik’oty** tyi a-tsep-e-∅ tye’
 what A3-with PRFV A2-cut-TV-B3 tree
 ‘What did you cut the tree with?’

In a recent work on this topic in Chol, Coon (2009) notices that in interrogative possessors, the *wh*-possessor may “pied-pipe” the possessum (82b). Contrary to relational nouns, the *wh*-possessor cannot follow the “pied-piped” possessum (82c). Moreover, as Coon highlighted, the *wh*-word can be fronted without the possessum, (82d). She proposes that a *wh*-possessor in Chol must raise above the possessum to Spec, DP.

(82) a. tyi yajl-i-∅ i-plato aj-Maria
 PRFV fall-IV-B3 A3-SP:plate NCL-Maria
 ‘Maria’s plate fell’

b. **maxki i-plato** tyi yajl-i-∅
 who A3-SP:plate PRFV fall-IV-B3
 ‘Whose plate fell?’

c. * **i-plato maxki** tyi yajl-i-∅
 A3-SP:plate who PRFV fall-IV-B3
 Intended meaning: ‘Whose plate fell?’

d. **maxki** tyi yajl-i-∅ **i-plato**
 who PRFV fall-IV-B3 A3-SP:plate
 ‘Whose plate fell?’

In conclusion, interrogation in Chol can be formulated by a rising intonation in non-final syllables, by the structure *ubi...ta’*, by the clitic =*ba*, and by the interrogative pronouns. As was demonstrated by Coon (2009), pied piping exists in interrogative constructions. In the following section, the strategy of negation will be introduced.

9.7 CLAUSAL NEGATION

As in Tseltal (Polian 2006: 105-7), the negative particle in Chol is *ma*. But unlike Tseltal, the negative morpheme in Chol cannot stand alone, as we can see from the ungrammaticality of (83a); it must take some clitics or particles, such as the second position clitic =*ix* (83b)

- (83) a. * **ma'** oñ-ø
NEG much-B3
Intended meaning: 'It is not much.'
- b. pe **ma'**=ix oñ-ø
SP:but NEG=already much-B3
'But it is already not much.' {031009_44}

Apparently, *-ch* has been integrated into the negative morpheme of Chol, resulting in the combined form *mach*. It is hard to figure out the origin of *-ch* because today it does not exist as a clitic or as a morpheme except in this word.

Some observations can be made regarding the use of *mach*. As is shown in (85b) the morpheme for aspect represents a restriction on the use of the negation *mach*, causing some irregularities in the verbal complex. As was discussed in §5.1.1 some transitive verbs have a vowel which is harmonic with the vowel of the root to signal perfective aspect of the transitive construction. For this reason, although there is no overt aspectual marker, we know that the root in (84b) corresponds to the perfective form. But curiously the reading is not a perfective one.

- (84) a. tyi i-läm-ä-y-ø-ob
PRFV A3-stop.doing-TV-EP-B3-PL3
'They stopped doing it.'
- b. **mach** (* tyi) i-läm-ä-y-ø-o'
NEG A3-stop.doing-TV-EP-B3-PL3
'They do not stop doing it (* They did not stop doing it).' {010201_69}

This structure with *mach* only allows adverbs of time with a non-past meaning.

- (85) mach i-läm-ä-y-ø-ob **ijk'ä** (* a'bi)
 NEG A3-stop.doing-TV-EP-B3-PL3 tomorrow (yesterday)
 'They will not stop doing it tomorrow (*yesterday).'

Negation of simple intransitive sentences with *mach* does not allow the presence of an aspectual marker either. Unlike transitive sentences, however, the verb does not preserve the thematic vowel for intransitives in perfective (see the vowel *-i* in (86b), which is not present in (86a)). However, although the aspectual reading of this sentence is a non-perfective one, we know that the verb has a perfective form because the subject is inflected by Set B, due to the split ergativity explained in §1.9.8.

- (86) a. **mach** (* tyi/ * mi) ñäm-ø ma kawayu'
 NEG pass-B3 DIR:away SP:horse
 'The horse does not pass.' {070613_4}

- b. tyi nām-i-ø
 PRFV pass-IV-B3
 'It passed.'

As is the case for the transitives, the adverbs of time in negative simple intransitive sentences must have non-past readings.

- (87) a. * mach ñäm-oñ **a'bi**
 NEG pass-B1 yesterday
 Intended meaning: 'I did not pass yesterday'

- b. mach ñäm-oñ **ijk'ä**
 NEG pass-B1 tomorrow
 'I will not pass tomorrow.'

The same pattern is observed for the agentive verbs: the auxiliary verbs keep its perfective morphology but the reading is not perfective and only the adverb with a future reading is allowed.

- (88) **mach** (* tyi) k-cha'l-e-∅ soñ ijk'ä (* a'bi)
 NEG A1-do-DT-B3 dance tomorrow (* yesterday)
 'I will not dance tomorrow.'

Since imperatives do not take aspectual markers, they negate with *mach*.

- (89) a. **mach** wäy-ety
 NEG sleep-B2
 'Don't sleep!'
- b. **mach** a-k'ux-∅
 NEG A2-sleep-B3
 'Don't eat it!'

In order to negate simple sentences without dropping the aspectual marker, it is necessary to use the negative compound form *ma'añ*. The negative particle *ma* takes the existential *añ*, which is used to negate transitive (90a) or intransitive sentences, including non-agentive (90b) or agentive (90c) forms with aspect markers.

- (90) a. **ma'añ** tyi i-kuch-u-y-∅-ob ja'
 NEG+E PRFV A3-carry-TV-EP-B3-PL3 water
 'They did not carry water.'
- b. **ma'añ** tyi me<j>l-i-∅ i-chol
 NEG+E PRFV do<+PASS>-IV-B3 A3-cornfield
 'His cornfield was not done.' {031009_44}
- c. **ma'añ** mi i-cha'l-eñ-∅ son
 NEG+E IMFV A3-do-DT-B3 dance
 'He did not dance.'

Since positionals do not take aspectual markers, we might expect to negate them with *mach*. However, positionals are negated with *ma'añ*.

- (91) a. **ma'añ** ty'uch-ul-ety yu'bi, cha=jach jäm-äl-on=la yu'bi
 NEG+E stand-STAT-B2 maybe like.this=only hang-POS-B1=PLINC maybe
 'It feels as if you were not standing, as if we were just hanging' {080730_24a}

- b. * **mach** ty'uch-ul-ety
 NEG stand.up-STAT-B2
 Intended meaning: 'You are not standing up'

Ma'añ also negates the existence of nouns (92a) and (92b). We know that when nouns take Set B they function predicatively. Under this function, the negation is with *mach* (92c).

- (92) a. **ma'añ** loktor
 NEG+E SP:doctor
 'There is no doctor.' {070621_11c}
- b. **ma'añ** kawayu'
 NEG+E SP:horse
 'There is no horse.' {070613_4}
- c. **mach** (* ma'añ) loktor-oñ
 NEG SP:doctor-B1
 'I am not a doctor'

Another resource to negate a sentence is by using the morpheme *ame*, resulting in a negative irrealis reading. As we can see in the following examples, non-agentive intransitive verbs also require the irrealis clitic *ik*.

- (93) a. **ame** pul=ik-ety
 NEG burn=IRR-B2
 'You should not burn.' {031009_44}
- b. * **ame** pul-ety
 NEG burn-B2

The irrealis clitic is not accepted when the sentence is transitive (94b). As with negation with *mach*, an aspect marker is not allowed in this structure and only non-past adverbs can occur post-verbally.

- (94) a. **ame** (* mi / * tyi) i-k'ux-on=la (* a'bi / ijk'ä)
 NEG A3-bite-B1=PLINC (* yesterday / tomorrow)
 'It should not bite us' {080730_24a}
- b. * ame i-k'ux=**ik**-on=la
 NEG A3-bite=IRR-B1=PLINC

In sum, in addition to the negation of irrealis constructions with *ame* plus *=ik*, for intransitive sentences, the generic negative particle in Chol is *ma*. This negative particle requires certain particles or clitics in order to be grammatical, such as the morpheme *ch*, resulting in *mach* or the existential *añ*, resulting in *ma'añ*. As summarized in Table 18, *mach* negates constructions without aspect markers, non-verbal predicates (except positionals in stative function), and imperatives. On the other hand *ma'añ* negates constructions with aspect markers, the existence of nouns, and positionals in either predicative or stative function.

Table 19. Distribution of negation in Chol

| mach | ma'añ |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| IV and TV without aspect | IV and TV with aspect |
| Non-verbal predicates (except positionals) | the existence of nouns |
| Imperative | Positionals: stative and predicative |

9.8 CLITICS

As was listed in §5.8, in Chol there are some clitics that always occur on the first word, called second position clitics. Some examples are *=tyo* 'still' (95), *=ix* 'already' (96), and *=äch* 'affirmative' (97).

- (95) mu'=tyo ke k-ots-añ-ø=loñ yambä
 IMFV=still start A1-insert-DT-B3=PLEXC other
 'We will still insert another.' {031009_44}

(96) tsa=**x** kej-i-∅ tyi ju'b-el majlel
 PRFV=already start-IV-B3 PREP down-NF DIR:away
 'He already started to go to down.' {010201_69}

(97) mach=**äch** j-käm-b-e-∅ i-k'a'ba'=bä
 NEG=AFFR A1-know-APL-DT-B3 A3-name=REL
 'I certainly do not know his name.' {011103_62}

When two second position clitics are required in the sentence, both of them go on the first word. When =*äch* and =*ix* co-occur, the first one immediately follows the root, as in the following example.

(98) a. añ=(ä)**ch=ix** i-ñich tyi k-chol
 E=AFFR=already A3-flower PREP A1-cornfield
 'It already has its flower in my cornfield.' {031009_44}

b. * añ=**ix=äch** i-ñich tyi k-chol
 E=already=AFFR A3-flower PREP A1-cornfield

It seems that these clitics do not attach to the first word of the clause if it is borrowed from Spanish, at least not if it is not fully integrated into the Chol lexicon. Notice in the example (99) that the Spanish words *como* 'because' and *puro* 'only' do not take the clitics but *kaxlañ* 'stranger' does.

(99) komo (* =ix) tsa=**x** lajm-i-∅ li y-otyoty
 SP:because PRFV=already finish-IV-B3 DET A3-house
 la=k-pi'äl-∅-ob-tyak=i, puru (* =ix) kaxlañ-o'=**ix**
 PLINC=A1-chol-B3-PL3-PLIND=FIN SP:only SP:stranger-PL3=already
 tyi kej-i-y-∅-o' tyi jul-el
 PRFV start-IV-EP-B3-PL3 PREP arrive-NF
 'Because the house of some choles disappeared, only strangers already started to come.' {010201_69}

The negative morpheme *mach* cannot directly take the clitic *ix* (101), but other clitics of second position, such as =*äch* (101) and =*tyo* (102) can be attached to it. Notice in the

last example that the vowel of the clitic can be assimilated to the vowel of the negation and *ch* changes to *x* (see §2.4).

(100) mach(* =ix) i-pi'ä=x
 NEG A3-wife=already
 'She is not his wife already.' {031009_44}

(101) mach=**äch** j-kään-b-e-ø i-k'a'ba'=bä
 NEG=AFFR A1-know-APL-DT-B3 A3-name=REL
 'I certainly do not know his name.' {011103_62}

(102) moxtyo yulo' ja'ts' soñ
 mox=**tyo** y-ujil-ø-ob ja'ts'-soñ
 NEG=yet A3-know-B3-PL3 play-music
 'They do not know how to play the music yet.' {011103_62}

Because such clitics almost always take the second position, they signal the left edge of the sentence.

The enclitic =*i* appears signaling the right edge of a clause. In the example (103), the right edge of the fronted constituent is indicated by =*i*. After this clitic, a pause is required, which is indicated in the sentence by a comma (,). Moreover, when a clarification is inserted in the sentence, as in (103), the right edge of the clarification can be indicated by the same enclitic, followed by a pause. Finally, this enclitic can just indicate that the sentence ends there (105a).

(103) y-om-ø=bä y-äk'-ø tyi majañ li i-p'o'=**i**,
 A3-want-B3=REL A3-give-B3 PREP borrow DET A3-dress=FIN
 mi i-poj-tyoj-b-eñ-ø-o'
 IMFV A3-HON-pay-APL-DT-B3-PL3
 'Whoever wants to borrow her dress, they pay her.' {010201_69}

(104) komo ta=x kej-i-ø tyi pas-el-tyak
 SP:because PRFV=already start-IV-B3 PREP come-NF-PLIND
 i-chäm-el li chityam, i-chäm-el li
 A3-die-NF DET pig A3-die-NF DET
 aläk'-äl-ø-tyak=**i**, ta=x kej-i-ø
 animals-DER-B3-PLIND=FIN PRFV=already start-IV-B3

y-äkty-añ-ø-ob li k'ĩnejel-tyak=**i**
 A3-finish-DT-B3-PL3 DET celebration-PLIND=FIN
 'Because the pigs' illness came, the animals' illness, they started to stop doing
 the celebration.' {010201_69}

Based on the last couple of examples, it seems that the determiner *li* is triggering the presence of the enclitic =*i*. However, there are more environments with =*i* and without the presence of *li*. One of these environments involves the use of adverbs of location. As we know, some adverbs do not have a fixed position in the sentence. If the adverb is in sentence final position, it can take the enclitic (105a). However, if the adverb is not in a final position, the clitic disappears (105b); otherwise the structure is split in two sentences, as the pause, signaled by a comma, indicates in (105c).

(105) a. tyi ñäm-i-ø **iwä'**=i
 PRFV pass-IV-B3 here=FIN
 'He passed here.' {011103_62}

b. **wä'** tyi ñäm-i-ø
 here PRFV pass-IV-B3
 'He passed here.'

c. **wä'=i**, tyi ñäm-i-ø
 here=FIN PRFV pass-IV-B3
 'Here?, He passed.'

Finally, the enclitic =*e*' can optionally be used in CVC transitive roots only if the object is third person singular (106b). Additionally, the verb must be in imperfective aspect, as the ungrammaticality of the example (106c) shows.

(106) a. mi a-xul-ø=**e'**
 IMFV A2-broke-B3=ENC
 'You broke it.'

b. * mi i-xul-**ety=e'**
 IMFV A3-broke-B2=ENC
 Intended meaning: 'It brokes you.'

- c. * **tyi** i-xul-u-y-ø=e'
 PRFV A3-broke-TV-B2=ENC
 Intended meaning: 'It brokes you.'

This enclitic can also appear in *ame* negative constructions (107) in the same class of transitives.

- (107) *ame* i-xul-ø=e'
 NEG A3-broke-B3=ENC
 'He should not break it.' {031009_44}

When the main arguments are overtly marked with NP's, this enclitic can remain in the verb but it sounds better without it. Both examples are good and have the same meaning.

- (108) a. *ame* i-xul-ø ñichim aläl
 NEG A3-broke-B3 candle child
 'The child should not break the candle.'
- b. *ame* i-xul-ø=e' ñichim aläl
 NEG A3-broke-B3=ENC candle child

In conclusion, we saw in this chapter that the structure of a simple sentence in Chol will depend on the type of predicate. For instance, non-verbal predicates have only the inflection for person/number; they do not allow the use of aspectual markers. Verbal predicates on the other hand, inflect person/number and also aspect in their basic structure. There is a class of intransitives, the agentives, which participate in a different structure that will be discussed in chapter 14. To these basic structures, additional elements such as modifiers, adverbs, directionals, clitics, interrogative and negative markers can be added. In all cases, third person participants allow lexical NPs. Finally, non-core arguments are introduced by relational nouns and prepositions.

Valence changing and rearranging mechanisms

This chapter consists of a description of valence operations in Chol. It includes the active §10.1, passive §10.2, and antipassive §10.3 voices. Other operations related to valence change, such as reflexive/reciprocal §10.4, causative §10.5, and applicative constructions §10.6 are also discussed. In all cases, the lexical realizations of core and non-core arguments when the predicates change valence are emphasized.

10.1. ACTIVE VOICE

As was described in §9.1, the core arguments in active transitive sentences are obligatorily inflected on the verb and such arguments can also optionally be expressed as overt NPs, if they are third persons. In (1), the intransitive subject is inflected for third person Set B, which cross-references the overt NP *sajk* ‘grasshopper’. The examples in (2) are transitive. The inflections in (2a) are third person and cross-reference the NPs that follow the verb; while in (2b) only one argument (the subject) is third person and, consequently, it is the argument that cross-references the NP which is lexically expressed after the verb.

- (1) tyi ñäm-i-∅ sajk’
 PRFV pass-IV-B3 grasshopper
 ‘The grasshopper passed by.’ {080604_12a}

- (2) a. tyi chol k-papaj
 PRFV A3-make-TV-B3 cornfield A1-SP:father
 ‘My father tended the cornfield.’

- b. mi i-jats'-oñ k-papaj
 IMFV A3-hit-B1 A1-SP:father
 'My father hits me.' {070621_11b}

It is evident that verbal valence in Chol is morphologically indicated by the use of one (intransitive) or two (transitive) person markers. As is expected, the reduction of the valence of transitive verbs will result in the presence of just one person marker on the verb and, on the other hand, increasing valence of intransitive verbs will result in the use of two person markers. The mechanisms involved in rearranging valences are passive, antipassive and causative. In addition to these three mechanisms, the applicative *-b* plays a role in the treatment of a third argument, syntactically similar to a direct object. All these mechanisms are presented in the following sections.

10.2. PASSIVE VOICE

Three resources of passivization have been identified in Chol (see §6.2). The distribution depends on the type of the last consonant of monosyllabic roots and if the root needs a suffix in order to be inflected by person markers. In this language, passive verbs are formally intransitive derived forms because they take only one person marker, either Set B or Set A, depending on the aspect. In a passive structure, the patient overtly expressed in the transitive construction survives as the single core argument, while the underlying agent can be introduced by a preposition, signaling a non-core relation.

One strategy consists of inserting the infix *-j-* into the verbal root. This strategy is required when the last consonant of a monosyllabic root is non-fricative. The passive example (3a) can be derived from the active form (3b). The transitivity of the construction in (3b) is observable in the fact that it takes two person markers. Moreover, this example has the vowel *-ä*, which is in harmony with the vowel of the root, also indicating transitivity. Meanwhile the passive form in (3a) is clearly intransitized because it takes only one inflection for person and takes the thematic vowel for intransitives *-i*.

- (3) a. tyi pä<j>y-i-ø te
 PRFV call<+PAS>-IV-B3 DIR:toward
 ‘He was called to come.’ {070614_6b}
- b. tyi k-päy-ä-ety te
 PRFV A1-call-TV-B2 DIR:toward
 ‘I called you to come.’

In the imperfective aspect, the same infix is used, the thematic vowel disappears, the non-finite suffix is used, and the subject is inflected by Set A (see type of alignments in §1.9.4).

- (4) ba’ika mi k-pä<j>y-e(l) ma tyi
 wherever IMFV A1-call<+PAS>-NF DIR:away PREP
 uch’-e(l)
 eat-NF
 ‘Wherever I am called to eat (food).’ {080730_26b}

The second strategy of passive forms consists of the use of the suffixes *-le* and *-ty*. The first one is for perfective aspect and the second for imperfective. These forms are required when the last consonant of a monosyllabic verb is fricative. In example (5a), due to the perfective aspect, the passive morpheme is *-le* and the subject is inflected by Set B. In (5b), the passive morpheme is *-ty* (instead of *-le*) and the imperfective form has changed the alignment into nominative/accusative. Additionally, in this last example, the verb takes the nonfinite suffix and we can see that the underlying transitive subject *lukum* ‘snake’, can be expressed as an oblique argument.

- (5) a. ma’añ tyi k’ux-**le**-ø
 NEG+E PRFV bite-PAS-B3
 ‘He was not bitten.’ {080703_19c }
- b. mu’=bä i-ch’oj-**ty**-äl-o’ tyi lukum=i
 IMFV=REL A3-bite-PAS-NF-PL3 PREP snake=FIN
 ‘The ones who are bitten by the snake.’ {070614_6b}

Kaufman and Norman (1984) indicate that the proto-Mayan source of the passive infix in Chol is *-h-. According to them, *-h- was lost before the fricative sounds /s, x, j/. The above examples permit us to observe in Chol the reflexes of this loss of *-h-. It is clear that CVC transitive roots where the last C is a fricative /s, x, j/ can not take the passive infix -j-. Instead of this infix, they use other forms shared with positionals: -le and -ty (§5.4). It is evident that the distribution of the allomorphs conditioned by aspects in the positional roots was maintained in their function as passives.

Finally, a third strategy is required for transitive stems. It is important to highlight that some transitive verbs take the suffix -V/-Vñ, depending on the aspect, in order to be allowed to take the inflection for person (see §5.1.1). This class of transitive verbs passivizes with the suffix -ty. The verb in example (6a) takes the passive suffix, and it is followed by the vowel for intransitive verbs -i. Since the clause has perfective aspect, the subject is inflected by Set B, which cross-references the relativized NP *lakernañuj* ‘our brother’, placed in front of the verb. The underlying agent *x-ajaw* ‘the *ajaw*’ is introduced by the preposition *tyi*, signaling a non-core relation. (6b) is the possible active transitive form, however this construction sounds odd, due to an animacy hierarchy conflict (§14.1). In this example, the object (the single argument in the passive construction) follows the verbs, and the agent is not preceded by the preposition.¹

- (6) a. $\overbrace{\text{la=k-ermañuj} \quad \text{ta'=bä} \quad \text{tyä'l-ään-ty-i-}\emptyset}$
 PLINC=A1-SP:brother PRFV=REL bother-DT-PAS-IV-B3
tyi *x-ajaw=i*
 PREP NCL-ajaw=FIN
 ‘Our brother who was bothered by the *ajaw*.’ {080704_20b}
- b. ? *tyi* $\overbrace{\text{i-tyä'l-ä-}\emptyset \quad \text{la=k-ermañuj} \quad \text{x-ajaw}}$
 PRFV A3-bother-DT-B3 PLINC=A1-SP:brother NCL-ajaw
 ‘The *ajaw* bothered our brother.’

¹ It is important to remember that the suffix used to form the stem in the perfective aspect (§5.1.1.1) is neutralized in the passive construction.

In a construction with imperfective aspect, the passive morpheme is followed by the nonfinite suffix, and the ergative alignment changes into a nominative one (7a). The underlying transitive subject is preceded by a preposition indicating non-core relations (see the absence of such prepositions in (7b)). In contrast with example (6a), above, the only core argument expressed overtly follows the verbs.

- (7) a. mi **i**-tyä'l-ään-**ty**-el-o' la=k-pi'äl-ob tyi bajläm
 IMFV A3-bother-DT-PAS-NF-PL3 PLINC=A1-friend-PL3 PREP jaguar
 'Our friends (the Chol people) are bothered by the jaguar.' {070621_11b}
- b. mi **i**-tyä'l-ään-**∅** la=k-pi'äl-ob aj-kaxlañ-ob
 IMFV A3-bother-DT-B3 PLINC=A1-friend-PL3 NCL-ladino-PL3
 'The *ladinos* bother the Chol people.'

In summary, the simple transitive roots with a CVC shape passivize with the infix *-j-* if the last C is not fricative; otherwise *-le* and *-ty* are used in perfective and in imperfective aspect, respectively. Transitive stems derive passives by using the suffix *-ty* in both perfective and imperfective aspect (see Table 12 in chapter 6). The different treatment of derived transitive verbs is observable in other Cholan languages, such as Chontal, where they take the suffix *-int* to passivize derived transitives while the simple transitive passivizes with the suffix *-k* (Osorio May 2005).

10.3. ANTIPASSIVE VOICE

Antipassive (AP) constructions also imply valence reduction; in other words, they derive intransitive forms from transitive verbs. Vázquez Álvarez (2002) identified two types of antipassives in Chol: one which employs the suffix *-oñ* (absolute) and another in which the patient is incorporated (antipassive of incorporation). Gutiérrez Sánchez (2004) added the suffix *-Vyaj* as another kind of absolute antipassive in this language. A common feature of AP in Chol is that all of them resemble agentive intransitive verbs (§5.1.1.2).

The resources of AP found in Chol have been fairly well documented in other Mayan languages. Smith-Stark (1978) mentioned that the AP of incorporation exists in

Mayan languages as a type of voice; also it was documented in Chontal by Osorio May (2005: 163-70). According to the last author, the suffix *-Vyaj* or *-aj* is required when the patient is incorporated in the verb. The AP absolutive *-oñ* is cognate with the proto-Mayan **-on* and is also present in Chontal (Osorio May 2500: 159-63).

These resources of AP are presented in this section and some of the contexts where AP is required in other Mayan languages will also be explored.

10.3.1. Absolutive antipassive

The absolutive AP in Chol occurs in contexts where the patient is not mentioned. In these constructions, the verbs take the suffix *-oñ* or *-aj*. Since antipassive verbs belong in the category of agentive intransitive verbs, they appear as nominalized predicates functioning as object of the light verb *cha'l*. The inflections for person and aspect are codified in the light verb. In the following example (8), the subject of the AP verb ‘scold’ is “controlled” by the subject of the light verb, inflected by Set A. The Set B inflection on this verb is cross-referencing the nominalized antipassivized verb. Under this view, AP constructions are part of complex structures (§14.1).

- (8) ma'añ mi k-cha'l-eñ-ø al-i-y-aj=bä poke
 NEG+E IMFV A1-do-DT-B3 scold-DT-EP-AP=REL SP:because
 mach ch'ujbi
 NEG can
 ‘I did not scold (somebody) because it is not correct.’ {080729_22b}

There is another complex structure in which AP verbs participate. The AP verb in example (9) is clearly a non-finite complement of the verb of motion. The inferred subject of the AP verb in this example is the same as that which is inflected with Set B on the matrix verb. The analysis proposed for this structure is that the subject of the AP verb is controlled by the subject of the matrix verb which has saturated its valence and for that reason the AP verb is headed by a preposition, marked by *tyi* (see §14.1.3).

- (9) ts-ajñ-ø-o'=bä **tyi** määñ-**oñ**-el tyi Tapijulapa
 PRFV-go-B3-PL3=REL PREP buy-AP-NF PREP Tapijulapa
 'Who went to buy (something) in Tapijulapa.' {sf_75}

The patient need not be mentioned in AP constructions, but can be inferred through the context. For instance, example (10) comes from reported speech where the father is repeating what his daughter said when he was drunk. By the context, we can infer that the understood patient is the utterance he produces when talking.

- (10) a lo mejor k-papaj mi i-ke tyi al-i-y-**aj** che'eñ
 SP:maybe A1-father IMFV A3-start PREP say-DT-EP-AP say
 'Maybe my father will scold (his children)... she says' {040114_42a}

Example (11) was obtained in a conversation where the topic was an elderly woman who still worked intensively in the kitchen. Here we can infer by the information of the following sentence that the implicit object of *cha'liyaj* 'do' is *waj* 'tortilla'.

- (11) mu'-ø tyi cha'l-**i-y-aj**, mi' (i-)mel-ø i-waj
 IMFV-B3 PREP do-DT-EP-AP IMFV A3-make-B3 A3-tortilla
 'she does (something) (e.g. she works a lot), she makes her tortilla'
 {031102_43}

In sum, absolutive AP is marked by the suffixes *-oñ* or *-aj*. The patient in this type of antipassive construction is not expressed morphologically or syntactically (by a preposition). The suffix *-oñ* has been reconstructed as part of the proto-Mayan grammatical system and the suffix *-aj* functions also as an AP in Chontal (Osorio May 2005).

10.3.2. Antipassive of incorporation

Another resource for deriving intransitive verbs consists of incorporating the patient in the verb, as in the following examples.

- (12) a. pāk'-bu'ul
 plant-bean
 'To plant beans'
- b. choñ-ixim
 sell-corn
 'To sell corn'

The forms with the object incorporated differ from typical transitive constructions, as in (13). On the one hand, the object in the transitive construction can take a determiner (13); while the incorporated form cannot (14b). On the other hand the antipassivized form can take the prefix *aj-* which requires the absolutive marker after the object (14a); not before.

- (13) mi k-päk'-ø ili bu'ul
 IMFV A1-plant-B3 DET bean
 'I plant these beans.'

- (14) a. **aj-päk'(*oñ)-bu'ul-oñ**
 NCL-plant-bean-B1
 'I am the one who plants beans.'

- b. *aj-päk'-**li**-bu'ul-oñ
 NCL-plant-DET-bean-B1
 Intended meaning: 'I am the one who plants beans.'

Although it is not always required, the suffix *-aj* appears in the AP with the incorporated patient, especially when the derivation involves causativization. The compound form can also be between the noun class marker *aj-* and Set B first person marker *-oñ* (15b)

- (15) a. aw-u-ø=ba tsän-s-**aj**-wakax
 A2-know-B3=INT die-CAU-AP-SP:cow
 'Do you know how to kill cow?' {070620_9a}

- b. **aj**-tsän-s-aj-wakax-**oñ**
 CL-die-CAU-AP-cow-B1
 'I am the person who kills the cow.'

Syntactically, the AP of incorporation is similar to the absolutive AP because it takes the object position and requires the light verb to codify the inflection for person and aspect. In (16), the subject of the AP is controlled by the subject of the light verb and Set B is cross-referencing the antipassivized form.

- (16) *tyi* *k-cha'l-e-ø* *päk'-kajpej*
 PRFV A1-do-DT-B3 plant-SP:coffee
 'I planted coffee.' {031102_43}

In (17) the AP form is preceded by *tyi* and functions as a complement of the phasal verb whose subject controls the subject of the AP verb. Since the main verb is not allowed to assign case, the presence of *tyi* is required in this type of construction (see §14.1.3).

- (17) *tyi* *kej-i-ø* *tyi* ***päs-juñ***
 PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP teach-paper
 'He started to teach.' {080730_25a}

In conclusion, there are two types of AP constructions in Chol: Absolutive and AP of incorporation. Both behave as agentive verbs because they require the light verb *cha'l* 'do' or another main verb to codify its subject by mechanisms of "control". This pattern is the same as that which was described in Chontal by Osorio May (2005).

10.3.3. Focusing the agent

In addition to the absolutive AP and the AP of incorporation, some Mayan languages also exhibit "agent focus" antipassive voice, such as Tsotsil (Aissen 1999), Tz'utujil (Dayley 1985: 347), Q'anjob'al (Francisco Pascual 2007), among others, or the agent focus construction (which differs from the antipassive in that the single argument on the verb is the patient rather than the agent). One of these constructions is required when the agent is focused, questioned or relativized. As can be seen in the following examples from Q'anjob'al (Francisco Pascual 2007: 9), when the agent is fronted to be focused, as in (18b), the verb takes the agent focus suffix *-on*. Since there is only one inflection for

person on the verb, it is morphologically intransitive. However the patient is not treated as adjunct (e.g. preceded by a preposition or a relational noun). For this reason the construction is not totally intransitive.

Q'anjob'al

(18) a. x- \emptyset -y='a' heb' nab'al-ej ay-on
 COM-B3-A3=give PL3 idea-ABS DAT-B1PL²
 'They gave us some ideas.'

b. a= \emptyset heb' a- \emptyset ='a'-**on** nab'al-ej ay-on
 EMP=B3 3PL COM-B3=give-AF idea-ABS DAT-B1PL
 'They were the ones who gave us some ideas.'

In Chol however, focusing the agent does not trigger AP or agent focus constructions (see also §12.6). First of all, when the agent is focused, as in (19b), the verb does not take any special suffix and remains morphologically transitive. It is important to point out that in this context, the fronted element is always interpreted as the agent of the sentence. As was stated above (§10.2), in order to focus the patient, the passive construction is required (see also chapter 12).

(19) a. mi i-tsajk-añ- \emptyset aj-Wañ aj-Pegro
 IMFV A3-follow-DT-B3 NCL-Juan NCL-Pedro
 'Pedro follows Juan.'

b. **jiñ** aj-Pegro mi **i**-tsajk-añ- \emptyset aj-Wañ
 FOC NCL-Pedro IMFV A3-follow-DT-B3 NCL-Juan
 'It is Pedro who follows Juan.'

c. **jiñ** aj-Pegro mi **i**-tsajk-añ-**oñ**
 FOC NCL-Pedro IMFV A3-follow-DT-B1
 'It is Pedro who follows me.'

² The abbreviations used in these examples are: ABS: absolutive marker, COM: completive, DAT: dative, EMP: emphasis.

Second, the verb also remains transitive without a special morpheme when the agent of the sentence is questioned, as shown in the following example. As can be seen, this strategy of questioning constituents can generate potential ambiguity in the reading, in the sense that the questioned participant can be interpreted as the patient (see reading b).

- (20) majchki mi i-tsajk-añ-ø aj-Pegro
 who IMFV A3-follow-DT-B3 CLN-Pedro
 a. 'Who follows Pedro?'
 b. 'Whom does Pedro follow?'

Although an interpretation of a questioned patient could be found in (20), the unambiguous manner to question the patient is by passivizing the verb and demoting the agent to an oblique position, as in the following example.

- (21) majchki mi i-tsajk-añ-ty-el tyi aj-Pegro
 who IMFV A3-follow-DT-PAS-NF PREP CLN-Pedro
 'Who is followed by Pedro?'

And third, relative constructions do not trigger an agent focus construction in Chol. As with the previous contexts, a construction with a relativized agent does not change the transitive morphology of the verb and does not have an agent focus suffix.

- (22) tyi sajty-i-ø li x-'ixik tsa'=bä i-ts'äk-ä-oñ
 PRFV die-IV-B3 DET NCL-woman PRFV=REL A3-cure-DT-B1
 'The woman who cured me died.'

In sum, agent focus constructions, as reported for Q'anjob'al (Francisco Pascual 2007) and other Mayan languages, do not exist in Chol.

10.4. REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL

Both the reflexive and the reciprocal in Chol are constructions which include the relational noun *bäj* as the object of the transitive verb. This morpheme is cognate with *ba* in Chontal (Osorio May 2005) and Tseltal (Polian 2006: §4.4.5), where it has the same

functions. As in the two related languages, in Chol it works as a relational noun and it always appears possessed by Set A, correferential with the Set A marker on the verb.

- (23) tyi' (i-)päs-ä-ø **i-bäj** iwä'
 PRFV A3-show-TV-B3 A3-RN here
 'He shows himself here.' {070613_4}

The reflexive-reciprocal always involves transitive constructions where the possessed relational noun is cross-referenced with the absolutive inflection on the main verb, which is always third person singular. As a typical characteristic of this type of construction, the agent of the main verb and the possessor of the relational noun agree in person. Interestingly, the scope of the plural marker on the verb can include the relational noun, as in (24) and (25). Notice that in these examples, the plural marker cannot be duplicated, one attached to the verb and another before the relational noun.³

- (24) ñämä-ø k-pejk-añ-ø=**la** (*la=)k-bäj
 customary-B3 A1-talk-DT-B3=PLINC A1-RN
 'We are accustomed to talking to each other.' {080604_12c}

- (25) mi k-tyemp-añ-ø=**lon** (*lon=)k-bäj
 IMFV A1-meet-DT-B3=PLEXC A1-RN
 'We meet each other.' {070621_11a}

However, when the plural clitic is placed pre-verbally, its presence on the relational noun is allowed, as we can see in (26). However, the plural in the relational noun must be placed before it, otherwise the construction is ungrammatical.

- (26) mu=x=bi **la=k-su'b(-b)-eñ-ø** **la=k-bäj(*=la)**
 IMFV=already=REP PLINC=A1-announce-APL-DT-B3 PLINC=A1-SR
 jiñ li i-yum li ixim=i
 hm DET A3-owner DET corn=FIN
 'It is said that we already announced ourselves to the owner of the corn.'
 {080703_19a}

The restriction of the presence of the plural marker after the relational noun is also noticeable when the construction involves third person, as is demonstrated in the following contrast.⁴

- (27) a. ta=x ke i-tyemp-añ-ø-o' i-bäj kixtyañuj-o'
 PRFV=already start A3-meet-DT-B3-PL3 A3-RN SP:people-PL3
 'People had already started to gather together.' {080703_19b}
- b. * ta=x ke i-tyemp-añ-ø-o' i-bäj-**ob**
 PRFV=already start A3-meet-DT-B3-PL3 A3-RN-PL3
 Intended meaning: 'People had already started to gather together'

In conclusion, this language does not allow the presence of the same plural markers next to each other. As a result, the presence of two plural markers next to each other expected for examples (24) and (25), above, was collapsed into just one. On the other hand, the restriction on the presence of the third person plural in the relational noun seems to follow the general constraint against the use of plural markers after relational nouns.

10.5. CAUSATIVE

The causative construction increases the valence of intransitive verbs, deriving transitive verbs. In Chol, the causative morpheme will vary depending on the class of the intransitive verb or the type of predicate. For instance, positional roots transitivize by suffixing *-chok* 'put', as in (28); most agentives transitivize with *ak'* (29) and some non-verbal predicates and non-agentives causativize with *-(i)s* (30) and (31), respectively.

- (28) mu'=bä i-k'äty-**chok**-oñ-ø-o'-tyak
 IMFV=REL A3-be.across-CAU-DT-B3-PL3-PLIND
 '(the wood of the railroad) that they put lying crosswise' {080703_19b}

³ The plural markers for 1st and 2nd person are clitics and can appear pre or post-verbally (§4.2).

⁴ Remember that the third person plural *-ob* is different than the other plural markers in the sense that it works as a suffix; not as a clitic.

- (29) tyi k-**äk'**-ä-ø tyi pak'
 PRFV A1-give-DT-B3 PREP plant
 'I let him plant (corn).'⁵
- (30) mi la=k-wiñik-**is**-añ-ø
 IMFV PLINC=A1-man-CAU-DT-B3
 'We make him a man.'
- (31) chonko i-be-k'äj-k-**is**-añ-on=la
 PROG A1-continuously-raise-CAU-DT-B1=PLINC
 'It (our government) is continuously raising us up (e.g. improving our life).'
 {070621_11a}

The agentives that do not causativize with *ak'* 'give', take the suffix *-(i)s*.

- (32) chon y-ajñ-**is**-añ-ø majle li i-ts'i'
 PROG A3-run-CAU-DT-B3 DIR:away DET A3-dog
 'He is chasing his dog.' {sf_66}

For this reason, we cannot state that each group (e.g. agentives) has a single strategy of causativization.

Finally, the causativized stem can be intransitivized again by using a passive suffix. The following example has only one set of person markers, and the passive marker has been suffixed.

- (33) tsa'=bä säk-'is-**añ-ty**-i-ø
 PRFV=REL white-CAU-DT-PAS-IV-B3
 'The one who was whitened.' {040115_42b}

In sum, it is clear that inflectional causatives derive transitive verbs from intransitives or non-verbal predicates, because, for instance, the derived form takes both Set A and Set B inflection. In the next section, an operation will be discussed in which a third participant is treated as a core argument by the reference with Set B inflection.

10.6. APPLICATIVE

As was described in §9.1, the A, O and S arguments are inflected on the verb by the two sets of person/number markers: Set A and Set B. It was also stated that these arguments can be expressed optionally as lexical NPs if they are third persons. Finally, the non-core arguments can be introduced by prepositions or relational nouns, resulting in a VOS(oblique) order. Example (34a) illustrates these properties: A is inflected by Set A second person singular and the O argument is inflected by Set B third person singular, which cross-references the overt NP *ts'ak* 'medicine'. The NP *loktor* 'doctor', expressing the semantic source of the relation is preceded by the preposition *tyi*, to signal a non-core relation; in other words, it is the indirect object. Without *tyi* in front of the second NP, the sentence is ungrammatical (40b).

- (34) a. *tyi a-k'ajty-i-∅ ts'ak tyi loktor*
 PRFV A2-ask-DT-B3 medicine PREP SP:doctor
 'you asked for medicine from the doctor' / 'you asked the doctor for medicine'

- b. * *tyi a-k'ajty-i-∅ ts'ak loktor*

In a sequence of two objects after the verb, NP1 *tyi* NP2, only NP1 is cross-referenced by the third person Set B markers in the verb. The NP referring to the theme is the only argument that can function as the subject of passives.

- (35) *tyi k'ajty-iñ-ty-i-∅ ts'ak tyi loktor*
 PRFV ask-DT-PAS-IV-B3 medicine PREP SP:doctor
 'Medicine was requested from the doctor.'

This type of relation is what characterizes Chol as a "Direct Object" language, in terms of Dryer (1986). However, this treatment of objects can change when the verb takes the applicative suffix *-b*. With this suffix, the third participant is coded as primary object, that is, the argument cross-referenced by Set B on the verb. The primary object status of the

⁵ The causativization with *ak'* 'give', as with all verbs of manipulation, is part of a complex construction, and it will be discussed in detail in (§14.1)

third participant is also noticeable in the fact that the preposition between the two objects is not required anymore (see the contrast of (36a) with (34b), above).

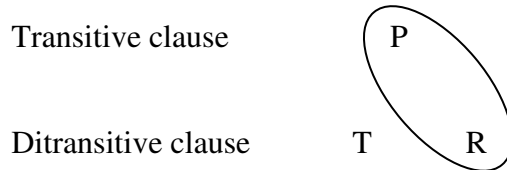
- (36) a. tyi a-k'ajty-i-**b**-e-∅ ts'ak loktor
 PRFV A2-ask-DT-APL-DT-B3 medicine SP:doctor
 'you asked for medicine from the doctor' / 'you asked the doctor for medicine'
- b. tyi a-k'ajty-i-**b**-oñ ts'ak
 PRFV A2-ask-DT-APL-B1 medicine
 'you asked for medicine from me' / 'you asked me for medicine'

The passive construction provides more evidence that the third participant is the primary object of the clause. As demonstrated in §10.2, the O argument of a transitive verb results as S in the intransitive verb derived by passivization. In (37a), the single argument inflected on the passivized verb is cross-referencing the second object. This is more clearly demonstrated in (37b) where the inflection on the verb is first person singular which is co-referent with the optional independent pronoun to indicate its facultative status. In both examples, NP1 remains unaffected by the valence reduction and by change in the inflection for person on the verb. NP2 has the status of primary object.

- (37) a. tyi k'ajty-i-b-eñ-**ty**-i-∅ ts'ak loktor
 PRFV ask-DT-APL-DT-PAS-IV-B3 medicine SP:doctor
 'The medicine was asked for from the doctor.'
- b. tyi k'ajty-i-b-eñ-**ty**-i-y-**oñ** ts'ak (joñoñ)
 PRFV ask-DT-APL-DT-PAS-IV-EP-B1 medicine PRON1
 'The medicine was asked for from me.'

Malchukov, et. al. (2007), proposed different types of ditransitive alignments which are distinguished in terms of the encoding of T (theme), and R (recipient), compared to the monotransitive P (patient). Under the alignment types of ditransive constructions proposed by these authors, Chol exhibits "an indirective alignment" because R is treated differently from the P and the T (T=P ≠ R). At the same time, this language presents a

“secundative” alignment when the applicative is used, because T is treated differently from the P and the R ($T \neq P=R$). In the indirective alignment, as was already shown above, R is introduced by a preposition or a relational while T and P are cross-referenced by Set B person marker. However, in the secundative alignment, P and R are cross-referenced by Set B, as shown in the following figure.



The Primary Object properties of Chol described here have also been identified in other Tseltalan languages, such as Tsotsil (Aissen 1987), Tseltal (Polian 2006 §4.4.4), and Chontal (Osorio May 2005: §5.4).

10.6.1. The verb *ak'* ‘to give’

The verb *ak'* ‘to give’ in Chol functions both as a monotransitive and as a ditransitive. Under the last function, it does not take the applicative suffix *-b*. This property contrasts with Tseltal (Polian 2006: §4.4.4) or Tsotsil (Aissen 1987), because the verb *ak'* in these Tseltalan languages requires the suffix *-b(e)y* and *-be*, respectively. However, as shown next, Chol has different status suffixes for each function.

In the monotransitive function, this verb takes the vowel *-ä* in the perfective aspect (38b). In the imperfective form, there is no suffix following the root (38a). However, in the ditransitive function, the imperfective/perfective contrast requires the suffix *-eñ* (39a) and *-e* (39b), respectively. The fact that this verb requires the same suffixes that are used in ditransitive constructions with other verbs, tells us that there is a covert applicative marker in the examples in (39).

- (38) a. mi k-äk'-ø tyak'iñ
 IMFV A1-give-B3 money
 ‘I give money’

- b. tyi k-äk'-ä-ø tyak'iñ
 PRFV A1-give-TV-B3 money
 'I gave money'
- (39) a. mi k-äk'(-b)-eñ-ø tyak'iñ
 IMFV A1-give(-APL)-DT-B3 money
 'I give him money.'
- b. tyi k-äk'(-b)-e-ø tyak'iñ
 PRFV A1-give(-APL)-DT-B3 money
 'I gave him money.'

For this reason, we can state that the verb in example (40) is monotransitive, while in (41) it is ditransitive. In the first example, the Set B inflection in the verb is correferential with *kwersaj* 'strength', the direct object. However, the Set B inflection in example (41) is correferential with the primary object, which is coded in the verb by *-onla*. *Pime* 'plant' is the secondary object.

