

# TZOTZIL GRAMMAR



[inside front cover]

# **TZOTZIL GRAMMAR**

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# TZOTZIL GRAMMAR

by  
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## EDITOR'S NOTE

The present monograph, Tzotzil Grammar, is the second volume in this series which treats Mayan languages, re: Mayan Studies I, #5. In contrast to #5 which offered a collection of studies on various Mayan languages, i. e., Cakchiquel, Ixil, Jacalteco, etc., Tzotzil Grammar deals only with speech form currently in use by some 65,000 speakers in the area around Huixtan, Chiapas, Mexico. Miss Marion Cowan has had ten years experience among the Huixtecos; her fluency in the idiom as well as her linguistic field work, translation, and literacy efforts in the area, has given her materials that authentic ring of mature judgment. William E. Merrifield has taken the results of Miss Cowan's studies and cast them in a linguistic model which depends upon Pike's hierarchical structures and, as well, upon the stratificational model of Lamb. The linguistic strata represented in this volume reflect the model presented at S.I.L. courses, the University of Washington, Seattle, by Mr. Merrifield and others of his colleagues.

Dow F. Robinson  
Tlalpan, Mexico  
June, 1968





## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
0. FOREWORD . . . . .	1
1. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	3
The Tzotzil Language (1.1) . . . . .	3
Illustrations (1.2) . . . . .	4
Acknowledgements (1.3). . . . .	5
Bibliographical References (1.4) . . . . .	6
2. THE CLAUSE. . . . .	9
Clause Structure (2.1) . . . . .	9
The Verb Phrase. . . . .	10
Verb Phrase Structure (2.2) . . . . .	10
The Verb . . . . .	10
Mode (2.3) . . . . .	10
Passive (2.4). . . . .	12
Perfective (2.5) . . . . .	12
Verb Stem (2.6). . . . .	12
Remainder of the Nucleus . . . . .	14
Reflexive (2.7) . . . . .	14
Pronouns and Plural (2.8) . . . . .	14
Nonnuclear Constituents . . . . .	14
Aspect (2.9) . . . . .	14
Auxiliary (2.10) . . . . .	15
Directionals (2.11) . . . . .	16
Nominal Positions (2.12) . . . . .	17
Adverbial Positions . . . . .	18
Manner Position (2.13) . . . . .	18
Locative Position (2.14) . . . . .	19
Time Position (2.15) . . . . .	20
Conditional Position (2.16). . . . .	20
Purpose-Cause Position (2.17) . . . . .	21
Vocative Position (2.18) . . . . .	22
3. SUBSETS OF STATIVE CLAUSES . . . . .	23
Question Clauses (3.1) . . . . .	23
Negation Clauses (3.2) . . . . .	28
Attention Clauses (3.3) . . . . .	31
Manner Clauses (3.4) . . . . .	32
Location Clauses (3.5) . . . . .	33
Time Clauses (3.6) . . . . .	34
Concomitance Clauses (3.7) . . . . .	34

Contingency Clauses (3.8)	35
Contrary-to-fact Clauses (3.9)	36
Sensory Clauses (3.10)	37
Quantification Clauses (3.11)	37
Numeral Clauses (3.12)	38
<b>4. SUBSETS OF NON-STATIC CLAUSES</b>	<b>43</b>
Description Clauses (4.1)	43
Permission Clauses (4.2)	45
Situation Clauses (4.3)	46
Demonstration Clauses (4.4)	47
Capability Clauses (4.5)	48
Aspectual Clauses (4.6)	48
Quotation Clauses (4.7)	49
<b>5. NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES</b>	<b>53</b>
Noun Classification	53
Unpossessable Nouns (5.1)	53
Optionally Possessed Nouns (5.2)	53
Obligatorily Possessed Nouns (5.3)	54
Classification of Nouns by Distribution (5.4)	55
Noun Phrase Structure	55
Descriptive Noun Phrases (5.5)	55
Possessed Noun Phrases (5.6)	57
Subsets of Possessed Noun Phrases	59
Associative Noun Phrases (5.7)	59
Totality Noun Phrases (5.8)	60
Accompaniment Noun Phrases (5.9)	60
Causative Noun Phrases (5.10)	61
Locative Noun Phrases (5.11)	61
Temporal Noun Phrases (5.12)	62
Possessed Nouns as Predicators (5.13)	63
<b>6. NOMINAL INFLECTION</b>	<b>65</b>
Pronouns (6.1)	65
Plural (6.2)	67
Determiner Phrases (6.3)	70
Deictic Endings (6.4)	71
<b>7. RELATOR PHRASES</b>	<b>73</b>
<u>ti</u> -Phrases (7.1)	73
<u>ʔásta</u> -Phrases (7.2)	74
<u>k'álal</u> -Phrases (7.3)	74
<u>mi</u> -Phrases (7.4)	76
<b>8. MODALS</b>	<b>79</b>
Present Continuative Phrases (8.1)	79
Perfective Phrases (8.2)	80
Past Perfective Phrases (8.3)	80

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Conclusive Phrases (8.4)	80
Limitative Phrases (8.5)	80
Emphatic Phrases (8.6)	81
Dubitative Phrases (8.7)	81
Assertative Phrases (8.8)	81
Cognitive Phrases (8.9)	82
Quotative Phrases (8.10)	82
Repetitive Phrases (8.11)	82
Adjunctive Phrases (8.12)	82
Asseverative Phrases (8.13)	83
Speculative Phrases (8.14)	83
Consequential Phrases (8.15)	83
9. APPOSITION	85
Alternative Phrases (9.1)	85
Additive Phrases (9.2)	85
10. WORD FORMATION	89
Root Classification (10.1)	89
Stem Classification (10.2)	92
Formation of Compounds (10.3)	94
Formation of Compound Radicals (10.4)	96
Derivational Suffixes	97
Intransitivizing Suffixes (10.5)	97
Transitivizing Suffixes (10.6)	100
Stativizing Suffixes (10.7)	102
Nominalizing Suffixes (10.8)	103
Non-class-changing Affixes (10.9)	107
11. MORPHOPHONEMICS	111
INDEX	117



## FOREWORD

Miss Cowan is a member of the Mexico Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), Inc. The purposes of SIL are well known, but in general they are directed toward those languages of the world not yet reduced to writing. These languages are studied, speaking ability is acquired, alphabets are established, literacy materials are prepared, and so forth. In the course of such study, which presupposes linguistic training, information is acquired concerning the structure of these languages which is of general scientific interest.

In view of the vast numbers of languages which fall within the domain of SIL concern, the difficulty of training sufficient numbers of linguistic field workers can well be appreciated. The appearance of this study of Tzotzil would seem to give testimony to a degree of success in this regard, inasmuch as Miss Cowan may be considered a typical product of the SIL training program.

This training program consists of two summers of linguistic training at one or another of its Summer Institutes. The linguistic training is supplemented by a course to prepare the field worker for primitive (rural or jungle) living conditions. Such courses are held regularly in Mexico, West Africa, and New Guinea. The training then continues in the field through an organized consultant program and system of workshops.

Miss Cowan, a Registered Nurse, began her fieldwork in Mexico after receiving her SIL linguistic training. She has since served as a staff member in the Mexico jungle camp program as well as supporting staff in one of the Summer Institutes. Before settling among the Tzotzil of Huixtán, she did literacy work among the Chol, Tzeltal, and San Andres Tzotzil. In addition to her Huixteco assignment, she is presently a literacy consultant to her colleagues working in Mayan languages.

This study is based on her initial SIL linguistic training, her speaking ability of Tzotzil, and three SIL linguistic workshops. The first of these workshops was a part of the 1961 Linguistic Institute held on the campus of the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Viola Waterhouse was her consultant at that time. The other two workshops were held in 1966 and 1967 at the SIL Centro Lingüístico Manuel Gamio in Ixmiquilpan, Mexico, where it was my privilege to direct her study.

Her grammar is framed in terms of a theory which recognizes language (and languages) as having three modes or components—as well as a means of relating the components to one another. Each component is constituted

of units which combine in restricted and hierarchical fashion. A description of one such component must inevitably include a classification of its units and a description of their patterned arrangements.

The components are conceived of as ordered in relation to one another, the syntactic component being intermediate to the other two. Two relations are thus required: that between the phonological and syntactic components, and one between the syntactic and semantic components.

The relation between units of adjacent components has been accounted for in two steps. Statements such as "A pronoun occupies Position One of the verb phrase nucleus if. . ." (6.1) serve to place units of one component (in this case the semantic component) 'in position' in the adjacent component; that is, they state the conditions under which such units are related to those of the adjacent component in particular positions within the set of patterned arrangements (or constructions) of the latter. A second set of statements such as "SUBJN is realized morphophonemically as the null element when. . ." (2.3) provide 'the spellings' for a unit of one component (in this case the syntactic component) in terms of the adjacent component.

Although framed in terms of a theory with formal and generative implications, this study of Tzotzil grammar is presented in straightforward prose (as indicated in the preceding paragraph) with a minimum of formal rules of the type so common in current studies. Miss Cowan has tried to write a grammar which someone might wish to sit down and read, a lamentably uncommon exercise even for linguists these days. An earlier and more formal statement of a portion of Tzotzil grammar using the same theoretical framework can be found in Cowan and Merrifield, 1968; and further discussion of the framework itself may be found in Merrifield, 1967.

For the most part, this study is limited to a description of the syntactic component of Tzotzil. In a few instances, however, reference is made to the semantic component and a few statements are made relating it to the syntactic component. A partial statement of the relation between the syntactic component and the phonological component is also attempted (11).

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Coordinator of Linguistic  
Research in Mexico

Centro Lingüístico Manuel Gamio  
May 8, 1968

## INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Tzotzil Language. According to McQuown (IJAL 22:191-5), the Tzotzil speak a lowland Maya language of the Tzeltalan sub-group. They live in the central mountainous region of the State of Chiapas, Mexico, and number about 65,000 speakers. There are seven main dialects of Tzotzil, all mutually intelligible to a high degree. This study is based on the eastern dialect which numbers about 8,000 speakers according to the official 1960 census. (The dialect is also referred to as Huixtec Tzotzil.)

Recent studies of Tzotzil include the following:

COWAN, Marion M.

- 1960 "The Translation of Questions into Huixteco," The Bible Translator 11:123-125.
- 1963 "Huixteco Translation Problems," The Bible Translator 14:90.
- 1965 "Exclusive-Inclusive in Huixteco Matthew," in John Beekman, Ed., Notes on Translation with Drills. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics, pp. 169-173.
- 1966 "Differences of Points of View," in Notes on Translation 20:7-11. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- 1966 "The Translation of Jew, the People, and Israel in the Book of Acts," in Notes on Translation 20:11-16. Santa Ana: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

COWAN, Marion M. and William R. MERRIFIELD

- 1968 "The Verb Phrase in Huixtec Tzotzil," Language 44:284-305.

DELGATY, Alfa.

- 1961 "Notes on Dependent Versus Independent Nouns in Tsotsil," in A William Cameron Townsend en el vigésimoquinto aniversario del Instituto Lingüístico de Verano. México, D. F., pp. 413-9.

DELGATY, Colin C.

- 1960 "Tzotzil Verb Phrase Structure," in Mayan Studies I. Norman, Okla: The Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, pp. 81-125.

JACOBS, Kenneth and Robert F. LONGACRE

- 1967 "Patterns and Rules in Tzotzil Grammar," Foundations of Language 3:325-389.

SARLES, Harvey

- 1966 A Descriptive Grammar of the Tzotzil Language as Spoken in San Bartolomé de los Llanos, Chiapas, México, Unpublished University of Chicago Doctoral Dissertation.

WEATHERS, Nadine

- 1947 "Tsotsil Phonemes with Special Reference to Allophones of B," International Journal of American Linguistics 13:108-111.  
 1950 "Morphological Analysis of a Tzotzil (Mayan) Text," International Journal of American Linguistics 16:91-98.

A major hiatus in the study of Tzotzil is a more complete analysis of the phonology than is found in Weathers, 1947. In particular, study needs to be made of such 'higher-level' phonological units as word, phrase, and so forth. In the present study seventeen consonants and five vowels are recognized:

stops: b, p, p', t, t', k, k'.  
 spirants: s, š, x.  
 liquids: l, r.  
 nasals: m, n.  
 semivowels: v, y.  
 laryngeal: ?  
 vowels: a, e, i, o, u.

The affricates c, c', č, and č' are treated here as sequences of t or t' and š or š'. This treatment simplifies the statement of phonemic realization of morphophonemes, but I prefer to reserve judgment as to their phonemic status—as units or sequences—until a more complete phonological study can be made.

In addition, two levels of stress have been noted, word stress and phrase stress. Word stress is usually indicated by an acute accent (´), and phrase stress is left unmarked. In a few cases, however, where phrase stress is particularly relevant to a grammatical form, it is marked by an acute accent and the preceding word stress is indicated by a grave accent (`). Word stresses have their source in the lexicon, all roots being stressed. Phrase stress rests on the final syllable of a phrase, but needs to be studied further before more can be said about it.

1.2. Illustrations. Illustrative material is presented in various ways throughout this study. In some cases, superscript numerals are used to key Tzotzil forms to an English gloss; in others, the portion of a longer form which is in focus is set off by square brackets ([. . .]) both in the Tzotzil and the English. Particularly in the presentation of the verb phrase, where there is a great deal of diversification of representation of both morphemes and morphophonemes, an illustration includes several levels of abstraction. The following example is typical:



bát-SECOND-ʔál-REF-IMPV-THIRD-PL 'go tell them,' bá-ʔ-ʔál-be-o-ʔ-ik, báʔálbeʔik, báʔálbeik.