- (40) tyi meru k-äk'-ä-ø=loñ kwersaj tyi toñe
 PRFV SP:little A1-give-TV-B3=PLEXC SP:strength PREP work
 'We put little energy into our job.' Lit: 'We gave little strength to our job.'
 {070613_4}
- (41) mu'=bi weñ y-äk'(-b)-eñ-on=la pime
 IMFV=REP SP:much A3-give(-APL)-DT-B1=PLINC plant
 'It is said that he gives us enough plants (in order to be cured).' {070614_6b}

More morphosyntactic differences between monotransitive or ditransitive functions of *ak'* are found in the passive morphemes. Each use of *ak'* takes a different passive morpheme. The monotransitive *ak'* passivizes with the infix *-j-* (42), while the ditransitive *ak'* does so with the suffix *-ty* (43). This shows that it is no longer a monotransitive underived root.

- (42) juñ tyi a<j>k'-i-ø
 paper PRFV give<+PAS>-IV-B3
 'A document was given.' {080730_25b}
- (43) ma' wäk'eñtye misa
 mi aw-äk'(-b)-eñ-ty-el misa
 IMFV A2-give(-APL)-DT-PAS-NF SP:Mass
 '(when you died) Mass is given for you' {070613_4}

10.6.2. Semantic roles of R

Aissen (1987) pointed out that in Tsotsil the primary object bears various thematic roles, such as recipient, benefactive, malefactive, and target. They are the same roles identified in previous works in Chol and Chontal (Vázquez Alvarez 2002 and Osorio May 2005, respectively).

- (44) a. Recipient
 sa'=bi tyi y-äk(-b)-e-ø
 pozol=REP PRFV A3-give(-APL)-DT-B3
 'It is said that she gave pozol to him' {080604_12a}
- b. Benefactive
 mi k-mel-b-eñ-ety waj
 IMFV A1-make-APL-DT-B2 tortilla
 'I make you tortillas.'
- c. Malefactive
 mi' (i-)weñ-ots-ä-b-eñ-oñ-o' k-ñichim-a
 IMFV A3-much-burn-DT-APL-DT-B1-PL3 A1-candle-POS
 'They burn a candle for me (so that I will get sick and die).' {070613_4}
- d. Target
 mi k-(j)ek'-b-eñ-ety akuxañ
 IMFV A1-sting-APL-DT-B2 needle
 'I sting you with a needle.'

Another function of the suffix *-b* is to indicate the external possessor. This is described in the next section.

10.6.3. External possession

As in Tsotsil (see Aissen 1979: 89), possessive constructions in Chol have the form: [[NP₁] [NP₂]_{NP}] where [NP₁] is the possessed and [NP₂] the possessor.

- (45) [[y-alo'bil]_{NP1} [aj-Betuj]_{NP2}]_{NP}
 A3-son CL-Beto
 'Beto's son.' {031009_44}

More complex NP constructions also exist, as in (46), where the three NP's represent the possessed and the possessor is not expressed overtly. The possessor is inferred from the A3 inflection in NP₃.

- (46) añ-ø=x=ta' [i-ñox-al]_{NP1} [y-ixik'-al]_{NP2}
 E-B3=already=REA A3-husband-POS A3-daughter-POS
 [y-ijñam-ø=bä]_{NP3}
 A3-wife-B3=REL
 'His wife's daughter already has a husband.' {070621_11c}

In a active transitive construction, together the possessum and the possessor functions as the direct object, which are coreferential with the Set B inflection in the predicate.

- (47) tyi k-il-ä-ø [y-alo'bil aj-Betuj]_{NP}
 PRFV A1-see-DT-B3 A3-son CL-Beto
 'I saw Beto's son.'

However, with the applicative suffix *-b* suffixed on the predicate, it refers only to the possessor (without the possessum). This referentiality is evident when the possessor is first person, as in (48b). In this example, the possessum is not referential with the inflection in the predicate, as also shows the passive construction in (48c).

- (48) a. tyi k-il-ä-b-e-ø y-alo'bil [aj-Betuj]
 PRFV A1-see-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-son CL-Beto
 'I saw Beto's son.'

b. tyi aw-il-ä-b-oñ k-alo'bil
 PRFV A2-see-DT-APL-B1 A1-son
 'You saw my son.'

c. tyi il-ä-b-eñ-ty-i-y-oñ k-alo'bil
 PRFV see-DT-APL-DT-PAS-IV-EP-B1 A1-son
 'My son was seen.'

As a restriction, the applicative suffix cannot be inflected in intransitive verbs (49a); they must be transitivized, as shown (49b).

(49) a. * tyi wäy-i-b-e-ø y-alo'bil [aj-Betuj]
 PRFV sleep-IV-APL-DT-B3 A3-son CL-Beto

b. tyi k-wäy-is-ä-b-e-ø y-alo'bil [aj-Betuj]
 PRFV A1-sleep-CAU-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-son CL-Beto
 'I caused Beto's son to sleep.'

In sum, in external possession construction, the verb is marked with *-b*, in which the possessor functions as primary object itself. An evidence of this relation can be observed in the passive form in which the possessor becomes the subject of the construction.

10.7. CONCLUSIONS

In sum, active constructions can have lexical NPs cross-referencing core arguments. It was shown that on the one hand, reducing the valence of a transitive verb may result in the agent being treated as an oblique argument; on the other hand, augmenting valence of non-agentive intransitive verbs can produce two lexical NPs cross-referenced by Set A and Set B inflection on the verb. AP constructions involve valence reduction of transitive verbs, resulting in agentive intransitives. These types of constructions do not express obliquely the underlying patient; in one strategy (antipassive or incorporation) the patient is incorporated into the verb. Furthermore, antipassive constructions in Chol are not required in agent focus constructions. In this sense, Chol contrasts with other Mayan

languages, such as Tsotsil and Tz'utujil, where the AP construction is required when the agent is focused, questioned or relativized. Finally the applicative suffix *-b* indicates the advancement of non-core argument to a core relation, as the Set B inflection on the verb shows. For this reason Chol is in part a Primary Object language (Dryer 1986) that presents a Secundative alignment (Malchukov, et. al. 2007).

X1

Information Structure

This chapter offers a description of topic and focus in Chol based on properties reported in other Tseltalan languages. Topic and focus markers as well as the distribution of an important group of clitics are used to describe the syntactic properties of topic and focus in Chol.

The chapter begins by recapitulating the syntactic expression of core arguments. Section §11.2 is a description of topic constructions in Chol, including possible evidence of internal topic, reported in other Mayan Languages (for instance Tzutujil). Section §11.3 offers a description of focus constructions. In §11.4 the structural position of topic and focus is discussed through an investigation of the syntactic behavior of second position clitics and phrase final enclitics. Finally, §11.5 contains the conclusions.

11.1. INTRODUCTION

As was described in chapter 9, Chol is a head-marking language and consequently the core arguments are not necessarily lexically expressed. When a core argument is lexically expressed, it normally follows the predicate, which can be either a verbal (1) or a non-verbal predicate (2).

- (1) VI S
tyi jul-i-ø k-papaj
PRFV arrive-IV-B3 A1-SP:father
'My father arrived.' {080730_26b}

- b. mi ke a-läp'-b-eñ-ø plastilinaj
 IMFV PROSP A2-stick-APL-DT-B3 SP:plasticine
 'You will stick the plasticine (modeling clay) to it.' {080626_36b}

One evident factor that triggers the lexical representation of core arguments is their status as topic or focus. These operations are possible by placing the topicalized (5) or focused (6) element in a preverbal position.

Topic

- (5) a. (a) **li aj-Wañ=i**, tsa'=bi kej-i-ø tyi troñel
 (TOP) DET NCL-Juan=FIN PRFV=REP start-IV-B3 PREP work
 'As for Juan, it is said that he started to work.'
- b. (a) **li aj-Wañ=i**, tyi i-koty-ä-ø x-ixik
 (TOP) DET NCL-Juan=FIN PRFV A3-help-DT-B3 NCL-woman
 'As for Juan, he helped a woman.'

Focus

- (6) a. **jiñ=bi** aj-Wañ tyi kej-i-ø tyi troñel
 FOC=REP NCL-Juan PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP work
 'It is said that it is Juan who started working.'
- b. **jiñ aj-Wañ** tyi i-koty-ä-ø x-ixik
 FOC NCL-Juan PRFV A3-help-DT-B3 NCL-woman
 'It was Juan who helped a woman.'

The properties of topic and focus constructions in Chol are discussed in more detail separately.

11.2. TOPIC

Topic is used to turn the attention of the hearer to some identifiable participant in the discourse, and then to assert something about that participant (Aissen 1992: 50). For this reason the topicalized constituent is almost always definite and is preferably placed in

front of the predicate. Aissen highlighted several features of Tsotsil topics, as listed next in (7a-c) and exemplified in (8b) and (8c).

- (7) a. The particle *a* usually precedes the topic
 b. The topic is almost always opened by the definite determiner *ti*
 c. Topics are always closed by an enclitic =*e*

Tsotsil

- (8) a. There was a man and a woman, newlyweds
 b. **a ti** vinik=**e** ta+xlok' ech'el
 TOP DET man=ENC exists away
 'The husband leaves'
 c. **a ti** antz=**e** jun+yo'on ta+xkom...
 TOP DET woman=ENC happily stays
 'The wife stays at home happily...'

As can be seen in (5) above, topicalization in Chol shares the Tsotsil features. In Chol, the use of the particle *a* is not obligatory. In example (9b), by placing the constituent in front of the predicate, the attention goes to the NP *me'* 'deer', and asserts that this referent threw the child off of a cliff.

- (9) a. There was a little boy with his dog on a mountain. A deer took the child in its antlers and started to run away.
 b. ya'i **li me'=i**, tyi i-p'äts-ä-ø ju'be jiñ
 then DET deer=FIN PRFV A3-throw-DT-B3 DIR:down DET
 x-chuty alo' tyi päytyä
 NCL-small child PREP cliff
 'then the deer threw the little child off of the cliff' {sf_65}

The determiner seems to be facultative when the topic is a pronoun (10b).

- (10) a. Why is somebody trying to bother me?
 b. **joñoñ**, ma'añ k-bety k-ik'oty-ø kixtyañuj
 PRON1 NEG+E A1-debt A1-with-B3 SP:people
 'As for me, I don't have any debt with anybody.' {080704_20b}

- c. **li** joñoñ=**i**, ma'añ k-bety
 DET PRON1=FIN NEG+E A1-debt
 'as for me, I don't have any debt.'

Finally, as can be noted from the examples (9b) and (10c) there is an intonational enclitic =*i* (glossed as FIN), which corresponds to the Tsotsil enclitic =*e*. But unlike Tsotsil, the Chol topic is not always closed by this enclitic (10b) and (11). However there are two hints that permit us to analyze the preverbal NPs of the example in (11) as being in topic position. First, a pause occurs after it. Second, the second position clitics do not attach to the topicalized nouns but instead attach to some element that follows (such as an aspect marker), which identifies them as separate constituents of the clause.¹

- (11) ya'i, li **k-alo'bil**, t=**äch** ke i-poj-ñop-ø-o'
 then DET A1-son PRFV=AFFR start A3-HON-try-B3-PL3
 'Then my children began to try it (to speak Spanish)' {080729_22c}

It is important to highlight that speakers prefer to use the determiner and the enclitic in all cases, except when the topicalized element is the third person pronoun. In this case only the use of the enclitic is acceptable for the speakers.

- (12) a. ? **li** jiñ=**i**, ...
 DET PRON3=FIN
 'as for him/her...'
- b. jiñ=**i**, ...
 PRON3=FIN
 'as for him/her...'

It seems that some demonstratives can replace the article *li* in topic position. Concretely, the demonstratives *ili* and *ix'ä* can be found in the text, as in the following examples.

¹ The structural position of second position clitics is presented in §9.8.

- (13) a. **ili** cha'-ts'ijty=i, wä' mi ke i-käy-ty-ä(l) iwä', che'eñ
 DET two-CL=FIN here IMFV start A3-leave-PAS-NF here say
 'as for these two (candles), they will be left here, he says' {080704_20a}
- b. **ili** yambä cha'-ts'ijty=i, mi k'oty-e(l) a-ts'ä'b-ø ya'
 DET other two-CL=FIN IMFV arrive-NF A2-burn-B3 there
 tyä' (a)w-otyoty=i, che'eñ
 PREP A2-house=FIN say
 'As for these other two (candles), you will burn them when you arrive in your house, he says.' {080704_20a}
- (14) **ix'ä** x-matye'muty=i, mach tyoje x-matye'muty-ø, cho'oñ
 that NCL-bird=FIN NEG real NCL-bird-B3 I.say
 'As for that bird, it is not a real (or common) bird, I say.' {080704_20b}

In the texts consulted, the demonstrative *ibi* only appears in very few examples, concatenated with *li* (15a). However, in topic position, it can also appear alone, as shown in (15b). There is no apparent motivation or change in the reading with or without the article *li*.

- (15) a. **ibi li** wiñik=i, ta=x=bi ke-ø tyi wäy-e(l)
 that DET man=FIN PRFV=already=REP start-B3 PREP sleep-NF
 'as for that man, it is said that he started to sleep' {080704_20b}
- b. **ibi** wiñik=i, ta=x=bi ke-ø tyi wäy-el
 that man=FIN PRFV=already=REP start-B3 PREP sleep-NF
 'as for that man, it is said that he started to sleep'

Jiñ functions as a demonstrative, though it is also used to indicate focused constituents (see §11.3). When placed before a topicalized noun, it is analyzeable as a determiner. The pause after the topic indicates that it is not functioning as a focus marker.

- (16) **jiñ** sajk'=i, mu'=bi i-pul-ø-o'
 DET grasshopper=FIN IMFV=REP A3-burn-B3-PL3
 'as for the grasshoppers, it is said that they burn them'

- (17) es.que.talvez **jiñ** x-matye'muty, xik'-i(1)-ø
 SP: maybe DET NCL-bird send-STAT-B3
 'As for the bird, maybe it was sent (by a bad person)'² {080704_20b}

11.2.1. Topicalization of core constituents

Both core and non-core arguments are accessible for topicalization, as shown in the following examples. The first group of examples shows topicalization of core arguments. The topical argument in (18) is the intransitive subject, the subject of a nonverbal predicate in (19), the transitive subject in (20), and the object in (21).

- (18) Intransitive subject
li x-'ixik=i, mu'=bi i-tyejch-e tyi' (i-)wäyi'
 DET NCL-woman=FIN IMFV=REP A3-awake-NF PREP A3-bed
 'As for the woman, it is said that she wakes up from her bed.' {070614_6b}

- (19) Subject of nonverbal predicate
li x-'ijk'al=i, kolen wiñik-ø=bi=tsa'
 DET NCL-'ijk'al=FIN big man-B3=REP=REA
 'As for the *ijk'al*, it is said that it is a big man.' {070614_6a}

- (20) Transitive subject
a li aj-wajal=i, ma'añ tyi i-mel-e-ø
 TOP DET NCL-joker=FIN NEG+E PRFV A3-make-TV-B3
 i-chol
 A3-cornfield
 'As for the joker, he did not make his cornfield.'

- (21) Object
 es que **li ajal=i,** mi' (i-)majñ-añ-ø-o' cheñ
 because DET ajaw=FIN IMFV A3-borrow-DT-B3-PL3 then
 'the *ajaw*, they borrow her, you know'³ {080704_20b}

² Referring to a context where a bird frequently enters in the house of the speaker. According to Chol beliefs, this is a bad sign because it announces misfortunes caused by a sorcerer.

³ The *ajaw* in the story refers to a supernatural entity with female appearance.

The remaining two core arguments, the primary (22a) and secondary (22b) objects in ditransitive verbs can also be topicalized.

- (22) a. **li aj-Wañ=i,** tyi k-choñ-b-e-ø ixim
 DET NCL-Juan=FIN PRFV A1-sell-APL-DT-B3 corn
 ‘as for Juan, I sold corn to him.’
- b. **li ixim=i,** tyi k-choñ-b-e-ø aj-Wañ
 DET corn=FIN PRFV A1-sell-APL-DT-B3 NCL-Juan
 ‘as for the corn, I sold it to Juan’

In addition, as will be seen next, non-core arguments can also be topicalized.

11.2.2. Topicalization of non-core constituents

In Chol, as in other Mayan languages such as Tseltal (Polian 2006), non-core arguments are also accessible to topicalization. For instance, in example (23) the verb is passivized and the argument following the verb is *chol* ‘cornfield’. The topicalized noun is not a direct argument, but rather the possessor of the subject. The expected direct relation of the verb with the topic could be as was exemplified in (20).

- (23) Possessor of the subject
a li aj-wajal wa’li-y=i, jiñi ma’añ tyi
 TOP DET NCL-joker now-EP=FIN hm NEG+E PRFV
 me<j>l-i-ø i-chol
 make<+PAS>-IV-B3 A3-cornfield
 ‘As for the the joker, this time his cornfield was not made.’ {031009_44}

As in Tseltal (Polian 2006: §6.8.1), adverbs (24), locatives (25), and whole clauses (26) can be topicalized. The same strategy used to topicalize NP’s can be observed here. The determiner and the enclitic enclose the topicalized constructions, which are placed before the main predicate.

- (24) a. **li wajali-y=i,** mi k-mel- \emptyset k-chol
 DET time.ago-EP=FIN IMFV A1-make-B3 A1-cornfield
 ‘back then, I planted corn’
- b. **li wajali-y=i,** [...] cuando Cristo ma=x=tyo
 DET time.ago-EP=FIN SP:when Christ NEG=AFFR=still
 ba’-añ- \emptyset wä’-añ- \emptyset tyi mulawil
 where-E-B3 here-E-B3 PREP earth
 ‘Back then, when Christ was not yet here in the earth...’ {040115_42b}
- (25) a. **li tyi i-jamil=i,** mi i-tyoy- \emptyset =e’ k’ajk
 DET PREP A3-straw=FIN IMFV A3-get-B3=ENC fire
 ‘in the straw (the roof’s straw), is where the fire would take hold’
 {080703_19b}
- b. **tyi escuelaj=i,** tyemel añ-on=loñ
 PREP SP:school=FIN together E-B1=PLEXC
 ‘In the school, we are together.’
- (26) a. **li mu’=bä i-ts’otye’- \emptyset =i,** ta’=bi lu’-pul-i- \emptyset
 DET IMFV=REL A3-drive-B3-FIN PRFV=REP all-burn-IV-B3
 ‘As for the person who was flying it (the airplane), that was the one who was
 totally burnt.’ {080703_19b}
- b. **ibi li mu’=bä i-ch’äm- \emptyset li contratoj=i,**
 that DET IMFV=REL A3-get-B3 DET SP:contract=FIN
 mu=x i-wä-cha’-añ- \emptyset tyi adelantar
 IMFV=already A3-previously-do-DT-B3 PREP SP:advance
 li i-cobroj
 DET A3-cashing
 ‘As for the one who gets the contract, he gets his payment in advance.’
 {080729_22c}

The demoted agent of passive constructions (27) and instruments (28) cannot be topicalized. In example (27), the topicalized constituent has the preposition which indicates that it is an adjunct, while (28) has *yik’oty* to indicate the instrument.

- (27) * a li tyi ts’i’=i, tyi ajñ-i-s-añ-ty-i- \emptyset wiñik
 TOP DET PREP dog=FIN PRFV run-IV-CAU-DT-PAS-IV-B3 man
 Intended meaning: ‘as for the dog, the man was run out by it.’

- (28) * a li y-ik'oty tye'=i, tyi k-jats'-ä-ø ts'i'
 TOP DET A3-with stick=FIN PRFV A1-hit-TV-B3 dog
 Intended meaning: 'as for the stick, I hit the dog with it.'

Contrasting the properties of topics in Chol and other Mayan languages, I will claim that this language has external topic. More details about this proposal are presented next.

11.3.2. Internal vs. external topic

Based on intonational phrasing and the distribution of intonational phrase clitics in some Mayan languages, Aissen (1992) has argued that there are two types of topics in these languages: "internal" and "external" topic. Each one occupies a distinct structural position; the former is internal to CP (spec of C' or adjoined to IP) while the latter is outside the basic clause, prefixed in the node E(xpression).

Chol only exhibits external topic. Tz'utujil is a Mayan language that exhibits internal topic. In Tz'utujil there is no significant pause separating the topic as can be observed in Tsotsil and Chol. Additional evidence of the internal position of topic in Tz'utujil is the fact that topics can occur in embedded CPs, as can be observed in the following example.

Tz'utujil

- (29) aa Xwaan n-0-b'j chi ta Mari'y ma t-r-aajo'
 youth Juan ASP-A3-say that miss Maria NEG ASP-A3-want
 'Juan says that Maria doesn't want it.'

This property contrasts with Tsotsil and Chol because in these languages, embedding the topic is not allowed, as can be seen in examples (30b) and (31c).

Tsotsil

- (30) a. xvinaj ti taxtal li petul-e
 appears COMP comes DET Petul=ENC
 'It appears that Petul is coming.'

- b. * xvinaj ti a li petul(-e) taxtal-e
 appears COMP TOP DET Petul(-ENC) comes-ENC
- (31) a. tyal-∅ li aj-Wañ
 come-B3 DET NCL-Juan
 ‘Juan comes’
- b. a li aj-Wañ=i, tyal-∅
 TOP DET NCL-Juan=ENC come-B3
 ‘As for Juan, he comes.’
- c. * tyi k-’u’b-i-∅ che’ a li aj-Wañ=i tyal-∅
 PRFV A1-hear-DT-B3 COMP TOP DET NCL-Juan=FIN come-B3
 Intended meaning: ‘I heard that Juan is coming.’

Since a pause is perceptible in Chol after the topical constituent and since topics do not occur in embedded clauses we can state that Chol, similar to Tsotsil, has external topics only.

11.3. FOCUS

According to Aissen (1992) the semantics of a focus construction has two parts: a presupposition and an assertion. The former can be generated by translating the focused element with a variable, e.g.: “X does something”, which persists under negation and questioning. Under this assumption, the presupposition of (32) can be ‘somebody bothers the speaker’, which is still assumed under negation (32c) or questioning (32d). On the other hand, the assertion satisfies the variable of the proposition, and furthermore that entity is the only one in the current discourse which satisfies it. In (32b), the focused constituent denotes an entity that satisfies the variable of the presupposition. This example suggests that the speaker was bothered by the mother of somebody and not by another person, as is confirmed by what follows this clause.

- (32) a. was it the sister of X who bothers you?
 b. **jiñ** i-ñā'=i, mach i-chich
 FOC A3-mother=FIN NEG A3-sister
 'It is her mother, not her sister.' {080604_12a}
- c. **mach** i-ñā' tyi i-tyä'l-ä-ø
 NEG A3-mother PRFV A3-bother-DT-B3
 'It was not the mother of (somebody) that bothered her.'
- d. i-ñā'=ba tyi i-tyä'l-ä-ø
 A3-mother=INT PRFV A3-bother-DT-B3
 'Was it the mother of somebody that bothered her?'

In some Mayan languages, such as Q'eqchi' (Stiebels 2006) and Q'anjob'al (Francisco Pascual 2007), focusing the agent requires the agent focus marker suffixed to the verb. In these languages, the verb in an agent focus construction takes only one inflection for person, although it is still semantically transitive. In the following example from Q'anjob'al, the agent focus verb takes the suffix *-on* and takes only Set B inflection (33a).

Q'anjob'al

- (33) a. a=a s=b'eyb'al heb' j=ichmam
 ENF=B3 A3=culture 3PL A1PL=grandparent
 ch-on=tx'ox-**on**=el-oq
 ICP-B1PL=identify-AF=DIR-NF
 'It is the culture of our grandparents that identifies us.'⁴
 {Francisco Pascual 2007: 18}
- b. ch-on=s-tx'ox-el s=b'eyb'al heb' j=ichmam
 ICP-B1PL=A3-identify=DIR A3=culture 3PL A1PL=grandparent
 'Our ancestor's culture identifies us.' {Francisco Pascual 2007: 18}

As will be shown in this section, Chol does not have an agent focus marker and the verb remains morphologically transitive. In this language, focus constructions involve the use of the focus particle *jiñ*, which at the same time functions as the independent third person

pronoun.⁵ Unlike topicalized constituents, there is no pause after the focused constituents. As can be confirmed in the following examples, focus constructions can be used to answer questions.

- (34) a. Is there another type of mushroom, one which is a little dark?
 b. **jiñ** x-tsawäñ yu'bi
 FOC NCL-tsawäñ maybe
 'Maybe it is the *tsawäñ*'⁶ {070620_9b}

- (35) a. What Saint?
 b. **jiñ=äch** li Señor de Tila
 FOC=AFFR DET SP:Señor-de-Tila
 'It is the *Señor de Tila*' {070613_4}

In Chol indefinite constituents do not take the focus particle when they are focused. Indefinite constituents are focused only by taking the preverbal position, as is the case for the following example.

- (36) a. fincaj mi' su'beño'
fincaj mi i-su'b-b-eñ-ø-ob
 SP:finca IMFV A3-call-APL-DT-B3-PL3
 'They call it *finca*' {070614_6a}
- b. **aj-kaxlañ** tyi i-käñty-i-s-ä-y-oñ tyi troñel
 NCL-foreign PRFV A3-teach-IV-CAU-DT-EP-B1 PREP work
 'A foreign person taught me to work.'

In Tsel'tal, the focus particle *ja'* can focus first and second person, resulting in the forms *jo'on* and *ja'at*, respectively. These forms have cognate forms in Chol, as can be seen in examples (37) and (38).⁷ However, the form *ja'* in Chol was lost and *jiñ* emerged instead.

⁴ The glosses for these examples are: AF: agent focus marker, ENF: emphasis, and ICP: incomplete aspect.

⁵ Mora-Marín (2009) suggests that *jiñ* results from the phonetic reduction of the Proto-Cholan pronoun base **ha'in*. The latter comes from the Proto-Mayan pronoun base **haa'*- with the grammaticalized enclitic **in*.

⁶ *Tsawäñ* is a type of wild mushroom.

⁷ See Mora-Marín (2009) for the details about the development of these pronouns in Cholan languages.

In Tselal the form *ja'* can focus a presupposed argument (see Polian 2008: 363), as *jiñ* can do in Chol (39b).

- (37) **joñoñ** mi k-su'b-eñ-ety
 PRON1 IMFV A1-tell-DT-B2
 'It is I (an elder) that tells you (this saint is very powerful)' {070613_4}
- (38) **jatyety**=äch mi la'(=a)-päty-ø
 PRON2=AFFR IMFV PL2(=A2)-make-B3
 'yes, it is you who makes it (mud pot)' {080604_12a}
- (39) a. What Saint?
 b. **jiñ** ya'=bä jok'-o-ø
 PRON3 there=REL hang-STAT-B3
 'It is the one that is hanging there.' {070613_4}

The word *jiñ* can appear twice in the clause since it has different functions. In the following examples, one occurrence is functioning as a focus marker and the other form functions as a demonstrative pronoun (see §8.1). It seems that there is a restriction against the focus marker occurring with first and second person pronouns (42). For this reason *jiñ* after the focus marker must be working as a demonstrative pronoun.

- (40) majch kuch-u(l)-ø k-cha'añ, jiñ ix'ä Mikolas.
 who carry-STAT-B3 A1-RN FOC that Nicolás
Jiñ jiñ=i
 FOC that=FIN
 'Whom I was carrying, was Nicolás. It was him' {080604_12c}
- (41) chuki i-sujm-le(l) jiñ, cho'oñ.
 what A3-meaning-ABST that I.say
Jiñ jiñ=i, che'eñ
 FOC that=FIN he.says
 'What is it for? I ask. It is for that, he says'⁸ {080703_19a}

⁸ This example refers to provisional little houses built with tree leaves on the road. So the speaker asks an elder about the purpose of making them. The elder responds that they are used for people to spend the night.

- (42) a. * *jiñ* *joñoñ=i*
 FOC PRON1=ENC
 Intended meaning: ‘It is me’
- b. * *jiñ* *jatyety*
 FOC PRON2
 Intended meaning: ‘It is you’

We already know that the position for NP focus is in front of the verb, indicated almost always with the particle *jiñ*. However, like in Tselal (Polian 2008: §16.2.4), the focus particle before the predicate in Chol can also indicate emphasis of an NP placed after the predicate, as in the following examples. That is, the resulting focused constituent is discontinuous, with *jiñ* before the predicate and the rest of the constituent after the predicate. It is important to mention that the meaning of the sentence in constructions with a focused element placed in front or after the predicate does not change.

- (43) a. *jiñta’chon käla li ch’eñ*
 jiñ=tsa’ chonkol k-äl-ø=la **li** **ch’eñ**
 FOC=REA PROG A1-tell-B3=PLINC DET cave
 ‘It is the cave that we are talking about.’ {070613_4}
- b. **jiñ**=tsa’ **li ch’eñ** chonkol k-äl-ø=la
- (44) a. **jiñ** cha’añ mach mej=ix la=j-k’exty-añ-ø
 FOC why NEG can=already PLINC=A1-change-DT-B3
 la=k-**pensal**
 PLINC=A1-SP:think
 ‘That is why we cannot change our way of thinking.’ {070613_4}
- b. **jiñ** cha’añ **la=k-pensal** mach mej=ix la=j-k’exty-añ-ø

But it is not only core arguments that can be focused. As is shown in the examples (45) and (46), adverbs can also be placed before predicates. It is important to mention that temporal adverbs can be placed either before or after the predicate. When they are used preverbally, it is the time reference that is focused, as in the first example (e.g. something used to happen in the past, but not anymore) or they can emphasize an important event

that happened in the past (see the last example). In both cases, the focus particle is not required.

- (45) pe **wajali** mu'=bi i-mel-ø-o'
 SP:but time.ago=REL IMFV=REP A3-make-B3-PL3
 'But (a long) time ago, they made it (the big cornfield).'
- (46) **wajal=ix** sajty-i-ø, doce añoj=ix
 time.ago=already died-IV-B3 twelve year=already
 'It was already years ago that he died, it was already 12 years ago.'
 {070614_6a}

Locative adverbs can also be placed in front of the predicate. In this structural position, it is the place of some event which is emphasized. As in the previous examples, the focus particle is not required.

- (47) **wä'**=bi tyi pas-i-ø la=k-ch'utyaty wajali
 here=REP PRFV appear-IV-B3 PLINC=A1-Saint long.time.ago
 'It is said that it was here where the Saint appeared a long time ago.'
 {070613_4}
- (48) pe **y=äch=bi** tyi käy-le-ø i-señaj-le(l)
 SP:but there=AFFR=REP PRFV stay-PPRFV-B3 A3-SP:sign-ABST
 'It is said that its sign was left there.' {070613_4}
- (49) wä'bi tyi' tsep-e ibik'
wä'=bi tyi i-tsep-b-e-ø i-bik'
 here=REP PRFV A3-cut-APL-DT-B3 A3-neck
 'here (at this point) he cut his neck (of the Longhair)' {070614_6a}

Finally, demoted agents of passive constructions cannot be focused, as can be seen in the following example.

- (50) * jiñ **tyi** policiaj tyi chu<j>k-i-ø aj-Wañ
 FOC PREP SP:policemen PRFV grab<+PAS>-IV-B3 NCL-Juan
 Intended meaning: 'It was by the policemen that Juan was captured.'

To sum up, contrary to other Mayan languages, such as Q'anjob'al (Francisco Pascual 2007), Chol does not have a special mark for the verb when the agent is focused. Furthermore, the verb remains transitive. In this section we saw that not only core arguments, but also adjuncts (except demoted agent or instruments) can be focused in Chol. In the next section, the structural position in the clause of both topic and focus is discussed.

11.4. THE STRUCTURAL POSITION OF TOPIC AND FOCUS IN THE CLAUSE

In this section, I am following Aissen's (1992) proposal to argue that in Chol topic is outside CP while focus is inside CP. In Tzeltalan languages (see Aissen 1987 and Polian 2006) there is a useful method for identifying the edges of a clause. On the one hand, there are several second position clitics that indicate the left edge of the clause and on the other hand, there are intonational enclitics that indicate the right edge of the clause. Chol also has this resource and in this section the clitics that function in marking the edge of the clause will be briefly described.

The left edge of a clause receives second position enclitics, which are numerous in Chol (see §5.8). Their name comes from the fact that they are attached to the first word of the clause. For this reason we can state that the focus marker in (51) and the negative marker in (52) are part of the clause starting at this left edge; in other words, they are the first word of the clause and as such take second position clitics, =*ix* and =*ba* respectively. Placing these clitics in another position makes the construction ungrammatical, as in examples (51b) and (52b).

- (51) a. *jiñ=i*x gente tyi' (i-)k'ux-u-y-ø-o'
 FOC=already SP:people PRFV A3-eat-TV-EP-B3-PL3
 'It was already the people who ate it (the cow).' {070614_6a}

- b. * *jiñ gente=i*xtyi i-k'ux-u-y-ø-o'

(52) a. mach=**(b)a** jiñ x-yaxum=bä mi i-su'(-b)-eñ-ø-o'
 NEG=INT FOC NCL-yaxum=REL IMFV A3-call(-APL)-DT-B3-PL3
 'Is it not what the people call *yaxum*?⁹ {070614_6b}

b. * mach jiñ=**ba** x-yaxum=bä mi i-su'-b-eñ-ø-o'

The topicalized constituent in (53a) is closed by the phrase final clitic =*i*; while the second position clitic takes the first word after the topicalized constituent. This is a good piece of evidence for Aissen's (1992) analysis, where she proposed that external topics are outside the CP while focus is inside.

(53) a. **a** li aj-Oskar=**i**, ixim=**äch** tyi i-kuch-u-ø
 TOP DET NCL-Oscar=FIN corn=AFFR PRFV A3-carry-TV-B3
 tyälel
 DIR:toward
 'As for Oscar, it is corn that he brought'

b. * **a** li aj-Oskar=**äch** ixim tyi i-kuch-u-ø tyälel

As was discussed in §11.2, topic is almost always indicated by the determiner *li*. For this reason in (54), *li yal* 'its offspring' is a candidate to be analyzed as a topic due to the presence of the determiner. However the presence of the focus particle indicates that this constituent is focused, plus a second position clitic on it indicates the constituent that follows is inside the main clause.

(54) jiñ=**bi** li y-al mi ke i-k'ux-on=la
 FOC=REP DET A3-offspring IMFV PROSP A3-eat-B1=PLINC
 'It is said that it is its offspring that will eat us.'¹⁰ {070614_6b}

In order to topicalize the above focused constituent, the final clause enclitic must be on the fronted constituent and the second position clitic must move to where the next clause starts (55a). The latter clitic cannot be placed in the preceding clause (55b).

⁹ *Yaxum* is the Chol term for 'blue corn'.

¹⁰ Referring to eagles' offspring that is present in traditional Chol mythology.

(55) a. a li y-al=i, mu'=bi ke i-k'ux-on=la
 TOP DET A3-offspring=FIN IMFV=REP PROSP A3-eat-B1=PLINC
 'As for its offspring, it is said that it will eat us'

b. * a li y-al=bi mi ke i-k'ux-on=la

The right edge of the clause, on the other hand, can be indicated by the enclitic =i. Unlike Tsotsil (Aissen 1992) and Tseltal (Polian 2006), where the existence of more than one intonational phrase clitic has been reported, in Chol only =i can occur in the phrase final position. The following examples illustrate the position of this enclitic. In (57), the two parallel clauses are each closed with =i.

(56) mejor mi k-cha'-añ-ø=la tyi seguir ba'-añ-ø
 SP:better IMFV A1-do-DT-B3=PLINC PREP SP:follow where-E-B3
 ili la=k-tyaty=i
 this PLINC=A1-Lord=FIN
 'It is better if we stay where this our Lord (Señor de Tila) is'¹¹ {070613_4}

(57) mi' (i-)weñ al-ø-o' che' chuki tyi ujty-i-ø
 IMFV A3-SP:much say-B3-PL3 COMP what PRFV happen-IV-B3
 oñi-y=i, chuki tyi' (i-)cha'l-e-y-ø-o'
 long.time.ago-EP=FIN what PRFV A3-do-DT-EP-B3-PL3
 oñi-y=i
 time.ago-EP-FIN
 'yes, they talk a lot about what happened long ago, what they experienced
 in the past' {070614_6a}

This phrase final enclitic is another good piece of evidence for Aissen's claim. Since topicalized NPs are enclosed by this enclitic, they must be external to the clause; something that the position of the second position clitic confirms as well. The enclitic that encloses the topical NP cannot separate the focus from what follows it. Such an enclitic could split the sentence into two clauses, as in example (58), where the subject inflected in the second clause is not necessarily co-referential with the NP 'Juan' in the

¹¹ This means being a Catholic.

first clause. It is important to mention that a pause is heard after the enclitic. This means that focus is syntactically more integrated to the clause than the topic NP.

- (58) *jiñ* *aj-Wañ=i* *mi* *ij-majl-el*
 FOC NCL-Juan=FIN IMFV A3-go-NF
 ‘It is Juan_i. He_{i/j} goes’

Finally, when a sentence has two NPs preceding the predicate, the first NP must be the topic and the second the focus. In this sequence, the focus does not necessarily take the focus particle *jiñ*.

- (59) **a** **li** **aj-Wañ=i**, **ixim** *tyi* *i-mäñ-ä-ø*
 TOP DET NCL-Juan=FIN corn PRFV A3-buy-TV-B3
 ‘As for Juan, it is corn what he bought.’

The syntactic evidence presented in Chol tells us that in this language, as in the Tseltalan languages, focus is inside CP while topic is outside CP.

11.5. CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter it was demonstrated that Chol, a verb-initial language, allows preverbal arguments in different structural positions. These structural positions are for topic and focused constituents respectively. When two NPs precede the predicate, the first one must be the topic and the second the focused constituent. A feature to highlight is the fact that in Chol, as well as in Tseltal, it is not just core arguments that can be fronted; adverbs can also be fronted resulting in many different kinds of topicalized or focused constituents. It was shown that the focus construction does not have an agent focus marker inflected in the verb; moreover, the verb remains transitive. This property contrasts with other Mayan languages, such as Q’anjob’al, where the focus marker for agent in focus is used and the verb is morphologically intransitive.

In Cholan-Tseltalan, there are two types of enclitics, the second position clitic and the intonational phrase final enclitic. The syntactic properties of these clitics are good

evidence to define a clause in these Mayan languages. For instance, by observing the place of the clitics in a sentence, plus other resources, we can determine that in Chol the topic is external to CP while the focus is internal. This is in line with Aissen's (1992) findings for Tsotsil.

XII

Obviation and Passive constructions

In §10.2 different types of passive markers were presented that are used when the patient is more prominent (e.g. focused or topicalized, see §11.2 and §11.3) and the agent is demoted as a prepositional phrase or as the complement of a relational noun or not present at all. In this chapter, passive constructions in Chol are analyzed in the context of the relative obviative status of nouns, in the context of Aissen's (1997, 1999) and Zavala Maldonado's (1994b, 2007b) proposals.

It is important to mention that Chol lacks obviative morphology. However, as shown in this chapter, some contexts where passive constructions are required seem to be governed by the relative obviative status of the NPs in the sentence, suggesting that obviation may operate in an abstract system, as proposed by Aissen (1997) for Tsotsil.

12.1. INVERSION AND OBVIATION

Zavala Maldonado (2007b:2) summarizes the main configuration of inverse alignment as synthesized in Table 19. According to this author, in an inverse system, the agreement morphology of a transitive clause exhibits a pattern in which the participants involved are ranked on a deictically based hierarchy. In such a hierarchy, first and second person outrank third person participants. For this reason some languages, such as Algonquian, overtly mark when a high ranked participant is the patient / goal of the event encoded in the transitive verb (see example 1).

Table 20. Configurations of inverse system.

| | AGENT | PATIENT/GOAL |
|----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| a) Direct | (SAP | : 3) |
| b) Inverse | (3 | : SAP) |
| c) Local | (SAP | : SAP) |
| d) 3>3 Direct | (3[PROX] | : 3[OBV]) |
| e) 3>3 Inverse | (3[OBV] | : 3[PROX]) |

(SAP = Speech Act Participant, PROX = Proximate, OBV = Obviative)

An instance of direct and inverse configuration is attested in Plains Cree. In this Algonquian language, both direct and inverse configuration is morphologically indicated on the verb. Notice that in the inverse form, the verb remains transitive.

Plains Cree (Dahlstrom 1991, cited in Zavala Maldonado 2007b:4)

- (1) a. Direct 1 → 3
ni-waapam-**aa**-naan-ik
1-see-DIR-1PL-3PL¹
‘We see them.’
- b. Inverse 3 → 1
ni-waapam-**iko**-naan-ik
1-see-INV-1PL-3PL
‘They saw us.’

Unlike Algonquian languages, Chol does not require special morphology in a context where the arguments of a transitive clause involve a Speech Act Participant. In this context, the active transitive form is used, as in the following examples.

- (2) a. tyi **aw-il-ä-ø**
PRFV A2-see-DT-B3
‘You saw him’

- b. tyi y-il-ä-y-ety
 PRFV A3-see-DT-EP-B1
 ‘He saw you.’

Algonquian also exhibits overt inverse morphology when the two participants in a transitive clause are third person. Third person participants are ranked in prominence scales of animacy (human > animal > inanimate), topicality (more topical > less topical), and definiteness (definite > indefinite). The most prominent third person participant in these hierarchies is called proximate and the less prominent obviative. As can be seen in (3b), the inverse construction is required when the less prominent NP in animacy, definiteness or topicality is acting as the agent.

Algonquian (Klaiman 1989, cited in Zavala Maldonado 2007b:12)

- (3) a. 3/prox:3'/obv = Direct
 waakos's' o-waapam-**aan** pis'iw-**an**
 fox/PROX 3PL-see-DIR/OBV lynx-OBV
 ‘The fox (PROX) sees the lynx (OBV).’
- b. 3'/obv:3/prox = Inverse
 pis'iw-**an** o-waapam-**ikoon** waakos's'
 lynx-OBV 3PL-see-INV/OBV fox/PROX
 ‘The lynx (OBV) sees the fox (PROX).’

Aissen (1997) suggests that obviation also plays a role in the syntax of languages lacking obviative morphology, such as Tsotsil. According to this author, Tsotsil constraints on genitive constructions (§12.2) and animacy hierarchy (see §12.3) can be accounted for in the context of obviation. In another paper, Aissen (1999) claims that the agent focus verb in Tsotsil functions as inverse along the dimension of obviation, despite the lack of obviative morphology ranking third person arguments according to prominence (see §12.5).

¹ In the Algonquian examples, the following glosses are used: DIR: Direct, INV: Inverse, OBV: Obviative, and PROX: Proximate.

In a separate work, Zavala Maldonado (1994b, 2007b) reported an inverse alignment in one Mayan language (Huastec) and obviation in two others (Chol and Akatek). In Huastec the inverse marker *t(V)* is required when the object of a transitive event or the possessum of an equative construction is a deictic participant, whereas in Chol and Akatek, the passive constructions are used when an obviative participant occupies the agent role and a proximate participant occupies the patient role.

Finally, Polian (2006: §6.4) suggests that the Tseltal passive marker *-ot* can be analyzed as an inverse marker. This property is in line with the one found for Tsotsil. Polian argues that in examples such as the one presented in (4), the passive suffix does not place the agent in an oblique relation (e.g. it does not require the preposition), but instead indicates that the patient is more prominent in animacy, definiteness and topicality. This feature favors the idea that this suffix is being specialized as an inverse marker.

- (4) nuts-**ot**- \emptyset chij te ach'ix=e
 chase-PAS-B3 deer DET girl=FIN
 'A deer chased the girl.' / Lit. 'The girl was chased by a deer.'

In the following sections the parallelism between inverse verbs in Algonquian and passive constructions in Chol can be established only in contexts where the two arguments of a transitive clause are third persons. The factors that trigger obviation in Chol are: genitive constructions, animacy, definiteness, and prominence.

12.2. GENITIVE CONSTRAINTS

In Tsotsil (Aissen 1997), there is a constraint on genitive constructions that seems to follow the same pattern as those observed in languages with an obviative system, such as Algonquian. In Ojibwe (see Aissen 1997:713 and Zavala Maldonado 2007b:15), the inverse form of the verb is required when the patient is coreferential with the genitive of the subject, as in (5b).

Ojibwe (Aissen 1997, cited in Zavala Maldonado 2007b:15)

Direct

- (5) a. o-waabam-**aa**-an o-gwis-an
3-see-DIR-OBV 3-son-OBV
'He_i sees his_i son.'

Inverse

- b. o-waabam-**igo**-an o-gwis-an
3-see-INV-OBV 3-son-OBV
'His_i son sees him_i.'

In Tsotsil it is not possible for the third person lexical possessor of the subject to be interpreted as coreferential with the object in an active transitive clause. In (6a) the possessor is cross-referenced on the possessed noun by means of a Set A person marker, which is the same morpheme that refers to the transitive subject. In order to interpret the possessor of the subject as coreferent with the patient, the passive form is required (6b), thus converting the original object into the subject.