The first form above is a string of Tzotzil MORPHEMES. Morphemes are indicated by full caps, with the exception of roots, which are spelt out morphophonemically. The second Tzotzil form is a string of morphophonemes. The hyphens serve only to aid the reader in identifying the relation between particular morphemes and particular strings of morphophonemes. The final two forms are phonemic; the first includes one symbol for each morphophoneme of the preceding form so that the reader may see the relation of morphophonemes to phonemes. The second includes only non-null elements. If none of the morphophonemes are realized phonemically as the null element, only one form composed of phonemes is given, as in the following example:

INCOMPL-k'ót-váy-SUBJN-SECOND 'you will arrive there to sleep',  
tš-k'ó-váy-ʔ-an, tšk'ó váy-an.

Parentheses are used in glossing a Tzotzil form either to add an English particle required to make the English idiomatic, or to delete a word which would hinder an idiomatic interpretation.

1.3. Acknowledgments. Nadine Weathers introduced me first to the Tzotzil language. Her initial instruction, and later counsel, have been of much benefit in learning and analyzing Tzotzil.

The data for this study were collected during extensive field trips in the municipios of San Andrés Larrainzar and Huixtán, Chiapas, México, from 1953-1967. The study of the Huixtán dialect was begun in 1958. Nicolás Hernández Ton (c. 32 years of age), Martín Pérez Ara (c. 55), Miguel Martínez Vásquez (c. 38), and Pedro Pérez Gómez (c. 28), all of the paraje of Yolon Basom, have, with much patience and faithful criticism, taught me to speak their language.

The present study is based on an unpublished manuscript "Morphological and Syntactic Structure of Tzotzil, San Andrés Dialect," written in 1957, at which time I received helpful suggestions from Prof. Howard Law. A later study, "Grammar of Tzotzil of Huixtán", (also unpublished) was written in 1961 at the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma, under the direction of Dr. Viola Waterhouse. The present study builds on these two, and was undertaken at two four-month seminars of the Summer Institute of Linguistics held in the fall of 1966 and 1967 at its Centro Lingüístico Manuel Gamio, Ixmiquilpan, Hidalgo, México. A more formal presentation of the verb phrase than presented here, Cowan and Merrifield (1968), was prepared at the 1966 Seminar. I am indebted to Dr. William R. Merrifield for his direction during these workshops. He has given substantial help in the analysis and presentation of the material.

Of inestimable assistance in the analysis was a Huixtec Tzotzil concordance based on a 45,914-morpheme text compilation, and produced by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, which is sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation. Illustrative material drawn from the concordance is identified by the text and sentence number assigned by the concordance program.

1.4. Bibliographical References. In addition to the articles mentioned above, the following texts and grammatical descriptions of related and unrelated languages have been helpful to me in preparing this study. I also list four Doctoral Dissertations (three below, and one above) from the Universities of Chicago and California (at Berkeley) which are relevant to this study, but which I have not been able to consult.

BAER, Phillip and William R. MERRIFIELD

1967 "Restatement of the Pronominal Series in Maya (Lacandon)," International Journal of American Linguistics 33:206-208.

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1967 The Jacalteco Language. Unpublished University of Chicago Doctoral Dissertation.

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1968 Palantla Chinantec Grammar, in Papeles de la Chinantla, Serie Científica, Mexico City: Museo Nacional (in press).

MERRIFIELD, William R. and Betty J. STOUT

1967 "Molinos Mixtec Clause Structure," Linguistics 32:58-78.

SLOCUM, Marianna C.

1948 "Tzeltal (Mayan) Noun and Verb Morphology," International Journal of American Linguistics 14:77-86.

n. d. "Tzeltal (Mayan) II: Sentence Types," ms.

WARKENTIN, Viola and Arabelle WHITTAKER

n. d. "Tumbalá Chol Clause Structure," Linguistics (in press).



## THE CLAUSE

2.1. Clause Structure. The clause is a unit of predication. It consists minimally of a PREDICATE to which NOMINAL and ADVERBIAL constituents may be added. Nominal constituents are in cross-reference with the Predicate and are, together with the Predicate, considered NUCLEAR. Adverbial constituents are NONNUCLEAR.

A clause may have as many as four nuclear constituents as well as non-nuclear ones. The nuclear constituents (in normal order) are: PREDICATE, OBJECT, INDIRECT OBJECT, and SUBJECT.

The predicate constituent of a verbal clause may be INTRANSITIVE, TRANSITIVE, or DITRANSITIVE; and is in cross-reference with the other nuclear constituents of the clause. The degree of transitivity of a clause is that of its Predicate. Thus an intransitive clause has an intransitive predicate, and so forth. The Indirect Object position may be occupied only in a ditransitive clause, and the Direct Object position may be occupied only in a transitive or ditransitive clause. The Subject position may be occupied in a clause of any degree of transitivity.

A clause may be ACTIVE or PASSIVE. In Active (a) clauses, the subject is the agent, the object is the goal, and the indirect object is the indirect goal. When Passive (p), the subject of an intransitive (i) or transitive (t) clause is the goal, and the subject of a ditransitive (d) clause is the indirect goal. In a passive intransitive clause there is only a subject (viz. the goal), and no agent may be marked. In passive transitive and ditransitive clauses the agent may be marked by the use of an associative noun phrase, and may be considered to fill the object and indirect object positions, respectively, whose normal occupants have vacated to subject position. (Some may prefer to consider these positions 'Agent' position; but regardless of the name, the nominal positions are the same in number for both passive and active clauses of the same degree of transitivity.) Since the agent of a passive clause is uniquely marked as an associative noun phrase, its linear order is not as rigidly fixed as other nominals.

ai: 1ináki 2ti<sub>3</sub> vfnik<sub>4</sub>e. '2The <sub>3</sub>man <sub>4</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>sat down.'

pi: 1nákal 2ti<sub>3</sub> vfnik<sub>4</sub>e. '2The <sub>3</sub>man <sub>4</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>is seated.'

at: 1lá 2snákan 3ti<sub>4</sub> vfnik<sub>5</sub>e 6ti<sub>7</sub> xpétul<sub>8</sub>e. '6(The) <sub>7</sub>Peter <sub>8</sub>(remote) <sub>1,2</sub>seated <sub>3</sub>the <sub>4</sub>man <sub>5</sub>(remote).'

pt: 1inákanat 2ti<sub>3</sub> vfnik<sub>4</sub>e 5yú 6un 7ti<sub>8</sub> xpétul<sub>9</sub>e. '2The <sub>3</sub>man <sub>4</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>was seated <sub>5</sub>by <sub>6</sub>(the) <sub>7</sub>Peter <sub>8</sub>(remote).'

ad: 1lax 2yák'be 3ʔsim 4ti<sub>5</sub> vfnik<sub>6</sub>e 7ti<sub>8</sub> xpétul<sub>9</sub>e. '7(The) <sub>8</sub>Peter <sub>9</sub>(remote) <sub>1,2</sub>gave <sub>4</sub>the <sub>5</sub>man <sub>6</sub>(remote) <sub>3</sub>corn.'

pd:  $\text{}_1\text{?á'k'bat } \text{}_2\text{?fšim } \text{}_3\text{ti}_4\text{vfnik}_5\text{e } \text{}_6\text{yú?un } \text{}_7\text{ti}_8\text{xpétul}_9\text{e. } \text{}'_3\text{The } \text{}_4\text{man } \text{}_5\text{(remote)}$   
 $\text{}_1\text{was given } \text{}_2\text{corn } \text{}_6\text{by } \text{}_7\text{(the)} \text{}_8\text{Peter } \text{}_9\text{(remote).}'$

Nonnuclear constituents are MANNER, LOCATIVE, TIME, CONDITION, PURPOSE-CAUSE, and VOCATIVE. The normal order of nonnuclear constituents in relation to one another and to the nuclear constituents is:

PRED, Ma, NOM, Loc, Time, Cond, P-C, Voc

More than three nonnuclear constituents rarely occur in the same clause.

$\text{}_1\text{tšaxtóxbot } \text{}_2\text{lf? } \text{}_3\text{ti}_4\text{tšánib } \text{}_5\text{?ú}_6\text{i. } \text{}'_1\text{I will pay it to you } \text{}_2\text{here } \text{}_3\text{in } \text{}_4\text{four } \text{}_5\text{months}$   
 $\text{}_6\text{(immediate).}'$  (NM616)

$\text{}_1\text{?á'lbun } \text{}_2\text{tá'lel } \text{}_3\text{mi}_4\text{lék. } \text{}'_1\text{Tell me } \text{}_2\text{coming } \text{}_3\text{if } \text{}_4\text{it is good (i. e., Tell me (by}$   
 $\text{}_1\text{letter) if it is O. K.)}'$  (NM289)

$\text{}_1\text{xá'mal,me } \text{}_3\text{tšavá'lbun } \text{}_4\text{yú?un } \text{}_5\text{xétš } \text{}_6\text{tixtóx } \text{}_7\text{kó?nton. } \text{}'_1\text{It is open } \text{}_2\text{(emphatic)}$   
 $\text{}_3\text{you will tell it to me } \text{}_4\text{so that } \text{}_5\text{it is thus } \text{}_6\text{I will pay } \text{}_7\text{my heart (i. e., Tell}$   
 $\text{}_1\text{me plainly so that thus I will be satisfied).}'$  (NM618)

### 2.2-2.11 The Verb Phrase

The predicate position of a clause is occupied by a verb phrase. The verb phrase is discussed in detail in the following sections; this is followed by a brief discussion of the forms which occupy Nominal and Adverbial Positions of the Clause.

**2.2. Verb Phrase Structure.** The constituents of the verb phrase are ASPECT, AUXILIARY, NUCLEUS, and DIRECTIONAL. The nucleus of the verb phrase consists of PRONOUNS, PLURAL markers, REFLEXIVE, and VERB. The verb consists of a VERB STEM which may be inflected for PERFECTIVE, REFERENTIAL, PASSIVE, or MODE.

VP = (ASP) (AUX) NUC (DIR)  
 NUC = (PN<sup>1</sup>) (PN<sup>2</sup>) V (REFL) (PL<sup>2</sup>) (PN<sup>3</sup>) (PL<sup>1</sup>)  
 V = VS (PERF) (REF) (PASS) (MODE)

The following description will focus first on the verb, then on the remainder of the nucleus, and finally on the nonnuclear constituents of the phrase.

### 2.3-2.6 The Verb

**2.3. Mode.** There are two modes: INDICATIVE and INJUNCTIVE, and

two morphemes of mode: IMPERATIVE (IMPV) and SUBJUNCTIVE (SUBJN). Injunctive mode is related to morphemes in the following complex way:

(1) When an injunctive clause is the subject of a negative clause, the negative verb mú is modified by the modal me and the Verb Phrase of the injunctive clause is timeless (TLESS).

mú-me-TLESS-THIRD-SECOND-pás-THIRD 'don't do it,' mú-me-š-β-av-pás-∅, múmešavpás, múme šavpás.  
mú-me-TLESS-THIRD-bát 'he is not to go,' mú-me-š-β-bát, múme šbát.

(2) Otherwise, when the injunctive clause is a stative or has an inclusive person subject, its verb is subjunctive.

lék-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-THIRD 'may it be good,' lék-∅-∅-uk-∅, lékuk,  
kól-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-FIRST 'may I have been freed,' kól-em-∅-uk-un,  
kólemukun.  
INCL-pás-SUBJN-THIRD-PL 'let's do it,' k-pás-∅-∅-tik, xpástik.  
INCL-?ábtex-SUBJN-PL 'let's work,' ∅-?ábtex-∅-ukutik, ?ábtexukutik.

(3) Otherwise, the injunctive clause has a second person subject and its verb is imperative.

SECOND-mfl-REF-IMPV-THIRD 'kill it for him,' β-mfl-be-o-∅, mflbβo,  
mflbo.  
kóm-IMPV-SECOND 'stay', kóm-o-an, kóman.

When a verb is either imperative or subjunctive, a pronoun occurs in position three, but none occurs in position one. SUBJN is realized morphophonemically as the null element when flanked by an intransitive verb stem and SECOND, or with an active nonperfective transitive verb stem. Otherwise, it is realized as uk. IMPV is realized as o.

COMPL-tál-vé?-SUBJN-SECOND 'you came and ate,' β-tál-vé?-β-an,  
tál vé?an.  
mú-TLESS-THIRD-SECOND-?ák'-THIRD 'you don't give it,' mú-š-β-av-?ák'-∅,  
múšavšák', mú šavák'.  
mú-vé?-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-FIRST 'I have not eaten,' mú-vé?-em-∅-uk-un,  
mú vé?emukun.  
?óy-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-THIRD 'may there be,' ?óy-∅-∅-uk-∅, ?óyuk.  
SECOND-k'él-IMPV-THIRD 'look at it,' ∅-k'él-o-∅, k'élo.  
yál-IMPV-SECOND 'descend', yál-o-an, yálβan, yálan.

Indicative clauses never have imperative verbs, but do have subjunctive verbs in a few specifiable cases. These are specified elsewhere in this study; but for purposes of illustration, two cases are cited here; viz., the verb of an indicative clause is subjunctive if either (1) an auxiliary verb is present, or (2) the verb is perfective and the clause occupies the subject of a negation clause.

INCOMPL-k'ót-ʔábtex-SUBJN-FIRST 'I shall arrive and work,' tš-k'ó-ʔábtex-uk-un, tšk'ó ʔábtexukun.  
mú-FIRST-t'šám-PERF-REF-SUBJN-THIRD 'I have not received it for him,' mú-k-t'šám-ox-be-uk-Ø, múxt'šámoxbØuk, múx t'šámoxbuk.

**2.4. Passive.** A clause is ACTIVE if its agent is its subject; it is PASSIVE if its goal is its subject. The verb of a passive clause has as part of its realization the morpheme PASS. There is no overt morpheme to indicate a verb is active.

PASS is realized morphophonemically as the null element when following a stative verb stem, as at when following a nonperfective transitive verb stem, and as R1 when following a perfective transitive verb stem.

mól-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am old,' mól-Ø-Ø-un, mólun.  
COMPL-FIRST-máx-PASS 'I was hit,' n-i-máx-at, nimáxat.  
tšáp-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am prepared,' tšáp-Ø-R1-un, tšápalun.

**2.5. Perfective.** An indicative verb phrase is TIMELESS, INCOMPLETE, COMPLETIVE, or PERFECTIVE. Of these four aspects, the first three relate to the morpheme class ASP. Since ASP is nonnuclear, it is discussed further below (2.9). Perfective aspect relates to PERF, which is realized morphophonemically as the null element in the presence of PASS, and otherwise as em after an intransitive verb stem, and as ox after a transitive verb stem. As in the case of SUBJN and IMPV mentioned above, when PERF is present, a pronoun must occur in position three but may not occur in position one.

nák-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am seated,' nák-Ø-R1-un, nákalun.  
vé?-PERF-FIRST 'I have eaten,' vé?-em-un, vé?emun.  
THIRD-tšón-PERF-THIRD 'he has sold it,' y-tšón-ox-Ø, stšónox.

**2.6. Verb Stem.** In the verb phrase, a pronoun may stand in any of three relations to the verb: agent, goal, or referent. The first two of these relations are semantic primitives; the last is not. The last may be either the indirect goal or the possessor of the (direct) goal, with the restriction that it not also be the agent.



láx ₂aták[be] ₃anft'šon. '₁,₂ You sent ₃your son ₂[to him].'  
láx ₂atfk'[be] ₃svákaš. '₁,₂ You enclosed ₃[his] cattle.'

An active intransitive clause is based on intransitive verb stems.

INCOMPL-SECOND-?átin 'you will bathe,' tš-a-?átin, tša?átin,  
COMPL-FIRST-náki 'I sat down,' n-i-náki, nináki.

An intransitive clause which is perfective and passive is a STATIVE clause. A stative clause is based on perfective passive transitive verb stems, or on stative verb stems (stative stems and noun stems) which behave syntactically like perfective passive transitive stems, and are therefore considered always to occur with the morphemes PERF and PASS when in the nucleus of a verb phrase.

xóm-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is perforated,' xóm-Ø-Rl-Ø, xómol.  
tšáp-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am prepared,' tšáp-Ø-Rl-un, tšápalun.

A transitive clause is based on a transitive verb stem.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-?ák'-THIRD 'I'll give it,' tš-Ø-k-?ák'-Ø,  
tškØák', tškák'.  
COMPL-THIRD-SECOND-tá-THIRD 'you found it,' i-Ø-av-tá-Ø, Ø-a-tá,  
atá.

If a transitive clause is both perfective and passive, its verb is referential (i. e., inflected as though there were a referent). REF is realized morphophonemically as be.

xám-PERF-REF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been opened,' xám-Ø-be-Rl-Ø,  
xámbeØil, xámbil.  
pás-PERF-REF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been made,' pás-Ø-be-Rl-Ø,  
pásbeØil, pásbil.

A referential clause has a transitive verb stem and REF. Since a transitive clause that is both perfective and passive requires REF, a referential clause may not be both perfective and passive.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-ʔál-REF-THIRD 'I shall tell it to him,' tš-β-k-ʔál-be-∅, tškʔálbe, tškálbe.

INCOMPL-FIRST-THIRD-xák'-REF-FIRST 'he will ask it of me,' tš-i-y-xák'-be-un, tšisxák'bʊn, tšisxák'bun.

### 2.7-2.8 Remainder of the Nucleus

2.7. Reflexive. A clause is REFLEXIVE if the same referent is both its agent and its goal. This is marked grammatically by the occurrence of REFL which consists of a pronoun of position two and the reflexive noun bá.

INCOMPL-FIRST-tšón-FIRST-bá 'I'll hire myself out,' tš-k-tšón-k-bá, tixtšón x bá.

INCOMPL-THIRD-mfl-THIRD-bá 'he'll kill himself,' tš-y-mfl-y-bá, tsmfl sbá.

2.8. Pronouns and Plural. There are four personal pronouns, and three positions which they occupy in the verb phrase nucleus. The Plural morpheme may occupy one of two positions. These are described in 6.1 and 6.2.

### 2.9-2.11 Nonnuclear Constituents

2.9. Aspect. There are four aspects in Huixtec: TIMELESS, INCOMPLETE, COMPLETIVE, and PERFECTIVE. Perfective aspect has been discussed above. The remaining three aspects are members of the class ASP: TLESS (timeless), INCOMPL (Incompletive) and COMPL (completive).

TLESS is realized morphophonemically as š and INCOMPL as tš.

TLESS-THIRD-FIRST-ʔóxtikin-THIRD 'I know him,' š-β-k-ʔóxtikin-∅, škʔóxtikin, škóxtikin.

TLESS-SECOND-bát 'you go,' š-a-bát, šabát.

INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-ʔák'-REF-THIRD 'you will give it to him,' tš-β-av-ʔák'-be-∅, tšavʔák'be, tšavák'be.

INCOMPL-FIRST-kóm 'I shall stay,' tš-i-kóm, tšikóm.

COMPL is realized morphophonemically as š when the clause is the subject of a negation clause, and otherwise as n preceding FIRST, SECOND, or INCL, as i preceding THIRD, and as the null element preceding AUX.

mú-SUBJN-COMPL-FIRST-tál 'I didn't come,' mú-uk-š-i-tál, mú∅kšítál, múk šítál.

COMPL-FIRST-ʔán 'I was born,' n-i-ʔán, niʔán.

COMPL-SECOND-ʔátin 'you bathed,' n-a-ʔátin, naʔátin.

COMPL-INCL-yál-ukutik 'we (incl) descended,' n-ix-yál-ukutik,  
nixyálukutik.

COMPL-THIRD-t'šáy 'he got lost,' i-Ø-t'šáy, it'šáy.

COMPL-tál-THIRD-ʔŋ'-SUBJN-THIRD 'he came and took her,' Ø-tál-y-  
ʔŋ'-Ø-Ø, tál yŋk'.

2.10. Auxiliary. AUX is a subclass of intransitive verb stems which may modify a nuclear verb. There are eight auxiliaries: tál 'come', bát 'go', ʔáy 'go and return', xúl 'arrive home', k'ót 'arrive away from home', ŋk 'begin', lax 'finish', and ʔét'š 'pass by'.

Auxiliaries differ from directionals (below) in not being in simultaneous temporal order with the nuclear verb. There is a syntactic limitation that an auxiliary may not occur with a perfective nuclear verb. As mentioned above, the nuclear verb of an indicative clause is subjunctive when an auxiliary is present.

INCOMPL-lax-ʔábtex-SUBJN-FIRST 'I shall finish working,' tš-lax-  
ʔábtex-uk-un, tšlax ʔábtexukun.

COMPL-xúl-ʔák'-REF-PASS-SUBJN-FIRST 'I arrived home and was given it,' Ø-xúl-ʔák'-be-at-uk-un, xúlʔák'bØatukun, xúl ʔák'batukun.

Three of the auxiliary stems have special morphophonemic realization when modifying a nuclear verb: bát becomes bá, ʔáy becomes ʔá, k'ót becomes k'ó. A fourth, tál, has a special realization láʔ when followed by IMPV, either as auxiliary or nuclear verb.

COMPL-ʔáy-THIRD-k'él-SUBJN-THIRD 'He went there and saw it and returned,' Ø-ʔá-y-k'él-Ø-Ø, ʔá sk'él.

INCOMPL-k'ót-váy-SUBJN-SECOND 'you will arrive there to sleep,'  
tš-k'ó-váy-Ø-an, tšk'ó váyan.

If the nuclear verb is imperative, of the auxiliaries only tál 'come' or bát 'go' may occur.

tál-SECOND-pás-IMPV-THIRD 'come do it,' láʔ-Ø-pás-o-Ø, láʔ pás-o.

bát-SECOND-ʔál-REF-IMPV-THIRD-ik 'go tell them,' bá-Ø-ʔál-be-o-Ø-  
ik, báʔálbeØik, bá ʔálbeik.

The following forms which appear to include an injunctive auxiliary and an indicative main verb are treated as two successive verb phrases each.

1lá 2xpétot. '1Come, 2let me pick you up.'  
1lá 2ʔótšukutik. '1Come, 2let's enter.'

**2.11. Directionals.** A directional event is an intransitive event which modifies a nuclear event and is in simultaneous temporal order with it.

The DIRECTIONAL constituent of the verb phrase consists of one or two DIRECTIONAL NOUNS. A directional noun is either a double-function root (10.1) which functions both as an intransitive verb stem and directional noun without derivational affixation, or an intransitive verb stem with nominalizing suffix el (10.8).

Directional nouns fall into two sets on the basis of their position when two nouns occur together. The classification is tentative and subject to further investigation.

DIR = (Dir<sup>1</sup>) (Dir<sup>2</sup>)

Nouns which may occupy Dir<sup>1</sup> are: yálel 'descending', múel 'ascending', sútel 'returning', kómel 'remaining', xólel 'arriving home', k'ótel 'arriving away from home', lók'el 'exiting', ʔótšel 'entering', ʔét'šel 'passing by'.

1ʔótš 2kómel 3ti4tšúkel. '1He entered 2remaining 3in 4jail.' (AJ033)  
1lá 2sténik 3ʔótšel 4ti5náb. '1,2They threw him 3entering 4into 5deep water.'  
 (DB010)

Nouns which may occupy both Dir<sup>1</sup> and Dir<sup>2</sup> are: tál 'coming', and bátel 'going'.

1kft'štik 2ša 3lók'el 4tál. '1Let's bring it 2now 3exiting 4coming (i. e., Let's bring it out here now).' (PP062)  
1lá 2skútš 3múel 4bátel. '1,2He carried it 3up 4going.'

When tál occupies the Dir<sup>1</sup> position, it may or may not occur with derivational affixation.

1k'úsi 2ʔóra 3tšasút 4tál. '1What 2time 3will you return 4coming (i. e., When will you return here)?' (NL109)  
1xétš 2yù 3ún 3nixkól 4tálel. '2Because of this, 1it is thus 3we were freed 4coming (i. e., For that reason we were freed to come).' (PP121)

Three nouns may occupy *Dir*<sup>1</sup> without derivational affixation: *yál* 'descending', *sút* 'returning', and *lók'* 'exiting'. They are always followed by *tál*.

- tštál* <sub>2</sub>*snft* <sub>3</sub>*yál* <sub>4</sub>*tál* <sub>5</sub>*ti* <sub>6</sub>*smé* <sub>7</sub>*e*. 'Coming <sub>2</sub>they pull <sub>3</sub>down <sub>4</sub>coming <sub>5</sub>(the) <sub>6</sub>their mother <sub>7</sub>(remote) (i. e., They come and pull their mother down to where they are).' (DB029)
- tšatákun* <sub>2</sub>*sút* <sub>3</sub>*tál* <sub>4</sub>*sk'éšol*. 'You will send to me <sub>2</sub>returning <sub>3</sub>coming <sub>4</sub>its answer (i. e., You will send back here to me the answer).' (NL053)
- itšá* <sub>2</sub>*kuši* <sub>2</sub>*lók'* <sub>3</sub>*tál*. 'He came to life again <sub>2</sub>exiting <sub>3</sub>coming (i. e., He came to life again and came out of the grave).' (X2. 116)

### 2.12 Nominal Positions

The Nominal Positions of most clauses may be occupied by a clause, a noun phrase, or any form which may occupy a noun phrase position. Restricted subsets of clauses may also have prepositional phrases as nominals. Words that may occupy these positions include possessed and unpossessed nouns and various classes of statives.

- yáxem* [<sub>2</sub>*sxól*]. '[<sub>2</sub>His head] <sub>1</sub>has been wounded.' (MC025)
- lá* <sub>2</sub>*xpás* [<sub>3</sub>*póš*]. '<sub>1</sub> <sub>2</sub>I made [<sub>3</sub>liquor].' (F2. 132)
- lax* <sub>2</sub>*avák*'*bun* [<sub>3</sub>*xmfi*]. '<sub>1</sub> <sub>2</sub>You gave me [<sub>3</sub>a thousand].'

Phrases which may occupy nominal positions include Determined Noun Phrases, Descriptive Noun Phrases, Possessed Noun Phrases, *ti*-Phrases, and Conditional Phrases.

- tškák*'*be* [<sub>2</sub>*ti* <sub>3</sub>*spóšil* <sub>4</sub>*e*]. '<sub>1</sub>I will give him [<sub>2</sub>(the) <sub>3</sub>his medicine <sub>4</sub>(remote)].' (NM430)
- tákun* <sub>2</sub>*tálel* [<sub>3</sub>*yán* <sub>4</sub>*ták'in*]. '<sub>1</sub>Send me <sub>2</sub>coming [<sub>3</sub>more <sub>4</sub>money].' (NM385)
- xétš* <sub>2</sub>*ik*'*ásbat* [<sub>3</sub>*sk'ób* <sub>4</sub>*ti* <sub>5</sub>*bóloom* <sub>6</sub>*e*]. '<sub>1</sub>It is thus <sub>2</sub>it was broken [<sub>3</sub>his paw <sub>4</sub>the tiger <sub>6</sub>(remote)] (i. e., It was in this way the tiger's paw was broken).' (NT007)
- mú* [<sub>2</sub>*ti* <sub>3</sub>*svéntauk* <sub>4</sub>*stúkik*]. '<sub>1</sub>It is not [<sub>2</sub>on <sub>3</sub>their account <sub>4</sub>they alone] (i. e., It is not on their account alone).' (X1. 098)
- mú* <sub>2</sub>*xmá* <sub>3</sub>*uk* [<sub>4</sub>*mi* <sub>5</sub>*tš* <sub>6</sub>*ábtex*]. '<sub>1</sub>It is not <sub>2</sub>I know <sub>3</sub>also [<sub>4</sub>if <sub>5</sub>he works] (i. e., Neither do I know if he is working).' (NM065)

A significant limitation in what may occupy a nominal position is that the agent of a passive clause may only be a possessed noun phrase based on the associative stem *ú*'*un*.