Tsotsil

- (6) a. ta s-sa' y-ajnil li Manvel=e
INC A3-see A3-wife the Manuel=FIN
Intended meaning: 'Manuel_i's wife is looking for him_i'² {Aissen 1997:720}
- b. ta sa'-**at** yu'un y-ajnil li Manvel=e
INC seek-PAS by A3-wife the Manuel=FIN
'Manuel_i was sought by his_i wife' {Aissen 1997:722}

This constraint on genitives in Tsotsil has been reported in other Mayan Languages such as Huastec, Akatek and Chol (Zavala Maldonado 2007b), and Q'anjob'al (Francisco Pascual 2007). In the following examples (7a), (8a), and (9a), the lexical possessor of the subject is interpreted as coreferent with the subject in the active transitive clause. In order to make an interpretation where the possessor of the subject is coreferent with the object, as in Tsotsil, the construction must be passivized (7b), (8b), and (9b). In the passive form,

the construction is intransitivized and the subject (the patient) is indicated by means of Set B.

- (7) a. tyi i-tyaj-a-∅ i-ñox'a tyi Yermosaj
 PRFV A3-find-DT-B3 A3-husband PREP Villahermosa
 'She found her husband in Villahermosa' {070621_11c}
 * 'Her husband found her in Villahermosa'
- b. tyi tyaj-le-∅ tyi i-ñox'a tyi Yermosaj
 PRFV find-PAS-B3 PREP A3-husband PREP Villahermosa
 'She was found by her husband in Villahermosa'
- (8) a. añ-∅=bi=ta' mu'=bä i-tyä'l-añ-∅-o' saj y-ijts'iñ
 E-B3=REP=REA IMFV=REL A3-bother-DT-B3-PL3 HON A3-brother
 'It is said that there are someone who bothers their brother.' {070614_6b}
 * 'It is said that their little brother bothers them.'
- b. añ-∅=bi=ta' mu'=bä i-tyä'l-añ-ty-el-ob tyi saj
 E-B3=REP=REA IMFV=REL A3-bother-DT-PAS-NF-PL3 PREP HON
 y-ijts'iñ
 A3-brother
 'It is said that there is someone who is bothered by their brother.'
- (9) a. mu'=bi=ta' i-koty-añ-∅ i-papaj wajali
 IMFV=REP=REA A3-help-DT-B3 A3-father time.ago
 'Back then it was said that she helped her father.' {070621_11c}
 * 'Back then it was said that her father helped her.'
- b. mu'=bi=ta' i-koty-añ-ty-el tyi i-papaj
 IMFV=REP=REA A3-help-DT-PAS-NF PREP A3-father
 'It is said that she was helped by her father.'

At this point we can state that the constraint on Chol genitive constructions triggers the use of passive constructions and that this is motivated by obviation.

² In examples from Tsotsil and Tseltal, the gloss INC refers to the incompletive aspect.

12.3. ANIMACY HIERARCHY

Animacy-based paradigmatic gaps have also been reported in Mayan languages. In Tseltal for instance (Polian 2006), human participants outrank non-human participants. When a non-human participant is treated as the subject, normally reserved for proximate participants, *-ot* appears inflected in the verb, as shown in (10b).

Tseltal

- (10) a. La s-nuts- \emptyset chij te ach'ix=e
COM A3-chase-B3 deer DET girl=FIN
'The girl chased a deer'
- b. nuts-**ot**- \emptyset chij te ach'ix=e
chase-PAS-B3 deer DET girl=FIN
'A deer chased the girl / the girl was chased by a deer'

In Chol, active transitive constructions are allowed in a context where the human participant acts as the agent over a non-human patient, as in the following example. In this construction, the order of the constituents is VOS.

- (11) tyi i-lok'-o- \emptyset ts'i' li x-chuty-alob
PRFV A3-take.out-TV-B3 dog DET NCL-little-boy
tyi ja'
PREP water
'The boy took the dog out on the river.'

However, when a noun lower in animacy acts as agent on a patient higher in animacy, as in (12a), the passive form is strongly preferred. In this context, the underlying agent can be lexically expressed as a non-core argument, as in (12b). In an active transitive form, the interpretation is one where the human is acting as the agent, even placing the NP referring to the human participant in the position of the clausal object (12c).³ For this reason, we can state that the animacy hierarchy in Chol is: animate > inanimate.

³ The speakers agree that the active construction is strange. They prefer to move the NP referring to the human after *me* 'deer'.

- (12) a. tyi tsop-ku<j>ch-i-∅ ma li x-chuty-alob
 PRFV hang-carry<+PAS>-IV-B3 DIR:away DET NCL-little-boy
 ‘The little boy was carried back.’ {sf_64}
- b. tyi tsop-ku<j>ch-i-∅ ma li x-chuty-alob
 PRFV hang-carry<+PAS>-IV-B3 DIR:away DET NCL-little-boy
tyi me’
 PREP deer
 ‘The little boy was carried back by a deer.’
- c. ? tyi i-kuch-u-∅ x-chuty-alob me’
 PRFV A3-carry-TV-B3 NCL-little-boy deer
 Intended meaning: ‘a deer carried back a little boy’

More Chol instances where proximate nouns lower in animacy act on humans patients are shown below. Note that in (15) a supernatural entity acting as agent can also trigger passive forms in the clause. It is important to point out that passive constructions are the single resource to express a situation where the human participant is acting as the patient. In active form, the human will be unavoidably interpreted as the agent.

- (13) tyi keji i-tsäkl-ään-**ty**-el tyi tyow jiñ x-chuty-’alo’
 PRFV start A3-follow-DT-PAS-NF PREP eagle that NCL-little-boy
 ‘The boy started to be followed by the eagle’ {sf_65}
- (14) (tyi) kej-i-∅ tyi tsäkl-ään-**ty**-el tyi cha’b
 (PRFV) start-IV-B3 SUB follow-DT-PAS-NF PREP bees
 jiñ x-chuty-’alo’
 that NCL-little-boy
 ‘The boy started to be followed by bees’ {sf_65}
- (15) la=k-ermañuj ta’=bä tyä’l-ään-**ty**-i-∅
 PLINC=A1-SP:brother PRFV=REL bother-DT-PAS-IV-B3
 tyi x-ajaw
 PREP NCL-ajaw
 ‘our brother who was bothered by the ajaw’ {080704_20b}

Obviation also operates when an inanimate (16) or illness (17) acts on an animal. Although the active form in (16b) is not ungrammatical, it is a strange construction for the speakers. However (17b) is not accepted as a well formed sentence for the speakers.

(16) a. tyi me'ty-ään-ty-i-ø x-much tyi tyuñ
 PRFV squash-DT-PAS-IV-B3 NCL-frog PREP stone
 'The stone squashed the frog / The frog was squashed by the stone'

b. ? tyi i-me'ty-ä-ø x-much tyuñ
 PRFV A3-squash-DT-DT-B3 NCL-frog stone
 'The stone squashed the frog'

(17) a. mu'=ba i-tyaj-ty-ä-tyak tyi chäme li
 IMFV=INT A3-find-PAS-NF-PLIND PREP illness DET
 la'=(a-)wakax=i
 PL2=A2-cow=ENC
 'Did your cow get sick (sometimes)?' {070620_9a}
 Lit.: 'Is your cow found by illness?'

b. * mi i-tyaj-ø wakax chämel
 IMFV A3-find-B3 cow illness
 Literal meaning intended: 'The illness finds the cow'

Under these evidences, it is possible to state that Chol exhibits an obviative system that is manifested in the use of passive voice when a noun lower in animacy is acting on a noun that is higher in animacy. There is another resource to solve the situation presented in this section. As can be seen in the following example, the agent can be topicalized without any change in the valence of the verb (more about it is presented in §12.6).

(18) li me'=i, tyi i-p'äts-ä-ø ju'be jiñ
 DET deer=FIN PRFV A3-throw-DT-B3 DIR:down DET
 x-chuty alo' tyi päytyä
 NCL-small child PREP cliff
 'the deer threw the little child off of the cliff' {sf_65}

12.4. DEFINITENESS

The obviation effect is also evident in the context where the patient of transitive clauses is definite and the agent indefinite. In Tila Chol, a definite noun is always accompanied by the determiner *li* while the indefinite one can be preceded by the numeral one plus a classifier (see §8.1). In active transitive constructions, the definite NP is coded as proximate since it is interpreted as the agent. Due to the prevailing VOS order in this language, the definite argument follows the patient, as in (19a) and (20a). Although some speakers do not like a construction where the definite NP follows the predicate, as in (19b) and (20b), the speakers agree that the agent of the clause is the definite NP.

(19) a. tyi y-il-ä-ø juñ-tyikil x-'ixik li wiñik
PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 one-CL NCL-woman DET man
'The man saw a woman.'

b. ? tyi y-il-ä-ø li wiñik juñ-tyikil x-'ixik
PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 DET man one-CL NCL-woman
Intended meaning: 'A woman saw the man.'

(20) a. tyi y-ajñ-is-ä-ø jun-kojty ts'i' li x-mis
PRFV A3-chase-CAU-DT-B3 one-CL dog DET NCL-cat
'The cat chased a dog.'

b. ? tyi y-ajñ-is-ä-ø li x-mis jun-kojty ts'i'
PRFV A3-chase-CAU-DT-B3 DET NCL-cat one-CL dog
Intended meaning: 'A dog chased the cat.'

The definite NP is understood as the agent of the clause even with the absence of the numeral one with a classifier in the "indefinite" NP. This confirms that in Chol, bare NPs have indefinite properties, as Martínez Cruz (2007) pointed out.

(21) a. ? tyi y-il-ä-ø li wiñik x-'ixik
PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 DET man NCL-woman
Intended meaning: 'A woman saw the man.'
'The man saw a woman.'

- b. ? tyi y-ajñ-is-ä-ø li x-mis ts'i'
 PRFV A3-chase-CAU-DT-B3 DET NCL-cat dog
 Intended meaning: 'A dog chased the cat.'
 'The cat chased a dog.'

In this context, where two third person participants equally ranked in animacy have a patient outranking the agent in definiteness, the passive construction is required. The agent can be expressed with the preposition, as in the following examples.

- (22) tyi il-ään-ty-i-ø li wiñik tyi x-'ixik
 PRFV see-DT-PAS-IV-B3 DET man PREP NCL-woman
 'A woman saw the man.' / 'The man was seen by a woman.'
- (23) tyi ajñ-is-ään-ty-i-ø li x-mis tyi ts'i'
 PRFV chase-CAU-DT-PAS-IV-B3 DET NCL-cat PREP dog
 'A dog chased the cat.' / 'The cat was chased by a dog.'

In sum, the passive construction in Chol pattern the same as the inverse construction in languages that exhibit this morphological resource.

12.5. THE PROMINENCE OF THE TOPIC IN THE DISCOURSE

Finally, as was shown by Zavala Maldonado for Chol (2007b:27), the semantic patient of transitive verbs is coded as the subject of a passive construction when this argument is coreferential with topical participants in the previous discourse. In this example, the non-topical agent can be preceded by the preposition *tyi*.

- (24) a. the thief was running, he had already taken the money but he fell down...

- b. che' jiñi, tyi chu<j>k-i-ø tyi polisya
 and then PRFV catch<+PAS>-B3 PREP SP:police
 'and then, he was caught by the police' {Zavala Maldonado 2007b:27}

In the next example, the non-topical agent is not lexically expressed.

(25) a. People are labeling the airplane landing field in the village...

b. mi i-xi<j>k'-el jiñ kixtyañuj-ob,
IMFV A3-tell<+PAS>-NF DET SP:people-PL3
'The people are encouraged (by Ms. Lupita)' {080703_19b}

For this reason we can state that in Chol topical participants are coded as proximate and non-topical participants expressing new information are coded as obviative. When the proximate participant refers to the patient, the clause is expressed as passive. As was shown in example (18), above, the topical participant can be a noun lower in animacy.

12.6. A NOTE ON AGENT EXTRACTION

In some Mayan languages such as Tsotsil (Aissen 1999) and Q'anjob'al (Francisco Pascual 2007), agent extraction is accompanied by the obligatory use of the agent focus marker *-on*. Constructions that require this suffix include focus, interrogatives, and relative clauses. Such constructions with *-on* suffixed on the verb are morphologically intransitive and semantically transitive. Tseltal provides interesting information regarding the last point since the agent is not always categorized as oblique.

Unlike Tsotsil or Q'anjob'al, Chol does not have a special suffix when the agent is extracted (see §10.3.3 and §11.3). In the following examples, even with an element questioned (26) and relativized (27), the verb remain transitive and there is no special mark inflected on it. However, as can be seen in the translation, this fact generates ambiguous readings because the interrogated or relativized element can be interpreted as the agent or patient of the transitive construction. This fact tells us that obviation is not playing a role in interrogative and relative constructions.

(26) majchki tyi i-koty-ä-ø li x-k'aläl
who PRFV A3-help-DT-B3 DET NCL-girl
a. 'Who helped the girl?'
b. 'Who did the girl help?'

- (27) wiñik tsa'=bä i-koty-ä-ø x-k'aläl
 man PRFV=REL A3-help-DT-B3 NCL-girl
 a. 'The man that helped the girl.'
 b. 'The girl that the man helped.'

The ambiguity in the reading pointed out for interrogative and relative constructions is not present in agent focus constructions. As can be seen in the following examples, the focused NP is always interpreted as the agent of the construction. Notice that unlike Tsotsil or Q'anjob'al, in Chol the verb remains transitive and does not take a special suffix when the agent is extracted.

- (28) **jiñ x-'ixik** tyi y-il-ä-ø wiñik
 FOC NCL-woman PRFV A3-see-DT-B3 man
 'It is the woman who saw the man.'
 * 'It is the woman who the man saw.'
- (29) **jiñ aj-Maria** tyi i-koty-ä-ø k-mamaj
 FOC NCL-María PRFV A3-help-DT-B3 A1-SP:mother
 'It is María who helped my mother.'
 * 'It is María who my mother helped.'
- (30) **jiñ k-täta'** mi y-äl-ø
 FOC A1-SP:father IMFV A3-say-B3
 'It is my father who tells it.' {070614_6a}

Since the focused NP is always treated as the agent of the construction, the focused NP is apparently coded as proximate. This can be confirmed by the fact that the passive construction is obligatory when the patient needs to be focused, as in the following examples. In the passivized form, the agent can be expressed obliquely; without the preposition, the construction is ungrammatical, as in (31b).

- (31) a. **jiñ wiñik** tyi il-ään-ty-i-ø tyi x-'ixik
 FOC man PRFV see-DT-PAS-IV-B3 PREP NCL-woman
 'It is the man who was seen by the woman'

- b. *jiñ wiñik tyi il-ään-ty-i-ø x-'ixik
 FOC man PRFV see-DT-PAS-IV-B3 NCL-woman
 Intended meaning: 'It is the man who was seen by the woman'

In sum, interrogative and relative constructions in Chol do not trigger obviation. However, in focus constructions, it is the focused NP that is interpreted as the agent of sentence. This means that the focused NP is more prominent than the non-focused element. For this reason, in agent focus constructions the active transitive form is used. This property of Chol contrasts with the properties reported for other Mayan languages, such as Tsotsil and Q'anjob'al, where the agent focus marker *-on* is required. When the patient is focused the passive form is required.

12.7. INTERACTION BETWEEN GENITIVE, DEFINITENESS, AND ANIMACY

There are potential contexts where genitive, definiteness, and animacy constraints can interact. In Chol the hierarchies are ranked in such a way that genitive outranks definiteness and the latter outranks animacy.

When genitive interacts with animacy, the former outranks the latter. The ungrammaticality of (33a) cannot be due to animacy constraints. In this example, despite the proximate status of the agent in the animacy hierarchy, the active construction is ungrammatical. For this reason, another constraint must be operating in this example. In the genitive constraint, the possessor outranks the possessed element. For this reason, the passive form is required in the context where the obviative possessed NP functions as the agent of the clause (33b).

- (32) ANIM: Animate (owner) > Inanimate (gift)
 Proximate > Obviative
- GEN: Possessor (gift) > Possessed (owner)
 Proximate > Obviative

(33) a. * tyi i-jam-ä-ø i-yum majtyañ
 PRFV A3-open-TV-B3 A3-owner gift
 Intended meaning: ‘The owner of the gift open it (the gift).’

b. tyi ja<j>m-i-ø majtyañ tyi i-yum
 PRFV open<+PAS>-IV-B3 gift PREP A3-owner
 ‘The gift was open by its owner.’

Moreover, the genitive hierarchy also outranks the definiteness hierarchy. In the definiteness hierarchy, the definite participant is treated as proximate while the indefinite one is obviative. This condition is fulfilled in the ungrammatical example (35a), which indicates that the active/direct construction is not allowed when there is a genitive constraint outranking the definiteness constraint. In this example, the possessor, which is coded as the proximate participant in the genitive hierarchy cannot function as the patient of active constructions. As shown in (35b), the possessor must be treated as the subject of passive constructions. For this reason, in Chol the genitive outranks the definite hierarchy.

(34) DEF: Definite (son) > Indefinite (a man)
 Proximate > Obviative

GEN: Possessor (a man) > Possessed (son)
 Proximate > Obviative

(35) a. * tyi i-koty-ä-ø y-alo’bil juñ-tyikil wiñik
 PRFV A3-help-DT-B3 A3-son one-CL man
 Intended meaning: ‘The son of a man helped him.’

b. tyi koty-añ-ty-i-ø juñ-tyikil wiñik tyi y-alo’bil
 PRFV help-DT-PAS-IV-B3 one-CL man PREP A3-son
 ‘A man was helped by his son.’

Finally, regarding definiteness and animacy, the former outranks the latter. The direct examples (36) and (37) are not ungrammatical despite the lower ranked property of the agent in animacy. It is because in both examples the agent is definite and the patient indefinite which indicates that definiteness outranks animacy in Chol.

(36) tyi i-tsäns-ä-ø wiñik **li** **tye'**
 PRFV A3-kill-DT-B3 man DET tree
 'The tree killed a man.'

(37) tyi i-pul-u-ø juñ-tyikil wiñik **li** **chajk**
 PRFV A3-burn-TV-B3 one-CL man DET thunderbolt
 'The thunderbolt burned (killed) a man.'

Both constructions can also be passivized, as in the following examples. In the passive constructions, the agent and patient cannot be definite, as indicated by the constraint on the use of the determiner *li* in both examples. Examples (38) and (39) show that when both participants are equally ranked in definiteness the only hierarchy involved is animacy.

(38) tyi tsäns-ään-ty-i-ø wiñik tyi (***li**) tye'
 PRFV kill-DT-PAS-IV-B3 man PREP tree
 'The tree killed a man.'

(39) tyi pu<j>l-i-ø wiñik tyi (***li**) chajk
 PRFV burn<+PAS>-IV-B3 man PREP thunderbolt
 'The thunderbolt burnt (kill) a man.'

For this reason, in Chol, we can state that the following order of the hierarchies prevails: genitive > definiteness > animacy.

12.8. CONCLUSIONS

The Chol data presented in this chapter support Aissen's (1997, 1999) claim that obviation can play an important role in the syntax of languages without obviative morphology.

Mayan languages, except Huastec (Zavala Maldonado 1994b, 2007b), lack inverse and obviative morphology. However, despite the absence of inverse markers in Tseltalan languages, Tsotsil, Tseltal, Chol, and others exhibit the effects of obviation in their syntax. Passive constructions show interesting parallelisms with the inverse construction in languages with obviative morphology since they are required under similar contexts.

In Tsotsil, the agent focus construction requires the agent focus marker *-on* inflected on the verb. This strategy does not exist in Chol. In this language the opposition takes place with the active transitive versus the passive construction.

XIII

Complex predicates

This chapter describes the morphosyntactic properties of clauses with two predicates. More concretely, it deals with depictive, directional, and auxiliary constructions. These constructions are similar in having just one aspect marker, one argument that is shared by both predicates and an intonational pattern that is similar to the one found in clauses with one predicate. The conclusions presented here are mostly based on the findings on this topic reported by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004), Aissen and Zavala Maldonado (2010), and Mateo Toledo (2008). This chapter starts by summarizing the distinguishing properties of primary predicates. §13.2 describes the morphosyntactic properties of depictive constructions in Chol, the controller, and their distribution in a semantic hierarchy. Finally, in §13.3 other clauses with complex predicates are presented. They include directional and auxiliary constructions.

13.1. SUMMARY OF PRIMARY PREDICATES

As was described in chapter 6, the main property of verbal predicates is that, in addition to inflecting for person, they inflect for aspect. The aspect marker comes in front of the verbal head. If a second position clitic is used, it is attached to the aspectual marker (2). This type of clitic was used as a resource to identify the left boundary of the clause in Chol (see chapter 9). If more materials are added to the left, second position clitics move toward the left edge. For instance the negative particle which comes in front of the verb, preceding the aspectual marker, hosts the clitic (3).

- (1) mi k-su'b-eñ-ø=la
 IMFV A1-tell-DT-B3=PLINC
 'We tell it to him.' {031009_44}

(2) ta=**x** jul-i-∅ loktor
 PRFV=already arrive-IV-B3 SP:doctor
 ‘The doctor already arrived.’ {080604_12c}

(3) ma’=**ix** tyi jul-i-∅ iba
 NEG=already PRFV arrive-IV-B3 PRON
 ‘He did not arrive.’ {080604_12b}

As was discussed above (see chapter 7), in addition to verbal predicates, Chol also has a large group of nonverbal predicates. These predicates have intransitive properties and inflect for their single argument with Set B.¹ They contrast with verbal predicates in that they do not take inflection for aspect. Temporal reference can be indicated by temporal adverbs or other means. Some words that can head nonverbal predicates are: nouns (4), adjectives (5), positionals (6), adverbs (7), affect words (8), and quantifiers (9), including numbers (10).

(4) puru x-’ixik-**oñ**=loñ
 SP:only NCL-woman-B1=PLEXC
 ‘we are only women’ {080604_12a}

(5) ñox-**oñ**=ix=la
 old-B1=already=PLINC
 ‘we are already old’ {080604_12c}

(6) buch-ul-**ety** tyi ji’
 sitting-STAT-B2 PREP sand
 ‘you are sitting in the sand’ {070620_9b}

(7) oraj-**oñ**
 fast-B1
 ‘I am fast’

(8) um-’um-ña-y-**oñ**
 speechless-RED-AFV-EP-B1
 ‘I am making *um um* (unable to speak)’ {080704_20b}

¹ There are two transitive roots that do not co-occur with aspectual markers. They are *om* ‘want’ and *uji* ‘know’, which are analyzed as defective transitive predicates.

- (9) ka'bäl-**on**=lojoñ
 many-B1-PLEXC
 'we are many' {070621_11a}
- (10) cha'-tyikil-**o**'=bi
 two-CL-B3-PL3=REP
 'it is said that they were two' {070614_6a}

Stative positionals (6) take the suffix *-Vi*, where the vowel is in harmony with the vowel of the root. Some verbal predicates can derive stative readings by using the same strategy as positionals. This fact is illustrated by the following intransitive (11) and transitive (12) examples.

- (11) p'ix-**il**-oñ
 wake.up-STAT-B1
 'I am awake'
- (12) mek'-**el**-oñ
 hug-STAT-B1
 'I am hugged'

The suffix *-bil*, which is glossed as a participle in this work can also generate a stative reading with certain transitive verbs, as in example (13). The suffix *-em* also functions as participle marker in some prototypical and derived intransitive verbs; consequently it creates a stative reading as well, as in (14). That is, participles, like other adjectival lexical items, can function as the head of statives.

- (13) kãñty-ä-**bil**-oñ
 take.care-DT-PART-B1
 'I am cared for'
- (14) me<j>k'-**em**-oñ
 hug<+PAS>-PART-B1
 'I am hugged'

Finally, the existential *añ* functions as a stative. It does not take inflection for aspect. It offers the meaning "X exists".

(15) **añ-∅** kas
 E-B3 SP:kerosene
 ‘there is kerosene’ {031009_44}

(16) **añ-∅** k-lum ya’=i
 E-B3 A1-land there=ENC
 ‘I have my land there’ Lit: ‘exist my land there’ {031009_44}

In conclusion, non-verbal predicates come from almost any word class except verbs. They have in common a lack of inflection for aspect. Stative predicates can be used in depictive constructions, as will be described in the coming section.

13.2. DEPICTIVE SECONDARY PREDICATION

In Chol there are some constructions that involve two predicates, the primary or main predicate and the secondary predicate. The following example (17) is a prototypical instance of depictive secondary predication described here. In this example and through this chapter, the secondary predicate is *italicized*. Based on morphosyntactic and intonational properties I consider this construction to be mono-clausal, in spite of having two predicates.

(17) *k’am* tyi sajty-i-∅
 sick PRFV die-IV-B3
 ‘He died being sick’ {031102_43}

According to Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004), among other properties, the secondary predicate refers to the state of affairs that takes place in the temporal framework specified in the event referred to by the primary predicate. Under this property, the secondary predicate in example (17) above refers to a condition or state (to be sick) of somebody in a time specified by the primary predicate; in other words, somebody was sick in the moment when he died. Resultative constructions are also considered to be a type of secondary predication, as instantiated by the following example (18). In this example from English, the secondary predicate expresses a state as a consequence of the activity indicated by the primary predicate; in other words, “the

metal became flat as the result of hammering it”.² It is important to highlight that in Chol secondary predication does not have this resultative reading.

(18) He hammered the metal *flat*

Depictive secondary predication is attested in Chol. Since it was already described in detail in Vázquez Álvarez (2010), in this chapter I will highlight its main properties and add some points that were not previously covered. In the next section, the morphosyntactic properties of secondary predication in Chol are presented.

13.2.1 Morphosyntactic properties of secondary predication in Chol

In the following examples we can observe the main morphosyntactic properties of secondary predication in Chol. First of all, the secondary predicate always precedes the primary predicate. Second, there is only one aspectual marker between the two predicates. Third, as can be contrasted in (20) with or without the inflection for person in the secondary predicate, the reading of the clause apparently does not change.

(19) *buch-u(l)* tyi sajty-i-∅
 seat-STAT PRFV die-IV-B3
 ‘He died sitting down’ {031102_43}

(20) a. *buch-ul=bi* mi’ (i-)käy-oñ=la
 sitting-STAT=REP IMFV A3-leave-B1=PLINC
 ‘It is said that he leaves us sitting’ {sf_71}

b. *buch-ul-oñ=bi=la* mi i-käy-oñ=la
 sitting-STAT-B1=REP=PLINC IMFV A3-leave-B1=PLINC
 ‘It is said that he leaves us sitting’

Similar structures to (20) have been reported in other Mayan languages, such as Awakatek (Mateo Toledo 2010) and Tseltal (Polian and Sánchez Gómez 2010). Although the structures like (20) have the same meaning, it has been proposed that they are syntactically different. On the one hand, Mateo Toledo (2010: 158) offers a bi-clausal

² See Aissen and Zavala 2010: 14.

analysis for the form with inflection for person. On the other hand, Polian and Sánchez Gómez (2010: 37-38) analyze the same structure as a “juxtaposed construction”. Important evidence of the juxtaposed constructions in Tseltal is the fact that they do not necessarily have the same participant referenced in both predicates, as in the following example.

Tseltal

- (21) chuk-bil-**on** \emptyset -wijk'- \emptyset **a**-sit
 tie-PART-B1 COM-open-B3 A2-eye
 ‘you wake up with me being in jail’

In Chol, the participants referenced in both predicates must be the same (22a); otherwise, the subordinator *che'ñak* is required (22b).

Chol

- (22) a. * chuk-ul-**oñ** tyi p'ix-i-y-**ety**
 tie-STAT-B1 PRFV wake.up-IV-EP-B2
 Intended meaning: ‘you wake up with me being in jail’
- b chuk-ul-**oñ** **che'ñak** tyi p'ix-i-y-**ety**
 tie-STAT-B1 when PRFV wake.up-IV-EP-B2
 ‘you wake up with me being in jail’

This means that examples analyzed as “juxtaposed constructions” in Tseltal are complex constructions in Chol, as shown by the use of the adverbial form *che'ñak* between the two predicates.

The second position clitics represent important evidence for the mono-clausal property of secondary predicates in Chol. As was discussed in §9.8, second position clitics are hosted by the first word on the left edge of the clause. As we saw in example (20) above (repeated as (23a) here), the clitic, which is a reportative marker, is located on the secondary predicate. This means that the clause starts with this word. Placing the second position clitic on the aspectual marker (23c), on the primary predicate (23d), or on both (23e) makes the construction ungrammatical.

- (23) a. buch-ul=**bi** mi i-käy-oñ=la
sitting-STAT=REP IMFV A3-leave-B1=PLINC
‘It is said that he leaves us sitting down.’
- b. buch-ul-oñ=**bi**=la mi i-käy-oñ=la
sitting-STAT-B1=REP=PLINC IMFV A3-leave-B1=PLINC
‘It is said that he leaves us sitting down.’
- c. * buch-ul muk’=**bi** i-käy-oñ=la
seat-STAT IMFV=REP A3-leave-B1=PLINC
Intended meaning: ‘It is said that he leaves us sitting down.’
- d. * buch-ul mi i-käy-oñ=**bi**=la
seat-STAT IMFV A3-leave-B1=REP=PLINC
Intended meaning: ‘It is said that he leaves us sitting down.’
- e. * buch-ul-oñ=**bi**=la muk’=**bi** i-käy-oñ=la
seat-STAT-B1=REP=PLINC IMFV=REP A3-leave-B1=PLINC
Intended meaning: ‘It is said that he leaves us sitting down.’

Interestingly, the negation in the secondary predicate constructions does not negate the entire clause. The negative marker in (24) only has scope over the secondary predicate. This construction implies that the event of “buying candle wax” was done but not in the amount as the speaker expected (see below for how the entire clause can be negated).

- (24) **ma’añ** ts’äk-ä(-ø) tyi i-k’ajty-i-ø te li
NEG+E complete-STAT(-B3) PRFV A3-ask-DT-B3 DIR:toward DET
k-ñichim=i
A1-candle.wax=FIN
‘She requested or bought insufficient candle wax for me.’³{031009_44}

The presence of the negative marker before the primary predicate splits the clause in two. Again, a considerable pause can be heard after the stative predicate and its argument may or may not be identical to the one expressed by the verbal predicate.

³ The possession on candle wax implies that she bought it for me. So a better English translation can be: ‘she bought an insufficient amount of candle wax for me’. The Chol word *ts’äkäl* ‘complete’ is working as a secondary predicate here.

- (25) *ts'äk-äl-ø* **ma'añ** tyi i-k'ajty-i-ø te li
 complete-STAT-B3 NEG+E PRFV A3-ask-DT-B3 DIR:toward DET
 k-ñichim=i
 A1-candle=FIN
 'It_{ij} is complete. She did not request or buy my candle.'

In conclusion, depictive secondary predication is attested in Chol. We have seen that the secondary predicate has a semantic argument that is shared by one of the arguments of the primary predicate. Inflection for person on the secondary predicate, if there is one, must be identical to the person inflected on the primary predicate; otherwise, the adverbial form *che'ñak* 'when' is required. Moreover, secondary predicates do not take aspectual markers, but aspect can be inferred from the aspect indicated in the primary predicate. Finally, since the secondary predicate expresses states of affairs or manners of events taking place in the temporal frame specified in the primary predicate, stative predicates can function as secondary predicates. The properties of this construction found in Chol are in line with the proposal of Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004).

What remains to mention is the class of Chol words that can work as secondary predicates. We have already seen that adjectives (17) and positionals (19) can have this function. More word classes in the same function are: nouns (26), affect words (27), manner adverbs (28), participles (29), numerals (30), and quantifiers (31); in short, all the types of words that can head nonverbal predicates.

- (26) *aläl(-oñ)=tyo* tyi jul-i-y-oñ
 child-B1=still PRFV arrive.here-IV-EP-B1
 'I arrived here, being a child.'

- (27) *we'-ek-ñä(-ø)* tyi majl-i-ø
 screaming-RED-AFV-B3 PRFV go-IV-B3
 'It (the pig) goes screaming.' {sf_74}

- (28) *ajñel(-ø-ob)=bi* tyi ju'b-i-y-ø-ob tyel
 fast-B3-PL3=REP PRFV go.down-IV-EP-B3-PL3 DIR:toward
 'It is said they come down really fast.' {sf_72}

- (29) wä *me<j>l-em(-ø)=ix* mi i-lets-el ma
 previously do<+PAS>-PERF-B3=already IMFV A3-go.up-NF DIR:away
 ‘It is made before it goes up (to Tila).’ {010201_69}
- (30) *cha’-tyiki(-ø)* tyi jul-i-ø
 two-CL-B3 PRFV arrive-IV-B3
 ‘Two of them arrived here.’ {080730_25a}
- (31) *käläx(-ø)=ix* tyi p’ojl-i-ø
 many-B3=already PRFV reproduce-IV-B3
 ‘It grew a lot.’ {070614_6b}

It is important to mention that verbal predicates cannot function as secondary predicates (32). Verbal predicates based on positional roots exhibit the same restriction (33). In this context, each predicate forms its own clause.

- (32) tyi *wäy-i-y-oñ.* tyi k’oty-i-y-oñ
 PRFV sleep-IV-EP-B1 PRFV arrive.there-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I slept. I arrived there.’
 Intended meaning: ‘I arrived sleeping.’
- (33) tyi buch-le-y-oñ. tyi majl-i-y-oñ
 PRFV sitting-PPRFV-EP-B1 PRFV go-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I sat. I went.’
 Intended meaning: ‘I went seated.’

Each clause headed by these predicates take its own second position clitic (34a) or its own negative marker (34b).

- (34) a. **tsa’=bi** *wäy-i-y-oñ.* **tsa’=ku** k’oty-i-y-oñ
 PRFV=REP sleep-IV-EP-B1 PRFV=AFFR arrive.there-IV-EP-B1
 ‘It is said that I slept. Yes, I arrived there.’
- b. **ma’añ** tyi buch-le-y-oñ. **ma’añ** tyi majl-i-y-oñ
 NEG+E PRFV sit-PPRFV-EP-B1 NEG+E PRFV go-IV-EP-B1
 ‘I did not sit. I did not go.’

There are also constructions that semantically express secondary predication although they do not totally follow the definition used here. In these constructions the predicate

with the depictive meaning forms a compound with the semantic primary predicate, as will be discussed next.

13.2.2. Synthetic construction with depictive semantics

Most of the analytic structures of depictive constructions can also be encoded using a synthetic form. In this form the predicate that expresses the depictive meaning is integrated into the primary predicate to form a verbal compound, and there is only one inflection for person which is placed in front of the compound form, as shown by the contrast in (35).

- (35) a. *me'ba'(-oñ)* tyi kol-i-y-oñ
 orphan(-B1) PRFV grow-IV-EP-B1
 'I grew up being an orphan.'
- b. tyi *me'ba'-kol-i-y-oñ*
 PRFV orphan-grow-IV-EP-B1
 'I grew up being an orphan.'

If a second position clitic is used in the synthetic form, it goes on the aspectual marker when it is the first element in the clause.

- (36) tsä'=äch me'ba'-kol-i-y-oñ
 PRFV=AFFR orphan-grow-IV-EP-B1
 'yes, I grew up being an orphan.'

In the synthetic construction, in contrast to the analytic form, the negative marker negates the whole clause.

- (37) **ma'añ** tyi *me'ba'-kol-i-y-oñ*
 NEG+E PRFV orphan-grow-IV-EP-B1
 'I did not grow up being an orphan.'

Stative postionals drop the stative suffix in the synthetic form. Thus, in the synthetic form the roots form a complex predicate within a word. Compare the analytic construction in (38a) with the synthetic construction in (38b).

- (38) a. *tyots'o ma' wäk'*
tyots'-ol(-∅) mi aw-äk'-∅
 lie.down-STAT(-B3) IMFV A2-put-B3
 'You put it lying down.' {080624_29a}
- b. *mi a-tyots'-ak'-∅*
 IMFV A2-lie.down-put-B3
 'You put it lying down.'
- c. * *mi a-tyots'-ol-ak'-∅*
 IMFV A2-lie.down-STAT-put-B3
 Intended meaning: 'You put it lying down.'

Although, as I mention in my previous work (Vázquez Álvarez 2010), almost all word classes functioning depictively can potentially participate in the synthetic structure, there are some observations to make with respect to this point. First of all, there is a restriction on deriving compound forms with perfect verbs which has to do with the obligatoriness of the perfect suffixes, which are: *-VI*, *-em*, and *-bil*, in order to keep the perfect or participle meaning. This suggests that in the synthetic form, the use of derivational suffixes in the secondary predicate is not allowed, as can be confirmed by the ungrammaticality of example (39b). Even without the participial suffix, the construction is ungrammatical (39c).

- (39) a. *käñtyä-bil(-oñ) tyi kol-i-y-oñ*
 take.care-PART-B1 PRFV grow-IV-EP-B1
 'I grew up cared for.'
- b. * *tyi käñtyä-bil-kol-i-y-oñ*
 PRFV take.care-PART-grow-IV-EP-B1
 Intended meaning: 'I grew up cared for.'
- c. * *tyi käñtyä-kol-i-y-oñ*
 PRFV take.care-grow-IV-EP-B1
 Intended meaning: 'I grew up cared for.'

We also have already seen above that stative positionals drop the stative suffix *-Vl* in the synthetic form. This constraint is also observed in one resource to construct affect words, where only the root is kept in the synthetic form (40b).⁴

- (40) a. *chej-ek-ñā(-∅)* mi' (i-)lok'-e(l)
 noise.of.objects-RED-AFV(-B3) IMFV (A3-)exit-NF
 'They (the objects or toys) come making *chej*.' {080625_34a}
- b. mi i-*chej*-lok'-el
 IMFV A3-noise.of.object-exit-NF
 'The objects make *chej* when they come out'
- c. * mi i-*chej-ek-ñā(-∅)* lok'el

However, there are some nouns and adjectives that can be used in the synthetic form, while others are not allowed in it. The example in (41) is an adjective that does not allow the synthetic form.

- (41) a. *k'ixiñ(-∅)* tyi sajty-i-∅
 drunk(-B3) PRFV die-IV-B3
 'He died being drunk.' {031102_43}
- b. * tyi *k'ixiñ-sajty-i-∅*

A second point to highlight on the alternating constructions is the meaning of the clause in each form. In some of them there is no apparent change in meaning, as can be observed in the following contrasts.

- (42) a. *me'ba'(-oñ)* tyi kol-i-y-oñ
 orphan-B1 PRFV grow-IV-EP-B1
 'I grew up being an orphan.'
- b. tyi *me'ba'-kol-i-y-oñ*
 PRFV orphan-grow-IV-EP-B1
 'I grew up being an orphan.'

⁴ Remember that affect words can be expressed by reduplicating the root or by using the form *-Vk* instead of the reduplication.

- (43) a. *buch-ul(-ø)* tyi k-tyaj-a-ø=loñ
 sitting-STAT-B3 PRFV A1-find-TV-B3=PLEXC
 ‘We find him sitting down.’
- b. tyi k-*buch*-tyaj-a-ø=loñ
 PRFV A1-sitting-find-TV-B3=PLEXC
 ‘We find him sitting down.’ {sf_71}

However there are some pairs that offer a slightly different reading. It is especially noticeable when the first element is a manner adverb. In the following examples, the analytic version of the depictive construction emphasizes how the event takes place, while the synthetic version refers to the length of time during which the event takes place.

- (44) a. *xuk’u(-ø)=jach* mi aw-äk’-ø
 slow-B3=only IMFV A2-put-B3
 ‘You put it down slowly.’ {031009_44}
- b. mi a-xuk’u-’ak’-ø
 IMFV A2-slow-put-B3
 ‘you took your time to put it down.’
- (45) a. *xuk’u-xuk’u(-ø)=ch* tyi kej-i-ø tyi lajm-el
 slow-RED-B3=AFFR PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP finish-NF
 ‘It finished slowly’ {010201_69}
- b. tyi *xuk’u-lajm-i-ø*
 PRFV slow-finish-IV-B3
 ‘It finished after a while.’
- (46) a. *ajñel(-ø-ob)=bi* tyi ju’b-i-y-ob tyel
 fast-B3-PL3=REP PRFV come.down-IV-EP-PL3 DIR:toward
 ‘It is said that they came here running.’ {sf_72}
- b. *tsa’=bi ajñe-ju’b-i-y-ø-ob* tyel
 PRFV=REP fast-come.down-IV-EP-B3-PL3 DIR:toward
 ‘It is said that they came here for a short time.’

- (47) a. *weñ* mi i-k'ux-ø k-ixim
 well IMFV A3-eat-B3 A1-corn.plant
 'It eats my corn plant well.'
- b. mi i-*weñ*-k'ux-ø k-ixim
 IMFV A3-much-eat-B3 A1-corn.plant
 'It eats a lot of my corn plant.' {031009_44}

With affect words allowing the synthetic form, a small difference can also be observed. In (48a) for instance, the secondary predicate emphasizes the proximity of a new road with regard to the corn field. Since the road is already there, it favors a stative reading. However, when the affect word surfaces attached to the primary predicate, in addition to proximity, it also adds the information that the movement was instantaneous. In the latter form the stative reading is lost.⁵

- (48) a. *chip-ik-ñä(-ø)* tyi ñäm-i-ø ma
 noise.of.object.slipping-RED-AFV-B3 PRFV pass-IV-B3 DIR:away
 'It (the new road) passed very close (to my corn field).' {031009_44}
- b. tyi *chip-ñäm-i-ø* ma
 PRFV quick.and.close-pass-IV-B3 DIR:away
 'It passed very close and quick.'

These structures can be linked to the syntax of modifiers listed in §5.6.1, such as *ñoj* 'really', *k'uk'ux* 'really', *ts'itya* 'a little', *wa* 'quickly', *loloñ* 'in vain', *lu* 'all', and a few others. As I mentioned, such modifiers go between the Set A person marker and the root, suggesting that they are attached to the root. However these modifiers cannot occur in the analytic form (49b).

- (49) a. tyi *ñoj-lok'-i-y-oñ*
 PRFV really-exit-IV-EP-B1
 'I definitely go out.' {080604_12a}
- b. * *ñoj* tyi lok'-i-y-oñ

⁵ See also the contrast in example (40).

The contrasts in the main properties of primary and secondary predication discussed so far are synthesized in the following chart. Regarding order, in both cases the arguments follow the predicate(s). The complex predicate construction has the sequence P1 P2, where P1 is the secondary predicate. On the other hand, it was shown that with or without inflection for person the reading of the construction is the same. Finally, all word classes in Chol can work predicatively and all, except verbs and the existential, can function as secondary predicates. As was pointed out, almost all of them can form compound forms with the primary predicate.

Table 21. Properties of primary and secondary predicates in Chol.

| | Primary predication | Secondary predication |
|-------------------|---|---|
| unmarked position | Predicate +Arguments. | primary -secondary predicate +Arguments. |
| Person markers | Obligatorily. | <i>Analytic</i> : 2 markers; in secondary pred. it is facultative. <i>Synthetic</i> : One mark on the whole predication. |
| Word classes | Verb, positional, affect word, adverb, noun, adjective, quantifier, perfect, and existential. | <i>Analytic</i> : positional, affect word, adverb, noun, adjective, quantifier, and participle. <i>Synthetic</i> : positional, affect word, adverb, noun, adjective, and quantifier. |

Another aspect to be considered in the study of secondary predication has to do with the identification of the controllers of the secondary predicates. This is the topic to be treated next.

13.2.3 Controllers

As was stated in the previous section, the secondary predicate exhibits a relation with one argument of the primary predicate; in other words, it is obligatorily controlled (Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004). In Chol depictives can be controlled by all core

participants. As can be seen below, they can be S-controlled (50). They can also be A-(51) or O-controlled (52).

Intransitive subject (S)

(50) a. *meru tritej(-oñ) tyi käy-le-y-oñ*
 SP:little SP:sad-B1 PRFV remain-PPRED-EP-B1
 ‘I was left a little sad.’ {031009_44}

b. *k’am(-ø) tyi sajty-i-ø*
 sick-B3 PRFV died-IV-B3
 ‘She died being sick.’ {031102_43}

Transitive subject (A)

(51) *chuty(-ø)=tyo=bi tyi ke i-mel-ø*
 small-B3=still=REP PRFV start A3-make-B3
 ‘While a child he started to make them (candles).’ {031009_44}

Primary object

(52) *buch-ul(-oñ)=bi(=la) mi’ (i-)käy-oñ=la*
 sitting-STAT-B1=REP=PLINC IMFV (A3-)leave-B1=PLINC
 ‘It is said that he leaves us sitting down.’ {sf_71}

It is well known that Tseltalan languages turn non-core constituents into a core argument when the applicative suffix is used on the verb (see §9.5.4). In a previous work on this topic, I suggest that primary and secondary objects can also control secondary predicates (see Vázquez Álvarez 2010: 73). The depictive predicate in (53) is controlled by the argument inflected by the first person singular absolutive in the primary predicate; in other words, by the primary object. In (54) the secondary predicate is controlled by the secondary object; that is, the argument that is not referenced by Set B in the primary predicate.