1mú 2lékuk 3i'ʔlat [4yúʔun 5ti<sub>6</sub>sbáŋkil<sub>7</sub>e]. 'It is not <sub>2</sub>it be good <sub>3</sub>he was seen [<sub>4</sub>by <sub>5</sub>(the) <sub>6</sub>his older brother <sub>7</sub>(remote)] (i. e., He was not liked by his older brother). ' (AJ005)

Various subsets of clauses have been defined below on the basis of the kinds of clauses which may occupy their nominal positions. The following examples illustrate a clause in subject position and in object position, respectively.

1xáʔ 2lék [3ʔák'o 4sútuk 5sták'in]. 'That is it: <sub>2</sub>it is good [<sub>3</sub>let it <sub>4</sub>it be returned <sub>5</sub>his money] (i. e., It's best that his money be returned). ' (NM052)

1mú 2xáʔtik [3mi<sub>4</sub>tšixtšápa<sub>x]. 'It is not <sub>2</sub>we know [<sub>3</sub>if <sub>4</sub>we'll be arranged] (i. e., We don't know if it will be settled for us). ' (PP171)</sub>

The forms which occupy nominal positions are diagnostic of clause subsets, and further description of their distribution is given in chapters 3 and 4, where subsets of clauses are introduced and illustrated.

## 2.13-2.18 Adverbial Positions

2.13. The Manner Position. The Manner constituent gives information regarding such notions as mode, degree, means, material, and instrument. It normally occurs immediately following the predicator, and may be a stative verb or a ti-phrase.

1lá 2xpás [3ti<sub>4</sub>ʔánil]. 'I did it [<sub>3</sub>in <sub>4</sub>a hurry]. ' (NM548)

1tšlɪk 2kálbot [3k'únk'un]. 'I will begin <sub>2</sub>to tell it to you [<sub>3</sub>slowly] (i. e., I will gradually begin to tell it to you). ' (AB041)

1mú<sub>2</sub>to 3štóxob 4kúʔun [5lék 6ti<sub>7</sub>xún<sub>8</sub>e]. 'It is not <sub>2</sub>still <sub>3</sub>it becomes straight <sub>4</sub>by me [<sub>5</sub>well] <sub>6</sub>the <sub>7</sub>paper <sub>8</sub>(remote) (i. e., I don't know how to read and write well yet). ' (MS085)

1tixpástik [2tsóts]. 'We will do it [<sub>2</sub>hard] (i. e., We will persevere). ' (F2.195)

1tšúkul [2ti<sub>3</sub>karéna 4ták'in]. 'He is tied [<sub>2</sub>with (a) <sub>4</sub>metal <sub>3</sub>chain]. ' (WP007)

1pásbilun [2ti<sub>3</sub>t'súbilum]. 'I have been made [<sub>2</sub>of <sub>3</sub>dust]. ' (MP023)

The base of several idiomatic expressions is a ti-phrase in the manner position.

- ik'ót [<sub>2</sub>ti<sub>3</sub>pásel]. 'It arrived [<sub>2</sub>by <sub>3</sub>being done] (i. e., It took place, it happened). ' (F2. 202)
- lax 2yák' [<sub>3</sub>ti<sub>4</sub>k'élel]. '1,2He gave it [<sub>3</sub>by <sub>4</sub>being looked at] (i. e., He showed it). '
- tšispásun [<sub>2</sub>ti<sub>3</sub>mántal]. '1He does me [<sub>2</sub>by <sub>3</sub>a command] (i. e., He commands me). ' (F2. 094)

**2.14. The Locative Position.** The Locative constituent of a clause occurs most frequently following the predicate, but may also occur following the nominals. If both Locative and Time constituents occur, Locative precedes Time.

- PL: tštún [<sub>2</sub>l'f<sub>3</sub>to]. 'It is useful [<sub>2</sub>here <sub>3</sub>still]. ' (NM542)
- PL: tšit'sfbax [<sub>2</sub>ti<sub>3</sub>kast'ya]. 'I will write [<sub>2</sub>in <sub>3</sub>Spanish]. ' (CL078)
- POL: tšbá 2stš' [<sub>2</sub>in <sub>3</sub>xpétul [<sub>4</sub>ti<sub>5</sub>x'téklum]. '1Going <sub>2</sub>he will accompany <sub>3</sub>Peter [<sub>4</sub>to <sub>5</sub>town] (i. e., He will go and accompany Peter to town. '
- PSLT: 1'óp 2ti<sub>3</sub>púkux [<sub>4</sub>l'f<sub>5</sub>]. ti<sub>6</sub>vó'one. '1Many <sub>2</sub>the <sub>3</sub>devils [<sub>4</sub>here] <sub>5</sub>in <sub>6</sub>the past (i. e., There were many devils here in the past). ' (DB032)

A Locative constituent may be a word, a phrase, a question clause based on bú 'where', or a clause based on yó' whose subject is a bú clause. Words which may occupy this position include only locative statives.

- 1'ák'o 2táluk [<sub>3</sub>l'f<sub>4</sub>to]. '1Let it <sub>2</sub>may he come [<sub>3</sub>here <sub>4</sub>still] (i. e., Let him come here). ' (AJ041)
- 1'óy 2k'úsi 3lax 4yfl 5ti<sub>6</sub>lókto [<sub>7</sub>té]. '1There is <sub>2</sub>what <sub>5</sub>the <sub>6</sub>doctor <sub>3,4</sub>saw [<sub>7</sub>there] (i. e., The doctor saw something there). ' (NM513)
- 1bát 2yó' [<sub>3</sub>bú 4pfnka 5'uk<sub>6</sub>e]. '1He went <sub>2</sub>to the same place [<sub>3</sub>where <sub>4</sub>a coffee ranch is <sub>5</sub>also <sub>6</sub>(remote)]. ' (AB136)

The only phrases which may occupy the Locative position are locative relator phrases based on ti 'in, at, to, by, through, into, on' or k'alal 'as far as'. Of these, ti-phrases are the most common.

- 1'ótš [<sub>2</sub>ti<sub>3</sub>tšúkel] 4ti<sub>5</sub>xún<sub>6</sub>e. '4The <sub>5</sub>one <sub>6</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>entered [<sub>2</sub>(into) <sub>3</sub>prison]. ' (AJ032)
- 1'it'šbun 2xk'óp 3tšé' 4e [<sub>5</sub>k'alal 6vfnaxel]. '3So <sub>4</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>hear <sub>2</sub>my words [<sub>5</sub>as far as <sub>6</sub>heaven]. ' (MP088)

When occupying the Locative position of a clause, a question clause based on bú 'where' functions as a relative clause. It may or may not be determined (Cf. 6.3).

1láx<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub> stáukutik [4bú<sub>5</sub> ?óyukutik<sub>6</sub>to]. '1,3He has found us 2now [4where 5we are 6still].' (X2.255)

1té2ša<sub>3</sub> tálem [4ti<sub>5</sub> bú<sub>6</sub> ?óyot<sub>7</sub>e]. '1It is there 2now 3he has come [4the 5where 6you are 7(remote)] (i. e., He has already come there where you are).' (NM098)

**2.15. The Time Position.** The Time constituent of a clause occurs most frequently following the predicate, but may also occur following the manner, locative, or nominal constituents.

PMT: 1iláx<sub>2</sub> ti<sub>3</sub> pák'eI [4náš]. '1It was finished 2by 3mudding [4today] (i. e., They finished mudding it today).' (NM573)

PT: 1tixpás [2ti<sub>3</sub> máyo]. '1I will do it [2in 3May].' (YW003)

POT: 1tixk'élitk<sub>2</sub> yán<sub>3</sub> sénya [4?ók'om]. '1We will look at 2another 3sign [4tomorrow] (i. e., We will look at other pictures tomorrow).' (X1.197)

PLT: 1šibát<sub>2</sub> ti<sub>3</sub> xóbel [4?ók'om]. '1I will go 2to 3Las Casas [4tomorrow].' (NM378)

A Time constituent may be a word, a phrase, or a clause. Words are restricted to temporal statives.

1šitál [2sób]. '1I will come [2early].'

1šaxk'óponot [2?ók'om]. '1I will talk to you [2tomorrow].' (AB236)

The only phrases which may occupy the Time position are temporal re-lator phrases, based on ti 'at, in, on', k'álal 'when', and ?ásta 'until'. Of these ti- and k'álal-phrases are the most common.

1tixkútšutik<sub>2</sub> sf? [3ti<sub>4</sub> xóxun<sub>5</sub> máIk'ak'al<sub>6</sub>e]. '1We carry 2firewood [3(on) 4each 5afternoon 6(remote)].' (EW002)

1ikfl [2k'álal<sub>3</sub> bík'itun<sub>4</sub>to<sub>5</sub>e]. '1I saw him [2when 3I was small 4still 5(remote)].' (MC045)

1xétš<sub>2</sub> lá<sub>3</sub> xpástutik [4?ásta<sub>5</sub> nilók'tutik<sub>6</sub> ti<sub>7</sub> ?iskuéla]. '1It was thus 2,3we did [4until 5we came out 6of 7school] (i. e., That's what we did until we left off going to school).' (CL031)

1šatál [2k'álal<sub>3</sub> ti<sub>4</sub> xó?laxuneb<sub>5</sub> k'ák'al]. '1You come [2(when) 3in 4fifteen 5days].' (NM070)

**2.16. The Conditional Position.** The Conditional constituent of the clause normally follows Location and Time constituents and precedes Purpose-Cause constituents, but very frequently it is permuted to the left of the predicator. When permuted, its clause may occupy the subject position of a



manner clause based on xétš 'thus'. The Conditional constituent is always a mi-phrase (7. 4).

1tšábanuk [2mi3kúšul4to5e]. 'Greet her [2if 3she is living 4still 5(remote)].' (NM479)

1tšakálbot 2yán 3ló?il [4mi5lék 6tšavá?i]. 'I will tell you 2another 3story [4if 5good 6you hear them] (i. e., I will tell you another story if you like).' (NM054)

1tsókes 2xóltik [3mi4tškút'stik 5ti6póš?e] 6yú?un 8tšix?lin. 'It puts out of order 2our heads [3if 4we drink 5(the) 6liquor 7(remote)] 8because 9we become angry (i. e., We can't think right if we drink liquor because we become angry).' (F2. 130)

1xétš 2yú?ún [3mi4lax 5ká?i 6ti7k'usi 8tšál?e] 10tšakálbot 11ti12yán 13véлта. 'Because of this, 1it is thus its cause [3if 4, 5I heard 6(the) 7what 8he says 9(remote)] 10I will tell it to you 11(at) 12another 13time (i. e., Therefore if I hear what he says I'll tell you next time).' (NM122)

2.17. The Purpose-Cause Position. The Purpose-Cause constituent of a clause occurs most frequently following nominals or the predicator. It often occurs final in the clause and may be occupied by one of two Causative possessed noun phrases (5. 10), or the Associative noun phrase (5. 7).

1xétš 2stálel 3skótol 4k'ák'al [5skóx 6ti7múllil?e]. 'It is thus 2their nature 3their allness 4days [5its bad cause 6(the) 7error 8(remote)] (i. e., They are like that all the time because of error).' (F2. 083)

1šú? 2kú?untik [3ti4svénta 5ti6xt'šúltotik?e]. 'It is able 2by us [3(the) 4his good cause 5(the) 6our supernatural father 7(remote)] (i. e., We can do it because of our supernatural father).'

1tšaxk'óponot 2ti3kárta [4yú?un 5xtšámel 6ti7kaxnil?e]. 'I will talk to you 2by 3letter [4because 6(the) 7my wife 8(remote) 5is sick].' (NM495)

1?álbun [2yú?un3xétš 4tixná? 5k'úsi 6tšiták'av]. 'Tell me [2so that 3thus 4I will know 5what 6I will answer].'

When yú?un occurs alone in the P-C position of a Manner Clause based on xétš 'thus', it receives phrase stress on its final syllable and has reference to a preceding form with a sense equivalent to English 'therefore'.

1xétš 2yú?ún. . . 'Because of this, 1it is thus (that). . .

When a subjunctive clause occupies the Purpose-Cause position of the clause, it immediately follows the predicator.

1xák'bo [2avá?i] 3k'úsi 4tšál?e. 'Ask him [(so) 2you hear] 3what 4he says 5(remote).' (AB170)

avókoluk nópo [ká'itik]. 'Please think about it [(so) we hear].' (NM220)  
k'élo [avŋ] sk'an smétsambel smákte?. 'Look at it [(so) you see] she  
 wants its having been made for him his fence (i. e., Look at that, he  
 wants a fence made for him).' (PP440)

**2.18. The Vocative Position.** The Vocative constituent of the clause normally occurs clause final, but may also be permuted to first or second position. First position in the clause gives the greatest degree of emphasis. Vocative statives, nouns and names, singly or in series, may occupy the Vocative position.

PV: bátik [šlél]. 'Let's go, [Manuela].'

PGV: xt'šámuntik kák'tik anénebotš e [xbánil všin]. 'Come on, let  
 us borrow your nice little gourd (remote), [older brother, older sis-  
 ter].' (AB048)

SVPT: xáyibošuk ša ti l'oyošuk e [kermánotak tótetak mé? e] lá'ik  
ók'om. 'How many of you now that are here (remote) [my breth-  
 ren, fathers, mothers (remote)], come tomorrow.' (X2.274)

VPG: [tót e mé? e] ák'o pérton. '[Father (remote), mother (remote)],  
 give pardon (i. e., Father, mother, excuse us).' (AB151)

## SUBSETS OF STATIVE CLAUSES

In this chapter and the following one, a number of subsets of clauses are discussed. Tzotzil, and Mayan languages in general, make much use of clauses based on Stative Stems where other languages use a greater variety of construction- and word-types. It has thus seemed appropriate to dedicate a separate chapter to this topic.

With a view to illustrating the extremely common use of stative clauses, certain subsets are presented separately which might otherwise—from a strictly syntactic point of view—be grouped with other subsets as of the same type. It is not supposed that all relevant subsets of stative clauses have been recognized and described; the following may be considered a representative sample:

1. Question Clauses
2. Negation Clauses
3. Attention Clauses
4. Manner Clauses
5. Location Clauses
6. Time Clauses
7. Concomitance Clauses
8. Contingency Clauses
9. Contrary-to-fact Clauses
10. Sensory Clauses
11. Quantification Clauses
12. Numeral Clauses

**3.1. Question Clauses.** There are two kinds of questions: QUESTIONS FOR CONFIRMATION (or lack thereof) and QUESTIONS FOR INFORMATION. A Question For Confirmation is a mi-phrase (7. 4), whereas a Question For Information is a clause based on one of four INTERROGATIVE STATIVE STEMS. Three of these are simple; the fourth is composite, consisting of a NUMERAL ROOT followed (like all Numeral Roots) by a CLASSIFIER ROOT. The Interrogative Stems are:

1. xá- (plus classifier root) 'how many'
2. mút'šú 'who'
3. bá 'where'
4. k'á (or k'ási) 'what'

The composite Numeral-Classifier Stem asks a question of specific quantity. In addition to its pronoun subject, it may have a Noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause as subject.

PN only: xá-voʔ-ukutik. 'How many (people) are we?'

N: 1xá-kot [2avákaš]. '1How many (animal) [2your cows] (i. e., How many cows do you have)?'

dNP: 1xá-yib-oš-uk [2ti3natálik4e]. '1How many (general) of you [2the 3you came 4(remote)] (i. e., How many are there of you that came)?' (X1. 218)

Cl: 1xá-voʔ-oš-uk [2ʔóy 3avábtelik]. '1How many (people) of you [2there is 3your work] (i. e., How many of you have work)?'

Cl: 1xá-yib [2mú 3sk'án]. '1How many (general) [2it is not 3they want it] (i. e., How many don't want it)?'

mút'šú asks the identity of a personal nominal referent or is rhetorical (with attention drawn to a personal referent). In questions concerning a personal nominal referent, in addition to the pronoun subject, there may be a noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause as clause-level nominal constituent.

PN only: mút'šúot. 'Who are you?'

N: 1mút'šú [2sméʔ]. '1Who is [2his mother]?'

dNP: 1mút'šú [2ti3xʔét'šesexk'óp 4kúʔuntik]. '1Who is [2(the) 4our 3interpreter]?' (X1. 040)

iCl: 1mút'šú [2itšám]. '1Who [2died]?' (NM247)

In a rhetorical question (with reference to a person) the subject of mút'šú is either a clause with the auxiliary bá 'go' or a clause based on k'án 'lack' whose subject is a clause with the auxiliary bá. In either case, the rhetorical implies a negative response. The use of k'án implies impossibility; its absence (in this construction) implies improbability.

1mút'šú [2k'ám 3bá 4st'šún]. '1Who [2lacking 3went 4he believed it] (i. e., Who could believe it)!?' (F2. 179)

1mút'šú [2bá 3spás]. '1Who [2went 3he did it] (i. e., Who would do it)!'

bú asks a question of location or is rhetorical (with attention drawn to other than a personal referent). In addition to its pronoun subject, its clause-level nominal constituent may be a noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause.

PN only: búot 'Where are you?'

N: 1bú [2sná]. '1Where is [2his house]?' (OD091)

dNP: 1bú [2ti3amé?4e]. 'Where is [2(the) 3your mother 4(remote)]?'  
 iCl: 1bú [2tšixbát]. 'Where [2are we going]?' (X2. 119)

Rhetoricals based on bú have as subject forms built on the same constructional pattern as rhetoricals based on mút'šú.

1bú [2bá 3kúšuluk]. 'Where [2went 3it be alive] (i. e., How would it be alive)!' (X2. 204)

1bú [2k'am 3bá 4skóltaukutik]. 'Where [2lacking 3went 4he help us] (i. e., How could he help us)!' (X2. 210)

In respect to the rhetorical questions based on mút'šú and bú, they are invariably rhetorical when k'an is present or when the subject clause is stative. In the absence of k'an, however, when the subject clause is intransitive or transitive, such forms may or may not be rhetorical, depending upon context and intonation. It is only in rhetoricals that an auxiliary (in this case always bá) may occur with a stative verb.

1bú [2k'am 3bá 4?óyuk 5ti6mánel]. 'Where [2lacking 3went 4there be 5to 6buy] (i. e., How could it be for sale)!' (X1. 110)

1ti2mántšuk 3isúxat4e 5bú [6bá 7spás]. '1(The) 2it be of no consequence 3he was forced 4(remote) 5where [6went 7he did it] (i. e., If he hadn't been forced, would he have done it)!'

1ti2mántšuk 3lax 4yál 5mántal 6ti7présidente8e 9mút'šú [10bá 11bátuk]. '1(The) 2it be of no consequence 3the 4president 5(remote) 6said 7a command 8who is it [10went 11went] (i. e., If the president had not commanded it, who who would have gone)!'

k'ú (or k'úsi) asks a question concerning (1) the identity of an impersonal nominal referent, (2) cause, (3) purpose, (4) time, (5) circumstance, (6) manner, or (7) general quantity.

In a question of the identity of an impersonal nominal referent, the subject of the clause is a noun stem formed with al (10. 8), a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause.

N: 1k'úsi [2póšilal]. 'What [2medicine]?' (MP073)

dNP: 1k'úsi [2ti3tšiták'av4e]. 'What is it [2(the) 3I'll answer 4(remote)]?'

iCl: 1k'úsi [2tšaxák']. 'What [2do you ask]?' (NM547)

In a question concerning cause, the subject of the k'ú clause is always a yú?un phrase.

k'ú [₂yù ₃un ₄má ₅asá ?]. '₁What [₂its cause ₃not ₄you looked for her] (i. e., Why did you not look for her)?' (AB134)

k'ú [₂yù ₃ún ₄tšabát]. '₁What [₂its cause ₃you are going] (i. e., Why are you going)?'

In a question concerning purpose, the subject of the k'úsi clause is a Possessed Noun Phrase with svéntail 'its purpose' as head.

k'úsi [₂svéntail ₃ti ₄natál ₅e]. '₁What is [₂its purpose ₃(the) ₄you came ₅(re- remote)] (i. e., What is the purpose of your having come)?'

The difference between 'cause' and 'purpose' questions is that the 'cause' question inquires concerning the grounds of an action, whereas the 'purpose' question inquires concerning the intended result or subsequent action to be taken.

In a question concerning time, the subject of the k'úsi clause is a noun phrase based on the noun ʔóra 'time'.

k'úsi [₂ʔóra ₃tšasótk ₄tál]. '₁What [₂time ₃will you return ₄coming] (i. e., When will you return here)?'

In a question concerning circumstance, the subject of the k'ú clause is a clause having the intransitive verb ʔélan as predicator.

k'ú [₂ša ʔélan]. '₁What [₂is your circumstance] (i. e., How are you)?' (NL168)

k'ú [₂š ʔélan ₃tšismflukutik]. '₁What [₂is the circumstance ₃they will kill us] (i. e., Under what circumstances will they kill us)?' (OD078)

In a question concerning manner, the subject of the k'ú clause is a clause, the predicate of which is the stative verb tšéʔel.

k'ú [₂tšè ʔél ₃lax ₄smókik]. '₁What [₂is the manner ₃,₄they buried him] (i. e., How did they bury him)?' (MC035)

In a question concerning general quantity, the subject of the k'ú clause is a Possessed Noun Phrase with yépal 'its muchness' as head.

k'ú [2yépal 3sk'án]. 'What [2is its muchness 3its lack] (i. e., How much is lacking)?' (NM174)

k'ú [2yépal 3k'í]. 'What [2is its muchness 3my debt] (i. e., How much is my debt)?' (NM607)

Questions For Information occur as independent sentences in all the examples given above. They may also function as relative clauses when occupying clause or Noun Phrase positions.

As Subject: 1mú?yuk [2mút'su 3itšám]. 'There is not [2who 3died] (i. e., No one died).' (NM247)

As Subject: 1?óy [2k'úsi 3lák 4yí 5ti 6dóktor 7té]. 'There is [2what 5the 6doctor 3saw 7there] (i. e., The doctor saw something there).' (NM513)

As Object: 1lák 2ša 3ká?i [4k'ú 5tšè?éi 6lák 7spás 8ti 9dóktor 10é]. 'I have heard 2now [4what is 5its manner 8the 9doctor 10(remote) 6,7did it] (i. e., I have now heard how the doctor did it).' (NL059)

As Object: 1mi 2šú? 3tšaválbun [4k'úsi 5?óra 6tšasútik 7tál]. 'If 2can 3you tell me [4what 5time 6you will return 7coming] (i. e., Can you tell me when you will return here)?' (NL082)

As Locative: 1lák 2st'sáy 3yó?nton 4ti 5k'álal 6itál 7té [8bú 9išanav]. 'They lost 3their hearts 4(the) 5when 6it came 7there [8where 9they travelled] (i. e., They were amazed when it came there where they were travelling).' (X2.034)

As Descriptive: 1tšistšukun 2ti 3xkášlan [4bú 5tši?ábtex]. 'The 3ladino [4where 5I work] 1ties me (i. e., The ladino where I work keeps me well occupied).' (OD007)

As Axis: 1ti [2bú 3k'álal 4šú? 5kú?un] 6é 7tšaxkóltaot. 'I (The) [2where 3as far as 4is able 5by me 6(remote)] 7I'll help you (i. e., I'll help you as much as I can).' (NM094)

As Possessor: 1xá? 2ti 3spásaxe 4ti [5mút'su 6tštál 7té 8?o] 9é. 'That is it: 2the 3his fare 4the [5who 6will come 7there 8(conclusive) 9(remote)] (i. e., It's the fare of the one who will go there).' (NM162)

A question construction is used as a relative clause only when the reference is not specific. If the reference is specific, the Determiner ti is used (7.1). Compare the following:

1lák 2ká?i [3k'úsi 4lák 5yál]. 'I heard [3what 4he 5said].'

1lák 2ká?i [3ti 4xétš 5lák 6yál 7é]. 'I heard [3that 4thus 5he 6said 7(remote)].'

Reference may be made indefinite in clauses of the above type by inflecting the interrogative stem for subjunctive mode and postposing no?oš (limitative) (8.5).

- [1k'úsu2no'óš] [3tšak'án 4šú? 5tšakák'bot. '4Can I give you [2precisely  
1what it be] [3you want (i. e., I can give you whatever you want).'  
[1mút'šuk2no'óš] [3tšópol 4tšflbaxinik. '4They molest them [3wickedly [2pre-  
cisely 1who it be] (i. e., Whoever it is, they molest them wickedly).'  
(F2. 175)  
1tixná? [2tí[3búk4no'óš] [5?óyukutik 6té 7?óy. '1I know [2that [4precisely [3where  
it be] [5we are [6there [7he is (i. e., I know that he is wherever we are).'  
(F2. 111)

Unlike other stative stems, interrogatives do not require subjunctive inflection when occupying the subject position of a negation clause (3. 2).

- 1mú2me [3mút'šú 4tšk'ópoχ]. '1It's not [2(emphatic) [3who [4will talk] (i. e.,  
No one is to talk).'  
(X1. 011)  
1mú2me [3bú 4tšbát]. '1It's not [2(emphatic) [3where [4he will go] (i. e., Don't  
let him go anywhere).'

**3.2. Negation Clauses.** A NEGATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on the stative verb stem mú 'is not.' In an earlier paper treating only the verb phrase (Cowan and Merrifield, 1967), mú was considered a particle occurring in the verb phrase. Here it is treated as an independent predicator.

The subject of a Negation Clause may be another clause or a tí-Phrase. The tí-Phrase consists of the preposition tí and a clause subject to the same grammatical constraints as clauses directly occupying the subject position of a Negation Clause.

One such constraint is that if the clause subject is perfective, it must also be marked as subjunctive. This applies to stative clauses occupying this position since they are syntactically perfective (2. 6), as well as to perfective active clauses.

- 1mú [2vřnikuk [3tí 4lax [5spás6e]. '[2(It be) a man [3that [4, [5did it [6(remote)] [1is  
not (i. e., It was not a man who did it).'  
1mú [2tí 3svéntauk]. '1It is not [2on [3their account].'  
1mú [2smánoχbukun]. '1It is not [2they have bought it for me] (i. e., They  
have not bought it for me).'

There are two stative stems which contract with mú when following it: xá? 'it is that' and ?óy 'there is'. They contract to become má?uk and mú?yuk, respectively (uk being the subjunctive ending).

- 1má?uk [2tixk'ópontik. '1It is not that [2we will talk to him. (X1. 055)



1mú 2ʔyuk 3k'úsi 4lá xtšántutik. '1There is not 2what 3, 4we learned (i. e., We did not learn anything).' (CL029)

A third fused form is mántšuk whose derivation is otherwise unknown, the stem ʔántš not occurring elsewhere in the language unless it can be related to the imperative form ʔántšan 'Be quiet'. As predicator of an independent negation clause, mántšuk has the meaning 'It is of no consequence'. It may have a clause or conditional phrase as subject.