Primary object

- (53) *tyots'-ol(-oñ)* *tyi* *i-ch'am-b-oñ* *tyälel*
 lied.down-STAT-B1 *PRFV* *A3-bring-APL-B1* *DIR:toward*
 ts'ak *aj-Wañ*
 medicine *NCL-Juan*
 'Juan brought me the medicine (while I was) lying down.'

Secondary object

- (54) *ka'bäl* *tyi* *k-mäñ-b-e-ø* *chityam* *aj-Wañ*
 many *PRFV* *A1-buy-APL-DT-B3* *pig* *NCL-Juan*
 'I bought many pigs from Juan.'

In conclusion, all core arguments can be the controller of the depictive predicates in Chol.

Finally, in order to conclude the discussion on depictive secondary predications, in the next section these constructions are discussed in the context of a semantic hierarchy proposed by Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004).

13.2.4 Semantic scope of depictive constructions

According to Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann (2004), the following hierarchically ordered list of meanings that goes from condition or state (high) to temporal expressions (low) can be expressed cross-linguistically either depictively or adverbially.

- (55) Condition/State
 Phase/Role
 Quantity
 Concomitance
 Comparison
 Manner
 Location
 Time

The authors suggest that such a hierarchy of meanings has an implicational property: The use of a depictive construction in a lower category implies the use of the same construction for the upper side in this hierarchy.

In a previous investigation on this topic (Vázquez Álvarez 2010), I suggested that with few exceptions, Chol follows the implicational hierarchy. In this Mayan language,

condition or state, phase or role, quantity, and manner can be expressed depictively. The first meaning can be expressed by nouns (56), adjectives (57), positionals (58), and derived verbal participles (59).

- (56) *me'ba'(-ø)=bi* tyi kol-i-ø
 orphan-B3=REP PRFV grow-IV-B3
 'It is said that she grew up being an orphan.' {031102_43}
- (57) *chuty(-ø)=tyo=bi* tyi ke i-mel-ø
 small-B3=still=REP PRFV start A3-make-B3
 'He said that he started to make it when he was small.' {031009_44}
- (58) *buch-ul(-oñ=la)* mi k-wäy-e=la
 sitting-STAT-B1=PLINC IMFV A1-sleep-NF=PLINC
 'We sleep seated.' {080604_12b}
- (59) *käñty-ä-bil(-ø)=ix* tyi tyäl-i-ø
 take.care-DT-PART-B3=already PRFV come-IV-B3
 'He came already protected (in the womb).'⁶ {080729_22c}

It seems that predicates with the affective suffix *-ña* can also express some conditions. In this context, affect predicates lose their dynamic properties. The following example (60) refers to a situation where the speaker is estimating the progress of the work in the *milpa* (cornfield) during a day. The example (61) was extracted in the same context and the speaker now is indicating the line of the corn plants toward him.⁷

- (60) *pety-ek-ña(-ø)* tyi käy-le-ø
 wide.symmetrically.rounded-ek-AFV-B3 PRFV remain-PPRFV-B3
 'It (the work in the milpa) ended up nicely shaped.'⁸ {070621_11c}

⁶ It refers to a situation where the subject was in the mother's womb since she was pregnant when they traveled from Villahermosa to Tila.

⁷ In a context where the referent is liquid, both predicates imply a certain dynamicity. For instance the former could be used in a context where the water in a lake moves in one direction to the other and the latter in a context of water falling in a small amount.

⁸ This refers to the work during a day in the *milpa*.

- (61) *bil-ik-ñā(-ø)* tyi tyä-ø ili
 narrow.line-ik-AFV-B3 PRFV come.here-B3 this
 ‘This strip (of corn plants) that runs from there to here is kind of narrow.’
 {070621_11c}

Meanings related to phase of life can be expressed only by nouns (62) and adjectives (63). The following examples come from the same context of making candles and they work as couplets.

- (62) *alob(-ø)=tyo=bi* tyi ke i-ñop-ø
 child(-B3)=still=REP PRFV start A3-try-B3
 ‘He said that he started to try it in his childhood.’ {031009_44}

- (63) *chuty(-ø)=tyo=bi* tyi ke i-mel-ø
 small(-B3)=still=REP PRFV start A3-make-B3
 ‘He said that he started to make it when he was small.’ {031009_44}

Quantity is obviously expressed exclusively by quantifying words, as in the following example.

- (64) *yonle* mi’ (i-)k’oty-el-o’
 a.lot IMFV (A3-)arrive.there-NF-PL3
 ‘A lot of people arrive there.’ {080604_12b}

Finally, manner can be expressed by affective predicates (65a, b) and adverbs (66).

- (65) a. *chej-chej-ñā(-ø)* mi i-ñäm-e(l)
 noise.of.bonds-RED-AFV(-B3) IMFV A3-pass-NF
 ‘It passes making *chej chej*.’⁹ {070614_6b}
- b. *tsol-ok-ñā(y-on=la)* mi j-k’äj-k-e=la
 formed-ok-AFV(-EP-B1=PLINC) IMFV A1-go.up-NF=PLINC
 ‘We go up in line.’ {070621_11a}
- (66) *xuk’u-xuk’u(-ø)=ch* tyi kej-i-ø tyi lajm-el
 slow-RED(-B3)=AFFR PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP finish-NF
 ‘Slowly it started to finish.’ {010201_69}

⁹ It refers to noise caused by bonds of the *Chejchejbak*, a supernatural entity when flying during the night.

As I suggested in my previous investigation of this topic, the rest of the meanings such as concomitance, comparison, location and time cannot be expressed depictively (Vázquez Álvarez 2010). It is important to point out that in other Tseltalan languages, such as Tseltal and Tsotsil, comparison can be expressed depictively. In Chol, according to the speakers that I discussed it with, (67a) can be understood, but they definitely prefer the construction with the preposition *tyi* or the word *bajche* ‘like’, as in (67b) and (67c). In other words, the potential P2 is treated preferably as adjunct. For this reason, this property of Chol contrasts with Tsotsil (Aissen and Zavala 2010) and Tseltal (Polian and Sánchez Gómez 2010), where structures like (67a) are accepted.

- (67) a. ? ts’i’ tyi a-kuy-u-y-oñ
 dog PRFV A2-call-TV-EP-B1
 Lit: ‘You call me like a dog (you treat me like such an animal).’
- b. tyi a-kuy-u-y-oñ tyi/bajche’ tsi’i’
 PRFV A2-call-TV-EP-B1 PREP/like dog
- c. tyi/bajche’ tsi’i’ tyi a-kuy-u-y-oñ
 PREP/like dog PRFV A2-call-TV-EP-B1

Concomitance, location and temporal meanings are expressed only by adjuncts, as follows.

- (68) **k-ik’oty-ø** aj-Wañ mi j-keje tyi xämbal
 A1-with-B3 NCL-Juan IMFV A1-start PREP walk
 ‘I will walk with Juan.’

- (69) a. **wa’li wä’** mi j-kejel tyi wäy-el
 now here IMFV A1-start PREP sleep-NF
 ‘today I will sleep here.’
- b. * **wa’li wä’(-oñ)** mi j-kejel tyi wäy-el
 now here(-B1) IMFV A1-start PREP sleep-NF

The following chart summarizes the meanings that can be expressed depictively in Chol. State or condition is expressed by all word classes that function depictively, except for adverbs and quantifiers. From this group, only perfect participles cannot form a compound form with the P1; phase is represented by nouns and adjectives; quantity by quantifying words; and manner by affect words and adverbs. The word classes in the last three meanings participate in the synthetic forms. The difference in meaning that the analytic or the synthetic construction allows is still an open topic to be investigated.

Table 22. A hierarchy of depictive expressions in Chol.

| | State | Phase | Quantity | Manner | Other |
|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|----------|--------------|-------|
| <i>Analytic</i> | + (pos, noun, adj, perf, afv) | + (noun, adj) | + | + (afv, adv) | NO |
| <i>Synthetic</i> | + (pos, noun, adj, afv) | + (noun, adj.) | + | + (afv, adv) | NO |

There are more structures of complex predicates reported in other Mayan languages. In the following section, a brief consideration of other clauses with complex predicates is presented.

13.3. OTHER COMPLEX PREDICATES

Mateo Toledo (2008) made a detailed study of complex predicates in Q'anjob'al Maya. He surveyed six types of complex predicates in that language: Directional, verbal resultative predicate, causative complex predicate, complement-like complex predicate, nonverbal resultative secondary predicate, and positional resultative. All of them resemble the structures verb - verb complex predicate or verb - nonverbal complex predicates. The depictive secondary predication already described for Chol belongs to the latter structure.

In the following lines directionals and auxiliary constructions are explored, in the context of the findings reported in Mateo Toledo (2008). Causative constructions are discussed in the section on complex constructions (see §14.1).

13.3.1 Directionals

Directionals in Chol come from a set of movement verbs (see §5.7.8). They basically exhibit the same patterns as those described for other Mayan languages, such as Q'anjob'al (Mateo Toledo 2008: §2.1), Tsotsil (Haviland 1991), and Akatek (Zavala Maldonado 1994a). Constructions with directionals have the structure V1 + V2, where V2 is the directional (see §6.9). In this construction V1 takes all the inflection for person and aspect.

(70) (mi) k-lo'k'-e(l)-loñ **majl-el**
IMFV A1-exit-NF-PLEXC DIR:away-NF
'We go out.' {990109_70}

(71) jop-ok-ña-y-ø-o' **lets-e(l)**
join.together-*ok*-AFV-EP-B3-PL3 DIR:up-NF
'Joined in a group they go up.' {070621_11b}

Regarding the contribution of directionals to the meaning of the clause, as in Tsotsil, main verbs of motion not explicitly oriented with respect to the deictic origo are specified by one of the deictically anchored directions. With affect words denoting some specific motion, they can be further specified as to its trajectory (71).¹⁰ However, in Chol movement is still more salient in the use of directionals, as can be seen in the following contrast with Akatek.

Akatek (Zavala Maldonado 1994a)

(72) t'oyxin chot-an-ø-ab'-'ey naj
then sitting-STAT-B3-EV-DIR:down PRO
'and then, he was sitting.'

Chol

(73) buch-ul-ø **ju'b-el**
sitting-STAT-B3 DIR:down-NF
'S/he goes down sitting.'

¹⁰ See Haviland 1991: 29.

As shown in example (73) above, directionals are inflected by *-el*. This suffix frequently surfaces without the last consonant, as in (71) above. It is important to highlight that the vowel of the suffix in *käytyäl* ‘remain’ is identical to the vowel of the root. Notice in the following example that it usually surfaces without the last consonant. This property may cause some Chol speakers to have the form *maja(l)* ‘away’ (75), instead of *majle(l)*, as was shown in (70) above. The directionals *majlel* ‘away’ and *tyälel* ‘toward’ can surface in the short forms *ma* and *te*, respectively (see §5.7.9). This is evidence of the grammaticalization of verbs of motion as directionals.

(74) *y=äch* *mi’* (i-)chok-ø-o’ **käyty-ä**
 there=AFFR IMFV A3-throw-B3-PL3 DIR:remain-NF
 ‘Yes, they leave it thrown (the fence post).’ {070620_9b}

(75) *mu=ch* *iy-ochel-o’* **maj-a**
 IMFV=AFFR A3-enter-PL3 DIR:away-NF
 ‘Yes, they go in (the cave).’ {070613_4}

As Haviland (1991: 29) pointed out for Tsotsil, not all motion verbs combine with directionals. For instance, *käytyäl* ‘stay’, *tyälel* ‘come’ *majlel* ‘go’ cannot allow directionals. Moreover, as was mentioned in §6.9, a clause may allow a chain of up to two directionals. In this context the second directional in the chain must be either *majlel* ‘away’ or *tyälel* ‘toward’. These two forms belong to the category of directionals with deictic information in Zavala’s (1994a) classification for Akatek. This author states that in this language a chain of up to three directionals are allowed, where the last directional in the chain can be either ‘away’ or ‘toward’, as in Chol.

(76) *tsa=x* *i-tsep(-b)-e-y-ø-o’* **lok’e** **ma** *i-jol*
 PRFV=already A3-cut(-APL)-DT-EP-B3-PL3 DIR:out DIR:away A3-head
 ‘They already cut away its head.’¹¹ {070613_4}

¹¹ The use of the directionals in this context gives the idea that the people bring the head of the supernatural entity out of the cave.

- (77) mi i-kuch-ø-ob **letsel majal** wakax
 IMFV A3-carry-B3-PL3 DIR:up DIR:away cow
 ‘They carry away the cow’¹² {010201_69}

The directionals described in this section contrast syntactically with depictive constructions on the basis of the fact that in directional constructions there is no aspectual marker between the predicates. Motion verbs are also the source of auxiliaries, which are discussed in the next section.

13.3.2 Auxiliary constructions in motion verbs

In the preceding section, a structure V1V2 was presented where the second verb is a verb of movement functioning as a directional. In this section, I introduce a structure with the opposite order; a V1V2 structure, where the first verb is a verb of movement and the second a transitive verb. The resulting reading of this type of construction is that of a purpose clause. In Tsotsil, there is a context where motion verbs have been reanalyzed as auxiliaries. According to Aissen (1994), in examples such as the one presented in (78), the auxiliary verbs do not carry any inflection for person/number; it is inflected on V2. This property is due to the grammaticalized status of the auxiliary.

Tsotsil (Aissen 1994: 658)

- (78) **k’ot** j-k’opon j-bankil
 arrive A1-address A1-brother
 ‘I arrived to speak with my older brother.’

Following Aissen’s analysis, I consider that Chol exhibits similar constructions. All Chol motion verbs presented in §5.7.8 can function as auxiliary verbs. As can be seen in the following examples (79), the aspectual marker goes in front of both predicates. If a second position clitic is used, it is placed on the word that precedes the auxiliary, which is commonly the aspect marker (79c). Despite this, they take the status suffix for intransitive verbs, as auxiliary verbs do not take inflection for person.

¹² The first directional gives the idea that the way is up a hill.

- (79) a. tyi majl-i j-k'el-ø
 PRFV go-IV A1-see-B3
 'I went to see him.'
- b. tyi **majl-i** a-k'el-ø
 PRFV go-IV A2-see-B3
 'You went to see him.'
- c. tsa'=bi **majl-i** i-k'el-ø-o'
 PRFV=REP go-IV A3-see-B3-PL3
 'It is said that they went to see it' {sf_71}

In imperfective aspect, the suffix *-el* is used without inflection for person, as shown in the following examples.

- (80) a. mi tyäl-**el** j-k'el-ø-ob
 IMFV come-NF A1-see-B3-PL3
 'I come to see them.'
- b. mi tyäl-**el** a-k'el-ø-ob
 IMFV come-NF A2-see-B3-PL3
 'You come to see them.'
- c. mi tyäl-**el** i-k'el-ø-ob
 IMFV come-NF A3-see-B3-PL3
 'He comes to see them.'

The fact that the auxiliaries still carry the morphology of lexical verbs (the status suffixes for perfective (*-i*) and imperfective (*-el*) aspect), may raise the question if they are in fact inflected by person markers. However, in imperfective constructions the Set A person marker which would be expected due to split ergativity does not appear on the auxiliary, as in (80) above. Moreover, Set B first or second person, which morphologically is expressed as *-oñ* and *-ety*, respectively, cannot be inflected on the auxiliary verb, as shown the following examples.

- (81) a. * tyi majl-i-y-**oñ** j-k'el-ø
 PRFV go-IV-EP-B1 A1-see-B3
 Intended meaning: 'I went to see him.'

- b. * tyi majl-i-y-ety a-k'el-ø
 PRFV go-IV-EP-B2 A2-see-B3
 Intended meaning: 'You went to see him.'

This aspectual contrast is present with other auxiliary verbs.

- (82) tyi **tyäl-i** j-k'ajty-iñ-ø beñtyixoñ
 PRFV come-IV A1-ask-DT-B3 SP: blessing
 'I came to ask for a blessing.' {990109_70}

- (83) mi **tyäl-e** i-koty-añ-oñ
 IMFV come-NF A3-help-DT-B1
 'He comes to help me.' {990109_70}

All Chol motion verbs end in *-i* or *-e(l)*, depending on the aspect, except *käy* 'stay, remain', which has *-le* and *-tyä(l)* after the root. For this reason, this is the single motion verb that shows the morphology of positional words (see §5.4). Despite its morphology, the form does not take inflection for person.

- (84) a. tyi **käy-le** k-pejk'-añ-ety
 PRFV stay-PPRFV A1-ask-DT-B2
 'I remained to talk with you.'

- b. mi **käy-ty-ä** k-pejk-añ-ety
 IMFV stay-PIMFV-NF A1-help-DT-B2
 'I remain to talk with you.'

More motion verbs functioning as auxiliaries are the following.

- (85) tyi cha'-**jul-i** k-mel-ø
 PRFV again-arrive.here-IV A1-make-B3-PL
 'I came here to make it again'

- (86) tyi **k'oty-i** a-k'e-ø
 PRFV arrive.there-IV A2-see-B3
 'You arrived to see him.'

- (87) tyi **ñäm-i** a-su'b-eñ-oñ
 PRFV pass-IV A2-tell-DT-B1
 'You passed to tell me that.'
- (88) tyi **lok'-i** k-säkl-añ-ø-ob tyi pami
 PRFV exit-IV A1-search-DT-B3-PL3 PREP outside
 'I go outside to search them.'
- (89) tyi **lets-i** j-k'e-ø
 PRFV climb-IV A1-see-B3
 'I went up to see it.'
- (90) tyi **ju'b-i** j-k'e-ø
 PRFV descend-IV A1-see-B3
 'I descend to see it.'

Some auxiliary verbs show phonological reduction, especially *majlilel* 'go' and *tyälilel* 'come', which reduce to the short forms *ma* and *te*, respectively. The former appears in both perfective and imperfective aspect (91), while the latter appears only in the imperfective aspect (92a). In perfective aspect it must surface in the long form (see example (79), above), and also as *tyä* (92c), a form not found in the text consulted.

- (91) a. tyi **ma** i-cha'-k'e-ø
 PRFV go A3-again-see-B3
 'He went to see it again.' {080704_20a}
- b. mi **ma** i-tsuk'-ø-o' ya'=i
 IMFV go A3-burn-B3-PL there=FIN
 'They go to burn it (the candle) there.' {070613_4}
- (92) a. mi **te** i-tyä'l-añ-oñ
 IMFV come A3-bother-DT-B1
 'He comes to bother me.' {080704_20b}
- b. * tyi **te** i-tyä'l-añ-oñ
 PRFV come A3-bother-DT-B1
 Intended meaning: 'He came to bother me.'

- c. tyi **tyä** a-tyä'l-añ-oñ
 PRFV come A2-bother-DT-B1
 'You came to bother me.'

The rest of the auxiliaries do not exhibit phonological change, except the loss of the lateral *l* in the imperfective aspect.

- (93) mi **majle(l)** a-k'el-ø-ob
 IMFV go A2-see-B3-PL3
 'You go to see them.'

Finally, *keji/keje* which has an aspectual meaning seems to pattern like an auxiliary verb. It has the properties of auxiliary verbs already described. For instance it does not take inflection for person (even in the imperfective aspect) and exhibits the same morphology in perfective and imperfective aspects. As was stated in §6.6.1 when it co-occurs with the imperfective marker, the reading of potential is given (94b), while in combination with the perfective the inception of the action is emphasized. Other words described in §6.6.2 that contribute to aspectual viewpoints behave differently because they can take inflection for person. For this reason they are not included here.

- (94) a. tyi **keji** i-chil-ø-o'
 PRFV start A3-recover-B3
 'They started to recover (the land).'
- b. mi **keje** i-chajp-añ-ø-o'
 IMFV start A3-prepare-DT-B3-PL3
 'They will prepare it.' Lit: 'They start to prepare it.' {080704_20b}

It is important to mention that in the context of auxiliary constructions, intransitive verbs, even passivized forms, are not allowed in V2 position. This results in a complex construction which is discussed in §14.1.3.

- (95) * tyi **keji** wäy-i-y-oñ
 PRFV start sleep-IV-EP-B1
 Intended meaning: 'I started to sleep.'

In conclusion, in Chol there are constructions with two predicates that show at the same time monoclausal properties. In other words, they have one aspectual marker, one argument is shared by both predicates and the second position clitics have scope over both predicates. These constructions are mostly depictive secondary predicates but also include directionals and auxiliary constructions. In auxiliary constructions only transitive verbs can participate as the V2.

XIV

Complex sentences

This chapter is a description of constructions with two or more clauses/sentences in Chol. It starts with a discussion about the three types of complement clauses: finite (§14.1.1), less-finite (§14.1.2), and non-finite complement clauses (§14.1.3). Section §14.2 discusses the strategies of relativization of constituents. Section §14.3 describes two types of conditional clauses: factual (§14.3.1) and counter-factual (§14.3.2). This chapter also includes a discussion of several adverbial adjuncts, such as time (§14.4.1), place (§14.4.2), reason (§14.4.3), and purpose (§14.4.4) clauses. Finally, in §14.5, coordination is presented.

14.1. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

This section consists of a description of Chol complement clauses. Early works on Mayan languages, such as Jacaltec (Grinevald Craig 1977) and Mam (England 1983) identify different types of complement clauses. In Jacaltec, three types of complement sentences were identified: a full finite sentence characterized by the presence of a complementizer, an aspectless embedded clause, and an infinitival complement sentence. The last type was described under the rules of equivalent noun phrase deletion in both languages. Recently, this phenomenon has been analyzed under the theory of complement control (Stiebels 2007).

In my previous work (Vázquez Álvarez 2007a and forthcoming) I proposed that Chol has three types of complement clauses. I call them: finite, less-finite, and non-finite. The notion of finiteness followed in this work is mostly based on the syntax, specifically on the inflection for person/number and the aspectual marker. Under this assumption, finite clauses take all inflections, less-finite clauses take inflection for person but not for

aspect, and non-finite clauses do not take any inflection. The properties of each clause are presented separately below.

14.1.1. Finite complement type

In Chol there are some verbs that can take sentential arguments, resulting in a complex sentence construction. The main features of finite complements consist of the possibility of having all elements of the clause, such as person/number inflection, aspect markers, secondary predicates, focus and negative markers (see chapter 9); in other words, they do not show syntactic dependency like the other complements (see below), despite the presence of a complementizer. In this complex structure, the “that-sentence” must be analyzed as the complement of the matrix, cross-referenced by third person Set B markers. For this reason, in this type of construction, the absolutive inflection in the complement-taking verb is always third person singular (see example (1)).

Cristofaro (2003) proposes a semantic hierarchy of complement-taking verbs, consisting of: propositional attitude (highest), knowledge, verbs of perception, desiderative, manipulative, and phasal (lowest) categories of verbs. This proposal implies that a verb of a higher semantic category takes syntactically independent complements, while those lower in the hierarchy tend to take syntactically dependent complements. Furthermore, if a verb in any position in the hierarchy takes an independent complement, then the same property can be expected for any verb in all higher positions. In Chol, matrix verbs allowing sentential arguments include: *su’b* ‘say’, ‘tell’, *k’ajtyiñ* ‘ask’, *u’b* ‘hear’, *ñäch* ‘listen to’, *om* ‘want’, *mulañ* ‘like’, among others. They belong to propositional attitude, knowledge, perception, and desiderative categories of verbs, which are higher in Cristofaro’s hierarchy. The complement clause of any of these verbs can take all the elements of a simple sentence; in other words, it exhibits syntactic independence.

As example (1) shows, in this type of structure, the complement clause can take the aspectual marker and the verb can be inflected for person/number. In this example; the core arguments are also overtly expressed. This type of complement can be introduced with the Chol complement marker *che’*.

- (1) a. tyi k-u'b-i-ø [che' tyi i-pejk-ä-ø aj-Wañ
 PRFV A1-hear-DT-B3 that PRFV A3-talk.to-DT-B3 NCL-Juan
 aj-Maria]
 NCL-Maria
 'I heard that Maria spoke to Juan.'
- b. tyi k-il-ä-ø [che' tyi i-mäñ-ä-ø ixim
 PRFV A1-see-DT-B3 that PRFV A3-buy-TV-B3 corn
 aj-Maria]
 NCL-Maria
 'I saw that Maria bought corn.'

The complement sentence can also take the borrowed Spanish complementizer *ke* 'that' (2).

- (2) parece-ø [ke sapo chonko ke(je) i-k'e-ø]
 SP:it.seems-B3 SP:that SP:frog PROG start A3-see-B3
 'It seems that it is a frog that he is going to see.' {sf_66}

However when the complement clause has a polarity question, instead of *che'* or *ke*, the particle *mi* is required, as can be noted in (3) and (4). It is important to highlight that the latter form is the same as the one used to introduce clauses of condition (see 14.3). For this reason, I am glossing it as 'if', instead of 'that'.

- (3) mach k-uji-ø=la [mi añ-ø=tyo i-muty wa'li]
 NEG A1-know-B3=PLINC if E-B3=still A3-chicken today
 'We don't know if he still has chicken today.' {sf_71}
- (4) ma'añ tyi k-ñoj ña'ty-ä-ø [mi tyi
 NEG+E PRFV A1-really know-DT-B3 if PRFV
 i-jok'-o-y-ø-o' lum]
 A3-dig-TV-EP-B3-PL3 land
 'I did not really know if they dug the land.' {080703_19a}

It is evident that both clauses, the main and the complement, have all the features of independent clauses. Both take clitics (5) and both can be negated independently (6).

- (5) tsä'=äch k-ñä'ty-ä-ø [che' tsä'=äch i-jok'-o-ø lum]
 PRFV=AFFR A1-know-DT-B3 that PRFV=AFFR A3-dig-TV-B3 land
 'I know that he dug the land.'
- (6) ma'añ tyi k-ñä'ty-ä-ø [che' ma'añ tyi i-jok'-o-ø
 NEG+E PRFV A1-know-DT-B3 that NEG+E PRFV A3-dig-TV-B3
 lum]
 land
 'I did not know that he did not dig the land.'

As mentioned in chapter 1, the basic word order in Chol is VOS. However, in complex sentences, when the subject is lexically expressed, as in (7), the O or complement is extraposed, resulting in the order: VS[Comp]. This is it due to the heaviness of the complement clause.

- (7) a. tyi i-ñächty-ä-ø aj-Wañ [che' tyi i-tyum-i-ø
 PRFV A3-listen.to-DT-B3 NCL-Juan that PRFV A3-advise-DT-B3
 x-chuty-alo' aj-Peru']
 NCL-small-child NCL-Pedro
 'Juan listened that Pedro gave advices to the boy.'
- b. * tyi i-ñächty-ä-ø [che' tyi i-tyum-i-ø x-chuty-alo'
 aj-Peru'] aj-Wañ

It also was argued in chapter 11 that topic is external to the clause, while focus is clause internal. These properties have effects on the complement clauses because only focused constituents are allowed within the complement (see the ungrammaticality of (8b) when the subject of the complement clause is topicalized).

- (8) a. tyi k-ñächty-ä-ø [che' jiñ aj-Peru' tyi
 PRFV A1-listen.to-DT-B3 that FOC NCL-Pedro PRFV
 i-tyum-i-ø x-chuty-alo']
 A3-advise-DT-B3 NCL-small-child
 'I heard that it is Pedro who gave some advice to the boy.'

- b. * tyi k-ñächty-ä-ø [che' a li aj-Peru', tyi
 PRFV A1-listen.to-DT-B3 that TOP DET NCL-Pedro PRFV
 i-tyum-i-ø x-chuty-alo']
 A3-advise-DT-B3 NCL-small-child
 Intended meaning: 'I heard that, as for Pedro, he gave some advice to the boy.'

Summarizing the properties of Chol finite complement clauses, we saw that they are introduced by a complementizer and can take all elements of a finite clause.

14.1.2 Less-finite complement type

Unlike the finite complement clauses which take all the clausal elements, there is another type that only allows inflection for person. Other elements of the clause such as aspectual markers, secondary predication, focus, and negative markers are not allowed in the complement clause. For this reason I call this construction a “less-finite” complement clause. The matrix verbs that take this type of complement include: *chajpañ* ‘to plan’, *ch’ujb* ‘to accept’, *ñop* ‘to try’, *il* ‘to see’, *om* ‘to want’, *mulañ* ‘to like’, *xik*, ‘to obligate’, *ak* ‘to cause’, *tyech* ‘to start’, *ujty* ‘to finish’ and maybe a few others. In Cristofaro’s hierarchy (2003), these verbal categories include meanings that are lower in the hierarchy, such as manipulative and phasal verbs. As an implication of Cristofaro’s semantic hierarchy, this type of complement construction exhibits some clausal integration.

The following examples show that “less finite” complement clauses do not take a complementizer. Another property consists of the obligatory coreference of the subject of the subordinate and the main verb, as in (9a); otherwise the construction is ungrammatical as in (9b). Moreover, the aspectual marker is not allowed in the dependent verb (9c). It is inferred from the aspect lexically expressed in the matrix verb if it is not a stative transitive, which has no aspect, as in (10). Because of such properties, we can state that less-finite complement clauses show some syntactic dependency.

- (9) a. mi k_i-weñ-mul-añ-ø [j_i-k’el-ø li avioñ]
 IMFV A1-much-like-DT-B3 A1-see-B3 DET SP:airplane
 ‘I very much like to watch the airplane.’ {080703_19b}

b. * mi k_i-mul-añ-∅ [a_j-k'el-∅ li avioñ]
 IMFV A1-like-DT-B3 A2-see-B3 DET SP:airplane
 Intended meaning: 'I like that you watch the airplane.'

c. * mi k-mul-añ-∅ [mi j-k'el-∅ li avioñ]

(10) k-om-∅ [k-sajk-añ-∅ k-wiñik]
 A1-want-B3 A1-search-DT-B3 A1-worker
 'I want to search for my worker.' {070621_11b}

The last property to be highlighted in this type of complex sentence is the use of a single negative marker for the whole clause, as in (11a). The subordinate clause cannot take this marker, as seen in (11b).

(11) a. mach k-om-∅ [k-tyä'l-añ-∅ k-pi'äl]
 NEG A1-want-B3 A1-bother-DT-B3-B3 A1-friend
 'I don't want to bother my friend.' {080703_19c}

b. * k-om-∅ [ma'añ mi k-tyä'l-añ-∅ k-pi'äl]
 A1-want-B3 NEG+E IMFV A1-bother-DT-B3 A1-friend
 Intended meaning: 'I want for me to not bother my friend.'

The dependency shown so far indicates that there is some clausal integration. This can also be confirmed by the position occupied by the second position clitics in the complex construction. Second position clitics can be placed only on the first word of the main clause; if they are placed on the first word of the dependent clause, it is ungrammatical as in (13b). This means that these clauses are tightly bound.

(12) ta'=tyo i-k'ajty-i-∅ [i-mañ-∅-o'=tyak]
 PRFV=still A3-ask-DT-B3 A3-buy-B3-PL3=PLIND
 'They still ask to buy it.' {080730_24c}

(13) a. mu=ch k-ñop-∅=la [k-päk'-∅=e']
 IMFV=AFFR A1-try-B3=PLINC A1-plant-B3=ENC
 'yes, we try to plant it' {080703_19a}

- b. * mi k-ñop-ø=la [k-päk'-ø=äch]
 IMFV A1-try-B3=PLINC A1-plant-B3=AFFR
 Intended reading: 'yes, we try to plant it'

Finally, as can be observed in the following example, in this type of complement clause, the subject takes the last position of the sentence, therefore maintaining VOS order.

- (14) mi i-mul-añ-ø i-käñty-añ-ø k-ijts'iñ li aj-Wañ
 IMFV A3-like-DT-B3 A3-take.care-DT-B3 A1-brother DET NCL-Juan
 'Juan likes to take care of my brother.'

The examples presented so far have transitive verbs in the complement clause. I suggest that intransitive verbs participate in another type of complement construction, which will be discussed in the next section).

Summarizing the properties of less-finite complement clauses, we saw that they do not allow any element of a finite clause, except the person marker, which must be the same as the transitive subject of the matrix verb. It also was shown that the verb in the complement position must be transitive. Finally, the complement exhibits some dependency, as can be confirmed by the presence of a single aspectual marker, the presence of second position clitic only on the matrix verb, and just one negative marker for the whole sentence.

14.1.3 Non-finite clauses

Unlike the two complement clauses already described, non-finite complement clauses do not take any clausal elements or verbal inflection. For this reason it is necessary to identify the argument of the embedded predicate with an argument of the matrix predicate; in other words complement control occurs in non-finite clauses (Stiebels 2007: 3). Based on their syntax, there are two subtypes of non-finite clauses in Chol: bare non-finite clauses and complements of prepositions. Their main morphosyntactic properties are summarized next.

The bare non-finite complement is a complement of a transitive matrix verb. It has the structure: (ASP +) matrix V + [non-finite V]. Matrix predicates that participate in this subtype complement, include: *ch'ujb* 'to accept/obey/agree', *jak* 'to accept', *chajp* 'to plan', *ñop* 'to try', *uj* 'to know', *om* 'to want', *k'ajty* 'to ask', *mul* 'to like', *tyech* 'to start', among others. The bare non-finite complement does not take any complementizer. As can be seen in the following examples, the matrix verb is always transitive; the absolutive inflection is always third person singular, which is correferential with the complement. The inferred subject in the non-finite clause is codified by means of Set A in the main verb. The complement cannot take the preposition *tyi* as shown in (15b), (16b), and (17b).

- (15) a. tsa'=bi ke i-k'ajty-iñ-∅ [__ ju'b-e(l)]
 PRFV=REP start A3-ask-DT-B3 descend-NF
 'He started to ask to descend.' {070614_6b}
- b. * tsa'=bi ke i-k'ajty-iñ-∅ [**tyi** __ ju'b-el]
 PRFV=REP start A3-ask-DT-B3 PREP descend-NF
 Intended meaning: 'He started to ask to descend.'
- (16) a. y-om-∅ [__ wäy-el]
 A3-want-B3 sleep-NF
 'S/he wants to sleeps.'
- b. * y-om-∅ [**tyi** __ wäy-el]
 A3-want-B3 PREP sleep-NF
 Intended meaning: 'S/he wants to sleeps.'
- (17) a. y-om-∅ [__ troñ-el] li y-ijñam
 A3-want-B3 work-NF DET A3-wife
 'His wife wants to work.' {070621_11c}
- b. * y-om-∅ [**tyi** __ troñ-el] li y-ijñam
 A3-want-B3 PREP work-NF DET A3-wife
 Intended meaning: 'His wife wants to work.'

On the other hand, complements of prepositions have the structure: (ASP) + Matrix V + [*tyi* non-finite V]. Main verbs taking this type of complement include: *il* 'to see', *k'el* 'to

see/to care’, *ub* ‘to hear’, *ñäch* ‘to hear with attention’, *xik* ‘to order’, ‘to persuade’, *ak* ‘to cause to...’, *mil/muk* ‘imperfective aspect’, *chonkol* ‘progressive’, *ujty* ‘to finish’, *kej* ‘to start’ and maybe a few others.¹ The non-expressed subject in this construction is expressed in the main clause. Unlike the previous sub-type, which only allows transitive matrix verbs, this sub-type can be either transitive (18-19) or intransitive (20). When it is transitive it must be a verb of manipulation or perception; if it is intransitive, it must be an aspectual verb, as in Jakalteq (Craig 1977) and Tzutujil (Dayley 1985). The preposition *tyi* in this context is obligatorily required; otherwise, the complex construction is ungrammatical (see examples (18b), (19b) and (20b)).

(18) a. *mi k-il-añ-ety [tyi __ uk’-el]*
 IMFV A1-see-DT-B2 PREP cry-NF
 ‘I see you crying.’

b. * *mi k-il-añ-ety [__ uk’-el]*
 IMFV A1-see-DT-B2 cry-NF
 Intended meaning: ‘I see you crying.’

(19) a. *tyi y-äk’-ä-ø [tyi __ me<j>l-e(l)] kampu*
 PRFV A3-allow-TV-B3 PREP make<+PAS>-NF SP:landing.field
 ‘He (the president) allows the landing field to be to made.’ {070621_11b}

b. * *tyi y-äk’-ä-ø [__ me<j>l-e(l)] kampu*
 PRFV A3-allow-TV-B3 make<+PAS>-NF SP:landing.field
 Intended meaning: ‘He (the president) allows the landing field to be to made.’

(20) a. *mi a-ke=la [tyi __ troñ-e(l)]*
 IMFV A2-start=PL2 PREP work-NF
 ‘You will start to work.’ {080703_19a}

b. * *mi a-ke=la [__ troñ-e(l)]*
 IMFV A2-start=PL2 work-NF
 Intended meaning: ‘You will start to work.’

c. *tyi kej-i-y-ety=la [tyi __ troñ-e(l)]*
 PRFV start-IV-EP-B2=PL2 PREP work-NF
 ‘You started to work.’

¹ Semantically, the last two forms offer aspectual readings but still have verbal morphology.

In addition to matrix verbs of perception or of manipulation, non-finite constructions have phasal verbs as matrix predicates. The latter category is the lowest ranked set of meanings in Cristofaro's (2003) hierarchy. As was stated above, the lowest ranked meanings tend to be syntactically dependent. This implication is confirmed in Chol by the fact that the subject of the complement is codified in the matrix verb. Such a structural dependency in Chol can also be confirmed by the fact that second position clitics are placed only in the main clause in both bare non-finite complements (21) and complements of preposition (22).

- (21) a. a'bi **tä=x=tyo** k-ñop-o-ø-loñ [__ tyäl-el]
 yesterday PRFV=AFFR=still A1-try-DT-B3-PLEXC come-NF
 'Yesterday we tried to come.' {040115_42b}
- b. * a'bi tyi k-ñop-o-ø-loñ [__ tyäl-e=x=tyo]
 yesterday PRFV A1-try-DT-B3-PLEXC come-NF=AFFR=still
 Intended meaning: 'Yesterday we tried to come.'
- (22) a. ta=x lajm-i-ø [**tyi** __ uk'-e(l)]
 PRFV=already finish-IV-B3 PREP cry-NF
 'It (the owl) finishes crying.' {070614_6b}
- b. * tyi lajm-i-ø [tyi __ uk'-el=**ix**]
 PRFV finish-IV-B3 PREP cry-NF=already
 Intended meaning: 'It (the owl) finishes crying.'

Moreover, the negative marker also goes only with the matrix clause.

- (23) a. a'bi **ma'añ** tyi k-ñop-o-ø tyäl-el
 yesterday NEG+E PRFV A1-try-DT-B3 come-NF
 'yesterday I tried not to come'
- b. * a'bi tyi k-ñop-o-ø **ma'añ** tyäl-el
 yesterday PRFV A1-try-DT-B3 NEG+E come-NF
 Intended meaning: 'yesterday I tried not to come'

A final syntactic property of non-finite clauses to be highlighted in Chol regards the valence of verbs in the complement. The examples presented so far are all monovalents. Transitive verbs can be used only with the valency reduced by means of passive (24), absolutive antipassive (25), and antipassive of incorporation (26a); otherwise, the construction is ungrammatical (26c).

(24) tyi ke- \emptyset tyi **pä·j·k'·e(l)** kajpej
 PRFV start-B3 PREP plant<+PAS>-NF SP:coffee
 'Coffee began to be planted.' {080703_19c}

(25) a. tsajñ- \emptyset -ob tyi **mäñ-oñ-el**
 PRFV-B3-PL3 PREP buy-AP-NF
 'They went to buy (groceries).' {sf_75}

b. tsajñ-oñ tyi **mäñ-oñ-el**
 PRFV-B1 PREP buy-AP-NF
 'I went to buy (groceries).'

(26) a. tyi kej-i- \emptyset tyi **päs-juñ**
 PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP show-paper (to teach)
 'He started to teach.' {080730_25a}

b. tyi kej-i-y-oñ tyi **päs-juñ**
 PRFV start-IV-B1 PREP show-paper (to teach)
 'I started to teach.'

c. * tyi kej-i- \emptyset tyi **k-päs- \emptyset** **juñ**
 PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP A1-show-B3 paper
 Intended meaning: 'I started to teach.'

A final point to mention about Chol complement clauses is in regards to argument realization. In the complement constructions described here, two types of subordination are involved: those that do not induce control (finite complements) and those that need argument identification (less-finite complements and finite complements).² Since the last type is interesting in terms of control theory, more discussion about this is presented next.

² See Stiebels 2006: §5.

Bare non-finite complements of matrix verbs require a control reading. In the following examples, the matrix verb *mul* ‘to like’ selects the non-finite verb *troñel* ‘to work’ as its complement. The subject indicated by set A in the matrix verb controls the inferred subject of the subordinate predicate. Actually, in this type of structure, it is the subject of the matrix verb that controls the elided subject in the subordinated form.

(27) a. ma=ix mi i_i-mul-añ-ø-o’ [___i/*_j toñ-el]
 NEG=already IMFV A3-like-DT-B3-PL3 work-NF
 ‘They already don’t like to work.’ {070621_11b}

b. ma=ix mi k_i-mul-añ-ø [___i/*_j toñ-el]
 NEG=already IMFV A1-like-DT-B3 work-NF
 ‘I already don’t like to work.’

As expected cross-linguistically (see Noonan 1985: 66 and Stiebels 2007: 5), object control can be found in verbs with a causative semantic structure. In the following Chol example, the object of the matrix verb is the controller of the non-expressed subject of the subordinated verb. This structure has been analyzed as subject to object raising in other Mayan languages, such as Jakaltek (Craig 1977).

(28) tyi k-xik’-i-y-ety_i tyi [___i ts’äm-el]
 PRFV A1-make-TV-EP-B2 PREP swim-NF
 ‘I ask you to swim.’

The presence of the preposition *tyi* in this context is triggered by the valence of the matrix verb. In examples (29a), the matrix predicate already carries the syntactically allowed argument. The presence of another argument in the matrix predicate (the subject of the complement clause) by a raising mechanism causes a conflict in the valence of the matrix verb. For this reason, the subordinator *tyi* is required in (29b) in order to treat the non-finite complement as an oblique argument (see §10.2).

(29) a. chonkol-ø k-tyum-iñ-ty-el
 PROG-B3 A1-advise-DT-PAS-NF
 ‘I am being advised.’

- b. **chonkol-oñ** [**tyi** ___ tyum-iñ-ty-el]
 PROG-B1 PREP advise-DT-PAS-NF
 ‘I am being advised.’

It may be the same rule operating with matrix verbs of perception and manipulation, since all of them require the preposition. There is a context where the analysis of object control with raising is not fulfilled. When the causative matrix verb has a non-agentive “complement”, the preposition *tyi* is not required (30a)). Without the subordinador we are not able to analyze *lok’el* ‘exit’ as a complement of the matrix verb since its argument structure is full. Maybe this structure is an instance of predicate fusion, which I leave open for more analysis.

- (30) a. **mi** k-xik’-ety_i [____i lok’-el]
 IMFV A1-make-B2 exit-NF
 ‘I ask you to go out.’
- b. * **mi** k-xik’-ety_i [**tyi** ____i lok’-el]
 IMFV A1-make-B2 PREP exit-NF
 Intended meaning: ‘I ask you to go out.’

Interestingly, in the progressive aspect, the raising mechanism can leave a copy in the subordinate clause. When the subject is raised from the subordinate structure leaving a copy, *tyi* cannot appear between the predicates (31b).

- (31) a. **chonkol-oñ** [**k**-tyum-iñ-ty-el]
 PROG-B1 A1-advise-DT-PAS-NF
 ‘I am being advised.’
- b. * **chonkol-oñ** [**tyi** k-tyum-iñ-ty-el]

In sum, in the two structures of non-finite complements, bare non-finite complements and complements of prepositions, the former induces control without raising, while the latter involves raising subject. There is a structure identical to the complement of a preposition, in which the matrix predicate is a motion verb. This structure offers a purpose reading.

However this structure that is not analyzed as an instance of subject raising since the subject is semantically an argument of the matrix verb.

- (32) tyi majl-i-y-ety [tyi wäy-el]
 PRFV go-IV-EP-B2 PREP sleep-NF
 ‘You went to sleep.’

In conclusion, finite complement clauses do not induce control readings because all arguments are realized overtly. However, less-finite clauses induce control readings. Although the arguments are realized in the complement clause, the subject must be co-referential with the subject in the main clause. Finally, non-finite complements require control readings because they do not license the realization of arguments. A sub-type of non-finite clauses includes raising predicates which exceed the number of arguments to be realized in the matrix verb; for this reason, the preposition is required. In this operation, the complement is treated as a complement of the preposition. Matrix verbs allowing raising constructions are aspectual verbs, verbs of perception and verbs of manipulation.

14.2. RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses in Mayan languages modify all types of arguments, either an identified or an unidentified entity to the addressee. For this reason these languages do not have formal distinctions between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses (Comrie 1989: chapter 7). However, these languages also do not have a single strategy for relativization. For instance, in order to modify a constituent, Tzeltalan languages (Polian p.c.) use either the determiner *te* (33) or relative pronouns such as *mach'a* ‘who’, *bi(nti)* or *beluk* ‘what’ (34), and *ba(y)* or *banti* ‘where’ (35).