1mántšuk 2tšavák'bun. '1It is of no consequence 2you give it to me (i. e., It isn't necessary that you give it to me).' (AB115)  
1mántšuk 2mi 3tóyol 4stóxol. '1It is of no consequence 2if 4its price 3is high (i. e., It doesn't matter if it is expensive).' (NM602)

A clause based on mántšuk may also occur with the Determiner ti (6.3) and the Deictic ending e (6.4) in the Conditional Position of a clause in the sense of a NEGATIVE CONTRARY-TO-FACT CONDITION.

[1ti 2mántšuk 3tixt'sún 4e] 5tškt'š 6mól. '[1(The) 2it is of no consequence 3I believe it 4(remote)] 5I receive 6fault (i. e., If I didn't believe it, I would be sad).' (NL070)  
 [1ti 2mántšuk 3itšám 4ti 5stót 6ti 7k'ak'al 8e] 9xétš 10mú 11šixtšám. '[1(The) 2it is of no consequence 4the 5father of 6the 7sun 8(remote) 9died] 9thus 10it is not 11we die (i. e., If the sun's father had not died, then we would not die).' (SM013)

A further restraint which applies to the predicator mú is that it must be subjunctive unless its subject is timeless or perfective. The subjunctive of mú (negative) is múk rather than the expected múuk (Cf. mú 'ascend' and its subjunctive múuk).

1múk 2tšibát. '2I will go 1it be not (i. e., I will not go).'  
1múk 2šibát. '2I went 1it be not (i. e., I did not go).'

The exception to this is when mú is modified by a modal which indicates that the subject is effectively true in present time even though marked for completive or incompletive aspect. The modals in question are ša (perfective) and to (present continuative).

1mú 2to 3tškák'. '3I will give it 1is not 2yet (i. e., I will not yet give it).'  
 (AB171)

1mú<sub>2</sub>ša 3tškt'štik 4mú. 'We will receive 4fault 1is not 2now (i. e., We will not be sad now).' (MG021)

A further exception has been mentioned above in 3.1; namely, that interrogatives (which are stative verbs) do not require the subjunctive ending when occupying the subject of a negation clause. On the other hand, unless the predicator mú is modified by an appropriate modal—those mentioned above plus the sequence ʔo noʔoš 'certainly' or me (emphatic)—mú itself must be subjunctive when its subject is interrogative.

1mú<sub>2</sub>to [3bú 4tšasáʔbe]. '[3Where 4you will seek her] 1is not 2yet (i. e., You have not yet sought her anywhere).' (AB139)

1mú<sub>2</sub>ša [3bú 4k'áálal 5tsút 6tikóʔntontik7e]. '[3Where 4when 5will return 6(the) 7our hearts 8(remote)] 1is not 2now (i. e., Not at any time did we realize it).' (PP268)

1mú<sub>2</sub>ʔonoʔoš [4bú 5lfʔ6i]. '[4Where 5he is here 6(immediate)] 1is not 2(conclusive) 3precisely (i. e., He is certainly not here anywhere).' (AB137)

1mú<sub>2</sub>me [3bú 4šbát]. '[3Where 4he goes] 1is not 2(emphatic) (i. e., Don't let him go anywhere).' (AJ037)

1múk [2bú 3tškáltik]. '[2Where 3we will say it] 1be it not (i. e., We won't say it anywhere).' (PP213)

Since the subject of a negation clause may only be a clause or a ti-Phrase, in order for constituents which are ordinarily nominal to be negated, they must be reinterpreted as clauses. Their occurrence with the subjunctive ending confirms that they are so reinterpreted. The following examples illustrate how various classes of clause constituents are negated.

Manner: 1mú 2vókoluk 3lá 4xtá. 'Be it trouble 3, 4I found it 1is not (i. e., I found it without difficulty).' (NM605)

Manner: 1mú 2xétšuk 3lax 4yál. 'It is not 2be it thus 3, 4he said it (i. e., It wasn't that way that he said it).' (X1.087)

Object: 1mú 2póšilik 3tixk'án. 'It is not 2be it medicine 3I want (i. e., It is not medicine I want).'

Object: 1mú 2ʔšimuk 3lax 4smámbe. 'It is not 2be it corn 3, 4he bought for her (i. e., It was not corn that he bought her).'

Subject: 1mú 2kól 3xnt'šonuk 4itšókat. 'It is not 2, 3be it my child 4he was jailed (i. e., It was not my child who was jailed).'

Subject: 1mi 2mú 3xóʔukot 4lax 5amán. 'If 2it is not 3be it you 4, 5you bought it (i. e., Was it not you who bought it)?'

Time: 1mú 2ti 3órau 4tšítal. 'It is not 2at 3be it time 4I will come (i. e., I will not come right away).'

Time: 1mú 2épuk 3k'ák'al 4iʔáy. 'It is not 2be it many 3days 4he was there (i. e., He was not there many days).' (NM153)

Locative: 1mú 2lfʔuk 3i 4lax 5yák'. 'It is not 2be it here 3(immediate) 4, 5he put it (i. e., It wasn't here that he put it).'

- Locative: 1mú 2ti3tʔkoraluk 4tšʔótš. '1It is not 2by 3be it opening-corral 4it will enter (i. e., It is not by the gate of the corral that it enters).'
- Purpose-Cause: 1mú 2ti3skóxuk 4póš 5itšám. '1It is not 2by 3be it the bad cause of 4liquor 5he died (i. e., It was not on account of liquor that he died).'
- Purpose-Result: 1mú 2yúʔunuk 3pléito 4tixpástik 5stšʔuk. '1It is not 2be it because 3fighting 4we are doing 5with them (i. e., It is not because we are fighting with them).' (F2. 194)
- Quantitative: 1mú 2ʔepuk 3ták'in 4lax 5yák'bun. '1It is not 2be it much 3money 4, he gave me (i. e., It wasn't much money that he gave me).'
- Quantitative: 1mú 2xkótuk3noʔoš 4it'šáy 5ti8svákaš7e. '1It is not 2be it one (animal) 3precisely 4was lost 5(the) 6his cattle 7(remote) (i. e., It was not just one of his cattle that was lost).'

**3.3. Attention Clauses.** An ATTENTION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on the stative stem xáʔ. xáʔ is lexically empty and serves only to direct special attention to its subject. As in the case of other stative verbs, its post-posed pronominal subject may be in cross-reference with a clause-level nominal constituent which, in the third person, may be a noun phrase or an independent clause (including another xáʔ clause with nonthird person subject).

- 1xáʔ 2xtót. '1That is it: 2he's my father.'
- 1xáʔ 2tsk'án 3svéʔel 4ti5kampána8e. '1That is it: 4the 5bell 6(remote) 2wants 3food.' (FB022)
- 1xáʔ 2xóʔokutik3i 4tšixʔók'. '1That is it: 2it's we 3(immediate): 4we cry.' (PP285)

The pronominal subject may alternately be in double function as a nominal of a following clause which may or may not itself be embedded in a determined phrase. This situation is not limited to third person subjects.

- 1xóʔon 2mú 3lax 4káʔi. '1It is I: 2it is not 3, 4I heard (i. e., It is I that did not hear).'
- 1xóʔot 2ti3ʔaxvalilot 4kúʔuntutik5e. '1It is you: 2(the) 3you are 4our 3selected officials 5(remote).'
- (CL066)

If a clause occupies its subject, an attention clause may occupy a nominal position of another clause, or the Possessor position of a Possessed Noun Phrase.

- As agent: 1mú2me 3šakómesuntutik [4xóʔot 5ti8ʔaxvalilot 7kúʔuntutik8e].  
 '1Not 2(emphatic) 3you abandon us (excl) [4it is you: 5(the) 6you are 7our

8elected officials 8(remote)] (i. e., You who are our elected officials must not fail us). ' (CL066)

As indirect goal: 1xá? 2véntisyon 3lá 4xk'ámbot [5xó?ot 6atálel 7tšakóltavan].  
'That is it: 2blessing 3,4I asked of you [5it is you: 6your nature is 7you characteristically help] (i. e., It is a blessing I asked of you whose nature it is to help). '

As direct goal: 1tšaxk'óponot 2ti9kárta [4xó?ot 5ti9totil 7?áxvalilot 8kú?untutik].  
'I will talk to you 2by 3letter [4(it is) you 5(the) 6our 8top 7elected officials]. ' (CL001)

When an attention clause is the possessor of a possessed noun phrase, its subject agrees in person and number with the possessed noun in the Item position of the phrase.

1tixk'ántutik 2vókol 3ti4atòxól [5xó?ot 6ti7?óy 8avábtel9e]. 1We (excl) ask  
2trouble 3in 4your presence [5it is you 6that 7there is 8your work 9(remote)]  
i. e., We ask help of you who have authority). ' (CL040)

1láx2ša3xná?tutik 4ti5lék 6ti7avábtel8e [9xó?ošuk 10ti11?áxvalilošuk12e]. 1,3We  
(excl) know 2now 4that 5is good 6(the) 7your work 8(remote) [8it is you 10(the)  
11you are the elected officials 12(remote)] (i. e., We now know that your  
work is good, you who are the elected officials). ' (CL011)

An attention clause with xá? modified by the modal to (present continuative) relates two constituents temporally, specifying that the action or state of the second constituent occurs at the time indicated by the first constituent. (It is structurally and semantically parallel to a concomitant clause in a temporal position (3.7)).

In the first two examples below the first constituent is a Time constituent, the second a subject. In the third example, the constituents are conditional and subject.

1xá?2to [3ti4febréro] 5ti8xétš 7ik'ót 8ti9pàsél. 'That is it 2still [3in 4February]  
5that 6thus 7it arrives 8by 9being done (i. e., It was not until February that  
it happened that way). ' (NM243)

1xá?2to [3k'álal 4ti5yán 6véltal] 7it'šif 8?oš. 'That is it 2still [3when 4at 5another  
6time] 7it grew 8already (i. e., It was not until another time that it grew). ' (MG081)

1xá?2to [3mi9nisút 5tál9e] 7tšk'ó 8xtóxbot 9ti10kπ11e. 'That is it 2still [3if 4I  
return 5coming 6(remote)] 7arriving 8I will pay you 9(the) 10my debt  
11(remote) (i. e., Not until I return will I pay you what I owe you). '

**3.4. Manner Clauses.** A MANNER CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on stative stems of manner whose subject may be indicative clauses or mi-phrases.

- 1xá? 2lék [3xpástik 4lék 5k'fn]. '1That is it: 2it is good [3we make (a) 4good 5fiesta] (i. e., It's good that we make a big fiesta).' (FB046)
- 1tšópol [2tik'úsi 4tsnóplik<sub>5e</sub>]. '1It is evil [2(the) 3what 4they are thinking 5(remote)].' (MP064)
- 1vókol [2tstšán 3'ábtel]. '1It is trouble [2he learns 3work] (i. e., It is with difficulty he learns how to work).' (EW026)
- 1xá? 2me 3lék [4mi<sub>5tšatál</sub><sub>6e</sub>]. '1That is it 2(emphatic): 3it is good [4if 5you will come 6(remote)] (i. e., It would be good if you would come).' (NM576)

A subset of Manner Clauses have xétš 'thus' as predicate. xétš, an anaphoric substitute, is lexically empty and points back to a preceding lexical form.

- 1xétš [2iméltax 3ti<sub>4xnátutik</sub>]. '1It is thus [3(the) 4our (excl) house 2was made].' (HB021)
- 1xétš [2ik'ásbat 3sk'ób 4ti<sub>5bólom</sub><sub>6e</sub>]. '1It is thus [4the 5tiger's 6(remote) 3paw 2was broken].' (NT007)

**3.5. Location Clauses.** A LOCATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on three stative verb stems of location: 1f? 'here', té 'there (proximal)', and lúm 'there (distal)'. In addition to the pronoun subject, the clause-level nominal constituent may be a noun, a Determined Noun Phrase, or a clause, except for lúm which only occurs with clauses.

- Pn only: 1mi<sub>21f?</sub><sub>3ot</sub><sub>3i</sub>. '1If 2you are here 3(immediate) (i. e., Are you here)?' (AB007)
- Pn only: téanik. 'Be there (pl) (i. e., Stay there).'
- N: 1f? [2atíluk<sub>3i</sub>]. '1Here are [2your turkeys 3(immediate)].' (SM045)
- N: 1mi 2té<sub>3to</sub> [4amé?]. '1If 2there 3still [4your mother] (i. e., Is your mother still there)?'
- dNP: 1f?<sub>2to</sub> [3ti<sub>4atót</sub><sub>5e</sub>]. '[3(The) 4your father 5(remote)] 1is here 2still.'
- tCL: 1f? 2me [3tškák]. '1It's here 2(emphatic) [3I'll put it].' (AB074)
- sCl: 1té<sub>2ša</sub> [3vá?al]. '1It's there 2now [3he is standing].' (PP007)
- iCl: 1té<sub>2to</sub> [3tš?linik]. '1It's there 2still [3they are angry].' (PP177)
- sCl: 1lúm [2lék 3ti<sub>4sxún</sub><sub>5e</sub>]. '1It's there (distal) [2good 3(the) 4his book 5(remote)] (i. e., His book is very good).' (PP341)

In addition to occurring as an independent sentence (as in the examples above), a Location clause may occupy the locative position of another clause.

- 1púro 2šf?el [31f? 4ti<sub>5bálumil</sub>]. '1It is simply 2fear [3here 4in (the) 5world].' (F2.004)

tšbá kák' [lúm<sub>4</sub>to<sub>5</sub>]. 'I'll go (and) <sub>2</sub>put it [<sub>3,4</sub> away over there <sub>5</sub> (immediate)].'

It may also occupy the descriptive position of a Noun Phrase or a nominal position of another clause.

As Descriptive: tšak'úšubínuntutik xkótołtutik ti [l? nákaluntutik ti<sub>7</sub>yólon básob]. 'You will pity us (excl) <sub>2</sub>all of us (excl) <sub>3</sub>that [<sub>4</sub>here <sub>5</sub>we are living <sub>6</sub>at <sub>7</sub>its underneathness <sub>8</sub>Basob] (i. e., You will have pity on all of us who live here at Under Basob).' (CL038)

As Subject: lék ti [té tš'ábtex ti<sub>8</sub>atséb<sub>7</sub>]. 'Is good <sub>2</sub>that [<sub>3</sub>is there <sub>5</sub>the <sub>6</sub>your daughter <sub>7</sub>(remote) <sub>4</sub>works] (i. e., It is good that your daughter works there).'

As Subject: sná? [lúm<sub>3</sub>]. 'That one <sub>3</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>knows it.' (PP274)

**3.6. Time Clauses.** A TIME CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on temporal stative stems whose subject may be an indicative clause.

pátıl [ibát ti<sub>4</sub>sbánkiltak<sub>5</sub>]. 'It was afterwards [<sub>3</sub>(the) <sub>4</sub>his brothers <sub>5</sub>(remote) <sub>2</sub>went]. ' (AJ015)

sób [tšatálik]. 'It is early (that) [<sub>2</sub>you will come]. ' )X1. 224

tšá?ex [tšxól]. 'It is the day after tomorrow [<sub>2</sub>he will arrive home].'

In addition to occurring as an independent sentence (as in the examples above), a Time clause may occupy the Time position of another clause, or the axis of a ti-Phrase which occupies the Time position.

tšaxk'óponot tšá?ex. 'I will talk to you <sub>2</sub>the day after tomorrow.'

itál ti<sub>3</sub>pátıl. 'He came <sub>2</sub>at <sub>3</sub>the back (i. e., He came afterwards).'

It may also occupy the axis of a mi-Phrase or a nominal position of another clause.

As Axis: más lék mi [sób tšixtál]. 'Most <sub>2</sub>good is <sub>3</sub>if [<sub>4</sub>it is early <sub>5</sub>we will come] (i. e., It is best we come early.' (X1. 213)

As Subject: xétš vù'ún [pátıl tál y'k'untutik ti<sub>7</sub>yáįval kav'łtotik<sub>9</sub>]. <sub>2</sub>Because of this, <sub>1</sub>it was thus [<sub>3</sub>afterwards <sub>4</sub>came <sub>5</sub>they called us (excl) <sub>6</sub>the <sub>7</sub>bosses of <sub>8</sub>the presidency <sub>9</sub>(remote)] i. e., Therefore it was afterwards the authorities came and called us). MS017)

**3.7. Concomitance Clauses.** A CONCOMITANCE CLAUSE is a subset of clauses based on the stative stem yó? 'same', and which may occupy the

Locative or Temporal position of a clause. The subject of a Concomitance Clause is a clause whose reference is concomitant in time or place with that of the matrix clause.

When the reference is temporal, yó? is always modified by the modal to (present continuative).

1yó? 2to [3mú 4tšabáŋ] 5? álbun 6no? 7oš 8kómel 9ti 9k'úsi 10tšak'án 11tixpás 12e.  
'Is same 2 still [3 it is not 4 you will go] 5 tell me 6 precisely 7 staying 8 (the) 9 what 10 you want 11 I do 12 (remote) (i. e., During the time until you go, tell me what you want me to do).'

1yó? 2to [3k'áal 4kúšulukutik] 5tškalbetik 6kómel 7ti 8kól 9xntt' šontik 10e 11ti 12mú 13me 14spásik 15pléto. 'Is same 2 still [3 when 4 we are alive] 5 we tell them 6 staying 7 (the) 8, 9 our children 10 (remote) 11 that 12 it is not 13 (emphatic) 14 they make 15 fighting (i. e., While we are alive, we tell our children that they should not fight).

When the reference is locational, the subject of yó? is a question clause based on bú 'is where'.

1yó? [2bú 3ipák'tsax 4xín 5vélda] 6xá? 7té 8ipák'tsax 9yán 10vélda 11ti 12káro 13e.  
'Is same [2 where 3 it got stuck 4 one 5 time] 6 that is it: 7 it is there 8 it got stuck 9 another 10 time 11 the 12 bus 13 (remote) (i. e., In the same place where it got stuck once, there the bus got stuck again).'

1bát 2yó? [3bú 4pfnka 5?uk 6e]. 'He went 2 is same [3 where 4 is a coffee ranch 5 also 6 (remote)] (i. e., He went to the same place where a coffee ranch is also).' (AB136)

**3.8. Contingency Clauses.** A CONTINGENCY CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on three stative stems borrowed from Spanish: pérsa 'it is necessary' (from a fuérza), repénta 'it is possible' (from de repente), and apurál 'it is determined' (from apurár).

1pérsa [2tšbá 3xk'él 4ti xtšámel 5e]. 'It is necessary [2 going 3 I look at 4 the 5 sick 6 (remote)] (i. e., I must go and see the sick).' (NM233)

1pérsa [2tixk'án 3ti xát's 4e]. 'It is necessary [2 I want 3 the 4 credit 5 (remote)] (i. e., I have to ask for it on credit).' (NM403)

1tškal 2no? 3oš 4repénta [4tškóm 5kuátrosiéntos 6pésos 7o 8más]. 'I am saying it 2 only 3 it is possible [4 400 5 pesos 7 or 8 more 4 will remain] (i. e., I am only saying that it is possible that 400 pesos or more will remain).' (NM382)

1repénta [2tštál 3? ók'om]. 'It is possible [2 he will come 3 tomorrow].'

1apurál [2tšk'án 3tšbát 4ti sná]. 'It is determined [2 he wants 3 he will go 4 to 5 his house] (i. e., He has decided that he wants to go home).'

1apurál [2tšixbát]. 'It is determined [2 we will go] (i. e., We have decided that we are going).'

**3.9. Contrary-to-Fact Clauses.** A CONTRARY-TO-FACT CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses which are syntactically similar to Negation Clauses. They are based on four stative stems each of which has unique collocational limitations. The four stems are: k'án 'was nearly fulfilled', náka 'lest it be', táka 'that it were', and máka 'don't let it be'. k'án is a double-function root functioning also as a transitive stem (10. 1). The phonological shape of náka, táka, and máka is anomalous. They are very likely fused forms which were once syntactically complex. This view is supported by evidence from the Ch'enalo' dialect of Tzotzil where the sequence ti ?ák'o is the functional equivalent of Huixtec táka.

These four verbs take subjunctive clauses as subject—máka only perfective clauses; the others, any but perfective clauses (discounting negation clauses which are perfective).

A Clause based on k'án may occur as an independent sentence.

₁k'án [₂tšámukun]. 'It was nearly fulfilled [₂I die] (i. e., I almost died).'  
₁k'án [₂mú ₃bátukun]. 'It was nearly fulfilled [₃I go ₂is not] (i. e., I almost didn't go).'

A Clause based on náka occupies the purpose-cause position of a clause.

₁mú ₂šabát ₃náka ₄me [₅smflot]. 'Is not ₂you go ₃lest ₄(emphatic) [₅they kill you] (i. e., Don't go lest they kill you).'  
₁lók'eso ₂asempat ₃náka ₄me [₅xášp'uxan ₆ti ₇'át'šel]. 'Take off ₂your sandals ₃lest ₄(emphatic) [₅you slip ₆in (the) ₇mud].'

A Clause based on táka occupies the Conditional position of a clause.

₁táka [₂xú ?uk ₃kú ?un ₄e]. 'That it were [₂it be able ₃by me ₄(remote)] (i. e., If I could do it).'  
₁xá ? ₂lék ₃táka [₄k'ótuk ₅ti ₆pásel ₇e]. 'That is it: ₂it is good ₃that it were [₄it arrive ₅by ₆being done ₇(remote)] (i. e., It would be good if it happened).'

A Clause based on máka occupies the Object position of a quotation clause based on ?ál 'say' inflected for timeless aspect. In this construction ?ál does not have reference to overt speech, but is best translated as 'thought' (and as completive aspect even though inflected for timeless).

₁máka [₂xó ?ukot] ₃škál ₄e. 'Not let it be [₂it be you] ₃I thought ₄(remote) (i. e., I thought it was you).'



1máka [2?fsimuk 3skútšox] 4škál. '1Not let it be [2it be corn 3he is carrying]  
4I thought (i. e., I thought it was corn he was carrying).''

**3.10. Sensory Clauses.** A SENSORY CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on one of the two noun stems yá?yel 'its feeling', and yflel 'its same appearance'. It may have an indicative clause as subject. yá?yel is always permuted to a position following its subject or following the predicate of the clause which is its subject. yflel may permute to a position following the predicate of the clause which is its subject. A Sensory clause is semantically and syntactically similar to a Situation Clause (4.3).

[1?ávyon 2ti<sub>3</sub>lâx 4spâxes 5ti<sub>6</sub>plétu] 7yá?yel. '[1It is an airplane 2that 3,4stopped  
5the 6fighting] 7it seems.' (OD097)

[1mâs 2mú] 3yá?yel [4ti<sub>5</sub>vé?elil<sub>6</sub>e]. '[4The 5food 6(remote) (is) 1most 2savory]  
3it seems.'

[1mút] 2yflel [3ti<sub>4</sub>sót's<sub>5</sub>e]. '[1Is a bird] 2it appears [3the 4bat 5(remote)] (i. e.,  
 The bat has the appearance of a bird).'

1yflel [2amú<sub>3</sub>?o]. '[2It is your error 3certainly (that) 1has the same appear-  
ance (i. e., You still haven't made amends for your error).'' (PP161)

**3.11. Quantification Clauses.** A QUANTIFICATION CLAUSE is a subset of clauses based on the quantitative stative verbs ?ép 'much, many', ?óy 'there is', and xút 'little'.

?óy indicates an unspecified but appreciably large quantity. It may have as subject a noun, a Determined noun phrase, or a clause.

N: 1?óy [2sták'in]. '1There is [2their money] (i. e., They have money).'  
 (PP441)

dNP: 1?óy [2ti<sub>3</sub>mâestroetik<sub>4</sub>e 5ti<sub>6</sub>xúxun 7paráxe]. '1There are [2(the) 3teach-  
ers 4(remote) 5in 6each 7section].' (CL061)

tCl: 1?óy [2iyálik 3ti<sub>4</sub>xóbel]. '1There are [2they said it 3in 4Las Casas] (i. e.,  
 Some in Las Casas said it).' (MC054)

iCl: 1?óy [2tšú<sub>3</sub> 3yú?unik]; 4?óy [5tšváyik]. '1There are [2it is able 3by  
them]; 4there are [5they sleep] (i. e., Some are able to do it; some  
 sleep).' (SD006)

A question clause may occupy the nominal constituent of an ?óy clause to indicate the existence of an indefinite person, place, etc.

1?óy [2mút'šú 3lá 4xtá]. '1There is [2who 3,4I found] (i. e., I found someone).'

1mú?yuk [2mút'šú 3lá 4xk'ópon]. '1There is not [2who 3,4I talked to] (i. e., I  
 didn't talk to anyone).'

1?óy [2bú 3tst'šúnik]. '1There are [2where 3they will believe it] (i. e., There  
 are those somewhere who will believe it).'

múʔyuk [<sub>2</sub>bú <sub>3</sub>šaxk'ópon]. 'There is not [<sub>2</sub>where <sub>3</sub>I talk to you] (i. e., I haven't talked to you anywhere).'

ʔéɸ 'many, much' may have a noun, a noun phrase, or a clause as subject.

N: <sub>1</sub>ʔéɸ [<sub>2</sub>sk'ák'al]. 'There is much [<sub>2</sub>his fire] (i. e., He has a high fever).' (NM368)

dNP: <sub>1</sub>ʔéɸ<sub>2</sub>to [<sub>3</sub>ti<sub>4</sub>kristšánoetik <sub>5</sub>lʔ<sub>6</sub>to]. 'Are many <sub>2</sub>still [<sub>3</sub>the <sub>4</sub>people <sub>5</sub>here <sub>6</sub>still] (i. e., There are still many people here).' (MS092)

iCl: <sub>1</sub>ʔéɸ [<sub>2</sub>tšʔók' <sub>3</sub>ti<sub>4</sub>kristšánoetik<sub>5</sub>e]. 'There are many [<sub>3</sub>the <sub>4</sub>people <sub>5</sub>(remote) <sub>2</sub>cry] (i. e., Many people cry).' (MC048)

xút only occurs with subjunctive inflection, and may have a noun, a noun phrase, or a clause as subject.