Tseltal

- (33) la s-ti'-on te ts'i' [te la aw-ak'-bey-ø
 COM A3-bit-B1 DET dog DET COM A2-give-APL-B3
 waj=e]
 tortilla=ENC³
 'The dog that you gave a tortilla bit me.'
- (34) la jk-ak'-tila-b-at-ik=ix te material
 COM A1-give-DISTR-APL-B2-PLI=already DET SP:material
 [bin=a te ya j-tij-tik-ø]
 what=ENC DET INC A1-play-PL1-B3
 'I gave each one the materials that we will play.'
- (35) te y-ajwal te ts'i'=e la x-chuk-ø jil-el
 DET A3-owner DET dog=ENC COM A3-tie-B3 DIR:remain
 ta x-ch'in s-te'-al [te banti ay
 PREP A3-little A3-fence.post-PROP DET where E
 te luz=e]
 DET SP:light=ENC
 'The dog's owner tied (the dog) in the little fence post where the light is.'

Tsotsil, another Tseltalan Mayan language, has the relativizer *bu* when the head has a locative function within the relative clause.

- (36) k-il li ch'ulna [bu cham li pale]
 A1-see DET church where die DET priest
 'I saw the church where the priest died.'⁴

The relative strategies in Chol have been described in detail by Martínez Cruz (2007). In this work two resources of relativization were highlighted: by means of the locative pronoun *ba'* and by using the enclitic *=bä*.

The use of the first strategy is restricted to nominal modification that refers to a location. As in the other Tseltalan languages, location is relativized with the cognate form *ba'* (37a), which always follows the relativized noun, as shown the ungrammaticality of (37b).

³ In the examples for Tseltal, COM stands for completive aspect, DISTR for distributive, and PROP for form of "property".

⁴ Examples provided by Roberto Nuñez and Victor Diaz, Tsotsil speakers from Chalchihuitan and Chamula varieties, respectively.

(37) a. kole**m**=ba merkaduj ya' [ba' tsajñ-ety=i]
 big=INT SP:market there where PRFV+go-B2=FIN
 'Is that big the market where you went?' {070621_11b}

b. * tyi k-il-ä-ø [ba' tsajñ-ety] merkaduj
 PRFV A1-see-DT-B3 where PRFV+go-B2 SP:market
 'Intended meaning: 'I saw the market where you went'

(38) t=äch k-äk'(-b)-e-ø i-lum [ba' mu'-ø tyi
 PRFV=AFFR A1-give(-APL)-DT-B3 A3-land where IMFV-B3 PREP
 ton-e]
 work-NF
 'Yes, I gave him the land where he works.' {070621_11c}

A second resource for relativization in Chol is by means of the use of the clitic =*bä*. As was mentioned in previous chapters (see §5.3 and §8.6), this resource for relativization has caused great interest in recent linguistic studies in Chol, since it is not present in other Tseltalan languages, except Chontal (see Osorio May 2007). First of all, as was suggested in early works on Chol (Martínez Cruz 2007) and confirmed by Zavala (2007a), the clitic =*bä* was borrowed from the neighboring Mixe-Zoquean languages. Second, since Chol is a V-initial language, it is typologically expected to have the relative clause following the head; however, the relative clause can precede the head.

The contrast in (39) and (40) shows that the relative clause by means of the use of =*bä* can follow or precede the noun that it modifies. Another property to be highlighted in these examples is that the NP in the relative clause that is equivalent to the one in the main clause that is being modified cannot be lexically expressed (the gap is indicated by a line within the relative clause).

(39) ta'=bi i-koty-ä-ø **juñ-tyiki** [ta'=bä k'ux-le-ø ___
 PRFV=REP A3-help-DT-B3 one-CL PRFV=REL bite-PAS-B3
 tyi lukum]
 PREP snake
 'It is said that he helped a person who was bitten by a snake' {070614_6b}

- (40) ixku [säsäk-ø=bä ___] **ixim**, añ-ø=tyo
 what.about white-B3=REL corn E-B3=still
 ‘What about white corn (corn that is white), does it still exist? {070614_6b}

Moreover, as was discussed by Martínez Cruz (2007, Chapter 5), the external head is sometimes not lexically expressed, as in the following example. It is inferred from its mention in another part of the discourse. In the following construction, for instance, it refers to things that the shaman uses when he cures people.

- (41) ma’añ tyi i-ch’ä-ø te [li mu’=bä
 NEG+E PRFV A3-bring-B3 DIR:toward DET IMFV=REL
 i-k’añ-ø=e’=i ___]
 A3-use-B3=ENC=FIN
 ‘He did not bring what he uses.’ {070614_6b}

Since the gapping strategy is not accompanied by any other means (e.g. a pronoun), it may cause potential ambiguous readings when the construction involves the third person, as in (42). In this example, the gap in the relative clause refers either to the agent or to the patient (see example (43)). As was seen in Chapter 12, a passive construction can be used to get an unambiguous reading.

- (42) tyi majl-i-ø li wiñik [ta’=bä i-ts’äk-ä-ø x-ixik]
 PRFV go-IV-B3 DET man PRFV=REL A3-cure-DT-B3 NCL-woman
 a. ‘The man who cures the woman is gone.’
 b. ‘The man whom the woman cures is gone.’ {Martínez Cruz 2007: 184}

- (43) tyi i-ts’äk-ä-ø x-ixik li wiñik
 PRFV A3-cure-DT-B3 NCL-woman DET man
 ‘The man cures the woman.’

In the example presented above (42), we can see that in Chol, relativizing the agent does not require any special suffix on the verb (see §10.3), as happens in some Mayan languages, such as Q’anjob’al, where the suffix *-on/-n* is required (see Francisco Pascual 2007: 51).

Martínez Cruz (2007: §5.5) demonstrated that the gapping strategy can relativize all core arguments, such as the subject of non-verbal predicates (44b) the subject of intransitive verbs (45b), transitive subject (46b), direct object (47b), primary (48b) and secondary (49b) objects. The following, are examples adapted from the ones used by Martínez Cruz (2007).

- (44) a. tyäk'-ø li lum
 sticky-B3 DET earth
 'the earth is sticky'

Relativized NP functioning as subject of non-verbal predicate

- b. mi k-säkl-añ-ø **lum** [tyäk'-ø=bä ____]
 IMFV A1-search-DT-B3 earth sticky-B3=REL
 'I search the earth that is sticky.'

- (45) a. muk'-ø-o' tyi toñ-el wiñik-o'
 IMFV-B3-PL3 PREP work-NF man-PL3
 'The men work.'

Relativized NP functioning as intransitive subject

- b. wä=ch lok'-em-ø **wiñik-o'** [mu'-ø=bä tyi toñ-el ____]
 here=AFFR exit-PART-B3 man-PL3 IMFV-B3=REL PREP work-NF
 'The men who work are from here.'

- (46) a. mi i-säkl-añ-ø juñ-tyikil x-'ixik yumäl
 IMFV A3-search-DT-B3 one-CL NCL-woman chief
 'A woman searches for a chief.'

Relativized NP functioning as transitive subject

- b. añ-ø **juñ-tyikil yumäl** [mu'=bä i-säkl-añ-ø
 E-B3 one-CL chief IMFV=REL A3-search-DT-B3
 juñ-tyikil x-'ixik ____]
 one-CL NCL-mujer
 'There is a king who is looking (searching) for a woman.'

- (47) a. tyi i-ts'äk-ä-ø wiñik aj-wujty
 PRFV A3-cure-DT-B3 man NCL-shaman
 'The shaman cured the man.'

Relativized NP functioning as direct object

- b. k'am-ø **li wiñik** [ta'=bä i=ts'äk-ä-ø aj-wujty ____]
 sick-B3 DET man PRFV=REL A3-cure-TV-B3 NCL-shaman
 'The man whom the shaman cured is sick.'

- (48) a. tyi k-äk'-e-ø ts'ak li wiñik
 PRFV A1=give-DT-B3 medicine DET man
 'I gave medicine to the man.'

Relativized NP functioning as primary object

- b. tyi sajty-i-ø **wiñik** [ta'=bä k-äk'-e-ø ts'ak ____]
 PRFV die-IV-B3 man PRFV=REL A1-give-DT-B3 medicine
 'The man to whom I gave the medicine died.'

- (49) a. tyi k-ch'äm-b-ety tyälel juñ-kojty chityam
 PRFV A1-bring-APL-B2 DIR:toward one-CL pork
 'I bring you a pork.'

Relativized NP functioning as secondary object

- b. lets tyi k-tyoj-o-ø **li chityam** [ta'=bä
 expensive PRFV A1-pay-TV-B3 DET pork PRFV=REL
 k-ch'äm-b-ety tyälel ____]
 A1-bring-APL-B2 DIR:toward
 'The pork I bring you was expensive'

Martínez Cruz also demonstrated that the gapping strategy is also used to relativize a possessor of core and non-core arguments, as shown in the following examples.

- (50) a. tyi sajty-i-ø y-alo'bil x-'ixik
 PRFV die-IV-B3 A3-son NCL-woman
 'The woman's son died.'

- b. chonkol tyi uk'-el **x-'ixik** [tsa'=bä sajty-i-ø
 PROG PREP cry-NF NCL-woman PRFV=REL die-IV-B3
 y-alo'bil ____]
 A3-son
 'The woman whose son died is crying.'

- (51) a. añ-ø k'ajk tyi y-e'bal p'ejty
 E-B3 fire PREP A3-underneath pot
 'There is fire under the pot.'

- b. tyomp'-em-ø **li** **p'ejty** [añ-ø=bä k'ajk tyi y-e'bal ____]
 broken-PART-B3 DET pot E-B3=REL fire PREP A3-underneath
 'The pot that has fire underneath it is broken.'

In addition to the arguments already listed, comitative or associative can be relativized also using the strategy of gapping. This role is formed by the relational noun *ik'oty* which is inflected by both Set A and Set B person markers to indicate the two participants associated with it.

- (52) a. tyi tyäl-i-y-ety aw-ik'oty-oñ
 PRFV come-IV-EP-B2 A2-with-B1
 'You came with me.'

- b. tyi tyäl-i-y-ety aw-ik'oty-ø wiñik
 PRFV come-IV-EP-B2 A2-with-B3 man
 'You came with a man.'

Comitative or associative

- c. tyi k'am-ä-ø **li** **wiñik** [tsa'=bä tyäl-i-ø
 PRFV get.sick-INCH-B3 DET man PRFV=REL come-IV-B3
 aw-ik'oty-ø ____]
 A2-with-B3
 'The man who came with you got sick.'

In conclusion Chol has two types of relative constructions: those modifying a noun that has locative function in the relative clause (*ba'*) and those modifying a noun with any semantic role different than locative (=bä). Only the former is shared with other Tseltalan languages while the latter is a Chol (and Chontal) resource borrowed from the Mixe-Zoquean neighbors (see §1.5.1). It is important to point out that the order RC-N is not attested in other Mayan languages.

14.3. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

In Chol there are several resources to express conditional clauses. They include mainly the use of particles and clitics. This language divides conditional clauses into two groupings: factual and counterfactual. Each one is discussed separately below.

14.3.1 Conditionals with *mi* and *=ki*

Factual implications of conditional clauses are expressed by either the Chol particle *mi* or the enclitic *=ki*. There is no evidence that the former is related to the imperfective marker or that the latter is associated with the irrealis clitic *=ik* (e.g. via metathesis). The particle *mi* can be used in sentences where the conditional clause goes after or in front of the main clause (53); while the enclitic *=ki* is used only when the conditional clause is fronted in order to be topicalized (54).

(53) a. *mi* keje i-bujty'-el ja' **mi** tyi keji ja'al
IMFV start A3-increase-NF river if PRFV start rain
'The river will grow if it rains.'

b. **mi** tyi keji ja'al, *mi* keje i-bujty'-el ja'
if PRFV start rain IMFV start A3-increase-NF river
'If it rains, the river will grow.'

(54) a. tsa'**=ki** keji ja'al, *mi* keje i-bujty'-el ja'
PRFV=CON start rain IMFV start A3-increase-NF river
'If it rains, the river will grow.'

b. * *mi* keje i-bujty'-el ja' tsa'**=ki** keji ja'al
IMFV start A3-increase-NF rain PRFV=CON start river
Intended meaning: 'The river will grow if it rains.'

Examples from texts of the use of *mi* are presented in the following group of examples. When the conditional clause is topicalized, it can be closed by the enclitic *=i* (56); but it is not always required, as in (57) and (58). It is important to mention that topicalization of conditional clauses is common in other Mayan languages, as reported in Itzaj (Hofling 2000: §21.1.2).

- (55) mi ke a-kãñty-añ-ø a-bäj **mi** aw-om-ø lajm-e(l)
 IMFV start A2-take.care-DT-B3 A2-RN if A2-want-B3 cure-NF
 ‘You have to take care of yourself if you want to be cured.’ {080704_20a}
- (56) **mi** tyi majl-i-y-on=la tyi ñajty=bä-y=i siempre
 if PRFV go-IV-EP-B1=PLINC PREP far=REL-EP=FIN SP:always
 k-om-ø=ox tyojo la=j-k’oty-i’
 A1-want-B3=already money PLINC-A1-room-INST
 ‘If we go to a far place, we will always need money to pay for our room.’
 {080729_22b}
- (57) **mi** tyi a-ts’itya’ ñijk-ä-ø iche’, tsiliñ
 if PRFV A2-little move-DT-B3 like.this ONOM
 che’ mi’ (i-)maja
 say IMFV (A3-)go
 ‘If you move a little bit like this, it (the silver money) goes *tsiliñ*.’
 {080730_24c}
- (58) **mi** tyi k-ch’ujb-i-ø=la cheñ, bajchki mi ke
 if PRFV A1-accept-DT-B3=PLINC then how IMFV start
 k-cha’-añ-ø=la
 A1-do-DT-B3=PLINC
 ‘If we accept it, how will we do?’⁵ {080730_25b}

Conditional clauses with *mi* can be negated by either *ma’añ* or *mach*, placed immediately after the conditional marker, as in (59) and (60).

- (59) **mi ma’añ** tyam tyi a-ts’äp-ä-ø, mi i-bujch-e(l)
 if NEG+E large PRFV A2-insert-TV-B3 IMFV A3-fall-NF
 ‘If you do not insert it deep, it will fall down.’ {080604_12b}
- (60) mi i-jats’-oñ k-papaj **mi mach** k-om-ø toñ-el
 IMFV A3-hit-B1 A1-SP:father if NEG A1-want-B3 work-NF
 ‘My father hits me if I don’t want work.’ {070621_11b}

The main clause or apodosis can also be negated by means of the same negative markers, as seen in the following examples.

⁵ Referring to a governmental program to privatize the communal lands.

- (61) **ma'añ** tyi k-ñoj-ña'ty-ä-ø mi tyi
 NEG+E PRFV A1-really-know-DT-B3 if PRFV
 i-jok'-o-y-ø-o lum
 A3-dig-DT-EP-B3-PL3 earth
 'I did not really know if they dig the dirt.' {080703_19a}
- (62) **mi** tyi j-käy-ä-ø=la **mach** la=j-käñ-ä=x,
 if PRFV A1-leave-TV-B3=PLINC NEG PLINC=A1-learn-tv=already
 poj che'-o'=tyak
 HON say-PL3=PLINC
 'If we leave (the school), we won't learn, they say.' {080729_22a}

Moreover, both the conditional and the main clause can be negated with a separate negative marker for each one.

- (63) **ma'añ** tyi k-ñoj-ña'ty-ä-ø mi **ma'añ** tyi
 NEG+E PRFV A1-really-know-DT-B3 if NEG+E PRFV
 i-jok'-o-y-ø-o lum
 A3-dig-DT-EP-B3-PL3 land
 'I did not really know if they did not dig the land.'

Regarding the enclitic =*ki*, as was stated above, it is used in topicalized conditional clauses. The following are examples from texts:

- (64) waj=äch=**ki** tyi j-k'ux-u-ø, jiñ=ch mi j-k'ux-ø
 tortilla=AFFR=CON PRFV A1-eat-TV-B3 FOC=AFFR IMFV A1-eat-B3
 y-ik'oty-ø ya k-pimel=i
 A3-with-B3 HON A1-green=FIN
 'If I ate some tortillas, I do so with my greens.' {080704_20b}
- (65) mu'=**ki** k-poj-tyaj-ø=la tyak'iñ, poj cincuenta
 IMFV=CON A1-HON-find-B3=PLINC money HON SP:fifty
 'If we get money (as payment), it is only fifty.' {080730_24c}

As with the case of *mi*, the main clause can be negated as in (66) and (67a). The antecedent can do so as well as seen in (67b). In the last example, the enclitic goes on the negative marker due to its property as a second position enclitic.

(66) tardej=ix=**ki** tyi may-ety,**mach** a-tyaj-a-ø=x, cho'oñ
 late=already=CON PRFV go-B2 NEG A2-find-TV-B3=already I.say
 'If you go late, you will not find him, I say.' {080704_20b}

(67) a. ta'=**ki** ñoj-chañ-'ä-y-ety k'iñ, **mach**=me=ku
 PRFV=CON really-late-INCH-EP-B2 day NEG=REA=AFFR
 k'oty-ety=ix
 arrive.there-B2=already
 'If you really go late, you won't arrive there.' {080729_22a}

b. ma'añ=**ki** tyi chañ-'ä-y-ety k'iñ, mu'=me=ku
 NEG+E=CON PRFV late-INCH-EP-B2 day IMFV=REA=AFFR
 a-k'oty-el
 A2-arrive.there-NF
 'If you don't go late, you will arrive there.'

When this kind of conditional is negated by *mach*, then the conditional clitic goes on the negative marker, followed by the word *ba'añ*. This last form is composed of the locative pronoun *ba'* plus the existential *añ*. Together, the negative with the conditional clitic and the locative pronoun with the existential offer the meaning 'if it is not the case'. However, below I provide the literal analysis for each morpheme.

(68) mach=ki **ba'añ** tyi tyäk-i-ø mach pul-ø
 NEG=CON where PRFV dry.up=DT-B3 NEG burn-B3
 'If it does not dry up, it won't get burned.' {010301_67a}

(69) mach=ki **ba'añ** k'uñtye' mi la=k-mel-ø, chuki
 NEG=CON where slow IMFV PLINC=A1-make-B3 what
 mi y-ujty-el
 IMFV A3-happen-NF
 'If we don't make it slowly, what would happen?' {010301_67b}

Interestingly, both conditional markers discussed so far can co-occur in a single conditional clause. In this case, the enclitic gets attached to the aspectual marker as in (70). Also the conditional marker of Spanish can be borrowed in Chol which can appear concatenated with *mi*, as in (71).

- (70) **mi tsa'=ki** k-meru-lotyø-ø jiñ tyak'iñ=i,
 if PRFV=CON A1-little-save-B3 DET money=FIN
 entonse jiñ=x mi ke j-k'añ-ø
 SP:then that=already IMFV start A1-use-B3
 'If I save some money, then I will use that.' {070613_4}
- (71) **si mi** añ=ety tyi' (i-)tyojl-e(l) la=k-yum,
 SP:if if E-B2 PREP (A3-)care-NF PLINC=A1-Lord
 y=äch=ki siguej=ety ya'i, entonces kontentuj ma
 there=AFFR=CON SP:stay-B2 there SP:then SP:content IMFV
 a-ñäm-e(l) maj
 A2-pass-NF DIR:away
 'If you are under our Lord's care, if you stay there, then you will
 pass contented (to the church when you die).' {070612_3}

Moreover, there are instances in the texts where the three conditional markers appear in a single sentence.

- (72) **si mi** mach=**ki** ba'añ ma' (a-)wäk'ñ-añ-ø,
 SP:if if NEG=CON where+E IMFV (A2-)clean-DT-B3
 ya' mi ke i-chäm-e(l) jiñ=i
 there IMFV start A3-die-NF that=FIN
 'If you don't clean it, they (the corn plants) will die.' {070613_4}

14.3.2. Counterfactual conditionals

As pointed out by Coon (2010: 244), counterfactual conditionals in Chol take the irrealis clitic =*ik* in the antecedent or protasis. In the following group of examples, the conditional clauses express a situation that is known to be false. In all cases they are fronted but they can go after the main clause, as in (74b) and (75b). When they are fronted, they can take the phrase final enclitic for topicalized constituents as in (73).

- (73) **ta'=ik** aw-äk'-ä-ø a-bäj=**i**, puta ma, es capaz que
 PRFV=IRR A2-give-DT-B3 A2-RN=FIN SP: damn.it SP: maybe
 ma'añ tyi tye<j>ch-i-y-ety, che' k-älo
 NEG+E PRFV cure<+PAS>-IV-EP-B2 say A1-RN
 'If you had allowed him to beat you, damn it!, maybe you couldn't have been
 cured, it was said.' {080704_20a}

- (74) a. tsa'=ik j-k'el-e-y=i, tsa' k-äk'(-b)-e-ø ts'ak
 PRFV=IRR A1-see-TV-EP=FIN PRFV A1-give(-APL)-DT-B3 medicine
 'If I had seen it, I would have given medicine to her.' {031015_45}
- b. tsa' k-äk'(-b)-e-ø ts'ak tsa'=ik j-k'el-e-y=i
- (75) a. tsa'=ik k-ñop-o-ø tyi kol-i-y-oñ, esu si ora=jach
 PRFV=IRR A1-tried-TV-B3 PREP grow-IV-EP-B1 SP: of.course fast=only
 k-me-ø
 A1-make-B3
 'If I tried it (to make candles) when I grow up, of course I would make
 it quickly.' {031009_44}
- b. ora=jach k-me-ø tsa'=ik k-ñop-o-ø tyi kol-i-y-oñ

Also, as with the conditional enclitic, the irrealis marker can be attached to the negative form *mach*, followed by *ba'añ*.

- (76) **mach=ik ba'añ** tyi aw-äk'-ä-ø a-bäj=i,
 NEG=IRR where+E PRFV A2-give-TV-B3 A2-RN=FIN
 tyi tye<j>ch-i-y-ety
 PRFV cure<+PAS>-IV-EP-B2
 'If you had not allowed him to beat you, you would have been cured.'
- (77) **mach=ik ba'añ** tyi k-ñop-o-ø tyi kol-i-y-oñ,
 NEG=CON where+E PRFV A1-try-TV-B3 PRFV grow-IV-EP-B1
 ora=jach mi k-me-ø
 fast=only IMFV A1-make-B3
 'If I would not have tried to do it when I grew up, I would have made it fast.'

Finally, the word *che'* seems to also offer an 'if-sentence' reading. It is important to highlight that a common reading of this word in subordinate constructions is of an adverbial time clause (see next section). Notice in the following examples that both readings, adverbial and conditional, are possible. Since the most productive reading in this context is the adverbial one, I would prefer to gloss it as an adverbial time clause marker.

- (78) a. **che'** k-om- \emptyset =tyo=la kol-el=i, mu'=bi
 when A1-want-B3=still=PLINC be.saved-NF=FIN IMFV=REP
 j-kuch- \emptyset =la jiñi patye'
 A1-carry-B3=PLINC hm patye'
 'When/if we want to be saved, it is said that we (have to) carry *patye'*.'⁶
 {070614_6b}
- b. **che'** mi k-tyaj- \emptyset -o'=la, **che'** uts'aty
 when IMFV A1-find-B3-PL3=PLINC when good
 k-pejk-añ- \emptyset -o'=la, ma'añ saj chu mi y-äl- \emptyset -o'
 A1-talk.to-DT-B3-PL3=PLINC NEG+E really what IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3
 'when/if we found them, when/if we talk to them gently, they don't say
 anything bad.' {080730_26b}

14.4. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

Time, place, reason, and purpose clauses can be expressed as adjuncts in Chol. In such clauses, mostly subordinators are used in each type without any other syntactic means to indicate dependency. Manner adverbs are expressed only by means of complex predicate constructions (§13.2). Examples of each adjunct are presented separately.

14.4.1 Adverb of time

There are two subordinators that introduce time adjuncts in Chol which are not interchangeable. The first one is used in completive constructions, while the second is used in incompletive constructions. The most common resource is with the word *che'ñak* and less commonly, the reduced form *che'*. They are evidently related to each other. The component *ñak* in the longer form does not appear attached to other words, for this reason it is analyzed as a single word. *Che'* on the other hand, has multiple functions (see §14.1.1. and §14.3.2).

Che'ñak precedes a clause or sentence to indicate time (by referring an event or a state) of an event (79) or state (80) and (81) expressed in the main clause.

⁶ *Patye'* or *pätye'* is a rounded box made with tree bark. It is mostly used as a place to put little chickens to pass the night. The sentence refers to a time when people in the narrative use it as a shell in order to protect themselves from the attack of big eagles.

- (79) verdej- \emptyset =tyo li pime **che'ñak** tyi' (i-)tye'p'(-b)-oñ
 SP:fresh-B3=still DET plant when PRFV (A3-)tie(-APL)-B1
 'the (medicinal) plant was still fresh when he tied it to me (my arm).'
- {080704_20a}
- (80) mu- \emptyset =x=tyo tyi buch-ty-ä(l) **che'ñak** mero
 IMFV-B3=AFFR=still PREP sit-STAT-NF when SP:little
 k'ok'- \emptyset =tyo
 healthy-B3=still
 'He still sat when he was still a little healthy.' {070614_6b}
- (81) mu'=bi=ta' i-koty-añ- \emptyset i-papaj wajali **che'ñak**
 IMFV=REP=REA A3-help-DT-B3 A3-SP:father time.ago when
 x-k'alä- \emptyset =tyo
 NCL-young-B3=still
 'She said that back then, she helped his father when she was young.'
- {070621_11c}

As was stated in §11.2, adverbial adjuncts can be fronted in order to topicalize them. This process can be indicated by the phrase final enclitic =i (82) although it is not obligatory (83).

- (82) **che'ñak** ya'=tyo añ-oñ ix tyi k-otyoty=**i**,
 when there=still E-B1 there PREP A1-house=FIN
 mu'- \emptyset tyi ch'uyu' tyi a'bäle
 IMFV-B3 PREP whistle PREP night
 'When I was still there, in my house, it (a supernatural entity)
 whistled during the night.' {070614_6a}
- (83) **che'ñak** tyi key=ety tyi clase, baki chum-ul=ety
 when PRFV start=B2 PREP SP:go.school where live-STAT-B2
 'When you started to go to school, where were you living?' {080703_19c}

The reduced form, used in imperfective constructions, can appear either following the main clause or sentence (84) and (85) or preceding it (86) and (87). In the latter position the adjuncts are topicalized. In this position, the clause can take the enclitic =i (86), but it is not obligatory (87).

- (84) añ-ø=bi=ta' mu'=bä i-mäky-añ-on=tyak=la tyi ñojty'e
 E-B3=REP=REA IMFV=REL A3-stop-DT-B1=PLIND=PLINC PREP forest
che' mi k-cha'l-en-ø=la xämba tyi a'bäle
 when IMFV A1-do-DT-B3=PLINC walk PREP night
 'It is said that there is something that intercepts us in the forest when we walk
 during the night.' {070614_6a}
- (85) mach mej=ix la=j-k'exty-añ-ø la=k-pensal **che'**
 NEG can=already PLINC=A1-change-DT-B3 PLINC-A1-think when
 añ-ø=ix (la=)k-a'bil-e(l)
 E-B3=already (PLINC-)A1-age-POS
 'We cannot change our minds when we are already old.'⁷ {070613_4}
- (86) **che'** yäkel-on=la tyi ak'iñ=i kuch-u(l)-ø=bi
 when PROG-B1=PLINC PREP clearing.crop=FIN carried-STAT-B3=REP
 la=k-cha'añ-ø patye'
 PLINC=A1-do-B3 patye'
 'when we are clearing the crops, it is said that we carry back the *patye*.'
 {070614_6b}
- (87) **che'** mi k-sajty-e=la cheñ, ma'añ mi ka' a-ñäm-e(l)
 when IMFV A1-died-NF-PLINC then NEG+E IMFV start A2-pass-NF
 ya' tyi klesiaj
 there PREP SP:church
 'when we die, we won't pass in the church.' {070613_4}

14.4.2. Adverb of place

In addition to the use of *tyi* as a resource to introduce locative adjuncts (see §9.5.3), the morpheme *ba'* also has the same function..

- (88) mi ke k-majl-el tyi escuela [**ba'** tyi k-cha'l-e-ø
 IMFV PROSP A1-go-NF PREP SP:school where PRFV A1-do-DT-B3
 k'e-juñ]
 see-paper
 'I will go to the school where I studied.'
- (89) tsa'=ix pul-i-ø li otyoty [**ba'** tyi kol-i-y-ety]
 PRFV=already burn-IV-B3 DET house where PRFV grow-IV-EP-B2
 'The house where you were born burned down.'

⁷ This means to change to another religion other than Catholic.

- (90) ta=x=ki y-äl-ä-ø yos mi k-lajm-e=la,
 PRFV=already=CON A3-say-TV-B3 God IMFV A1-die-NF-PLINC
 ni modoj, [ma'=ix **ba'** majl-on=la]
 SP:no.way NEG=already where go-B1=PLINC
 'If God says for us to die, what else can we do, there is no place to go.'
 {031009_44}

As was indicated in the section on topicalization (see §11.2), this type of adjunct can be placed in front of the main clause. In the process, the intonational phrase enclitic can be used, as in (91), although it is not obligatory (92).

- (91) **ba'** mi' (i-)juk'-ø i-machity jiñi
 where IMFV (A3-)sharpen-B3 A3-machete DET
 k-tätaj=i, mu'=bi ma i-weñ-tya'-a-b-eñ-ø
 A1-SP:father=FIN IMFV=REP go A3-much-defecate-DT-APL-DT-B3
 'where my father sharpens his machete, he said that it (the fox) goes to put its excrement on it.'⁸ {070614_6b}

- (92) **ba'** ñoj jal-ø=äch tyi i-cha'l-e-y-ø-ob, yä'=äch
 where really late-B3=AFFR PRFV A3-do-DT-EP-B3-PL3 there=AFFR
 tyi parke
 PREP SP:main.square
 'where they really took time doing it (dancing), was in the main square.'
 {010201_69}

In natural speech a sequence of several clauses introduced by *ba'* can be formed. All the clauses must predicate on the same place, as in the following example where it is the Catholic Church.

⁸ The Chol people used to sharpen their machetes on a type of rock usually located on the bank of a river. The story describes a fox defecating on this type of rock. According to Chol beliefs this is a very ill omen.

- (93) mejor mi k-cha'-añ-ø=la tyi seguir ba'añ
 SP:better IMFV A1-do-DT-B3=PLINC PREP SP:follow where
 ili la=k-tyaty=i, ba' tyi k-ch'äm-ä-ø=la ja', ba'
 this PLINC-A1-God=FIN where PRFV A1-take-DT-B3=PLINC water where
 tyi y-äk'-ä-y-oñ tyi ch'äm-ja' la=k-papaj,
 PRFV A3-give-TV-EP-B1 PREP take-water PLINC-A1-SP:father
 la=k-mamaj
 PLINC=A1-SP:mother
 'It is better if we stay where our God is (to be Catholic), where we were
 baptized, where our father and mother give us to take the baptism.' {070613_4}

14.4.3. Adverb of reason

I am using adverbs of reason here to refer to the clauses that in English are translated as “because” or “since”. These clauses are indicated by the Chol word *jiñche'*, which is composed of the third person independent pronoun *jiñ* and the particle *che'*. I am analyzing them as a single word.

- (94) tyi k-paty mi j-kuch-ø tyel, **jiñche'** mach
 PREP A1-back IMFV A1-carry-B3 DIR:toward because NEG
 ñäm-ø ma kawayu' cheñ
 pass-B3 DIR:away SP:horse then
 'I bring it on my back because horses do not pass there.' {070613_4}
- (95) mach mejl-ø la=k-tyäl-ø **jiñche'** añ-ø i-p'ätyä-le=ta'
 NEG can-B3 PLINC=A1-touch-B3 because E-B3 A3-strength-ABS=REA
 cheñ
 then
 'We cannot touch it because it has its strength, you know.' {070613_4}
- (96) mi' (i-)ch'äm-ø-o' cha'añ poste **jiñche'**
 IMFV (A3-)take-B3-PL3 PREP fence.post because
 tsätsä-tye'=tyak cheñ
 hard-wood=PLIND then
 'People take it as fence post because it (the wood) is hard.' {070620_9b}

As with all adjuncts, the clauses beginning with *jiñche'* can be fronted for topicalization.

- (97) **jiñche'** kampsinuj-oñ, mi k-cha'l-eñ-ø wersa
 since SP:farmer-B1 IMFV A1-do-DT-B3 SP:hard
 tyi toñ-e(l)
 PREP work-NF
 'Since I am a farmer, I work hard.' {031009_44}

14.4.4. Purpose clauses

There are two ways to express purpose clauses in Chol. One consists of the use of a movement verb. The movement verb can be functioning as main predicate (98a), or as auxiliary verb (98b). Both structures has purpose readings.

- (98) a. mi k-tel=(l)oñ tyi pu-ñichim
 IMFV A1-come-PLEXC PREP burn-candle
 'We come here to burn candles.' {031102_43}

- b. tyi tyäli k-pul-ø ñichim
 IMFV come A1-burn-B3 candle
 'I came here to burn candles.'

Another strategy consists of using the preposition *cha'añ*, as noted in the following examples. It is important to remember that this morpheme has other functions as well. The purpose reading is obtained only when it precedes a clause; if it precedes a noun, it introduces a beneficiary or some other nominal function (see §9.4.5). As exemplified in (101b), the clause introduced by *cha'añ* can be fronted.

- (99) mi i-cha' buty'-b-eñ-ty-el i-ch'ejew **cha'añ**=ix
 IMFV A3-again fill.up-APL-DT-PAS-NF A3-plate PREP=already
 i-tyep'-ø majlel
 A3-wrap-B3 DIR:go
 'The plate is filled up again (with food) in order to bring it home wrapped.'
 {010201_69}

- (100) la'=me añ-ø k-pom **cha'añ** mi k-pul-ø tyi
 here=?? E-B3 A1-incense PREP IMFV A1-burn-B3 PREP
 k-otyoty
 A1-house
 'Here is my incense, to burn in my house.' {990109_70}

(101) a. añ-∅ y-oraj-lel **cha'añ** mi la=k-sub-∅ la=k-mul
 E-B3 A3-SP:time-POSS PREP IMFV PLINC=A1-confess-B3 PLINC=A1-sin
 'It is a time to confess our sins.' {040115_42b}

b. **cha'añ** mi la=k-sub-∅ la=k-mul añ y-oraj-lel

14.5. COORDINATION

In Chol there are no specific morphemes that indicate conjunction or disjunction. The relational noun *ik'oty* inflected for the third person ergative can coordinate NPs, offering a comitative reading (see §5.7.2), but can also be translated as equivalent to the English coordinator *and* as noted in the following group of examples. In this function, the relational noun is inflected for ergative third person singular which does not necessarily refer to the subject of the first clause as shown in (102c).

(102) a. ya' chum-ul-∅ aj-Nicolas **y-ik'oty-∅** aj-Maria
 there live-STAT-B3 NCL-Nicolás A3-with-B3 NCL-Maria
 'Nicolás lives there with/and Maria.'

b. ya' chum-ul-∅ aj-Nicolas **y-ik'oty-oñ**
 there live-STAT-B3 NCL-Nicolás A3-with-B1
 'Nicolás lives there with/and me.'

c. ya' chum-ul-∅ aj-Nicolas **k-ik'oty-∅**
 there live-STAT-B3 NCL-Nicolás A1-with-B3
 'Nicolás lives there with/and me.'

(103) ruda=jach tyi k-ch'am-ä-∅ ma, **y-ik'oty-∅**
 ruda=only PRFV A1-bring-TV-B3 DIR:away A3-with-B3
 chän-ts'ijty esterina, **y-ik'oty-∅** balsamo, **y-ik'oty-∅** pom
 four-CL SP:candle A3-with-B3 SP:balsam A3-with-B3 incense
 'I only bring *ruda* plant, with four candles, with balsam and incense.'
 {080704_20a}

(104) ta'=bi=ta' weñ-jul-i-y-ø-o'=tyak tyi
 PRFV=REP=REA much-arrive.here-IV-EP-B3-PL3=PLIND PREP
 troñel tyäl-em-ø-o'=bä tyi yam=bä lum=tyak,
 work-NF come-PART-B3-PL3=REL PREP other=REL land=PLIND
 tsotsil **y-ik'oty-ø** tseltal=bä muk'-ø-o' tyi ty'añ
 tsotsil A3-with-B3 Tseltal=REL IMFV-B3-PL3 PREP speak
 'It is said that many people coming from other lands arrive to work here,
 those who speak Tsotsil and Tseltal.' {070614_6a}

(105) mu'=bi la=k-majñ-ä-b-eñ-ø jiñ i-wex
 IMFV=REP PLINC-A1-borrow-DT-APL-DT-B3 hm A3-pants
y-ik'oty-ø i-bujk=i
 A3-with-B3 A3-T-shirt=FIN
 'It is said that we borrow their pants and T-shirt.' {080703_19c}

The entire clause can also be conjoined with the same relational noun.

(106) mi k-majñ-ä-b-eñ-ø i-wex aj-Wañ **y-ikoty-ø**
 IMFV A1-borrow-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-pants NCL-Juan A3-with-B3
 mi j-k'ajty-i-b-eñ-ø i-pixel aj-Peru'
 IMFV A1-ask-DT-APL-DT-B3 A3-hat NCL-Pedro
 'I borrow Juan's pants and I ask for Pedro's hat.'

The Spanish conjunction *y* 'and' has also been integrated in Chol under the same function. This borrowed word can conjoin NPs (107) and entire clauses (107) and (109).

(107) pala y pico tyi i-k'añ-ä-y-ø-o'
 SP:spade SP:and SP:pickaxe PRFV A3-use-TV-EP-B3-PL3
 'They used a spade and pickaxe.' {080703_19b}

(108) añ-ø la=j-kuch mi la=k-ma y añ-ø la=j-kuch
 E-B3 PLINC=A1-load IMFV PLINC=A1-go SP:and E-B3 PLINC=A1-load
 mi la=k-te
 IMFV PLINC=A1-come
 'We go with a load and we return with a load.' {080703_19a}

(109) ma'=ix ñajal y ma'=ix chu mi k-saj
 NEG=already bad.dream SP:and NEG=already what IMFV A1-definitely
 u'b-iñ-ø
 hear-DT-B3
 'There are no bad dreams and I do not hear anything anymore.' {080704_20a}

However, there is no Chol word to indicate disjunction. For this reason the borrowed Spanish word *o* ‘or’, is used.

(110) mach=ku=la mi tyi’ (i-)majtyañ ak’-ä-ø **o** mi
 NEG=AFFR=PLINC if PRFV (A3-)vain give-TV-B3 SP:or if
 tyi’ (i-)chok-o-ø
 PRFV (A3-)throw-TV-B3
 ‘I don’t know if he gave it in vain or if he threw it.’ {080704_20b}

(111) mejl tyi xujl-e(l) **o** mi’ (i-)ts’äp-ty-ä(l) tyi ok’o
 can PRFV hurt-NF SP:or IMFV (A3-)trap-PIMFV-NF PREP mud
 ‘It (the horse) can hurt itself or be trapped in the mud.’ {070620_9a}

More Spanish conjunctions that connect clauses or sentences in Chol include *pero* ‘but’, *aunque* ‘although’, *hasta* ‘until’, and *como* ‘since’. These conjunctions have been incorporated in Chol without changes in the original meaning. *Pero* ‘but’ introduces a sentence that expresses an unexpected consequence due to the meaning of the former sentence. *Aunque* ‘although’ introduces a sentence that expresses a contrary situation to the one expressed in the preceding sentence. *Hasta* ‘until’ functions a temporal connector that refers to the final stage of a situation. *Como* ‘since’ introduces a sentence that expresses a cause of the situation expressed in the next sentence.

(112) ya’=bi ch’ik-i(l)-ø j-k’a’ba’ mi y-äl-ø-o’=i, **pero**
 there=REP put-STAT-B3 A1-name IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3=FIN SP:but
 gracia a Dios ke ma’añ chu mi k-cha’l-eñ-ø
 thanks to God SP:that NEG+E what IMFV A1-do-DT-B3
 ‘It is said that my name is put (into the cave) but thank God that nothing
 has happened to me.’⁹ {070613_4}

(113) li kixtyañuj, cumplidoj=bi **anke** ma’añ-o’ i-tyak’iñ
 DET people, SP: fulfill=REP although NEG+E-PL3 A3-money
 ‘The people are on time (with the payment), although they don’t have money.’
 {080730_25a}

⁹ According to Chol belief, putting a name written on a piece of paper into a cave can cause severe illness to the person whose name is in the paper.

(114) tyi ñu<j>p'-i-∅ escuela che'ñak jiñ=i,
 PRFV close<+PAS>-IV-B3 SP:school when that=FIN
asta tyi setenta y tres
 SP:until PREP SP:seventy and three
 'In that time the school was closed, until 1973.' {080730_26b}

(115) **komo** ma'añ la=k-tyak'iñ cheñ, ma'añ chex
 SP:since NEG+E PLINC=A1-money then NEG+E what
 j-k'ux-∅=la
 A1-eat-B3-PLINC
 'Since we don't have money, we don't eat anything.' {080703_19c}

Finally, constituents or whole clauses can also be linked by parataxis, as has been reported in other Mayan languages (see Hofling 2000: §20.1). This resource of placing NPs, clauses or sentences together without coordinating words is abundant in ritual speech, such as prayers. In example (116) a time in the night is mentioned three times, while in (117) both clauses refer to the same events but change the subject and location. In (118) the two things that the speakers carry out are expressed in two clauses. The last example, (119), implies a temporal sequence of the event: the speaker leaves the train in one place, and then goes to his friend's house to leave his bag. As Hofling (2000: 445) points out, "the result of parataxis may be aesthetically valued parallelisms that are a marked trait of Mayan style".

(116) mi' (i-)cha'añ-∅ otsaj-ñichim tyi a las dies, a las onse,
 IMFV A3-do-B3 place-candle PREP SP:to ten SP:to eleven
 a las dose la noche
 SP:to twelve SP:in the night
 'He places candles at ten, eleven, and (or) twelve at night.' {070613_4}

(117) ya' ma' (a-)k'e-∅ ma ya'ya'=i,
 there IMFV A2-see-B3 DIR:away there=FIN
 mi j-k'e-∅ ma ila
 IMFV A1-see-B3 DIR:away here
 'You will attend to that and I will attend to this (line of cornfield).'
 {070621_11a}

- (118) kuch-u(l)-ø lok'e k-machity,
 carried-STAT-B3 DIR:away A1-machete
 kuch-u(l)-ø lok'e k-tirador
 carried-STAT-B3 DIR:away A1-sligshot
 'I go out carrying my machete and carrying my slingshot.' {080704_20b}
- (119) tyi käy-le-y-oñ tyi Estacion Palenque,
 PRFV stay-stat-EP-B1 PREP Estacion Palenque
 (tyi) majl-i k-äk'-ø k-mora tyi y-otyoty
 PRFV go-IV A1-give-B3 A1-SP:bag PREP A3-house
 'I stay in Estacion Palenque and I went to leave my bag at his house
 (of my friend).' {080730_26a}

14.6. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, in this chapter the three types of Chol complement clauses were described, based mainly on the properties revealed in the syntax. The complement-taking verbs found in Chol are in line with the theoretical proposal of Cristofaro (2003) who suggests that the complement clauses can exhibit syntactic dependency based on the semantic hierarchy of the matrix verbs. Furthermore, two types of complements, less-finite and non-finite, offer interesting information to control theory since the dependent construction requires argument identification in the main clause. Another topic described here was the two strategies of relativization: by means of relative pronouns and by the relative marker =*bä*. As was demonstrated by Zavala Maldonado (2007a), the last resource was introduced in Chol from the neighboring Zoquean languages. Additionally, two types of conditional clauses, factual and counterfactual, were discussed. The different types of adverbial clauses, such as time, place, reason, and purpose, were also described in this chapter. Finally, this chapter illustrated the different strategies of coordination. It is evident that in this last topic many Spanish words have been incorporated into Chol to conjoin clauses and sentences.

XV

Conclusions

This dissertation described the main features of Maya Chol, mostly based on Tila variety. In this language, a word can contain a linear sequence of morphemes but the boundaries in the word are always clear-cut. The verbs are the class of word that can take many inflections, such as person and number markers, status suffixes, and voice markers, among others. For this reason, we can state that Chol is an agglutinative and inflectional language. The single argument of prototypical intransitive verbs or non-verbal predicates and both the transitive subject and direct object of transitive verbs are inflected in the predicate by means of Set A (ergative) and Set B (absolutive) person markers. For this reason this language is a head-marking language.

This language, as all Mayan languages, exhibits an ergative pattern which is evident in the verbal morphology. In the perfective aspect, the direct object and the subject of intransitive verbs are indicated by Set B inflection, but the transitive subject is indicated by set A inflection. However, in non-perfective aspects, this pattern is split because the agent of transitive and the subject of intransitive verbs are indicated by Set A inflection while the transitive object is indicated by Set B. Moreover, due to the semantics of the verbs, the argument of some intransitive verbs can pattern together with transitive agents and others with transitive patients. This pattern is analyzed as instance of agentive alignment. Finally, the Fluid-S system was also instantiated in this work. In such a system, intransitive verbs behave both as agentive and non-agentive.

Chol was also characterized in terms of object marking. It was shown that Chol makes a distinction between direct and indirect objects, and also between primary and secondary objects. For this reason, Chol is a “direct object” and a “primary object” language.

The Chol simple sentence consists minimally on the predicate plus the inflection for person, numbers, and aspect markers. Depending on the class of the predicate, it can

take status suffixes. When the direct arguments are third persons, lexical NPs can be allowed, resulting in the VOS order. All non-core arguments are preceded by prepositions or relational nouns. The left boundary of the simple sentence can be identified by the abundant clitics called here as second position clitic. These clitics are attached to the first element of the sentence. Moreover, the right edge of the sentence can be closed with the final clause clitic =*i*. Simple sentences can be combined to form complex sentences. There are several resources for joining clauses, including pauses, Chol connectors and words borrowed from Spanish.

Constructions of complex predicates include depictive secondary constructions, directional, and auxiliary constructions. The main property of these constructions is that both predicates share one argument and a single aspectual marker. Among complex predicates, the depictive constructions are the most abundant and can end up in synthetic forms.

Regarding valence movements, several passive markers as well as antipassive and causative resources were exemplified. An interesting relationship between passive constructions and the relative obviative status of nouns was highlighted. Such a relationship was also reported in other Tzeltalan languages, such as Tzeltal and Tsotsil.

In the topic of complex sentences, the strategies of relativization in this language have caused great interest among the mayanists. It is because, in addition to the use of pronouns (as in the rest of Mayan languages), Chol has the enclitic =*bä* that evidently comes from the neighboring Mixe-Zoquean languages. As was shown in this work, this enclitic modifies almost all types of arguments, except locatives.

Chol exhibits factual and counterfactual conditional clauses. They are expressed by the clitic =*ik* and the particle *mi*. Interestingly, both conditional markers can co-occur in a single sentence; moreover, the latter can co-occur with *si*, a form borrowed from Spanish.

Finally, there three types of complement clauses: finite complement, less-finite complement, and non-finite complement clauses. The former can be introduced by complementizers and the complement clause can take all the elements of a simple sentence. The less-finite type allows only inflection for person and number, while the aspect is codified in the main clause. Finally, there are two types of non-finite clauses: the complement of preposition and bare non-finite clause. A main feature of this last type

of complement is that they neither allow inflection for person nor the aspectual markers. All this grammatical information is codified in the main clause.

Some conclusions presented throughout the thesis require more detailed investigation. For instance, the suggestions about all the functions of the determiners and demonstratives must be revised. The different contexts of the use of movement verbs also require more investigation. This topic must be especially analyzed in the context of Mayan languages. Surely the correlation of passive constructions with obviation will be included in future investigations of Chol sentences. Finally, it is necessary to explore possible pragmatic or stylistic uses of second position clitics.

Texts

The following texts are pieces of materials recorded in several Chol villages. The first one was recorded in Sabanilla and the last two in Jolpokitiok (Tila). The first text refers to Chol mythology about the *tyämijol* (the longhair), a supernatural entity that lives in a cave and kidnap women of the villages. The second text refers to a personal experience of a Chol speaker from Jolpokitiok who witness the building of landing field in Tila and the first arrival of airplanes in this village. The last one, also recorded in Jolpokitiok, refers to famine caused by grasshoppers. The speakers tell their experience trying to save corn plants and other products from the grasshoppers.

The “Longhair”, a supernatural entity

- (1) much iweñ alo'
muk'=äch i-weñ-al-ø-ob
IMFV=AFFR A3-SP:much-say-B3-PL3
'Yes, they say a lot about that'
- (2) jiño'äch ix'ä ktätaj mi' weñ al
jiñ-ob=äch ix'ä k-tätaj mi i-weñ-al
FOC-PL3=AFFR that A1-SP:father IMFV A3-much-say
'They are my fathers who tells a lot'
- (3) che' lämälo'ix tyi weñ k'aj-oj
che' läm-äl-ø-ob=ix tyi weñ-k'aj'oj
when quiet-STAT-B3-PL3=already PREP SP:much-rest
'when they were finally together resting'
- (4) che' ora baje' ili,
che' ora bajche' ili,
like.this SP:hour like this
'around this time of day'
- (5) jiñix mi ke iweñ alo'
jiñ=ix mi ke i-weñ-al-ø-ob
PRON3=already IMFV PROSP A3-SP:much-say-B3-PL3
'This is what they would start to talk about'

- (6) yäch añonloñ kweñ ñäch'tyäbeño' li' ty'añ
 yä'=äch añ-oñ=loñ k-weñ-ñäch'ty-ä-b-eñ-ø-ob
 there=AFFR E-B1=PLEXC A1-much-hear-DT-APL-DT-B3-PL3
 li i-ty'añ
 DET A3-talk
 'Yes, we are always there listening to their words'
- (7) chajach tyi ku'bi je' bajche' jiñ
 che'=jach tyi k-u'b-i-ø je' bajche' jiñ
 like.this=only PRFV A1-hear-DT-B3 also like that
 'That is how I heard it as well'
- (8) jiñch mi' weñ alo' che' chuki tyi ujtyi oñiyi,
 jiñ=äch mi i-weñ-al-ø-ob che' chuki
 PRON3=AFFR IMFV A3-SP:much-say-B3-PL3 that what
 tyi ujty-i-ø oñi-y=i,
 PRFV happen-IV-B3 time.ago-EP=FIN
 'yes, they talk a lot about what happened long ago.'
- (9) chuki tyi' cha'leyo' oñiyi
 chuki tyi i-cha'l-e-y-ø-ob oñi-y=i
 what PRFV A3-do-DT-EP-B3-PL3 time.ago-EP-FIN
 'what they experienced in the past'
- (10) bajche' yilalo'
 bajche' y-il-a-l-ob
 how A3-see-DT-EP-PL3
 'how they were (their lives)'
- (11) chu tyi iweñ cha'ayo' oñi
 chuki tyi i-weñ-cha'l-e-y-ø-o oñi
 what PRFV A3-SP:much-do-DT-EP-B3-PL3 time.ago
 'what they experienced in the past'
- (12) jiñjachix mi yälo' jiñ
 jiñ=jach=ix mi y-äl-ø-ob jiñ
 PRON3=only=already IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3 that
 'That is what they say'
- (13) jājā'
 jājā'
 INTJ
 'yes'

- (14) *jiñjach añ tyi ku'bi yälo', jiñi*
jiñ=jach añ-ø tyi k-u'b-i-ø y-äl-ø-ob, jiñi
 PRON3=only E-B3 PRFV A1-hear-DT-B3 A3-say-B3-PL3 hm
 'That is what I heard them say'
- (15) *muchku iweñ alo' ixi lajko'*
muk'=äch=ku i-weñ-al-ø-ob
 IMFV=AFFR=AFFR A3-SP:much-say-B3-PL3
ixi la=j-ko'
 hm PLINC=A1-grandmother
 'Yes, they would talk a lot about our grandmother'
- (16) *mach akäñä ix ba' säkts'ijañ witsi?*
mach a-käñ-ä-ø ix ba' säk-ts'ijañ wits=i?
 NEG A2-know-TV-B3 there where white-appearance hill=FIN
 'Do you know [that place] where the hill looks white?'
- (17) *lajko'bi jiñi*
la=j-ko'-ø=bi jiñ=i
 PLINC=A1-grandmother-B3=REP that=FIN
 'They say it is our grandmother'
- (18) *tyemebi ya' añ x-ixiko'*
tyem-el-ø=bi ya' añ-ø x-'ixik-ob
 together-STAT-B3=REP thereE-B3 NCL-woman-PL3
 'they say the women were gathered'
- (19) *jimbi cha'añ lajko' jiñi witsi*
jiñ=bi cha'añ la-j-ko' -ø jiñ wits=i
 FOC=REP PREP PLINC=A1-grandmother-B3 that mountain=FIN
 'that is why that mountain is our grandmother'
- (20) *poke tyemebi ya' añ li x-ixiko'*
poke tyem-el-ø=bi ya' añ-ø li x-'ixik-ob
 SP:because together-STAT-B3=REP there E-B3 DET NCL-woman-PL3
 'because the women were gathered there'
- (21) *ambi jiñi, xtyamijo mi' su'beño'*
añ-ø=bi jiñi, x-tyamijol mi i-su'b-b-eñ-ø-ob
 E-B3=REP hm NCL-longhair IMFV A3-tell-APL-DT-B3-PL3
 'They say that there was (what) they called the *tyamijol* (Longhair)'

- (22) jiñi, wits,
 jiñi, wits-ø
 hm mountain-B3
 ‘he is the mountain’¹
- (23) iyum jiñi, wits
 i-yum jiñi wits
 A3-guardian hm mountain
 ‘the guardian of the mountain’
- (24) xtyamijo, che’eño’
 x-tyamijol-ø, che’eñ-ob
 NCL-long.hair-B3 say-PL3
 ‘the Longhair, they say’
- (25) xtyamijol
 x-tyamijol-ø
 NCL-long.hair-B3
 ‘It is the Longhair’
- (26) que mu’bi iletse tyi, che’ añ ik’i
 que muk’=bi i-lets-el tyi, che’ añ-ø ik’=i
 SP:that IMFV=REP A3-go.up-NF PREP when E-B3 wind=FIN
 ‘that goes up to... when it was windy’
- (27) wajali, k’ux anku tsa’ ik’ cheñ,
 wajali, k’uk’ux añ-ø=ku=tsa’ ik’ cheñ,
 time.ago really E-B3=AFFR=REA wind then
 ‘Long ago there used to be a lot of wind, you know?’
- (28) pujukñakutsa’ ik’ wajali
 puj-uk-ña-ø=ku=tsa’ ik’ wajali
 wind.noise-RED-AFV-B3=AFFR=REA wind time.ago
 ‘Back then the wind would go *puj*’²
- (29) mi’ su’ibäj
 mi i-su’b-ø i-bäj
 IMFV A3-announce-B3 A3-RN
 ‘it would announce itself’
- (30) ty’ärty’ärña wä’ tyi chañ
 ty’är-ty’är-ña-ø wä’ tyi chañ
 wind.noise-RED-AFV-B3 here PREP above
 ‘It would make *ty’ärty’är* up here’

¹ Referring to the Lord of the mountain.

² It means very windy. For this reason the trees make much noise.

- (31) que jiñtyobi jiñi
 que jiñ=tyo=bi jiñ=i
 SP:that FOC=still=REP that=FIN
 ‘It is said that [the Longhair] is what he still is’
- (32) jiñtyobi mi’ putyuñ k’ajtyisañ
 jiñ=tyo=bi mi i-putyuñ-k’ajty-i-s-añ-ø
 PRON3=still=REP IMFV A3-insistently-remember-DT-CAUS-DT-B3
 ‘it is said that that is what always reminds him’
- (33) che’ jiñi
 che’ jiñ=i
 and then=FIN
 ‘So then’
- (34) mu’bi iweñ xujch’iño’ ma jiñi x-ixiko’
 muk’=bi i-weñ-xujch’-iñ-ø-ob ma jiñi,
 IMFV=REP A3-much-robber-DT-B3-PL3 DIR:away hm
 x-’ixik-ob
 NCL-woman-PL3
 ‘They say that he constantly steals women’
- (35) tyi yik’ajachbi mi’ weñ päy ma jiñi, x-ixiko’ li witsi
 tyi y-ik’-al=jach=bi mi i-weñ-päy-ø ma
 PREP A3-wind-ABST=only=REP IMFV A3-much-take-B3 DIR:away
 jiñi, x-ixik-ob li wits=i
 hm NCL-woman-PL3 DET mountain=FIN
 ‘With nothing more than wind, the Lord of the mountain takes the women’
- (36) lakyum mi yälo’,
 la=k-yum-ø mi y-äl-ø-ob,
 PLINC=A1-grandfather IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3
 ‘It is called our grandfather’
- (37) lakyum, che’eño’
 la=k-yum-ø, che’eñ-ob
 PLINC=A1-grandfather-B3 say-PL3
 ‘our grandfather, they say’
- (38) lakyum, che’eño’
 la-k-yum-ø, che’eñ-ob
 PLINC=A1-grandfather-B3 say-PL3
 ‘our grandfather, they say’

- (39) pe jimbi iyum jiñ witsi
 pe jiñ=bi i-yum jiñ wits=i
 SP:but FOC=REP A3-Lord DET mountain=FIN
 ‘but it is the Lord of the mountain’
- (40) mu’bi iweñ xujch’iñ maja bestia kabayu’ wakax
 muk’=bi i-weñ-xujch’-iñ-ø maj-al bestia
 IMFV=REP A3-much-steal-DT-B3 DIR:away-NF SP:horse
 kabayu’ wakax
 SP:horse SP:cow
 ‘It is said that he constantly steals horses and cows’
- (41) mu’bi ipäy ma
 muk’=bi i-päy-ø ma
 IMFV=REP A3-call-B3 DIR:away
 ‘he takes them away’
- (42) y, che’ jiñi, ambi x-ixiko’,
 y, che’ jiñ=i, añ-ø=bi x-’ixik-ob,
 SP:and and then=FIN E-B3=REP NCL-woman-PL3
 ‘And then, it is said that there were women’
- (43) x-ixik, xk’alä, mu’bi ikuch majle
 x-’ixik, x-k’alä, muk’=bi i-kuch-ø majl-el
 NCL-woman NCL-girl IMFV=REP A3-carry-B3 DIR:away-NF
 ‘women, girls, he takes them all away’
- (44) y, cha’ambi iyijñam mi yälo’
 y, cha’añ=bi iy-ijñam mi y-äl-ø-ob
 SP: and PREP=REP A3-wife IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3
 ‘to be his wife, they say’
- (45) che’bi mi yä bajche’ jiñ
 che’=bi mi y-äl-ø bajche’ jiñ
 like.this=REP IMFV A3-say-B3 like PRON
 ‘It is said that he (the father’s speaker?) says like that’
- (46) ambi jiñi, juñtyiki wiñik
 añ-ø=bi jiñi, juñ-tyikil wiñik
 E-B3=REP hm one-CL man
 ‘There was a man’
- (47) tsa’bi majli,
 tsa’=bi majl-i-ø,
 PRFV=REP go-IV-B3
 ‘He went’

- (48) no se chuki tyi ma ik'ebeñ
no se chuki tyi ma i-k'el-b-eñ-ø
SP:no SP:know what PRFV go A3-see-APL-DT-B3
'I do not know what he went to see'
- (49) tsa'bi ochi tyi ma ch'eñ li wiñiki
tsa'=bi och-i-ø tyi i-mali ch'eñ li wiñik=i
PRFV=REP enter-IV-B3 PREP A3-inside cave DET man=FIN
'The man went into the cave'
- (50) yäch ix ba'añ lajko'o'
ya'=äch ix ba'añ la=j-ko'-ob
there=AFFR there where PLINC=A1-grandmother-PL3
'Yes, there, where our grandmothers are'
- (51) che' jiñ, tsächbi ityaja,
che' jiñ, tsa'=äch=bi i-tyaj-a-ø,
and then PRFV=AFFR=REP A3-find-TV-B3
'Then, he found it (the Longhair's refuge)'
- (52) tsächbi k'otyi ityaj
tsä'=äch=bi k'oty-i i-tyaj-ø
PRFV=AFFR=REP arrive-IV A3-find-B3
'It is said that he arrived to find it (the Longhair's refuge)'
- (53) pe jiñjachbi li x-ixiko weñ ya'añi
pe jiñ=jach=bi li x-ixik-ob weñ ya'
SP:but PRON=only=REP DET NCL-woman-PL3 SP:many there
añ-ø=i
E-B3=FIN
'But only the women were there'
- (54) ya'bi läm-ä li x-ixiko'
ya'=bi läm-äl-ø li x-ixik-ob
there=REP gathered-STAT-B3 DET NCL-woman-PL3
'there were gathered the women'
- (55) jiñächbi chä'bä ya'añ
jiñ=äch=bi chä'bä ya' añ-ø
FOC=AFFR=REP anything there E-B3
'anything were there'

- (56) tsa'bi ochi
 tsa'=bi och-i-∅
 PRFV=REP enter-IV-B3
 'He (the man) entered'
- (57) che' jiñ, tsa'bi k'oty ipejkañ li x-ixiko'
 che' jiñ, tsa'=bi k'oty-i i-pejk-añ-∅
 and then PRFV=REP arrive-IV A3-talk-DT-B3
 li x-ixik-ob
 DET NCL-woman-PL3
 'then, he came to talk to the women'
- (58) tsächbi k'oty ipejkañ
 tsä'=äch=bi k'oty-i i-pejk-añ-∅
 PRFV=AFFR=REP arrive-IV A3-talk-DT-B3
 'he came to talk to them'
- (59) k'o mi mach tonto je' cheñ
 k'o mi, mach tonto je' cheñ
 maybe IMFV NEG SP:silly also then
 'Maybe he was not stupid either'³
- (60) machku yu'bi,
 mach=ku yu'bi,
 NEG=AFFR maybe
 'maybe not'
- (61) muxtyo imero ña'tyañ yu'bi
 muk'=äch=tyo i-mero-ña'ty-añ-∅ yu'bi
 IMFV=AFFR=still A3-SP:little-know-DT-B3 maybe
 'Maybe he knew a little something (e.g. has a power)'
- (62) muxtyo imero ña'tyañ wale
 muk'=äch=tyo i-mero-ña'ty-añ-∅ wale
 IMFV=AFFR=still A3-SP:little-know-DT-B3 maybe
 'maybe he knew a little something'
- (63) tyäli jk'eletyla che'bi,
 tyi tyäl-i-∅ j-k'el-ety=la che'=bi,
 PRFV come-IV-B3 A1-see-B2=PL2 say=REP
 '-I came to see you, -he says'

³ It means that he is not an ordinary man, he has special powers.

- (64) tyäli jiñi,
 tyi tyäl-i-∅ jiñi,
 PRFV come-IV-B3hm
 ‘-came to...’
- (65) wä’ba añ jiñi, lakyum, che’bi
 wä’=ba añ-∅ jiñi, la=k-yum, che’=bi
 here=INT E-B3 hm PLINC=A1-Lord say=REP
 ‘-Is our Lord here? -He says’
- (66) pe, ma’añ wä’añ
 pe, ma’añ wä’ añ-∅
 SP:but NEG+E here E-B3
 ‘-But he is not here,’
- (67) che’bi li x-ixiko’
 che’=bi li x-ixik-ob
 say=REP DET NCL-woman-PL3
 ‘-the women reply’
- (68) ma’añ wä’añ,
 ma’añ wä’ añ-∅,
 NEG+E here E-B3
 ‘-He is not here’
- (69) lok’eñ ma tyi xämbal,
 lok’-em-∅ ma tyi xämb-al,
 exit-PART-B3 DIR:away PREP walk-NF
 ‘-He went out to walk’
- (70) es que mi’ lok’e tyi xämba, che’bi
 es que mi i-lok’-el tyi xämb-al, che’=bi
 SP:is SP:that IMFV A3-exit-NF PREP walk-NF say=REP
 ‘-because he [often] goes out to walk, -they say’
- (71) jājā’,
 jājā’,
 INTJ
 ‘yes’
- (72) xink’iñibi tyi k’otyik’e
 xink’iñi=bi tyi k’oty-i i-k’el-∅
 noon=REP PRFV arrive-IV A3-see-B3
 ‘It was at noon when he (the man) arrived to see him’

- (73) es que ñoj lekoj mi' cha'leñ, che'bi
 es que ñoj-lekoj mi i-cha'l-eñ-∅, che'=bi
 SP:is SP:that really-bad IMFV A3-do-DT-B3 say=REP
 'He does bad things, -he says'
- (74) k'ux tyeme yijñamo', che'bi
 k'uk'ux tyem-el-∅ y-ijñam-ob, che'=bi
 really many-STAT-B3 A3-wife-PL3 say=REP
 'He has a lot of wives, -he says'
- (75) weñ tyeme yijñamo', che'bi
 weñ tyem-el-∅ y-ijñam-ob, che'=bi
 SP:much many-STAT-B3A3-wife-PL3 say=REP
 'He has a lot of wives, -he says'
- (76) jiñi, mi, che' awom mi ate ak'eli,
 jiñi, mi, che' aw-om-∅ mi a-tyäl-el a-k'el-∅=i,
 hm if if A2-want-B3 IMFV A2-come-NF A2-see-B3=FIN
 'If you want to come to see him...'
- (77) tsikilme che' wäyäli, che'bi
 tsik-il-∅=me che' wäy-äl-∅=i, che'=bi
 evident-STAT-B3=*me* COMP slee-STAT-B3=FIN say=REP
 'I tell you that it is obvious when he is sleeping, -she says'
- (78) jiñtyo che' weñ wäyälix,
 jiñ=tyo che' weñ wäy-äl-∅=ix,
 PRON=still when SP:well sleep-STAT-B3=already
 'when he is already asleep'
- (79) mi tyäle ak'el,
 mi tyäl-el a-k'el-∅,
 IMFV come-NF A2-see-B3
 'you come see him'
- (80) ma' woche te ak'el, che'bi
 mi aw-och-el te a-k'el-∅, che'=bi
 IMFV A2-enter-NF DIR:toward A2-see-B3 say=REP
 'you come in to see him, -they say'
- (81) tsikiläch,
 tsik-il-∅=äch,
 evidente-STAT-B3=AFFR
 'It is obvious'

- (82) mu'me tyi weñ ñojk' che' wäyälixixi, che'bi
 muk'=me tyi weñ ñojk' che' wäy-äl-ø=ix=i,
 IMFV=me PREP SP:much snore COMP sleep-STAT-B3=already=FIN
 che'=bi
 say=REP
 '-he snores a lot when he is asleep, -she says'
- (83) che'bi li yijñam, li x-ixiki
 che'=bi li y-ijñam, li x-ixik=i
 say=REP DET A3-wife DET NCL-woman=FIN
 'So said his wife, the woman'
- (84) y, che' jiñ, tsächbi majli li wiñiki
 y, che' jiñ, tsa'=äch=bi majl-i-ø li wiñik=i
 SP:and and then PRFV=AFFR=REP go-IV-B3 DET man=FIN
 'and then, it is said, the man went in'
- (85) weñ wäyäbi tyi k'otyi ityuñ ty'ojbeñ ibik'
 weñ wäy-äl-ø=bi tyi k'oty-i-ø
 SP:well sleep-STAT-B3=REP PRFV arrive-IV-B3
 i-tyuñ-ty'oj-b-eñ-ø i-bik'
 A3-noise-cut-APL-DT-B3 A3-neck
 'he was asleep when he (the man) came to cut off his (the long hair's) head'
- (86) wä'bi tyi' tsep-e ibik',
 wä'=bi tyi i-tsep-b-e-ø i-bik',
 here=REP PRFV A3-cut-APL-DT-B3 A3-neck
 'here (at this point) he cut his neck (of the Longhair)'
- (87) pe tyambi ijol,
 pe tyam-ø=bi i-jol,
 SP:but long-B3=REP A3-hair
 'but his hair was long'
- (88) k'ux tyambi ijol
 k'uk'ux tyam-ø=bi i-jol
 really long-B3=REP A3-hair
 'His hair was really long'
- (89) tsa'bi k'otyi iwil tsep-eñ ibik',
 tsa'=bi k'oty-i i-wil-tsep-b-eñ-ø i-bik',
 PRFV=REP arrive-IV A3-severe-cut-APL-DT-B3 A3-neck
 'He (the man) came to entirely sever his neck'

- (90) ya'bi tyi lajmi ya'i
 ya'=bi tyi lajm-i-ø ya'=i
 there=REP PRFV finish-IV-B3 there=FIN
 'It is said that he died there'
- (91) ya'bi tyi lajmi li xtyamijol ya'i
 ya'=bi tyi lajm-i-ø li x-tyamijol ya'=i
 there=REP PRFV finish-IV-B3 DET NCL-long.hair there=FIN
 'It is said that the Longhair died there'
- (92) mi yälo' jiñi ktätaj wajali jiñi tyi' mesle pebreru
 mi y-äl-ø-ob jiñ k-tätaj wajali jiñi tyi
 IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3DET A1-SP:father time.ago hm PREP
 i-mes-lel pebreru
 A3-SP:month-POS SP:February
 'Back then my father says that, in the month of February...'
- (93) k'ux anku tsa' ik' cheñ
 k'uk'ux añ-ø=ku=tsa' ik' cheñ
 many E-B3=AFFR=REA wind then
 'there is a lot of wind, isn't there?'
- (94) jinta' yik'a xtyamijoli,
 jiñ=ta' y-ik'-al x-tyamijol=i,
 FOC=REA A3-wind-POS NCL-long.hair=FIN
 'It is the Longhair's wind'
- (95) che' ktätaj mi yäl
 che' k-tätaj mi y-äl-ø
 like.this A1-SP:father IMFV A3-say-B3
 'That is what my father says'
- (96) mi yäl li ktätaj,
 mi y-äl-ø li k-tätaj,
 IMFV A3-say-B3 DET A1-SP:father
 'my father says it'
- (97) iyik'axtyo,
 iy-ik'-al=äch=tyo,
 A3-wind-POS=AFFR=still
 'It is still his [the long hair's] wind'
- (98) pero ik'bä k'ux ty'arty'ärña ix tyi Ocotal
 pero ik'=bä k'uk'ux-ty'är-ty'är-ña-ø ix tyi Ocotal
 SP:but wind=REL really-wind.noise-RED-AFV-B3 there PREP Ocotal
 'The wind, a lot of noises makes there in Ocotal'

- (99) pe, k'ux ty'arty'ärña
 pe, k'uk'ux-ty'är-ty'är-ña-ø
 SP:but really-wind.noise-RED-AFV-B3
 'it makes a lot of noise'
- (100) ambi ñuki ch'eñ ya'i
 añ-ø=bi ñuki ch'eñ ya'=i
 E-B3=REP big cave there=FIN
 'It is said that there are big caves there'
- (101) weñ ambi ñuki ch'eñ
 weñ añ-ø=bi ñuki ch'eñ
 SP:much E-B3=REP big cave
 'there were big caves'
- (102) che' mi yäl li ktätaj,
 che' mi y-äl-ø li k-tätaj,
 like.this IMFV A3-say-B3 DET A1-SP:father
 'so my father says'
- (103) jiñ tsa' yik'a xtyamijol, che'eñ
 jiñ=tsa' y-ik'-al x-tyamijol, che'eñ
 FOC=REA A3-wind-POS NCL-Longhair say
 'It is the Longhair's wind, he says'
- (104) es que mi iputyuñ k'ajtyisañ che' pebreruji, che'eñ
 es que mi i-putyuñ-k'ajty-i-s-añ-ø che'
 'SP:is SP:that IMFV A3-always-remember-IV-CAU-DT-B3 when
 pebreruj=i, che'eñ
 SP:February=FIN say
 'because he always remember it when it is February, he says'
- (105) tyi imeslebi pebreru tyi itsänsäyo'
 tyi i-mes-lel=bi pebreru tyi i-tsäns-ä-y-ø-ob
 PREP A3-mouth-ABST=REP SP:February PRFV A3-kill-DT-EP-B3-PL3
 'They killed him in February'
- (106) itsänsä li wiñiki
 tyi i-tsäns-ä-ø li wiñik=i
 PRFV A3-kill-DT-B3 DET man=FIN
 'the man killed him'

- (107) jimbi cha'añ mi ichän k'ajtyisañ che' tyi pebreruj
 jiñ=bi cha'añ mi i-chän-k'ajty-i-s-añ-ø
 PRON=REP PREP IMFV A3-constantly-remember-IV-CAUS-DT-B3
 che' tyi pebreruj
 COMP PREP SP:February
 'It is why he still insists on remembering it during February'
- (108) mu'bi isub-ibäj
 muk'=bi i-sub-ø i-bäj
 IMFV=REP A3-announce-B3 A3-RN
 'He announces himself'
- (109) mu'bi ichäñ k'ajtyisañ che' pebreruj
 mu'bi i-chäñ-k'ajty-i-s-añ-ø che'
 IMFV=REP A3-constantly-remember-IV-CAUS-DT-B3 when
 pebreruj
 SP:February
 'It is said that he still remember it in February'
- (110) añächku tsa' ik',
 añ-ø=äch=ku=tsa' ik',
 E-B3=AFFR=AFFR=REA wind
 'because it is windy'
- (111) jinku ta' cha'añ añ li ik' cheñ
 jin=ku=tsa' cha'añ añ-ø li ik' cheñ
 PRON=AFFR=REA PREP E-B3 DET wind then
 'That is why there is this wind'
- (112) mi' weñ ju'be jiñ yopo tye'i,
 mi i-weñ-ju'b-el jiñ yopo-tye'=i,
 IMFV A3-much-fall-NF that leave-tree=FIN
 'the leaves from the trees fall a lot'
- (113) mi' ju'be mi añ ik'
 mi i-ju'b-el mi añ-ø ik'
 IMFV A3-fall-NF if E-B3 wind
 'they fall if there is wind'
- (114) jiñtyobi mi ik'ajtyisañi
 jiñ=tyo=bi mi i-k'ajty-i-s-añ-ø=i
 FOC=still=REP IMFV A3-remember-IV-CAU-DT-B3=FIN
 'It is because he still remembers it'

- (115) che' mi yäl li ktätaj
che' mi y-äl-ø li k-tätaj
like.this IMFV A3-say-B3 DET A1-SP:father
'so my father says'
- (116) jiñtyo mi' k'ajtyisañi, che'eñ
jiñ=tyo mi i-k'ajty-i-s-añ-ø=i, che'eñ
PRON=still IMFV A3-remember-IV-CAU-DT-B3=FIN say
'It is because he is still remembering it, he says'
- (117) jājā'
jājā'
INTJ
'yes'
- (118) che' mi yälo'
che' mi y-äl-ø-ob
like.this IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3
'That is how they tell it.'
- (119) chajachix yälo' bajche' jiñ
che'=jach=ix y-äl-ø-ob bajche' jiñ
like.this=only=already A3-say-B3-PL3 like PRON
'That is just how they tell it'
- (120) jājā'
jājā'
INTJ
'yes'

Airplane Landing field and Airplane crash

- (1) A: bajchki tyi ke imelo' ila tyi Tila che' jiñ
bajchki tyi ke i-mel-ø-ob ila tyi Tila che'jiñ
how PRFV start A3-make-B3-PL3 here PREP Tila then
'Then, how did they start to make it (airplane landing field) here in Tila?'
- (2) chuki tyi ja'bile tyi imeleyo' ma' wä
chuki tyi i-ja'bi-lel tyi i-mel-e-y-ø-ob mi aw-äl
what PREP A3-year-ABST PRFV A3-make-TV-EP-B3-PL3 IMFV A2-say
'In what year was it made, do you think?'
- (3) B: che'ñak jiñ,
che'ñak jiñ
when that
'back then'
- (4) che'ta' bajche' tyi sesenta y nuevej ma yu'bi
che'=ta' bajche' tyi sesenta y nuevej ma yu'bi
like=REA about PREP seventy and nine DIR:away maybe
'It was around 1979'
- (5) A: aja
aja
INTJ
'aha'
- (6) B: tyi sesenta y nueve
tyi sesenta y nueve
PREP seventy and nine
'In 1979'
- (7) A: sesenta y nueve
sesenta y nueve
seventy and nine
'79'
- (8) B: che'ta' bajche', che' bajche' jiñi
che'=ta' bajche' che' bajche' jiñ=i
like=REA about like about that=FIN
'like, like that'

- (9) tyi keji tyi mejle ma jiñ campoji
 tyi kej-i-ø tyi me:j>l-el ma jiñ campoj=i
 PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP make<PAS>-NF DIR:away DET SP:field=FIN
 ‘(They) started to make the landing field.’
- (10) A: lakpi’älo’äch tyi ipikiyo’ je’e
 la=k-pi’äl-ob=äch tyi i-pik-i-y-ø-ob je’e
 PLINC=A1-friend-PL3=AFFR PRFV A3-level-TV-EP-B3-PL3 also
 ‘It also was our friends who leveled it’
- (11) B: lakpi’älo’ku,
 la=k-pi’äl-ø-ob=ku
 PLINC=A1-friend-B3-PL3=AFFR
 ‘yes, it was our friends’
- (12) ma’añ makinaj cheñi
 ma’añ makinaj cheñ=i
 NEG+E SP:machine then=FIN
 ‘because there was no machine (tractor)’
- (13) ma’añ makina,
 ma’añ makina,
 NEG+E SP:machine
 ‘there was no machine’
- (14) moxyo ba’añ
 mach=tyo ba’ añ-ø
 NEG=still where E-B3
 ‘There still wasn’t’
- (15) A: moxyo ba’añ carretera
 mach=tyo ba’ añ-ø carretera
 NEG=still where E-B3 SP:road
 ‘there still wasn’t a road yet’
- (16) B: pala y pico tyi ik’añäyo’ cha’añ mi ityoj-isaño’ jiñ
 pala y pico tyi i-k’añ-ä-y-ø-ob cha’añ mi
 SP:spade SP:and SP:pick PRFV A3-use-DT-EP-B3-PL3 PREP IMFV
 i-tyoj-’is-añ-ø-ob jiñ
 A3-level-CAUS-DT-B3-PL3 that
 ‘they used spade and pick to level that (the ground)’
- (17) aja
 aja
 INTJ
 ‘aha’

- (18) ta'tyota' yälä xLupitaj cheñ,
 tsa'=tyo=ta' y-äl-ä-ø x-Lupitaj cheñ,
 PRFV=still=REA A3-say-DT-B3 NCL-Lupita then
 'Ms Lupita still said, you know'
- (19) jujump'ej mi yujtye rezo tyi domingo
 ju-jum-p'ej mi y-ujty-el rezo tyi domingo
 one-one-CL IMFV A3-finish-NF SP:prayer PREP SP:Sunday
 'every time when the prayer on Sunday finishes'
- (20) mi kmajala käk'e' tyuñ che'eñ,
 mi k-majl-el=la k-äk'-ø=e' tyuñ che'eñ,
 IMFV A1-go-NF=PLINC A1-give-B3=ENC stone say
 '-We will go to leave stone, -She said'
- (21) como tyi ipäk'tyuñiyo',
 como tyi i-päk'-tyuñ-i-y-ø-ob,
 SP:because PRFV A3-stick-stone-DT-EP-B3-PL3
 'because they fill the land up with stone'
- (22) añ ba' chañ
 añ-ø ba' chañ
 E-B3 where high
 'there are parts where it is high'
- (23) jājā'
 jājā'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (24) mi ixijk'e jiñ kixtyañujo',
 mi i-xi<j>k'-el jiñ kixtyañuj-ob,
 IMFV A3-tell<PAS>-NF DET SP:people-PL3
 'The people are encouraged (to do it)'
- (25) ma' ch'ämla ma la'tyuñ,
 mi a-ch'äm-ø=la ma la=a-tyuñ,
 IMFV A2-carry-B3=PL2 DIR:away PL2=A2-stone
 '-you bring your stone'
- (26) jujump'ej, che'eñ
 ju-jum-p'ej, che'eñ
 one-one-CL say
 '-One each, -She says'

- (27) che' mi ityelo' bajche' jiñ
che' mi i-tyäl-el-ob bajche' jiñ
like.this IMFV A3-come-NF-PL3 like that
'They (the workers) come like that'
- (28) A: maxkibä xlupitaj ma' wä
majchki=bä x-Lupitaj mi aw=äl
who=REL NCL-Lupita IMFV A2-say
'Which Lupita did you say?'
- (29) B: jiñ la'bä ch'oyo tyi eñtyä
jiñ la'=bä ch'oy-ol-ø tyi eñtyäl
FOC here=REL live-STAT-B3 PREP down.land
'The one who lives down below'
- (30) A: mi yajñe tyi resa ila
mi y-ajñ-el tyi resa ila
IMFV A3-come-NF PREP SP:prayer here
'Does she come to prayer here?'
- (31) B: ma'añ,
ma'añ,
NEG+E
'no'
- (32) añ tyi Tila
añ-ø tyi Tila
E-B3 PREP Tila
'She is in Tila'
- (33) ya' mi yujtye resa
ya' mi y-ujty-el resa
there IMFV A3-happen-NF SP:prayer
'The prayer happens there'
- (34) jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'yes'
- (35) jiñjach mi yujtye jiñi resal,
jiñ=jach mi y-ujty-el jiñi resal,
PRON=only IMFV A3-finish-NF hm SP:prayer
'When they were just finishing the prayer,'

- (36) ma' majala ixiko', che'eñ,
 mi a-majl-el=la ixik-ob, che'eñ,
 IMFV A3-go-NF=PL2 woman-PL3 say
 'You, woman, will go, -she says'
- (37) mi kch'äma laktyuñ,
 mi k-ch'am-ø ma la=k-tyuñ,
 IMFV A1-bring-B3 DIR:away PLINC=A1-stone
 'We will bring our stone'
- (38) k'e'bäch bajche' mu'much'tyä, che'bi
 k'e'bäch bajche' mu'-much'-ty-äl, che'=bi
 does.not.matter how pile-pile-PIMFV-NF say=REP
 'It does not matter even if it's just a little, -she says'
- (39) jäjä'
 jäjä'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (40) cha'añ mi iju'be jiñ avioñ,
 cha'añ mi i-ju'b-el jiñ avioñ,
 PREP IMFV A3-land-NF that SP:airplane
 'so that the airplane can land'
- (41) ya' mi ke iju'be chex mi lakmäñe'i, che'bi
 ya' mi ke i-ju'b-el chex mi la=k-mäñ=e'=i,
 there IMFV PROSP A3-land-NF what IMFV PLINC=A1-buy-ENC=FIN
 che'=bi
 say=REP
 'All of the things that we buy will arrive there, -she says'
- (42) ya mi ke ik'otye
 ya mi ke i-k'oty-el
 there IMFV PROSP A3-arrive-NF
 'They (the things) will arrive there'
- (43) cha'añ ma'ix ñajty ba' mi kmäñla, che'bi
 cha'añ ma'=ix ñajty ba' mi k-mäñ-ø=la, che'=bi
 PREP NEG=already far where IMFV A1-buy-B3=PLINC say=REP
 'since it won't be too far where we will go to buy it, -she says'
- (44) A: che'eñ
 che'eñ
 say
 'does she say?'

- (45) B: jājä'
 jājä'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (46) chäch tyi keji
 chäh'=äch tyi kej-i-ø
 like.this=AFFR PRFV start-IV-B3
 'It is how it starts'
- (47) chäch tyi keji
 chäh'=äch tyi kej-i-ø
 like.this=AFFR PRFV start-IV-B3
 'It is how it starts'
- (48) A: jaj, chäch tyi keji che'jiñ
 jaj, chäh'=äch tyi kej-i-ø che' jiñ
 hm like.this=AFFR PRFV start-IV-B3 like.this that
 'It is how it starts then'
- (49) B: poj añoñ tyi clase che'ñak jiñ,
 poj añ-oñ tyi clase che'ñak jiñ,
 HON E-B1 PREP SP:class when that
 'I was in class in that time'
- (50) muxbi ityech iju'be avioñ wa'li, poj che'o'
 muk'=ix=bi i-tyech-ø i-ju'b-el avioñ wa'li,
 IMFV=already=REP A3-start-B3 A3-land-NF SP:airplane now
 poj che'-ob
 HON say-PL3
 '-It is said that the airplane will start to land today, -they say'
- (51) ya' añoñ tyi Tilaji
 ya' añ-oñ tyi Tilaj=i
 there E-B1 PREP Tila=FIN
 'I was in Tila'
- (52) A: baki añety tyi clase?,
 baki añ-ety tyi clase?,
 where E-B2 PREP SP:class
 'Where were you in class?'

- (53) wä'wä'?
wä'wä'?
here
'Was it here?'
- (54) aj, tyi Tilaj
aj, tyi Tilaj
hm PREP Tila
'In Tila'
- (55) B: jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'yes'
- (56) ma'ix tyi kweñ cha'le li clasebä,
ma'=ix tyi k-weñ-cha'l-e-ø li clase=bä,
NEG=already PRFV A1-SP:much-do-DT-B3 DET SP:class=REL
'I did not attend the class much'
- (57) mi kweñ mulañ jk'el li avioñ che' ch'uyukña k'otye
mi k-weñ-mul-añ-ø j-k'el-ø li avioñ
IMFV A1-SP:much-like-DT-B3 A1-see-B3 DET SP:airplane
che' ch'uy-uk-ña-ø k'oty-el
COMP floating-RED-AFV-B3 arrive-NF
'I like a lot to see the airplane floating down towards the land (in its arrival)'
- (58) A: täch ke tyi k'otye
tsä'=äch ke tyi k'oty-el
PRFV=AFFR start PREP arrive-NF
'yes, it started to arrive'
- (59) B: tächku ke tyi k'otye,
tsä'=äch=ku ke tyi k'oty-el,
PRFV=AFFR=AFFR start PREP arrive-NF
'yes, it started to arrive'
- (60) ity'ännäle iju'be wa'li,
i-ty'ännä-lel i-ju'b-el wa'li,
A3-time-ABST A3-descend-NF today
'-It will arrive today'
- (61) muxbi ityech ju'be, che'o',
muk'=ix=bi i-tyech-ø ju'b-el, che'-ob,
IMFV=already=REP A3-start-B3 DIR:down-NF say-PL3
'-It will start to arrive, -they say'

- (62) chajaxyo tyi yäläyo',
che'=jax=tyo tyi y-äl-ä-y-ø-ob,
like.this=only=still PRFV A3-say-DT-EP-B3-PL3
'that's all that was said'
- (63) ty' añjaxyo
ty' añ-ø=jach=tyo
word-B3-only=still
'just a rumor'
- (64) ty' añjaxyo
ty' añ-ø=jach=tyo
word-B3=only=still
'just a rumor'
- (65) ya'ya'i, chonkochonkotyo yälo',
ya'ya'i, chonkol-chonko=tyo y-äl-ø-ob,
then PROG-PROG=still A3-say-B3-PL3
'Then, they were still saying'
- (66) jänäkña te li avion ta' tyi pamwitsi
jän-äk-ña-ø te li avion=ta' tyi
machine.noise-RED-AFV-B3 DIR:toward DET SP:airplane=REA PREP
pam-wits=i
above-hill=FIN
'making noise the airplane comes above the hills'
- (67) malon kilañ, yax k'otye
tyi majl-i lon=k-il-añ-ø, ya'=ix k'oty-el
PRFV go-IV PLEXC=A1-see-DT-B3 there=already arrive-NF
'When we came to see it, it was already arriving'
- (68) mux ke iju'be ix-ä che'o',
muk'=ix ke i-ju'b-el ix'ä che'-ob,
IMFV=already PROSP A3-descend-NF that say-PL3
'-That one's going to land, -they say'
- (69) kaña lonkwuty tsa' ju'bi
kañ-al-ø lon=k-wuty tsa' ju'b-i-ø
open-STAT-B3 PLEXC=A1-eye PRFV descend-IV-B3
'We saw when it landed'

- (70) jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'yes'
- (71) tyi ju'bi
tyi ju'b-i-ø
PRFV descend-IV-B3
'It landed'
- (72) jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'yes'
- (73) A: jāj, tyi' jumujk'le, tyi cha' letsi
jāj, tyi i-jumujk'-lel, tyi cha' lets-i-ø
hm PREP A3-instant-ABST PRFV again go.up-IV-B3
'In a little bit, it departed again'
- (74) B: jumujk'jach,
jumujk'-ø=jach,
instant-B3=only
'It was quick'
- (75) ñajtyi jumujk' ya'añ,
ñajtyi jumujk' ya' añ-ø,
farinstant there E-B3
'It was only there for a little while'
- (76) cha' jāñäkña majle
cha' jāñ-äk-ña-ø majle
again machine.noise-RED-AFV-B3 DIR:away
'Again, making noise it departed'
- (77) tax tyejchi iñoj ju'be
tsa'=ix tyejch-i i-ñoj-ju'b-el
PRFV=already start-IV A3-really-descend-NF
'Many more started to arrive.'
- (78) tax isu'besu'beyo' ibäj
tsa'=ix i-su'b-e-su'b-e-y-ø-ob i-bäj
PRFV=already A3-tell-DT-tell-DT-EP-B3-PL3 A3-RN
'They told each other'

- (79) tax isu'besu'beyo' ibäj
 tsa'=ix i-su'b-e-su'b-e-y-ø-ob i-bäj
 PRFV=already A3-tell-DT-tell-DT-EP-B3-PL3 A3-RN
 'They told each other'
- (80) jājā'
 jājā'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (81) A: weñäch che' yu'bi
 weñ=äch che' yu'bi
 SP:well=AFFR say maybe
 '-It is okay, -maybe they said'
- (82) B: tyi' tyaja jumujk'i, ya' cha' k'otye yambä
 tyi i-tyaj-a-ø jumujk'=i, ya' cha' k'oty-el yambä
 PRFV A3-find-TV-B3 instant=FIN there again arrive-NF other
 'Another one arrived right away'
- (83) yax cha' k'otye' yambä
 ya'=ix cha' k'oty-el yambä
 there-already again arrive-NF other
 'Another one arrived there'
- (84) tax ñoj keji che'jiñi,
 tsa'=ix ñoj-kej-i-ø che' jiñ=i,
 PRFV=already really-start-IV-B3 like.this that=FIN
 'That was really the beginning'
- (85) yax tyi ke tyi k'otyetyak chu yestyaki
 ya'=ix tyi ke tyi k'oty-el=tyak chu yes=tyak=i
 there=already PRFV start PREP arrive-NF=PLIND what is=PLIND=FIN
 'All kinds of things started to arrive there'
- (86) yax tyi ke tyi k'otye xapuñ, arroz, azucartyaki
 ya'=ix tyi ke tyi k'oty-el xapuñ, arroz,
 there=already PRFV start PREP arrive-NF SP:soap SP:rice
 azucar=tyak=i
 SP:sugar=PLIND=FIN
 'soap, rice and sugar started to arrive there.'
- (87) jājā' mach tyi Rio Grandejix,
 jājā' mach tyi Rio Grandej=ix,
 INTJ NEG PREP Rio Grande=already
 'yes, It was not in Rio Grande anymore.'

- (88) lax tyi ke tyi k'otye ila
 la'=ix tyi ke tyi k'oty-el ila
 here=already PRFV start PREP arrive-NF here
 'They started to arrive here instead.'
- (89) A: pe añxtyo li campoj tyi Rio Grande
 pe añ=äch=tyo li campoj tyi Rio Grande
 SP:but E=AFFR=still DET SP:field PREP Rio Grande
 'But was there still a landing field in Rio Grande?'
- (90) B: añäxtyo je' ya'ya'i
 añ=äch=tyo je' ya'ya'=i
 E=AFFR=still also there=FIN
 'There is still one there too.'
- (91) añäxtyo,
 añ=äch=tyo,
 E=AFFR=still
 'yes, there was still'
- (92) pe ma'ix ñoj käläx mi ik'otye,
 pe ma'=ix ñoj-käläx mi i-k'oty-el,
 SP:but NEG=already really-many IMFV A3-arrive-NF
 'but not much arrived anymore'
- (93) como jiñche' ñoj läk'ä yu'bi ila
 como jiñche' ñoj-läk'-äl-ø yu'bi ila
 SP:because because really-close-STAT-B3 maybe here
 'because I think it (the new one) is the closest one'
- (94) jājä', ñoj läk'ä
 jājä', ñoj-läk'-äl-ø
 INTJ really-close-STAT-B3
 'yes, it's very close'
- (95) A: ñoj läk'ä
 ñoj-läk'-äl-ø
 really-close-STAT-B3
 'really close'

- (96) pe ñoj kolem avioñ mi ik'otyetyak iba tyi Rio Grandej-ä
 pe ñoj-kolem avioñ mi i-k'oty-el=tyak i-ba
 SP:but really-big SP:airplane IMFV A3-arrive-NF=PLIND A3-RN
 tyi Rio Grandej=bä
 PREP Rio Grande-REL
 'But really big airplanes arrive in Rio Grande'
- (97) B: ñoj kolem avioñtyak-iba,
 ñoj-kolem avioñ=tyak i-ba,
 reallybig SP:airplane=PLIND A3-RN
 'really big airplanes'
- (98) jiñächi
 jiñ=äch=i
 that=AFFR=FIN
 'yes, it is'
- (99) kolem avioñ-iba
 kolem avioñ i-ba
 big SP:airplane A3-RN
 'big airplane'
- (100) A: iba ila, saj chuty avioñtyakjach mi iju'be
 i-ba ila, saj-chuty avioñ=tyak=jach mi i-ju'b-el
 A3-RN here little-small SP:airplane=PLIND=only IMFV A3-descend-NF
 'here (in Tila), only small airplanes land'
- (101) B: ila, puru saj chuty avioñjach
 ila, puru saj-chuty avioñ=jach
 here SP:only little-small SP:airplane=only
 'here, only small airplanes'
- (102) puru saj chuty avioñjach
 puru saj-chuty avioñ=jach
 SP:only little-small SP:airplane=only
 'only small airplanes'
- (103) A: aj che' tyi kaji cheñ
 aj che' tyi kaj-i-ø cheñ
 INTJ like.this PRFV start-IV-B3 then
 'hm it starts like this then'

- (104) B: ora iba tyi Rio Grandejbä, pe como tsa' lu' ji tyi lajme jiñ avioñi,
 ora i-ba tyi Rio Grandej=bä, pe como tsa'
 SP:but A3-RN PREP Rio Grande=REL SP:but SP:as PRFV
 lu'-jil-i-ø tyi lajm-el jiñ avioñ=i,
 all-finish-IV-B3 PREP finish-NF that SP:airplane=FIN
 'But in Rio Grande [...], since the airplanes were all destroyed'
- (105) tsa' lu' puli
 tsa' lu'-pul-i-ø
 PRFV all-burn-IV-B3
 'They were all burned'
- (106) jājā' jump'ej la' tyi puli ila tyi Panwitsi
 jājā' jum-p'ej la' tyi pul-i-ø ila tyi Panwits=i
 INTJ one-CL here PRFV burn-IV-B3 here PREP Panwits=FIN
 'yes, one was burned here in Panwits'
- (107) an ta' tyi isu'boñ juñtyiki lakuskuñal,
 an-ø=tsa' tyi i-su'b-oñ juñ-tyikil la=k-uskuñ-al,
 E-B3=REA PRFV A3-tell-B3 one-CL PLINC=A1-brother-ABST
 'one time a brother told me'
- (108) ch'oyo tyi Walalupe
 ch'oy-ol-ø tyi Walalupe
 live-STAT-B3 PREP Guadalupe
 'who lives in Guadalupe'
- (109) jājā'
 jājā'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (110) che'tyobi mi ik'otye tyi Sabanilla tyi yälä yu'bi,
 che'=tyo=bi mi i-k'oty-el tyi Sabanilla tyi
 like.this=still=REP IMFV A3-arrive-NF PREP Sabanilla PRFV
 y-äl-ä-ø yu'bi,
 A3-say-TV-B3 maybe
 'That it was said that it thought to still arrive in Sabanilla'
- (111) pe ma'ix tyi k'otyi
 pe ma'=ix tyi k'oty-i-ø
 SP:but NEG=already PRFV arrive-IV-B3
 'But it did not arrive'

- (112) ma'ix tyi k'otyí
ma'=ix tyi k'oty-i-ø
NEG=already PRFV arrive-IV-B3
'It did not arrive'
- (113) ambi, como wits ili iwitsi Crucero cheñ
añ=bi, como wits ili i-wits-il Crucero cheñ
E=REP SP:like hill this A3-hill-POS Crucero then
'It is said that there was something like a hill, the Crucero's hill, then'
- (114) mu'bi iju'be,
muk'=bi i-ju'b-el,
IMFV=REP A3-descend-NF
'It is said that it goes down'
- (115) mu'bi iletse
muk'=bi i-lets-el
IMFV=REP A3-raise-NF
'it goes up'
- (116) ta'bi ibä'ñä ibi lakuskuña
tsa'=bi i-bä'ñ-ä-ø ibi la=k-uskuñ-al
PRFV=REP A3-fear-DT-B3 that PLINC=A1-brother-ABST
'that, our brother, got frightened by it'
- (117) jin k'o ijats'ix ibäj iwä'wä' che'bi,
jin k'o'o i-jats'-ø=ix i-bäj i-wä'wä' che'=bi,
PRON maybe A3-hit-B3=already A3-RN A3-here say=REP
'-What if it crashes here, -he says'
- (118) ambi ya' jowo xow tyuñ
añ=bi ya' jow-ol-ø xow tyuñ
E=REP there open-STAT-B3 contour rock
'There was an opening in the rocks'
- (119) ya'bi tyi ipäych'iki ma ibäj
ya'=bi tyi i-päy-ch'ik-i-ø ma i-bäj
there=REP PRFV A3-fast-insert-TV-B3 DIR:away A3-RN
'where he went in'
- (120) tsa'bi ich'iki ma ibäj ibi lakuskuña,
tsa'=bi i-ch'ik-i-ø ma i-bäj ibi
PRFV=REP A3-insert-TV-B3 DIR:away A3-RN that
la=k-uskuñ-al,
PLINC=A1-brother-ABST
'It is said that our brother went in there'

- (121) jiñch tyi isu'boñi
 jiñ=äch tyi i-su'b-oñ=i
 FOC=AFFR PRFV A3-tell-B1=FIN
 'yes, he told me that'
- (122) che' tyi ujtyi wajali,
 che' tyi ujty-i-ø wajali,
 like.this PRFV happen-IV-B3 time.ago
 'That's how it happened back then.'
- (123) kañame kwuty kermañuj, che'eñ
 kañ-al-ø=me k-wuty k-ermañuj, che'eñ
 open-STAT-B3=me A1-eye A1-SP:brother say
 '-Brother I saw it, -he said'
- (124) A: aj, che'eñ
 aj, che'eñ
 INTJ say
 '-hm, -He said'
- (125) B: ta' jk'uk'ux bä'ñaloñ,
 tsa' j-k'uk'ux-bä'ñ-ä-ø=loñ,
 PRFV A1-really-fear-DT-B3=PLEXC
 '-It scared us a lot'
- (126) añonloñ tyi wits,
 añ-on=loñ tyi wits,
 E-B1=PLEXC PREP hill
 '-We were in a hill'
- (127) ix añonloñ tyi poria ixi, che'eñ
 ix añ-on=loñ tyi poria ixi, che'eñ
 there E-B1=PLEXC PREP SP:clear there say
 '-We were there clearing (the cornfield), -He said'
- (128) tyi pasi te li avioñ,
 tyi pas-i-ø te li avioñ,
 PRFV come-IV-B3 DIR:toward DET SP:airplane
 '-The airplane showed up'
- (129) mi iju'be,
 mi i-ju'b-el,
 IMFV A3-descend-NF
 '-It descended'

- (130) mi iletse,
mi i-lets-el
IMFV A3-go.up-NF
'-It went up'
- (131) mi ichok ibuts'ityak, che'eñ
mi i-chok-ø i-buts'-il=tyak, che'eñ
IMFV A3-throw-B3 A3-smoke-ABST=PLIND say
'-It spewed smoke, -He said'
- (132) tyomtyomña ibuts'i che'eñ,
tyom-tyom-ña-ø i-buts'-il che'eñ,
masses-RED-AFV-B3 A3-smoke-ABST say
'-There was a lot of smoke, -He said'
- (133) pej, jin k'o ijats'ix ibäj iwä'wä', cho'onloñ
pej, jñ k'o i-jats'-ø=ix i-bäj i-wä'wä'
SP:but PRON maybe A3-hit-B3=already A3-RN A3-here
cho'-on=loñ
say-B1=PLEXC
'-Maybe it would crashes here, -We said'
- (134) tyi ochiyonloñ tyi ma tyuñ tyi puts'e, che'eñ
tyi och-i-y-on=loñ tyi ma tyuñ tyi puts'-el, che'eñ
PRFV enter-IV-EP-B1=PLEXC PREP inside rock PREP cover-NF say
'-We hid in the cave, -He said'
- (135) jñtyobi tyi, tsax ñämi,
jñ=tyo=bi tyi, tsa=ix ñäm-i-ø,
PRON=still=rep PRFV PRFV=already pass-IV-B3
'-When it had gone by'
- (136) ñajtyix iñäme ma,
ñajty=ix i-ñäm-el ma,
far=already A3-pass-NF DIR:away
'-It had gone far'
- (137) jumujk'ix iñäme ma,
jumujk'=ix i-ñäm-el ma,
instant.ago=already A3-pass-NF DIR:away
'-when it had been a while since it went by'
- (138) cha' lok'i lonjk'e, che'eñ
tyi cha' lok'-i lon=j-k'-el-ø, che'eñ
PRFV again exit-IV PLEXC=A1-see-B3 say
'-we went out to see it again -He said'

- (139) täxtyo tsätsä k'äjki ya' tyi witsi, che'eñ
 tsa'=äch=tyo tsätsä-k'äjki-i-ø ya' tyi wits=i, che'eñ
 PRFV=AFFR=still hardly-ascend-IV-B3 there PREP hill=FIN say
 'It barely made it over the hill -He said'
- (140) añ ba' mero loch'o loch'o
 añ-ø ba' mero loch'-ol-loch'-ol-ø
 E-B3 where little down-STAT-down-STAT-B3
 'There is where (the hill) is a little low'
- (141) pe ku jaxakñajachbi tyi pampamtye' tyi ñämi
 pe ku jax-ak-ña-ø=jach=bi tyi pam-pam-tye'
 SP:but really tree.level-RED-AFV-B3=only=REP PREP above-RED-tree
 tyi ñäm-i-ø
 PRFV pass-IV-B3
 'it passed almost touching the tree tops'
- (142) jājā'
 jājā'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (143) pe ma'ix tyi xänwiji ya' ya'i,
 pe ma'=ix tyi xänwij-i-ø ya'ya'=i,
 SP:but NEG=already PRFV walk-IV-B3 there=FIN
 'but after that it didn't go far anymore'
- (144) yax tyi lu' lajmi jiñi
 ya'=ix tyi lu'-lajm-i-ø jiñ=i
 there=already PRFV all-finish-IV-B3 that=FIN
 'That's how it all ended'
- (145) ya' tyi lu' lajmi
 ya' tyi lu'-lajm-i-ø
 there PRFV all-finish-IV-B3
 'That's where it all ended'
- (146) ambi ya' añ kole m xpoitye',
 añ-ø=bi ya' añ-ø kole m x-poitye',
 E-B3=REP there E-B3 big NCL-poitye'
 'It is said that there was a big *poitye*'¹

¹ A type of tree.

- (147) äjä
 äjä
 INTJ
 ‘aha’
- (148) kōlem poytye’
 kōlem poytye’
 big poytye’
 ‘big poytye’
- (149) machbi ba’anx tsäts tyi yu’bi
 mach=bi ba’ an-ø=ix tsäts tyi y-u’b-i-ø
 NEG=REP where E-B3=already hard PRFV A3-feel-DT-B3
 ‘It was not strong enough’
- (150) tyi ñämi ibok,
 tyi ñäm-i-ø i-bok-ø,
 PRFV pass-IV-B3 A3-pull.up-B3
 ‘It pulled it up when it passed by’
- (151) tyi ixinibi tyi iwits’ajts’i
 tyi i-xinil=bi tyi i-wits’ajts’-i-ø
 PREP A3-middle=REP PRFV A3-crash-DT-B3
 ‘It crashed in the middle (of the tree)’
- (152) ba’ tyi ñoj k’oty tyi lajme jiñ avioñi,
 ba’ tyi ñoj-k’oty-i-ø tyi lajm-el jiñ
 where PRFV really-arrive-IV-B3 PREP finish-NF DET
 avioñ=i,
 SP:airplane=FIN
 ‘And that’s how the airplane was finished off’
- (153) jimbi che’, ambi ya’ añ k’ololi,
 jiñ=bi che’, añ-ø=bi ya’ añ-ø k’olol=i,
 PRON=REP like.this E-B3=REP there E-B3 k’olol=FIN
 ‘but, it is said that there was *k’olol*²
- (154) ñoj tsätsätye’ k’olobä cheñ,
 ñoj-tsätsä tye’ k’olol=bä cheñ,
 really-strong tree k’olol=REL then
 ‘because *k’olol* is really strong tree, you know’

² A type of tree.

- (155) ñoj tsätsätye',
 ñoj-tsätsä tye',
 really-strong tree
 'really strong tree'
- (156) uñ ñojo
 uñ ñoj-ol-ø
 like.this big-STAT-B3
 'big like this'
- (157) tächbi iju'säbä,
 tsä'=äch=bi i-ju'-s-ä-ø=bä,
 PRFV=AFFR=REP A3-go.down-CAU-DT-B3=REL
 'It (the airplane) knocked it (the tree) down'
- (158) pe yaxbi tyi ja'luyi ju'be yik'oty
 pe ya'=ix=bi tyi ja'l-u-y-i-ø ju'b-el
 SP:but there=already=REP PRFV water-DT-EP-IV-B3 fall-NF
 y-ik'oty-ø=i
 A3-with-B3=FIN
 'But it is said that it (the airplane) was pulverized when it fell with it (the tree)'
- (159) A: che'i
 che'=i
 like.it=FIN
 'Is that how it was?'
- (160) B: yax tyi ju'bi yik'oty
 ya'=ix tyi ju'b-i y-ik'oty-ø=i
 there=already PRFV fall-IV A3-with-B3=FIN
 'It (the airplane) fell with it (the tree)'
- (161) ora iba li mu'bä its'otye'i, ta'bi lu' puli
 ora i-ba li mu'=bä i-ts'oty-ø=e'=i, tsa'=bi
 SP:but A3-RN DET IMFV=REL A3-drive-B3=ENC=FIN PRFV=REP
 lu'-pul-i-ø
 all-burn-IV-B3
 'But the person who was flying it, was totally burnt'
- (162) lu' puli
 lu'-pul-i-ø
 all-burn-IV-B3
 'Was completely burnt'

- (163) tsajñi ik'elo',
 ts-ajñ-i-∅ i-k'el-∅-ob,
 PRFV-go-IV-B3 A3-see-B3-PL3
 'They went to see them'
- (164) tsajñi ilotyó'
 ts-ajñ-i-∅ i-loty-∅-ob
 PRFV-go-IV-B3 A3-lift-B3-PL3
 'They went to lift them'
- (165) xik'ilombila cheñ
 xik'-il-oñ=bi=la cheñ
 force=STAT-B1=REP=PLINC then
 'It is said that we are forced to'
- (166) A: tañch ik'elo'
 ts-ajñ-∅=äch i-k'el-∅-ob
 PRFV-go-B3=AFFR A3-see-B3-PL3
 'Yes, they went to see it'
- (167) B: xik'ilombila
 xik'-il-oñ=bi=la
 force-STAT-B1=REP=PLINC
 'It is said that we were forced to'
- (168) mi pase lakxijk'e,
 mi pas-el la=k-xi<j>k'-el,
 IMFV come-NFPLINC=A1-force<PAS>-NF
 '(Somebody) came to order us'
- (169) mi kmajala, che'bi lakälo
 mi k-majl-el=la, che'=bi la=k-äl-ol
 IMFV A1-go-NF=PLINC say=REP PLINC=A1-say-NF
 '-Let's go, -Somebody say to us'
- (170) machbi mejl lakäl ma'añ mi kmajala,
 mach=bi me<j>l-∅ la=k-äl-∅ ma'añ mi
 NEG=REP do<PAS>-B3 PLINC=A1-say-B3 NEG+E IMFV
 k-majl-el=la,
 A1-go-NF=PLINC
 'We cannot say that we won't go'
- (171) chächbi mi laktsätsä ma
 che'=äch=bi mi la=k-tsätsä-majl-el
 like.this=AFFR=REP IMFV PLINC=A1-hardly-go-NF
 'So we went because we had to'

- (172) A: aj, weno,
aj, weno,
INTJ SP:good
‘hm, that’s how it is’
- (173) ya’ tyi puli ya’i
ya’ tyi pul-i-∅ ya’=i
there PRFV burn-IV-B3 there=FIN
‘It was burned there’
- (174) B: jājā’,
jājā’,
INTJ
‘yes’
- (175) ya’bi tyi puli,
ya’=bi tyi pul-i-∅,
there=REP PRFV burn-IV-B3
‘It is said that it burned there’
- (176) tyi lu’ lajmi jiñi avioñ
tyi lu’-lajm-i-∅ jiñ avioñ
PRFV all-finish-IV-B3 DET SP:airplane
‘That was the end of the airplanes’
- (177) ambi juñtyiki machbä ba’añ tyi puli
añ-∅=bi juñ-tyikil mach=bä ba’ añ-∅ tyi pul-i-∅
E-B3=REP one-CL NEG=REL where E-B3 PRFV burn-IV-B3
‘It is said that there was one (person in the airplane) that didn’t burn up’
- (178) machbi ba’añ tyi puli iba,
mach=bi ba’ añ-∅ tyi pul-i-∅ i-ba,
NEG=REP where E-B3 PRFV burn-IV-B3 A3-RN
‘It is said that this one didn’t burn’
- (179) mach lakña’tya,
mach la=k-ña’ty-a-∅,
NEG PLINC=A1-know-DT-B3
‘We don’t know’
- (180) tyi wijts’i lok’e yu’bi
tyi wijts’-i-∅ lok’-el yu’bi
PRFV throw-IV-B3 DIR:out-NF maybe
‘Maybe he was thrown out’

- (181) tyi tyi'bi ch'eñ tyi k'oty
 tyi tyi'=bi ch'eñ tyi k'oty-i-ø
 PREP edge=REP cave PRFV arrive-IV-B3
 'It is said that he got to the edge of a cave'
- (182) machbi ba'añ saj pulem tsa' iba,
 mach=bi ba' añ-ø saj-pul-em-ø=tsa' i-ba,
 NEG=REP where E-B3 little-burn-PART-B3=REA A3-RN
 'But it is said that this one didn't burn at all'
- (183) pe sajtyemächbibä
 pe sajty-em-ø=äch=bi=bä
 SP:but die-PART-B3=AFFR=REP=REL
 'but it is said that he died'
- (184) jäjä'
 jäjä'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (185) A: sajtyem
 sajty-em-ø
 die-PART-B3
 'He died'
- (186) B: ta'bi ke ik'elo',
 tsa'=bi ke i-k'el-ø-ob,
 PRFV=REP start A3-see-B3-PL3
 'they started to take care of them'
- (187) pe ma'añ ta' pulem iba, che'eñ,
 pe ma'añ=ta' pul-em-ø i-ba, che'eñ,
 SP:but NEG+E=REA burn-PART-B3 A3-RN say
 '-But this this one's not burned, -He says'
- (188) ma'añ, che'bi
 ma'añ, che'=bi
 NEG+E say=REP
 '-No, -He says'
- (189) machbi ba'añ pulem iba
 mach=bi ba' añ-ø pul-em-ø i-ba
 NEG=REP where E-B3 burn-PART-B3 A3-RN
 'It is said that he is not burned'

(190) A: cha'tyikilo'jach
cha'-tyikil-ob=jach
two-CL-PL3=only
'Were there just two?'

(191) B: ya' tyi jili tyi lu' lajme jiñ avioñ ya'i
ya' tyi jil-i-ø tyi lu'-lajm-el jiñ avioñ
there PRFV finish-IV-B3 PREP all-finish-NF DET SP:airplane
ya'=i
there=FIN
'That was the end of all the planes'

(192) ya' tyi jili tyi lu' lajme
ya' tyi jil-i-ø tyi lu'-lajm-el
there PRFV finish-IV-B3 PREP all-finish-NF
'There weren't any more after that.'

(193) jājā',
jājā',
INTJ
'yes'

(194) lu' puli
tyi lu'-pul-i-ø
PRFV all-burn-IV-B3
'They were all burnt'

(195) A: tyi lu' puli yu'bi
tyi lu'-pul-i-ø yu'bi
PRFV all-burn-IV-B3 maybe
'It seems that they were all burnt'

(196) B: jājā', tyi lu' puli
jājā', tyi lu'-pul-i-ø
INTJ PRFV all-burn-IV-B3
'yes, they were all burnt'

The Grasshopper

- (1) A: ambita' yambä iwoko tyi ñämi mi yälo' ta',
 añ-ø=bi=tsa' yambä il-wokol tyi ñäm-i-ø mi
 E-B3=REP=REA other see-suffering PRFV pass-IV-B3 IMFV
 y-äl-ø-ob=tsa',
 A3-say-B3-PL3=REA
 'that there passed another suffering, they say'
- (2) jimbi ta' li sajk'i,
 jiñ=bi=tsa' li sajk'=i,
 FOC=REP=REA DET grasshopper=FIN
 'that was the grasshopper'
- (3) B: tsäch ñämi je' jiñ
 tsä='äch ñäm-i-ø je' jiñ
 PRFV=AFFR pass-IV-B3 also that
 'yes it passed also that one'
- (4) täch ñämi je' jiñ
 tsä='äch ñäm-i-ø je' jiñ
 PRFV=AFFR pass-IV-B3 also that
 'yes, it passed also that one'
- (5) C: ñämi je' jiñ
 tyi ñäm-i-ø je' jiñ
 PRFV pass-IV-B3 also that
 'passed also that one'
- (6) C: pe eso si, wi'ña ibaja
 pe eso si, wi'ñ-al-ø i-baja
 SP:but SP:that SP:yes hungry-STAT-B3 A3-RN
 'but that one was (or brings) famine'
- (7) wi'ña ibaja jjäjä'
 wi'ñ-al-ø i-baja jjäjä'
 hungry-STAT-B3 A3-RN INTJ
 'It was famine, yes'

- (8) A: che'ñak tyi ñämi temblor, moxyo ba'añ wi'ña iba
 che'ñak tyi ñäm-i-ø temblor, ma'=äch=tyo ba'
 when PRFV pass-IV-B3 SP:earthquake NEG=AFFR=still where
 añ-ø wi'ñ-al-ø i-ba
 E-B3 hungry-STAT-B3 A3-RN
 'When the earthquake happens, there was no famine then'
- (9) C: pe jiñ che' chutyoñtyo jiñ,
 pe jiñ che'ñak chuty-oñ=tyo jiñ,
 SP:but FOC when small-B1=still that
 'But it happen when I was still a child'
- (10) che' ta' ya saj ñojoloñ iche'
 che'=ta' ya saj ñoj-ol-oñ i-che'
 like.this=REA HON small big-STAT-B1 A3-like.this
 'I was big like this (gesture)'
- (11) ya chutyoñtyo,
 ya chuty-oñ=tyo,
 HON small-B1=still
 'I was still a child'
- (12) chajaxyo ya, moxyo, apapaj ya ch'ok alä ta'
 che'=jax=tyo ya, ma'=ix=tyo, a-papaj ya
 like.this=only=still HON NEG=already=still A2-SP:father HON
 ch'ok alä-ø=ta'
 small child-b3=REA
 'like this..., not yet..., your father was a baby (in that time)'
- (13) C: ch'ok alä, jājā'
 ch'ok alä-ø jājā'
 small baby-B3 INTJ
 'yes, he was a small baby'
- (14) A: taxba awilä aba li sajk'i
 tsa'=ix=ba aw-il-ä-ø a-ba li sajk'=i
 PRFV=already=INT A2-see-DT-B3 A2-RN DET grasshopper=FIN
 'Did you see the grasshopper (season)?'
- (15) B: pe yañix jiñ,
 pe yambä-ø=ix jiñ,
 SP:but other-B3=already that
 'but that was another,'

- (16) icha' ñämelelix jiñ
i-cha'-ñäm-el-el=ix jiñ
A3-two-pass-NF-ABST=already that
'that was the second coming'
- (17) icha' ñämelix ibaja
i-cha'-ñäm-el=ix i-baja
A3-two-pass-ABST=already A3-RN
'that was the second coming'
- (18) C: icha' ñämelix yu'bi iba jiñ
i-cha'-ñäm-el=ix yu'bi i-ba jiñ
A3-two-pass-ABST=already maybe A3-RN that
'that, I think, was the second coming'
- (19) ta'bi ñämi iña' mi yälo' cheñ
tsa'=bi ñäm-i-ø i-ña' mi y-äl-ø-o' cheñ
PRFV=REP pass-IV-B3 A3-mother IMFV A3-say-B3-PL3then
'It is said that it passes their mother (even worse)'
- (20) B: jiñ che' tyi ñämi yambä cheñ,
jiñ che' tyi ñämi yambä cheñ,
PRON like.this PRFV pass-IV-B3 other then
'because it passed other, you know'
- (21) mero ñukoñx,
mero ñuk-oñ=ix,
SP:little big-B1=already
'I was already a little big'
- (22) chä'chix ñojoloñ kba iche'
che'=äch=ix ñojol-oñ k-ba i-che'
like.this=AFFR=already big-B1 A1-RN A3-like.this
'yes, I am big like this (indicating with the hand)'
- (23) pe bajche' tyi keji jiñ yu'bi cheñ
pe bajche' tyi keji jiñ yu'bi cheñ
SP:but how PRFV start that maybe then
'So how does that start, you think?'
- (24) komo machäch ba'añ kilañla ba' mi' te cheñ
komo mach=äch ba' añ-ø k-il-añ-ø=la ba' mi
SP:because NEG=AFFR where E-B3 A1-see-DT-B3=PLINC where IMFV
i-tyäl-el cheñ
A3-come-NF then
'Because we can not see where that came'

- (25) chajach mi ka' wu'biñ cheñ
 chajach mi keje aw-u'b-iñ-ø cheñ
 only IMFV PROSP A2-hear-DT-B3 then
 'you are just going to hear (without previous sign)'
- (26) baki tyi tyäli li' ña' cheñ,
 baki tyi tyäl-i-ø li i-ña' cheñ,
 where PRFV come-IV-B3 DET A3-mother then
 'where does its mother came (its origen), then?'
- (27) che' tyi tyäli tyi Petalsingo
 che' tyi tyäl-i-ø tyi Petalsingo
 COMP PRFV come-IV-B3 PREP Peltalcingo
 'It comes from Petalcingo'
- (28) ke' yälo' che' oraj ma bajche' ili
 tyi keji y-äl-ø-ob che' oraj ma bajche' ili
 PERFV start A3-say-B3-PL3 like SP:hour DIR:away like this
 'The people started to said approximately at this hour'
- (29) ya'mebi añ sajk' tyi Petalsingo, che'o'
 ya'=me=bi añ-ø sajk' tyi Petalsingo, che'-ø-ob
 there=me=REP E-B3 grasshopper PREP Petalcingo say-B3-PL3
 '-It is said that there are grasshoppers in Petalcingo, -they said'
- (30) ya'bi añi, che'eñ
 ya'=bi añ-ø=i, che'eñ
 there=REP E-B3=FIN say
 '-There are, -say'
- (31) pero, komo wejletyo muk' cheñ
 pero, komo wejl-el=tyo muk' cheñ
 SP:but SP:since fly-NF=still IMFV then
 'because they are still flying'
- (32) wejletyo,
 wejl-el=tyo
 fly-NF=still
 'still flying'
- (33) iña'tyo
 i-ña'-ø=tyo
 A3-mother-B3=still
 'It is still their mother'

- (34) A: jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'Yes'
- (35) B: chajach kilkilña
chajach kil-kil-ña-ø
only moving.in.mass-RED-AFV-B3
'It is moving in mass'
- (36) A: ma'añ mi' ju'be
ma'añ mi i-ju'b-el
NEG+E IMFV A3-descend-NF
'they do not descend (in the ground)'
- (37) C: choñ tyi tyejche
chonkol-ø tyi tyejch-el
PROG-B3 PREP raise-NF
'It was the starting'
- (38) B: che' bajche' ix-ä ixojo'le,
che' bajche' ix-ä añ-ø i-xojob-lel,
like.this how hm E-B3 A3-sunlight-ABST
'As it has its glare'
- (39) anku ta' awila mi' mel xojob che' k'am ja'al
añ-ø=ku=tsa' aw-il-añ-ø mi i-mel-ø xojob
E-B3=AFFR=REA A2-see-DT-B3 IMFV A3-do-B3 rainball
che' k'am ja'al
when many rain
'you have seen the rainball when it rains'
- (40) che' ye li' k'äk'a mu' tyi wejle ma jiñ
che' y-il-a li i-k'äk'-al mu' tyi
like.this A3-see-DT-B3 DET A3-light-ABST IMFV PREP
wejl-el ma jiñ
fly-NF DIR:away that
'It is how its light is look like when they fly'
- (41) A: jaj, añ ik'äk'a
jaj, añ-ø i-k'äk'-al
INTJ E-B3 A3-light-ABST
'hm, it has its light'

- (42) B: añ ik'äk'a,
añ-ø i-k'äk'-al,
E-B3 A3-light-ABST
'it has its light (glare)'
- (43) che' chäk-xojañ jājā'
che' chäk-xoj-añ-ø jājā'
like reed-glare-INCH-B3 INTJ
'yes, it is like brilliant and red'
- (44) pe ma'añ mi' tyijk'e tyi ñāme tsa' je'e
pe ma'añ mi i-tyijk'-el tyi ñām-el=tsa' je'e
SP:but NEG+E IMFV A3-stop-NF PREP pass-NF=REA also
'but it does not stop coming'
- (45) ma'añ mi' jile
ma'añ mi i-jil-el
NEG+E IMFV A3-end-NF
'It does not end'
- (46) ku, anke much iñāme ma wilañ
ku, anke muk'=äch i-ñām-el mi aw-il-añ-ø
really SP:although IMFV=AFRR A3-pass-NF IMFV A2-see-DT-B3
'although you see that it apparently passes'
- (47) pe ma'añ tyoj mi keje imaja che' mi' ñāme ma ta' cheñ
pe ma'añ tyoj mi keje i-majl-el che'
SP:but NEG+E direct IMFV PROSP A3-go-NF when
mi i-ñām-el ma=ta' cheñ
IMFV A3-pass-NF DIR:away=REA then
'but they do not go strait when they come'
- (48) chajach mi' ty'uchtyälo' tyi tye' tyi ak' cheñ
che'=jach mi i-ty'uch-ty-äl-ob tyi tye' tyi
like.this=only IMFV A3-stand-PIMFV-NF-PL3 PREP tree PREP
ak' cheñ
vine then
'they just stay in any tree and vine'
- (49) we'e mi' kejelo'
we'e mi i-kej-el-ob
eat IMFV A3-start-NF-PL3
'They start to eat'

- (50) yäch be añi
ya'=äch be añ-ø=i
there=AFFR remain E-B3=FIN
'yes, they remain there'
- (51) much imaja tsa' lamitaj tsa',
muk'=äch i-majl-el=tsa' lamitaj=tsa',
IMFV=AFFR A3-go-NF=REA SP:half=REA
'It surely goes half of them'
- (52) pe mi' cha' te yambäj
pe mi i-cha'-tyäl-el yambäj
SP:but IMFV A3-again-come-NF other
'but it comes another'
- (53) cha' ya' te yambä, jājä'
cha' ya' tyäl-el yambä, jājä'
again there come-NF other INTJ
'It comes another again, yes'
- (54) A: mi' te yambä,
mi i-tyäl-el yambä,
IMFV A3-come-NF other
'It comes another'
- (55) oñba
oñ-ø=ba
many-B3=INT
'Are they many?'
- (56) B: aj, oñ,
aj, oñ-ø,
INTJ many-B3
'oh, they are a lot'
- (57) mi' pujke ma
mi i-pujk-el ma
IMFV A3-disperse-NF DIR:away
'they disperse'
- (58) che'tyo k'älä bajche' ixtyo tyi eñtyä maja cheñ
che'=tyo k'älä bajche' ixi=tyo tyi eñtyä
like.this=still distance like there=still PREP dow.land
maja cheñ
DIR:away then
'as that (the dimension), in down land'

- (59) tyi' pety pujke cheñ
 tyi i-... mi i-pety-pujk-el cheñ
 PREP A3- IMFV A3-encircle-disperse-NF then
 'it disperses (along the land)'
- (60) chochoptyä che'
 chop-chop-ty-äl-ø che'
 large-RED=PIMFV-NF-B3 like.this
 'They are big like this (indicating with the hand)'
- (61) che'ku,
 che'=ku
 like.this=AFFR
 'yes'
- (62) yäxyäññañku ik'äk'a mi kä
 yäx-tyañ-añ-ø=ku i-k'äk'-al mi k-äl-ø
 green-appearance-INCH-B3=AFFR A3-fire-ABST IMFV A1-say-B3
 'It is green-like its appearance, I tell you'
- (63) A: ik'ñup'añ pañämi mi' ju'be te
 ik'-ñup'-añ-ø pañämil mi i-ju'b-el te
 black-appearance-INCH-B3 environment IMFV A3-go.down-NF DIR:toward
 'The environment turns black when they go down'
- (64) B: añ ik'äk'a, jājä'
 añ-ø i-k'äk'-al, jājä'
 E-B3 A3-fire-ABST INTJ
 'It has light, yes'
- (65) ba' mi' wäye mi yik'añ,
 ba' mi i-wäy-el mi y-ik'-añ,
 where IMFV A3-sleep-NF IMFV A3-dark-DT
 'where they spend the night,'
- (66) che' ochix k'iñ,
 che' och-em-ø=ix k'iñ,
 when enter-PART-B3=already sun
 'when sun is already down'
- (67) che' li, tsäwanx yu'biñ cheñ,
 che' li, tsäwan-ø=ix mi y-u'b-iñ-ø cheñ,
 when DET cold-B3=already IMFV A3-feel-DT-B3 then
 'when they feel cold'

- (68) mux ke ilämtyä
mu'=ix ke i-läm-ty-äl
IMFV=already PROSP A3-steady-PIMFV-NF
'they begin to be quiet.'
- (69) pe mi' käy jiñ tye' ba' mi' ty'uchtyä ta' cheñ,
pe mi i-käy-ø jiñ tye' ba' mi
SP:but IMFV A3-leave-B3 DET tree where IMFV
i-ty'uch-ty-äl=tsa' cheñ,
A3-perch-PIMFV-NF=REA then
'but how they leave the tree where they perch,'
- (70) chakalix
chak-al-ø=ix
bare-STAT-B3=already
'they are already bare'
- (71) ma'ix iyopo,
ma'=ix i-yop-ol,
NEG=already A3-leaf-POS
'they do not have leaves'
- (72) chex bajche' tyäkiñix yila
che'=ix bajche' tyäkiñ-ø=ix y-il-al
like=already as dry-B3=already A3-see-ABST
'They look like already dry'
- (73) mi' lu' k'uxe' li yopo tye'i
mi i-lu'-k'ux-ø=e' li y-op-ol tye'=i
IMFV A3-all-eat-B3=ENC DET A3-leaf-POS tree=FIN
'they eat all the tree's leave'
- (74) A: pejtye mi' k'ux
pejtyel mi i-k'ux-ø
all IMFV A3-eat-B3
'they eat all'
- (75) B: pejtye mi' lu' k'ux,
pejtye mi i-lu'-k'ux-ø,
all IMFV A3-all-eat-B3
'they eat all'
- (76) ma'añ mi' käy junk'ejik
ma'añ mi i-käy-ø jun-k'ej=ik
NEG+E IMFV A3-leave-B3 one-CL=IRR
'They do not leave anyone'

- (77) che'ku ma'ix ke ityijk'e tyi ñäme
che'=ku ma'=ix mi ke i-tyijk'-el tyi ñäm-el
like-this=AFFR NEG=already IMFV PROSP A3-stop-NF PREP pass-NF
'after that they won't stop to pass'
- (78) mi tax ityeche ma
mi tsa'=ix i-tyech-e-ø ma
if PRFV=already A3-start-TV-B3 DIR:away
'If they start to go'
- (79) ñaxambä mi' ma, much ibe ma
ñaxañ-ø=bä mi i-majl-el, mu'=äch i-be-majl-el
first-B3=REL IMFV A3-go-NF IMFV=AFFR A3-futher-go-NF
'what starts to go, they go further'
- (80) pe mi' cha' be te bajche'äch jiñi...
pe mi i-cha'-be-tyäl-el bajche'=äch jiñi...
SP:but IMFV A3-again-further-come-NF like=AFFR that
'but as they go, it is as other come'
- (81) kwe'ts'ela lok'e
mi k-we'ts'-ø=e=la lok'e
IMFV A1-drive-B3=ENC=PLINC DIR:out
'We draw them away'
- (82) ix-ä, anku ta' awila jiñi lajk' cheñ
ix-ä, añ-ø=ku=ta' aw-il-a-ø jiñi lajk' cheñ
hm E-B3=AFFR=REA A2-see-TV-b3 hm ant then
'you have seen the *lajk'* (a type of ant), don't you?'
- (83) mu' tyi xämba cheñ
muk'-ø tyi xämbal cheñ
IMFV-B3 PREP walk then
'They walk (move), you know'
- (84) ma' be letse,
mi a-be-lets-el,
IMFV A2-more-go.up-NF
'you drive up'
- (85) pe be tyaläch yal
pe be-tyal-ø=äch y-al
SP:but more-come-B3-AFFR A3-son
'But their offspring come more'

- (86) A: anku
 añ-ø=ku
 E-B3=AFFR
 ‘Yes, there are’
- (87) jājā’
 jājā’
 INTJ
 ‘Yes’
- (88) B: ma’añ mi’ tyijk’e tyi ñāme maja
 ma’añ mi i-tyijk’-el tyi ñām-el maja
 NEG+E IMFV A3-stop-NF PREP pass-NF DIR:away
 ‘It does not stop passing’
- (89) A: ma’añ
 ma’añ
 NEG+E
 ‘no’
- (90) jājā’
 jājā’
 INTJ
 ‘Yes’
- (91) B: pe jiñtyomeku tyi k’oty yorojle,
 pe jiñ=tyo=me=ku tyi k’oty-i-ø y-oraj-lel,
 SP:but PRON=still=me=AFFR PRFV arrive-IV-B3 A3-SP:hour-ABST
 ‘but when its time came’
- (92) tyi ke tyi meru jajme ta’
 tyi ke tyi meru-ja<j>m-el=tsa’
 PRFV start PREP SP:little-open<+PAS>-NF=REA
 ‘It starts to clear a little bit’
- (93) che’ bajche’ ili
 che’ bajche’ ili
 like.this as this
 ‘like now’
- (94) tsa’ix lu’ ju’bi tsa’
 tsa’=ix lu’-ju’b-i-ø=tsa’
 PRFV=already all-descend-IV-B3=REA
 ‘they all go to land’

- (95) tyi Esperansaj tyi lu' ju'bi
 tyi Esperansaj tyi lu'-ju'b-i-ø
 PREP Esperanza PRFV all-go.down-IV-B3
 'They all go down in Esperanza'
- (96) much tyi wejle pero lamitajachix
 muk'-ø=äch tyi wejl-el pero lamita-ø=jach=ix
 IMFV-B3=AFFR PREP fly-NF SP:but SP:half-B3=only=already
 'yes, they fly but only half of them'
- (97) keji tyi tyuñ
 tyi kej-i-ø tyi tyuñ
 PRFV start-IV-B3 PREP lay.egg
 'They started to lay eggs'
- (98) bajche' ili ba' chäk-pits'añ pami cheñ, ya' tyi kejiyo' tyi tyuñ
 bajche' ili ba' chäk-pits'-añ-ø pami cheñ,
 like this where red-appearance-INCH-B3 land then
 ya' tyi kej-i-y-ø-ob tyi tyuñ
 there PRFV start-IV-EP-B3-PL3 PREP lay-egg
 'Like here, where the ground is bared, there started to lay eggs'
- (99) che'ku
 che'ku
 like.this=AFFR
 'yes'
- (100) li tye'-ak' cheñ
 li tye'-ak' cheñ
 DET tree-vine then
 'all the trees'
- (101) jiñ che' li mi' chakchokoñ li tye'-ak' cheñ
 jiñ che' li mi i-chak-chok-oñ-ø li
 PRON like.this hm IMFV A3-bare-put-DT-B3 DET
 tye'-ak' cheñ
 tree-vine then
 'because they bare all types of trees, you know'
- (102) mi tax ilu' k'uxbe iyopo cheñ pits'ilix,
 mi tsa'=ix i-lu'-k'ux-b-e-ø i-yop-ol cheñ
 if PRFV=already A3-all-bite-APL-DT-B3 A3-leaf-POS then
 pits'-il-ø=ix
 bare-STAT-B3=already
 'if they ate all the leave of the trees, they are already bare'

- (103) ma'ix iyopo
 ma'=ix i-yop-ol
 NEG=already A3-leaf-POS
 'they do not already have any leave.'
- (104) ya' tyi joktyä tyi kejiyo' tyi tyuñ li sajk'i
 ya' tyi joktyä tyi kej-i-y-ø-ob tyi tyuñ
 there PREP level.ground PRFV start-IV-EP-B3-PL3 PREP lay.egg
 li sajk'=i
 DET grasshopper=FIN
 'there, in the plain, the grasshoppers started to lay eggs'
- (105) peru li mu' tyi tyuñ cheñ
 peru li muk'-ø tyi tyuñ cheñ,
 SP:but DET IMFV-B3 PREP lay.egg then
 poj
 HON
 'but when they lay eggs,'
- (106) jiñ che' mi' ts'äp oche yity bajche' ili
 jiñ che' mi i-ts'äp-ø och-el y-ity bajche' ili
 PRON like.this IMFV A3-stick-B3 DIR:in-NF A3-back like this
 'they stick their back like this (indicating with hand)'
- (107) mi' ts'äp oche
 mi i-ts'äp-ø och-el
 IMFV A3-stick-B3 DIR:in-NF
 'they stick it (in the ground)'
- (108) ch'uj ts'äpä li yityi
 ch'uj ts'äp-äl-ø li y-ity=i
 immobil bury-STAT-B3 DET A3-back=FIN
 'their back is bury'
- (109) che' ta' bajche' añ ya'le yila li iyity,
 che'=tsa' bajche' añ-ø y-a'-lel y-il-al li iy-ity,
 like.this=REA as E-B3 A3-water-ABST A3-see-ABST DET A3-back
 'It is as their back has water'
- (110) che' li, tyi iyity yilali
 che' li tyi iy-ity y-il-al=i
 like.this hm PREP A3-back A3-see-ABST=FIN
 'it seems, in their back'

- (111) mu' ta' ibe k'uñ-isañ lum,
 muk'=ta' i-be-k'uñ-i-s-añ-ø lum,
 IMFV=REA A3-more-soft-IV-CAU-DT-B3 earth
 'It makes softer the ground'
- (112) ibe ts'äp oche,
 i-be-ts'äp och-el,
 A3-more-stick DIR:in-NF
 'They stick it more (into the ground)'
- (113) ibe ts'äp oche ma
 i-be-ts'äp och-el ma
 A3-more-stick DIR:in-NF DIR:away
 'they stick it more (into the ground)'
- (114) jiñtyo che' chex tyame ocheñ li yity che'i,
 jiñ=tyo che' che'=ix tyam-el och-em-ø li
 PRON=still COMP like.this=already long-ABST enter-PART-B3 DET
 y-ity che'=i,
 A3-back like.this=FIN
 'when its back is in like this (indicating with hand),'
- (115) chajachix ch'uj añi
 che'=jach=ix ch'uj añ-ø=i
 like.this=only=already immobile E-B3=FIN
 'they just remain immobile'
- (116) chajachix ch'uj añ
 che'=jach=ix ch'uj añ-ø
 like.this=only=already immobile E-B3
 'they just remain immobile'
- (117) ñuklajtyiko'
 ñuk-ul-aj-tyik-ø-ob
 face.down-STAT-POSP-ATT-B3-PL3
 'they remain face down'
- (118) pe tyuñ muk'
 pe tyuñ muk'-ø
 sp:but lay.eg IMFV-B3
 'but they are laying eggs'

- (119) A: jaj, tyuñ muk'
 jaj, tyuñ muk'-ø
 hm lay.egg IMFV-B3
 'hm, they are laying eggs'
- (120) B: tyuñ
 tyuñ-ø
 lay.egg-B3
 'laying eggs'
- (121) A: jaläch ñukulo'
 jal=äch ñuk-ul-ø-ob
 a.while-AFFR face.down-STAT-B3-PL3
 'yes, they are faced down for a while'
- (122) B: jal
 jal
 a.while
 'for a while'
- (123) pe mi tax ujtyi tyi tyuñ cheñ, mux ibo'ts' li yity ta'i
 pe mi tsa'=ix ujty-i-ø tyi tyuñ cheñ,
 SP:but if PRFV=already finish-IV-B3 PREP lay.egg then
 muk'-ø=ix i-bo'ts'-ø li y-ity=tsa'=i
 IMFV-B3=already A3-remove-B3 DET A3-back=REA=FIN
 'If they finish lying eggs, they remove their back'
- (124) mux icha' ke tyi wejle ta' che'jiñ
 muk'=ix i-cha'-ke tyi wejl-el=ta' che' jiñ
 IMFV=already A3-again-PROSP PREP fly-NF=REA like.this then
 'they are going to fly again'
- (125) icha' be maja
 mi i-cha'-be-majl-el
 IMFV A3-again-more-go=NF
 'They go again'
- (126) mu'ku imaja
 muk'=ku i-majl-el
 IMFV=AFFR A3-go=NF
 'yes, they go'
- (127) pe yax tyi' käyä li' tyuñbä che'jiñ
 pe ya'=ix tyi i-käy-ä-ø li i-tyuñ=bä che' jiñ
 SP:but there=already PRFV A3-leave-TV-B3 DET A3-egg=rel like.this then
 'but then, their eggs were left there'

- (128) jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'Yes'
- (129) pe añ semañaj
pe añ-∅ semañaj
SP:but E-B3 SP:week
'but after a week'
- (130) chap'e semañaj ma'añ saj tsikil
cha-p'ej semañaj ma'añ saj-tsikil-∅
two-CL SP:week NEG+E totally-appear-B3
'they do not appear for two weeks'
- (131) jiñtyo ma' wilañ
jiñ=tyo mi majl-el aw-il-añ-∅
PRON=still IMFV go-NF A2-see-DT-B3
'When you see it'
- (132) ya'bä, mi tsax k'otyi yorojle ijojche cheñ,
ya'=bä, mi tsa'=ix k'oty-i-∅ y-oraj-lel
there=REL if PRFV=already arrive-IV-B3 A3-SP:hour-ABST
i-jojch-el cheñ
A3-hach-NF then
'when the time for their born reaches'
- (133) muxmeku kilañla
muk'=ix=me=ku k-il-añ-∅=la
IMFV=already=me=AFFR A1-see-DT-B3=PLINC
'we see them'
- (134) ñibñibña mi ke ilok'e te bajche xiñich'
ñib-ñib-ña-∅ mi ke i-lok'-el te bajche xiñich'
moving-RED-AFV-B3 IMFV PROSP A3-exit-NF DIR:toward like ants
'moving as it would be ants, they come'
- (135) A: jaj, kolemba
jaj, kolemba
INTJ big-B3=INT
'hm, are they big?'
- (136) B: jaj
jaj
INTJ
'what?'

- (137) A: kolemba mi ke ilok'e li yali
 kolemba- \emptyset =ba mi ke i-lok'-el li y-al=i
 big-B3=INT IMFV PROSP A3-exit-NF DET A3-offspring=FIN
 'Are the offspring big when they start to go out?'
- (138) B: ma'añ
 ma'añ
 NEG+E
 'no'
- (139) alätyo cheñ
 aläl- \emptyset =tyo cheñ
 baby-B3=still then
 'since they are still babies'
- (140) alätyo,
 aläl- \emptyset =tyo,
 baby-B3=still
 'they are still babies'
- (141) jiñjach che' mux ilok'e tyi ma lum che' li tsax jojchi cheñ
 jiñ=jach che' muk'- \emptyset =ix i-lok'-el tyi ma lum
 PRON=only when IMFV-B3=already A2-exit-NF PREP inside ground
 che' li tsa'=ix jojch-i- \emptyset cheñ
 when hm PRFV=already hatch-IV-B3 then
 'they just came from inside when they already have hatched'
- (142) tsax jojchi yu'bi cheñ,
 tsa'=ix jojch-i- \emptyset yu'bi cheñ,
 PRFV-already hatch-IV-B3 maybe then
 'since they have already hatched'
- (143) mux ilok'e
 muk'- \emptyset =ix i-lok'-el
 IMFV-B3=already A3-exit-NF
 'they go out'
- (144) A: saj ts'int's'iñtyä
 saj ts'in-ts'iñ-ty-äl- \emptyset
 little small-RED-PIMFV-NF-B3
 'They are little small'

- (145) jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'Yes'
- (146) B: pe chajaxyo poj ch'uj päklajtyiko'i
pe che'=jach=tyo poj ch'uj-päk-äl-aj-tyik-ø-ob=i
SP:but like.this=only=still HON only-lay-STAT-POSP-ATT-B3-PL3=FIN
'but they are just faced down quietly'
- (147) pe mu'ix tyi saj we'e tsa'bä,
pe muk'-ø=ix tyi saj-we'e=tsa'=bä,
SP:but IMFV-B3=already PREP little-eat=REA=REL
'but they already eat (regardless to their size)'
- (148) jĩñch ilu' tyujtyuñ li chä'bä añ
jĩñ=äch i-lu'-tyujty-uñ-ø li chä'bä añ-ø
PRON=AFFR A3-all-collect-DT-B3 DET whatever E-B3
'but they collect (eat) whatever exist'
- (149) tyi mal, panlum ta'
tyi mal pan-lum=ta'
PREP inside above-earth=REA
'on the ground'
- (150) jājä'
jājä'
INTJ
'Yes'
- (151) jĩñtyo mi mero ñukix,
jĩñ=tyo mi mero ñuk-ø=ix,
PRON=still IMFV SP:little big-B3=already
'when they grow a little bit'
- (152) che'tyakix cho'cho'tyä,
che'=tyak=ix cho'-cho'ty-äl-ø,
like.this=PLIND=already big-big-STAT-B3
'like this (gesture)'
- (153) yujilix tyijp'e cheñ
yuj-il-ø=ix tyijp'-el cheñ
know-STAT-B3=already jump-NF then
'they can jump, you know'

- (154) mi' keje tyi xämba
 mi i-keje tyi xämbal
 IMFV A3-start PREP walk
 'they start to walk'
- (155) pe baki mi ke ibe ma,
 pe baki mi ke i-be-majl-el,
 SP:but where IMFV PROSP A3-further-go-NF
 'but where are they going to go?'
- (156) wä' mi' letse te ta' wä' wä'i
 wä' mi i-lets-el te=tsa' wä' wä'=i
 here IMFV A3-go.up-NF DIR:toward=REA here here=FIN
 'but they come toward here (highland)'
- (157) A: mi' letse te
 mi i-lets-el te
 IMFV A3-go.up-NF DIR:toward
 'They come here'
- (158) B: mi' letse te
 mi i-lets-el te
 IMFV A3-go.up-NF DIR:toward
 'they come here'
- (159) pe añ iyorojle mi ik'äjke te
 pe añ-ø iy-oroj-lel mi i-k'äjke-el te
 SP:but E-B3 A3-SP:hour-ABST IMFV A3-go.up-NF DIR:toward
 'but it has a season when they come here'
- (160) añ yorojle mi ik'äjke te
 añ-ø y-oroj-lel mi i-k'äjke-el te
 E-B3 A3-SP:hour-ABST IMFV A3-go.up-NF DIR:toward
 'it has a season when they come here'
- (161) jājā'
 jājā'
 INTJ
 'Yes'
- (162) ji, jaltyo mi' ma tyi pase iwich'
 ji, jal-ø=tyo mi i-ma tyi pas-el i-wich'
 INTJ a.while-B3=still IMFV A3-go PREP grow-NF A3-wing
 'it takes some time to their wings to appear'

- (163) A: jaj, pe chonkox tyi we'e tebä
 jaj, pe chonkol-ø=ix tyi we'e te=bä
 INTJ SP:but PROG-B3=already PREP eat DIR:toward=REL
 'hm, but they are already eating in their steps toward here'
- (164) B: aj, peru jiñche', che' chäk misuñ mi' käy li matye'e bajche' ili cheñ
 aj, peru jiñ che' che' chäk-mis-uñ-ø mi
 INTJ SP:but PRON like.this hm read-appearance-INCH-B3 IMFV
 i-käy-ø li matye'-el bajche' ili cheñ
 A3-leave-B3 DET woodland-ABST like this then
 'jaj, but they leave the land bare like this (indicating with hand)'
- (165) chäkmissiñ,
 chäk-mis-iñ-ø,
 read-appearance-INCH-B3
 'bared'
- (166) mach akäñä mi chek ts'iñtyä yopo tye'i
 mach a-käñ-ä-ø mi che'=ik ts'iñtyä
 NEG A2-know-TV-B3 IMFV like.this=IRR little
 y-op-ol tye'=i
 A3-leaf-POS tree=FIN
 'you can not see a little piece of leave'
- (167) che'ku
 che'=ku
 like.this=AFFR
 'yes'
- (168) much ilu' k'ux cheñ
 muk'=äch i-lu'-k'ux-ø cheñ
 IMFV=AFFR A3-all-bite-B3 then
 'because they bite everything'
- (169) A: mi' lu' k'ux
 mi i-lu'-k'ux-ø
 IMFV A3-all-bite-B3
 'they bite everything'
- (170) B: mi' k'ux, k'uñbä iwi' tye' ak'
 mi i-k'ux-ø, k'uñ-ø=bä i-wi' tye'-ak'
 IMFV A3-bite-B3 soft-B3=REL A3-root tree-vine
 'they bite all trees that have soft roots'

- (171) k'uñbä jiñi che'bä bajche' machbä ba'añ tsäts mi yu'biñ cheñ,
 k'uñ-ø=bä jiñi che'=bä bajche' mach=bä ba' añ-ø tsäts
 soft-B3=REL hm like=REL as NEG=REL where E-B3 hard
 mi y-u'b-iñ-ø cheñ,
 IMFV A3-feel-DT-B3 then
 'the soft ones, as they (the trees) are not hard for them (grasshoppers)'
- (172) pe much ilu' ñujluñ
 pe muk'=äch i-lu'-ñujl-uñ-ø
 SP:but IMFV=AFFR A3-all-eat.into-DT-B3
 'they eat all'
- (173) much ilu' k'ux
 muk'=äch i-lu'-k'ux-ø
 IMFV=AFFR A3-all-bite-B3
 'yes, they eat all'
- (174) aweñ che' mi lakp'usañ che' li mi añtyo lakchol
 mi aw-il-añ-ø che' mi la=k-p'us-añ-ø che'
 IMFV A2-see-DT-B3 COMP IMFV PLINC=A1-drive-DT-B3 when
 li mi añ-ø=tyo la=k-chol
 hm IMFV E-B3-still PLINC=A1-cornfield
 'as you could see, when we drive away, when we have cornfield'
- (175) che' maxtyo kom käk'enla
 che' mach=äch=tyo k-om-ø k-äk'-en-ø=la
 when NEG=AFFR=still A1-want-B3 A1-give-DT-B3=PLINC
 'since we do not want to give it to them'
- (176) ñoj junsujtye mi' k'ux cheñ
 ñoj jun-sujtye mi i-k'ux-ø cheñ
 really one-time IMFV A3-bite then
 'because they eat entirely it'
- (177) ya'añ lonkchol ila tyi eñtyäli
 ya' añ-ø lon=k-chol ila tyi eñtyäli
 there E-B3 PLEXC=A1-cornfield here PREP lowland
 'there was our cornfield in the lowland'
- (178) pe poj wajtyañix ke kabä
 pe poj wajtyañ-ø=ix ke kaje=bä
 SP:but HON corncob-B3=already PROSP start=REL
 'it was almost corncob (thanks goodness)'

- (179) jij, ke jkãñätyanloñ,
 jij, ke j-kãñäty-an-ø=loñ,
 INTJ start A1-take.care.of-DT-B3=PLEXC
 ‘Dam! we started to take care of it’
- (180) kp’usanla
 mi k-p’us-an-ø=la
 IMFV A1-drive-DT-B3=PLINC
 ‘we drive them away’
- (181) pe mach saj yälä
 pe mach saj y-äl-ä-ø
 SP:but NEG really A3-say-TV-B3
 ‘but it does not work’
- (182) A: mach yälä
 mach y-äl-ä-ø
 NEG A3-say-TV-B3
 ‘It does not work’
- (183) B: mach yälä
 mach y-äl-ä-ø
 NEG A3-say-TV-B3
 ‘It does not work’
- (184) jiñche’ ma’ ñämema jump’e oraj cheñ,
 jiñ che’ mi a-ñäm-el ma jum-p’ej oraj
 PRON like.this IMFV A2-pass-NF DIR:away one-CL SP:hour
 cheñ,
 then
 ‘when you spend an hour doing it (taking care of the cornfield)’
- (185) pe yañämbä ya’ ts’uyu ta’i
 pe yañämbä ya’ ts’uy-ul=tsa’=i
 SP:but other there hang-STAT-REA=FIN
 ‘but other are (suddenly) hanged there’
- (186) ya’ñux añ yañ tsa’
 ya’-añ=ix añ-ø yambä=tsa’
 there-E=already E-B3 other=REA
 ‘there are already others (or more?)’
- (187) A: ya’ te yambä
 ya’ tyäl-el-ø yambä
 there come-NF-B3 other
 ‘There come others (or more?)’

- (188) B: pe che' ya' añ ta' cheñ,
 pe che' ya' añ-ø=tsa' cheñ,
 SP:but when there E-B3=REA then
 'but when it (the corn) is there,'
- (189) muxtyo itsätsä yäk iwutybä
 muk'=äch=tyo i-tsätsä y-äk-ø i-wuty=bä
 IMFV=AFFR=still A3-hardly A3-give-B3 A3-fruit=REL
 'they hardly give some fruits (the cornplant)'
- (190) pero jiñjach che' ma'ix iyopobä
 pero jiñ=jach che' ma'ix i-yop-ol=bä
 SP:but PRON=only like.this NEG=already A3-leaf-POS=REL
 'but, ---it does not have its leave'
- (191) A: ma'ix iyopo
 ma'ix i-yop-ol
 NEG=already A3-leaf-POS
 'it does not have leave'
- (192) B: ya mejle'tyik,
 ya mejle'=tyik-ø,
 HON poor=ATT-B3
 'it is only poorly'
- (193) bajche' yajlo' ik', tyäkiñix
 bajche' yajl-ø-ob ik' tyäkiñ-ø=ix
 like fall-B3-PL3 wind dry-B3=already
 'they are like one dropped by the wind, they are dry'
- (194) pe mi tyi jojchi yalbä,
 pe mi tyi jojch-i-ø y-al=bä,
 SP:but if PRFV hatch-IV-B3 A3-offspring=REL
 'but if their offspring born,'
- (195) ma'añ chu añ mi ikäy
 ma'añ chu añ-ø mi i-käy-ø
 NEG+E what E-B3 IMFV A3-leave-B3
 'they do not leave anything'
- (196) yoke misi mi' käy
 yoke mis-il-ø mi i-käy-ø
 really bare-STAT-B3 IMFV A3-leave-b3
 'They leave it really bare'

- (197) chäch misikña mi' käy matye'e bajche' ili
che'=äch mis-ik-ña-ø mi i-käy-ø matye'e bajche'
like.this=AFFR bare-ik-AFV-B3 IMFV A3-leave-B3 woodland like
ili
this
'they leave the woodland bare like this (indicating with hand)'
- (198) jājā'
jājā'
INTJ
'yes'
- (199) A: bajchki mi tyi tyä ja'al,
bajchki mi tyi tyäl-i-ø ja'al,
how if PRFV come-IV-B3 rain
'How about if the rain comes?'
- (200) mi tyi ke ja'al,
mi tyi ke ja'al,
if PRFV start rain
'if the rain starts'
- (201) ma'añ mi itsänsañ
ma'añ mi i-tsäns-añ-ø
NEG+E IMFV A3-kill-DT-B3
'does not (the rain) kill them?'
- (202) B: pe chutyoki mi ibä'ñäbeñ ma' wä,
pe chu=tyo=ki mi i-bä'ñ-ä-b-eñ-ø
SP:but what=still=INT IMFV A3-be.afraid-DT-APL-DT-B3
mi aw-äl-ø,
IMFV A2-say-B3
'so do you thing will they be afraid of it?'
- (203) ma'añ mi' bä'ñañ cheñ
ma'añ mi i-bä'ñ-añ-ø cheñ
NEG+E IMFV A3-be.afraid-DT-B3 then
'they are not afraid of it'
- (204) A: ma'añ mi' bä'ñañ
ma'añ mi i-bä'ñ-añ-ø
NEG+E IMFV A3-be.afraid-DT-B3
'They are not afraid to it'

- (205) B: machku ba'añ mu' tyi xämbabä,
 mach=ku ba' añ-ø muk'-ø tyi xämba=bä,
 NEG=AFFR where E-B3 IMFV-B3 PREP walk=REL
 'they certainly do not walk'
- (206) pe yäch ch'uj lämälo'i
 pe ya'=äch ch'uj-läm-äl-ø-ob=i
 SP:but there=AFFR just-quiet-STAT-B3-PL3=FIN
 'but they are gathered up'
- (207) jiñtyo mi' mero jajme,
 jiñ=tyo mi i-mero-jajm-el,
 PRON=still IMFV A3-SP:little-clear-NF
 'when it is a little clear'
- (208) mi' mero k'ixñan ta',
 mi i-mero-k'ixñ-añ=tsa',
 IMFV A1-SP:little-warm-INCH=REA
 'a little warm'
- (209) mux icha' ke tyi tyijpe ta'
 muk'=ix i-cha'-ke tyi tyijp-el=tsa'
 IMFV=already A3-again-start PREP jump-NF=REA
 'they start to jump again'
- (210) icha' ke tyi xämba maja
 mi i-cha'-ke tyi xämba maja
 IMFV A3-again-start PREP walk DIR:away
 'they start to walk again'
- (211) jähä'
 jähä'
 INTJ
 'yes'
- (212) pe mi' k'uxonla
 pe mi i-k'ux-oñ=la
 SP:but IMFV A3-bite-B1=PLINC
 'but they bite us'
- (213) mi' k'uxonla
 mi i-k'ux-oñ=la
 IMFV A3-bite-B1=PLINC
 'they bite us'

- (214) A: k'uxba yej
 k'ux-ø=ba y-ej
 hurt-B3=INT A3-teeth
 'are their teeth hurt?'
- (215) B: aj k'ux
 aj k'ux-ø
 INTJ hurt-B3
 'oh, they hurt'
- (216) che'ku we'eläch ity'añ cheñ
 che'=ku we'el-ø=äch i-ty'añ cheñ
 like.this=AFFR eat-B3=AFFR A3-word then
 'since they are talking seriously'
- (217) machäch muk'jäch ityä'lañoñla
 mach=äch muk'=jäch i-tyä'l-añ-oñ=la
 NEG=AFFR IMFV=only A3-bother-DT-B1=PLINC
 'they are not just playing with'
- (218) lakpisle che'bä bajche' ili,
 la=k-pislel che'=bä bajche' ili,
 PLINC=A1-cloth like=REL as this
 'our cloth like this,'
- (219) che mach-ä ba'añ, mi xojo lakcha'añ,
 che mach-bä ba' añ-ø, mi xoj-ol-ø la=k-cha'añ,
 like.this NEG=REL where E-B3 if wear-STAT-B3 PLINC=A1-rn
 'which..., if we are wearing them,'
- (220) mi xojo lakcha'añ cheñ,
 mi xoj-ol-ø la=k-cha'añ cheñ,
 if wear-STAT-B3 PLINC=A1-RN then
 'If we are wearing them'
- (221) yäch ñocho ik'uxonla
 ya'=äch ñoch-ol-ø i-k'ux-on=la
 there=AFFR stuck-STAT-B3 A3-bite-B1=PLINC
 'yes, they are stuck biting us'
- (222) jiñjäch awu'biñ tsäk'tsäk'ña ik'uxety
 jiñ=jäch aw-u'b-iñ-ø tsäk'-tsäk'-ña-ø i-k'ux-ety
 PRON=only A2-feel-DT-B3 pain-RED-AFV-B3 A3-bite-B3
 'when you notice, they are biting you'

- (223) pe, tyoko-jowo lakpisle
 pe, tyok-ol-jow-ol-∅ la=k-pisle
 SP:but open-STAT-open(hole)-STAT-B3 PLINC=A1-cloth
 ‘our cloth are full of holes’
- (224) che’i, much ik’ux lakpisle
 che’=i, muk’=äch i-k’ux-∅ la=k-pislel
 like.this=FIN IMFV=AFFR A3-bite-B3 PLINC=A1-cloth
 ‘yes, they bite our clothes’
- (225) ba’ chakach ak’ä’ che’ bajche’ ili,
 ba’ chak-al-∅=äch a-k’ä’ che’ bajche’ ili,
 where bare-STAT-B3=AFFR A2-hand like as this
 ‘where your hand is bare like this (indicating with hand),’
- (226) ma awu’biñ ya’ tsäk’tsäk’ña ik’uxety
 mi i-majl-el aw-u’b-iñ-∅ ya’ tsäk’-tsäk’-ña-∅
 IMFV A3-go-NF A2-feel-DT-B3 there pain-RED-AFV-B3
 i-k’ux-ety
 A3-bite-B2
 ‘when you feel, there are a constant pain because they are biting you’
- (227) mach yälä añijkañ,
 mach y-äl-ä-∅ mi a-ñijk-añ-∅,
 NEG A3-say-DT-B3 IMFV A2-move-DT-B3
 ‘It does no matter if you move them’
- (228) jiñxtyo ma’ päk’ajts’iñ lok’e iche’ mi’ poj wejle ma
 jiñ=äch=tyo mi a-päk’-ajts’-iñ-∅ lok’el i-che’ mi
 PRON=AFFR=still IMFV A2-hit-hit-DT-B3 DIR:out A3-like.this IMFV
 i-poj-wejl-el ma
 A3-HON-fly-NF DIR:away
 ‘It is when you hit like this (indicating with hand) they leave flying’
- (229) A: jaj, ma’añ mi’ bä’ñañoñla
 jaj, ma’añ mi i-bä’ñ-añ-oñ=la
 INTJ NEG+E IMFV A3-fear-DT-B1=PLINC
 ‘hm, they do not have fear to us’
- (230) B: ma’añ,
 ma’añ,
 NEG+E
 ‘no’

(231) ma'añ ibä'ñañonla
ma'añ mi i-bä'ñ-añ-on=la
NEG+E IMFV A3-fear-DT-B1=PLINC
'they do not have fear to us'

(232) jäjä'
jäjä'
INTJ
'yes'

Classification of intransitive verbs

a. non-agentive intransitives

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| bo'yel | 'to get tired' |
| chämel, lajmel, sajtyel | 'to die' |
| jjlel | 'to rest' |
| jilel | 'to finish' |
| jits'kuyel | 'to faint' |
| jujp'el | 'to get fat' |
| ju'bel | 'to go down', 'to get down' |
| jujuk'chäm-el | 'to have epilepsy' |
| julel | 'to arrive here' |
| juxk'iy-el | 'to slip'. 'to slide' |
| kolel | 'to grow', 'to be saved' |
| käytyäl | 'to stay' |
| k'ojoyel | 'to be bored' |
| k'otyel | 'to arrive there' |
| k'äsk'uyel | 'to break ones bone' |
| lejmel | 'to burn up' |
| letsel, k'äjkel | 'to raise', 'to climb' |
| lok'el | 'to exit' |
| majlel | 'to go' |
| ñämel, k'axel | 'to pass' |
| ochel | 'to enter' |
| p'ajtyel | 'to fall (e.g. a fruit from the tree)' |
| p'ixel | 'to wake up' |
| pasel | 'to sprout' |
| puts'el | 'to hide' |
| sitychämel | 'to faint' |
| sujtyel | 'to return' |

| | |
|--------|----------------|
| tyälel | ‘to come’ |
| yajlel | ‘to fall down’ |

b. Agentive intransitives

| | |
|---------------|----------------------------------|
| ajñel | ‘to run’ |
| beb | ‘to ask insistently’ |
| bäläk’ | ‘to knock down’ |
| ch’ajb | ‘to be on a diet’ |
| k’al | ‘to roof (house)’ |
| k’ix | ‘to warm up with fire’ |
| k’añol | ‘to help in the kitchen’ |
| ñajal | ‘to dream’ |
| ñuxejel | ‘to swim’ |
| ñolok’ | ‘to roll’ |
| ñäkäb | ‘to nod off’ |
| pay | ‘to call’ |
| sutyujty | ‘to turn’ |
| tonkom,tumkum | ‘to swim’ |
| tsakäl | ‘to follow somebody insistently’ |
| tyuk’bik’ | ‘to have hiccups’ |
| tyujb | ‘to spit’ |
| xityijty | ‘to do a somersault’ |
| xämbal | ‘to walk’ |

c. Action nouns

| | |
|--------|-------------------|
| bety | ‘to go into debt’ |
| bots | ‘to germinate’ |
| chu’ | ‘to suckle’ |
| chämel | ‘to die’ |

| | |
|-------------|----------------------------|
| ch'uj-el | 'to go to mass' |
| ch'uyub | 'to whistle' |
| ja'tsij(ñ) | 'to sneeze' |
| jats' | 'to fight' |
| juch'bal | 'to grind corn' |
| jula' | 'to visit' |
| kisiñ | 'to be ashamed' |
| lembal(bäl) | 'to drink liquor' |
| lojk | 'to boil' |
| loty | 'to deceive' |
| misuj-el | 'to sweep' |
| mãñajb | 'to presage', 'to bewitch' |
| ñich | 'to flower' |
| ñojk' | 'to snore' |
| ojbal | 'to cough' |
| p'olm-al | 'to sell' |
| si'bal | 'to cut firewood' |
| soñ | 'to dance' |
| tse'ñ-al | 'to laugh' |
| ts'ak | 'to cure' |
| ts'ijb | 'to write' |
| tyis | 'to fart' |
| woj | 'to bark' |
| xej | 'to vomit' |

d. Ambivalents

| | |
|-----------|-------------------------|
| jojm-el | 'to sink', 'to cave in' |
| jäjm-el | 'to rock in a hammock' |
| lejm-el | 'to burn up' |
| lujty'-el | 'to jump for fear' |
| ñujpuñel | 'to get married' |

| | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| puts'-el | 'to hide' |
| uch'-el | 'to eat' |
| uk'-el | 'to cry' |
| toñ-el | 'to work' |
| ts'äm-el | 'to take a shower' |
| tyjip'-el | 'to jump' |
| wejlel | 'to fly' |
| we'-el | 'to eat' |
| wijl-el | 'to turn' |
| wäyel | 'to sleep' |

e. Ambitransitives

| | |
|---------|--|
| jats' | 'to fight' |
| joch' | 'to inject', 'to embroider' |
| lok'-el | 'to go out' |
| loty | 'to deceive' |
| pijty | 'to wait' |
| pul-el | 'to burn', 'to get burnt' |
| tyek' | 'to step on', 'to have sexual intercourse' |
| xujch' | 'to steal' |

Classification of transitive verbs

a. Transitive roots

| | |
|-------|--|
| ak' | 'to give', 'to allow' |
| bech' | 'to roll up' |
| bek | 'to throw (liquid)' |
| biy | 'to spread corn dough to make tamales' |
| bok | 'to pull up (plants)' |
| boñ | 'to paint' |
| bots' | 'to pull up (eg. post)' |
| buch | 'to pull down (eg. post)' |
| buk' | 'to swallow' |
| buty' | 'to fill' |
| baj | 'to nail' |
| chej | 'to break apart' |
| chij | 'to pull down (eg. fruit with stick)' |
| chik | 'to strain with a colander' |
| choj | 'to loosen' |
| chok | 'to throw' |
| choñ | 'to sell' |
| cho' | 'to peel' |
| chuk | 'to capture' |
| chum | 'to ferment' |
| chäy | 'to lasso' |
| ch'äx | 'to boil' |
| ch'il | 'to fry' |
| ch'ip | 'to open (bag)' |
| ch'ub | 'to make holes' |
| ch'uy | 'to lift' |
| ch'äl | 'to decorate' |

| | |
|-------|---------------------------------|
| ch'äm | 'to receive' |
| jach' | 'to chew' |
| jak' | 'to answer' |
| jal | 'to weave', 'to braid' |
| jam | 'to open' |
| jak | 'to pull down (branch of tree)' |
| jap | 'to drink' |
| jats' | 'to hit' |
| jaw | 'to chop (firewood)' |
| jem | 'to destroy' |
| je'b | 'to take out (liquid)' |
| ji' | 'to spread (grains)' |
| jity | 'to untie' |
| joch | 'to undress' |
| joch' | 'to inject', 'to embroider' |
| jots' | 'pull up (post)' |
| jow | 'to dig' |
| jok' | 'to hoe the earth' |
| jop | 'to collect (grains)' |
| jop' | 'to try' |
| joty | 'to be able to' |
| juk' | 'to sharpen (machete)' |
| juk | 'to put in' |
| juch' | 'to grind' 'to run over' |
| jul | 'to fire' |
| juy | 'to mix' |
| kaw | 'to open (ones mouth)' |
| kañ | 'to open (ones eye)' |
| kol | 'to release' 'to free' |
| kuch | 'to carry (in the back)' |
| käch | 'to tie' |

| | |
|-------|--------------------------------|
| käm | ‘to bite’ |
| kãñ | ‘to learn’, ‘to know’ |
| käy | ‘to leave’ |
| k’ech | ‘to carry (on ones shoulders)’ |
| k’och | ‘to bend’ |
| k’ol | ‘to remove (a round object)’ |
| k’uy | ‘to twist (ones ankle)’ |
| k’ãñ | ‘to use’ |
| kuj | ‘to crush’ |
| k’aj | ‘to harvest corn’ |
| k’ex | ‘to exchange’, ‘to trade’ |
| k’ux | ‘to bite’ |
| laj | ‘to compare’ |
| lem | ‘to lick’ |
| lich’ | ‘to hang up (clothes)’ |
| lok’ | ‘to take out’ |
| loty | ‘to collect’, ‘to pick up’ |
| low | ‘to hurt’ |
| loch | ‘to warp’, ‘to bend (wood)’ |
| luk | ‘to fish’ |
| luch | ‘to serve (food or grains)’ |
| läm | ‘to finish’ |
| läp | ‘to put on (clothes)’ |
| läp’ | ‘to stick (on a wall)’ |
| läts | ‘to pile up (e.g. firewood)’ |
| läw | ‘to mend (cloth)’ |
| mos | ‘to cover’ |
| mek’ | ‘to hug’ ‘to hold (a baby)’ |
| mel | ‘to do’ |
| moch | ‘to fold in the middle’ |
| moch’ | ‘to make a fist’ |

| | |
|-------|---|
| moñ | ‘to calm a baby by rocking’ |
| mul | ‘to wet’ |
| muk | ‘to hide’ |
| muts’ | ‘to close (eyes)’ |
| mäk | ‘to cover’ |
| mäk’ | ‘to eat (fruit)’ |
| mãñ | ‘to buy’ |
| ñety | ‘to bar (a door)’ |
| ñety’ | ‘to squash’ |
| ñop | ‘to try’ |
| ñuk’ | ‘to smoke’ |
| ñup’ | ‘to close (door)’ |
| ñuts | ‘to make (a fire)’, ‘to light (a fire)’ |
| pix | ‘to wrap’ |
| pam | ‘to fill’ |
| pik | ‘to dig’ |
| pok | ‘to wash’ |
| puk | ‘to divide’ |
| puk’ | ‘to mix pozol’ |
| puch | ‘to know down (eg. a house)’ |
| päk’ | ‘to plant’, ‘to appoint to a position’ |
| päy | ‘to call’, ‘to marry’ |
| päty | ‘to do’ |
| päs | ‘to show’ |
| p’aj | ‘to scorn’ |
| p’is | ‘to measure’, ‘to weigh’ |
| sek’ | ‘to cut tree’ |
| sep’ | ‘to pinch’ |
| sap’ | ‘to drain’ |
| sety’ | ‘to cut cloth with scissors’ |
| sik’ | ‘to smell’ |

| | |
|--------|--|
| sil | ‘to rip cloth’ |
| sok | ‘to tangle up’ |
| säk’ | ‘to wash grains’ |
| säp | ‘to straighten’ |
| säts’ | ‘to stretch’ |
| säty | ‘to lose’ |
| tyech | ‘to start’ |
| tyek’ | ‘to step on’, ‘to have sexual intercourse’ |
| tyep’ | ‘to wrap’ |
| tyeñ | ‘to hit (e.g. ones hand)’ |
| tyik | ‘to untie’ |
| tyik’ | ‘to advise’ |
| tyich’ | ‘to hang up clothes’ |
| tyoch | ‘to unstick’ |
| tyom | ‘to pop (eg. a bag)’ |
| tyop’ | ‘to break (e.g. glasses)’ |
| tyoy | ‘to transmit’ |
| tyuk’ | ‘to cut (e.g. fruit)’ |
| tyuch’ | ‘to point’ |
| tyäk’ | ‘to join’, ‘to stick together’ |
| ty’och | ‘to unnailed’ |
| ty’uñ | ‘to follow’ |
| tyaj | ‘to find’, ‘to keep company’, ‘to marry’ |
| ty’ox | ‘to separate’ |
| ty’uj | ‘to serve (liquid)’ |
| tsep | ‘to cut’ |
| tsil | ‘to rip paper’ |
| tsol | ‘to put in line’ |
| tsuk’ | ‘to light’ |
| tsuts | ‘to replant’ |
| ts’oty | ‘to twist’ |

| | |
|-------|---|
| ts'u' | 'to suck' |
| ts'ul | 'to skin' |
| ts'äp | 'to stick in (fence post)' |
| ts'ej | 'to turn sideways something', 'to lean something' |
| ts'is | 'to sew' |
| wets' | 'to drive (eg. cattle)', 'to shoo (animals)' |
| wuts' | 'to wash cloth' |
| woj | 'to bark' |
| wus | 'to blow away' |
| wäj | 'to pull apart' |
| ye' | 'to hold' |
| yäp | 'to turn off', 'to erase' |
| yäts' | 'to wring out' |
| xik' | 'to built up the fire' |
| xity | 'to put upside down' |
| xoty' | 'to cut firewood' |
| xoy | 'to evade', 'to deflect' |
| xul | 'to break (branch of tree, feet)' |
| xäk' | 'to mix up' |
| xäñ | 'to follow' |
| xoj | 'to put on (clothes)' |

b. Derived transitives

| | |
|---------|---------------------------|
| ak'iñ | 'to clear (with machete)' |
| bejlañ | 'to carry' |
| buksuñ | 'to move (a stick)' |
| bä'ñañ | 'to be afraid of...' |
| chajpañ | 'to prepare' |
| cha'leñ | 'to do' |

| | |
|------------|------------------------------|
| chijtyañ | ‘to watch’ |
| chu’iñ | ‘to suckle’ |
| ch’ojch’oñ | ‘to peck at...’ |
| ch’ujbiñ | ‘to obey’ ‘to agree to...’ |
| ilañ | ‘to see’ |
| ixmañ | ‘to shell corn’ |
| jajpiñ | ‘to rub’ |
| jaxpuñ | ‘to touch’, ‘to feel’ |
| josiñ | ‘to peel’, ‘to skin (tree)’ |
| jujchiñ | ‘to plane (wood)’ |
| kipañ | ‘to pull’ |
| kojkoñ | ‘to empty’ |
| kotyañ | ‘to help’ |
| kosañ | ‘to bring up’, ‘to raise’ |
| käñtyañ | ‘to take care of’ |
| k’ajtyiñ | ‘to ask’ |
| k’ayiñ | ‘to sing’ |
| k’uxbiñ | ‘to appreciate’, ‘to value’ |
| lajchiñ | ‘to scratch’ |
| lijkañ | ‘to shake out’ |
| lo’loñ | ‘to deceive’, ‘to trick’ |
| majñañ | ‘to borrow’ |
| me’tyañ | ‘to squash’, ‘to smash’ |
| mulañ | ‘to like’ |
| mäk’lañ | ‘to feed’ |
| ñajleñ | ‘to dream’ |
| ña’tyañ | ‘to know’ |
| ñijkañ | ‘to move’, ‘to drive’ |
| ñunsañ | ‘to pass’ |
| ñäch’tyañ | ‘to listen to’ |
| pajliñ | ‘to peel (e.g. apple, tree)’ |

| | |
|------------|----------------------------------|
| pechmañ | ‘to make tortillas’ |
| pejkañ | ‘to talk to’ |
| pi’leñ | ‘to acompañy’ |
| pojpoñ | ‘to roast’ |
| pi’tyañ | ‘to wait’ |
| p’ätsañ | ‘to drop’ |
| su’beñ | ‘to say’ |
| sujkuñ | ‘to clean’ |
| säklañ | ‘to search’ |
| tyajpuñ | ‘to rub’ |
| tyempañ | ‘to gather’ |
| tyikwañ | ‘to heat up’ |
| tyujbañ | ‘to spit something’ |
| tyujk’añ | ‘to pull (with rope)’ |
| tyumiñ | ‘to give advice to...’ |
| tyujtyuñ | ‘to pluck’, ‘to choose’ |
| tyä’lañ | ‘to bother’ |
| tsajkañ | ‘to follow’ |
| tse’tyañ | ‘to laugh at...’ |
| tsäñañ | ‘to cool down’ |
| ts’a’leñ | ‘to envy’ |
| ts’ijbuñ | ‘to write’ |
| ts’ujts’uñ | ‘to kiss’ |
| ujts’iñ | ‘to smell’ |
| u’biñ | ‘to listen to’ |
| wajleñ | ‘to make fun of’ |
| wejlañ | ‘to blow on (with something)’ |
| wejtyuñ | ‘to spill (grains) accidentally’ |
| wojwoñ | ‘to bark’ |
| wujtyañ | ‘to blow on (with the mouth)’ |
| yajkañ | ‘to select’ |

yujkuñ

‘to shake (eg. a plant)’

xi’buñ

‘to comb’

xujch’iñ

‘to steal’

Numeral classifiers and measure words (Adapted from Arcos López 2009)

Numeral classifiers

| | |
|--------|--|
| bijl | ‘for objects in line’ |
| bujch | ‘for medium or big bags’ |
| bäjñ | ‘for cylindrical (not too small) and long objects’ |
| ejk | ‘for plates’ |
| jajk | ‘for branches broken off of a tree’ |
| jajp | ‘for drains’ |
| jajw | ‘for parts of objects that has been split (e.g. part of an orange)’ |
| jojw | ‘for holes’ |
| jäjł | ‘for long and flexible objects (e.g. rope)’ |
| jäjłł | ‘for people hanging (e.g. in the hammock)’ |
| kajts | ‘for crumpled cloths’ |
| kojty | ‘for four legs objects and animals and (e.g. car, horse)’ ¹ |
| k’ej | ‘for long, wide and light objects (e.g. sheet aluminum)’ |
| k’ojts | ‘for rounded and soft objects placed above one on top of the other’ |
| k’äjty | ‘for long and cylindrical object placed horizontally in the ground’ |
| lijk | ‘for long and thin objects with the end side down’ |
| lojch | ‘for curved objects’ |
| ñajch | ‘for medium rounded objects (e.g. watermelon)’ |
| pajk | ‘for folded medium-size objects (e.g. cloth or newspapers)’ |
| pajł | ‘for bunches of bananas’ |
| pejch | ‘for long and wide objects (e.g. boards)’ |
| pijty | ‘for small rounded and hard objects (e.g. marbles)’ |
| pix | ‘for wrapped objects’ |
| päjłk | ‘for tortillas folded in the middle’ |
| p’ej | ‘generic’ |

¹ In Tila Chol, this numeral classifier can be also used with nouns referring chilis.

| | |
|-----------|--|
| p'ojch | 'for cloth' |
| sejl | 'for spherical objects' |
| sijl | 'for pieces of a solid object cut symmetrically (e.g. wood or cane sugar)' |
| sojw | 'for medium size cords' |
| säjts' | 'for stretched objects' |
| säjy | 'for very flexible objects' |
| ts'ujty | 'for drops of water' |
| tyejch | 'for little bunches of bananas' |
| tyejk | 'for trees or plants' |
| tyikil | 'for humans' |
| tyojk | 'for big holes' |
| ty'ujm | 'for flexible medium-size objects' |
| wejch | 'for sheets of paper (e.g. money)' |
| wijl | 'for uniformly cylindrical wooden objects' |
| wojl | 'for medium size rounded objects (e.g. a basketball)' |
| xijp/xojp | 'for objects wrapped with paper' |
| xojty | 'for encircled thin objects (e.g. a ring)' |
| xujty' | 'for pieces of something (e.g. tortilla)' |

Measure words

| | |
|--------|---|
| bäjk' | 'objects wrapped with cloth' |
| jajl | 'armfuls' |
| jojm | 'masses of insects (e.g. bees)' |
| jojp | 'grains (e.g. coffee) piled up in the ground' |
| kujch | 'objects carried on the back' |
| k'ejch | 'objects carried on the shoulder' |
| lejch | 'liquid in a hand or in a big spoon (e.g. a soup spoon)' |
| läjts | 'boxes or bags piled up carefully' |
| mejck' | 'amount of objects (e.g. firewood) that can be carried by hand' |
| mojch' | 'amount of mass objects (e.g. sand) contained in one hand' |

| | |
|--------------|---|
| mojty/mujch' | 'a bunch or handful of grains or plants (e.g. coffee or cilantro)' |
| pejty | 'a small plot of land cultivated (mostly with corn)' |
| p'ijch | 'tortilla with food (e.g. rice or beans)' |
| p'ujch | 'dispersed objects' |
| p'ujl | 'big bunches of objects in the ground (e.g. sand, stone or firewood)' |
| tsojk' | 'objects in a net or a bag' |
| tsojl | 'wood formed in line (e.g. a fence)' |
| ts'ojty | 'times tightening (e.g. by screwing)' |
| tyejk' | 'the distance of one point to another based on steps' |
| tyujch | 'a very full bowl or basket (e.g. full of grains)' |
| sejty | 'plants that are cut and tied together with rope' |
| sujty | 'times (doing any action)' |
| sujty' | 'little bunches of plants (e.g. cilantro or green onion)' |
| säjp | 'lines' |
| yojtm | 'objects carefully piled up (e.g. firewood)' |

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