Modals: <sub>1</sub>té<sub>2</sub>to <sub>3</sub>péro <sub>4</sub>xútuk<sub>5</sub>ša<sub>6</sub>noʔoš. 'It is there <sub>2</sub>still <sub>3</sub>but <sub>4</sub>a little <sub>5</sub>now <sub>6</sub>only. (i. e., It is still there but there is only a little now).' (NM559)

N: <sub>1</sub>lá <sub>2</sub>xpás <sub>3</sub>xútuk [<sub>4</sub>kánal]. 'I <sub>2</sub>made <sub>3</sub>it be a little [<sub>4</sub>gain] (i. e., I made a little gain).' (F2. 130)

PNP: <sub>1</sub>ʔák'bun <sub>2</sub>xútuk [<sub>3</sub>stšáɸbil <sub>4</sub>ti<sub>5</sub>kólomen<sub>6</sub>e]. 'Give me <sub>2</sub>it be a little [<sub>4</sub>the <sub>5</sub>bees' <sub>3</sub>honey <sub>6</sub>(remote)] (i. e., Give me a little (of) the bees' honey).' (SM025)

tCl: <sub>1</sub>ʔéɸ <sub>2</sub>xútuk [<sub>3</sub>lá <sub>4</sub>xmán <sub>5</sub>ti<sub>6</sub>kʔšim<sub>7</sub>e]. 'It is much <sub>2</sub>it be little [<sub>3</sub>I bought <sub>5</sub>(the) <sub>6</sub>my corn <sub>7</sub>(remote)] (i. e., I bought quite a lot of corn).' (NM611)

sCl: <sub>1</sub>ʔóy <sub>2</sub>xútuk [<sub>3</sub>bátem <sub>4</sub>ti<sub>5</sub>xáts]. 'There is <sub>2</sub>it be a little [<sub>3</sub>gone <sub>4</sub>on <sub>5</sub>credit] (i. e., There is a little out on credit).' (NM170)

xút may occur as axis of a mi-Phrase indicating absolute negation (7.4).

[<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>2</sub>xútuk] <sub>3</sub>múʔyuk <sub>4</sub>k'úsi <sub>5</sub>lá <sub>6</sub>xtšántutik. 'If <sub>2</sub>a little <sub>3</sub>there is not <sub>4</sub>what <sub>5</sub>, <sub>6</sub>we learned (i. e., We didn't learn even a little).' (CL032)

**3. 12. Numeral Clauses.** A NUMERAL CLAUSE is a subset of clauses based on Numeral Statives.

There are twelve simple NUMERAL STEMS: xún 'one', tšáʔ 'two', ʔóš 'three', tšán 'four', xóʔ 'five', vák 'six', xúk 'seven', vášak 'eight', báɸun 'nine', láxun 'ten', búɸutš 'eleven', láxtšaʔ 'twelve'.

Numeral Stems 'thirteen' to 'nineteen' are formed by preposing the Numeral Stems for 'three' to 'nine' to the Numeral Stem for 'ten'.

ʔóš-láxun 'thirteen'

tšán-láxun 'fourteen'

Numerals are incomplete without a CLASSIFIER Stem of which there are four main classes: a large class of 70 (or more) 'unit' classifiers; vñik the 'score' classifier; bók the 'zontle' (i. e. 400) classifier; and mñ the 'thousand' classifier. These Classifiers are postposed to Numerals to form the names of the MULTIPLES 1-19 units, 1-19 score, 1-19 zontles, and 1-19 thousands.

xóʔ-laxun-p'éx 'fifteen round things'  
tšáʔ-ték 'two plants'  
tšán-vñik 'four score (i. e. eighty)'  
tšáʔ-bók 'two zontles (i. e. 800)'  
ʔóš-mñ 'three thousand'

The remainder of the Numerals are formed in two ways. The first involves a third person possessed Multiple with the 'score' classifier, a preposed Basic Numeral other than 'one' (i. e. two to nineteen), and a further preposed Multiple having the general 'unit' classifier lb. This construction forms the Numerals for non-multiple numbers 21-39, 41-59, . . . , 361-379.

₁xóʔob ₂stšáʔvñik '₁five ₂its-two-scores (i. e. twenty-five)'  
₁laxuneb ₂yóšvñik '₁ten ₂its-three-scores (i. e. fifty)'  
₁xón ₂stšáʔvñik '₁one ₂its-two-scores (i. e. twenty-one)'  
₁xóʔlaxuneb ₂stšánvñik '₁fifteen ₂its-four-scores (i. e. seventy-five)'

It is difficult to verbalize the meaning of the above construction in English, but it is possible to read such a name as xóʔob stšáʔvñik 'twenty-five' as 'five units of the second score'.

Since this system is falling out of use, especially for the higher numbers, it is not certain how the names for 381-399 were formed. There is, however, a simple additive construction based on the third person possessed form of the accompaniment noun stem tšfʔuk. This construction is also used for naming smaller numbers by those who no longer use the other construction. Thus the following number names are also used based on tšfʔuk:

₁xbók ₂stšfʔuk ₃laxunvñik '₁one-400 ₂with ₃ten-score (i. e. 600)'  
₁ʔóšvñik ₂stšfʔuk ₃xóʔob '₁three-score ₂with ₃five (i. e. 65)'  
₁xókvñik ₂stšfʔuk ₃laxuneb '₁seven-score ₂with ₃ten (i. e. 150)'  
₁laxunvñik ₂stšfʔuk ₃xóʔob '₁ten-score ₂with ₃five (i. e. 205)'

The classifier mñ 'thousand' has been taken into the system from Spanish mainly in speaking of quantities of money and is used in a way similar to other classifiers.

tšáʔmfl lâx stóx. '₂,₃He paid ₁two thousand (pesos for it).'  
 ₁ʔóšmfl ₂skʼán. '₁Three thousand (pesos) ₂is needed.'

The Spanish forms cién and ciento have also been introduced into the system, but require that a numeral which precedes them have the general counter lb.

[vášakib ₂siénto] ₃lâx ₄stóx ₅svákaš. '[(It was) ₁eight ₂hundred (pesos)] (that) ₃,₄ he paid for ₅his ox.'  
xútuk ₂mú ₃stá [siénto] ₅itsób. '₁It be a little ₂is not ₃it reach [siénto] ₄a hundred ₅was gathered (i. e., A little less than one hundred (pesos) was collected.'  
 (NM207)  
 [sién] ₂lâx ₃yák!. '₁It is a hundred] (that) ₂,₃he gave.'

There is another Basic Numeral ʔóʔlol 'one half' which also may occur in place of the preposed Multiple in the construction which names non-multiple numbers. In this construction it indicates one half of the value of the following Classifier.

₁ʔóʔlol ₂xbók! '₁one-half ₂one-zontle (i. e. 200)'  
 ₁ʔóʔlol ₂xmfl '₁one-half ₂one-thousand (i. e. 500)'  
 ₁ʔóʔlol ₂xtšól '₁one-half ₂one-row (i. e. half a row)'

When ʔóʔlol occurs in construction with a classifier whose multiplier is more than one, the classifier and its multiplier must be nominalized by the suffix Al, and possessed with third person pronoun prefix (position two).

₁ʔóʔlol ₂stšáʔbokʼol '₁one-half (of one zontle) ₂its-second zontle (i. e. 600)'  
 ₁ʔóʔlol ₂stšfbal ₃sién '₁one-half (of one hundred) ₂its-second ₃hundred (i. e. 150)'  
 ₁ʔóʔlol ₂stšáʔmilal '₁one-half (of one thousand) ₂its-second thousand (i. e. 1500)'

ʔóʔlol may occur in construction with unpossessed nouns.

ʔóʔlol ʔákʼubal 'one-half a-night (i. e. midnite)'  
ʔóʔlol kʼákʼal 'one-half a-day (i. e. midday)'  
ʔóʔlol ʔámak! 'one-half a-patio (i. e. in the middle of the patio).'

ʔóʔlol may occur in the additive construction with tšrʔuk.

1xbók' 2stšf'uk 3?ó?lol '1one-zontle 2with 3one-half (i. e. one and a half zontles)'

1tšán-xóv 2stšf'uk 3?ó?lol '1four-armsbreadths 2with 3one-half (i. e. four and a half armsbreadths)'

1xúkub 2?óra 3stšf'uk 4?ó?lol '1seven 2hours 3with 4one-half (i. e. half past seven o'clock)'

Nouns are classified into gender classes by their occurrence with 'unit' Classifiers. If a Numeral names a number larger than twenty, it ends in other than a 'unit' Classifier. If the noun quantified by such a Numeral is of the gender class which occurs with the general Classifier Ib, the Unit Classifier need not occur.

1tšá?vinik 2k'ák'al '1forty 2days'

1láxuneb 2stšá?vinik 3péšu '1ten (of) 2its second-score 3pesos (i. e. thirty pesos)'

If, however, the noun belongs to other than the general gender class and is quantified by such a Numeral, the appropriate Unit Classifier must be appended to the Numeral by a ti-Phrase, occupying the Manner position of the Numeral clause. The noun quantified is the subject of the clause.

[1tšá?-mfl 2ti3kót] 4ti5svákaš6e. '4(The) 5his cattle 6(remote) [(number) 1two thousand 2 3(of animals)].'

[1xó?ob 2stšá?vinik 3ti4p'éx] 5láx 6avák'bun 7ti9naránšaš8e. '7The 8oranges 9(remote) (that) 5, 6you gave me [(numbered) 1, 2twenty-five 3, 4(of round things)].'

Numeral clauses may occur as independent sentences as in the examples above, or occupy the nominal positions of clauses.

1láx 2smánk [3tšá?kot]. '1, 2They bought [3two (animals)].' (FB015)

1itál [2tšá?vo? 3mávol]. '1, 2Two (biped) 3police] 1came.' (FB029)

1šatál 2k'álal [3ti4xó?laxuneb 5k'ák'al]. '1You come 2(when) [3in 4fifteen 5days].'  
(NMO70)

1bá 2sxák' [3ti4?óštšop 5ná]. '1Went 2they ask [3at 4three-kinds 5houses] (i. e., They went and asked at the houses of three different families).'

The numeral xún 'one' occurs without the general classifier. In construction with other classifiers it occurs as x.

ti<sub>1</sub>[2xkó]<sub>3</sub>e<sub>4</sub> itšám ti 6ʔóra. 'The [<sub>2</sub>one-animal] [<sub>3</sub>(remote) [<sub>4</sub>died [<sub>5</sub>at [<sub>6</sub>once.'  
(MG077)

k'ú 2šʔélan ti<sub>3</sub>[4xp'éx] 5sát6e. 'What [<sub>2</sub>is its circumstance [<sub>3</sub>the [<sub>4</sub>one (round thing) [<sub>5</sub>her eye [<sub>6</sub>(remote) (i. e., How is her one eye)?' (NL080)

The numeral xún 'one' modified by the modal to (present continuative), may occur as predicator of a clause whose subject is a Sensory (3. 10) or a Situation (4. 3) clause.

xún<sub>2</sub>to [3tšitáxin 4šʔélan] 5péro 6tsóts 7ʔuk. 'One [<sub>2</sub>still [<sub>3</sub>I am playing [<sub>4</sub>is the circumstance] [<sub>5</sub>but [<sub>6</sub>it is difficult [<sub>7</sub>also (i. e., It seems to look like I'm playing but it is also difficult).' (NL029)

xún<sub>2</sub>to [3lék 4yáʔyel]. 'One [<sub>2</sub>still [<sub>3</sub>it is good [<sub>4</sub>it seems] (i. e., It seems like it is good).' (NM461)

xún<sub>2</sub>to [3xʔók 4mú 5šúʔ 6yáʔyel]. 'One [<sub>2</sub>still [<sub>3</sub>one-moment [<sub>4</sub>it is not [<sub>5</sub>it is able [<sub>6</sub>it seems] (i. e., For a moment it seems like it is not possible to do).'  
(EW007)

There are four special numerals that may occupy the Time position of a clause. They consist of the numeral stems tšá 'two' or ʔšš 'three' and the classifier stems ex 'future day' or xe 'past day'. vólxe 'yesterday' is probably also derived in the same way from vól 'to roll into a ball'.

tšibát [2tšáʔex]. 'I will go [<sub>2</sub>two-future-days] (i. e., I will go the day after tomorrow).'

té ni ʔábtex [3tšábxe]. 'It is there [<sub>2</sub>I worked [<sub>3</sub>two-past-days] (i. e., It was there (that) I worked two days ago).'

lá 2xkʔópon [3ʔóšxe]. 'I [<sub>2</sub>talked to him [<sub>3</sub>three-past-days] (i. e., I talked to him three days ago).'

niʔáy ti3xóbel [4vólxe]. 'I went and returned [<sub>2</sub>to [<sub>3</sub>Las Casas [<sub>4</sub>yesterday].'

## SUBSETS OF NON-STATIVE CLAUSES

There are several subsets of clauses based on active intransitive and active transitive stems which may have an extended list of forms as normal constituents beyond those of other clauses. A few of such subsets are discussed in this chapter under the following headings:

1. Description Clauses
2. Permission Clauses
3. Situation Clauses
4. Demonstration Clauses
5. Capability Clauses
6. Aspectual Clauses
7. Quotation Clauses

4.1. Description Clauses. A DESCRIPTION CLAUSE is one of a broadly conceived class of clauses whose object constituent (if transitive) or subject constituent (if intransitive) may be a direct quotation, a conditional phrase, or a clause of one subset or another. There are several subsets of Description Clauses based on the selectional restrictions of particular verbs. Some of these are illustrated below.

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as ʔáɪ 'say', ʔáʔi 'hear', xák' 'ask', k'él 'look', nóp 'think', which may take as object question clauses, active indicative clauses, quotations, and conditional phrases.

tšakálbot <sub>2</sub>[k'úsi <sub>3</sub>tixpás]. 'I will tell you [<sub>2</sub>what <sub>3</sub>I will do]. (NL025)  
lák <sub>2</sub>ša <sub>3</sub>káʔi [<sub>4</sub>ʔóšib <sub>5</sub>vélta <sub>6</sub>itix <sub>7</sub>ti <sub>8</sub>kampána <sub>9</sub>e]. 'I, <sub>3</sub>I heard <sub>2</sub>now [<sub>7</sub>the <sub>8</sub>bell  
<sub>9</sub>(remote) <sub>8</sub>rang <sub>4</sub>three <sub>5</sub>times].' (FB008)  
xéš <sub>2</sub>lák <sub>3</sub>yál ti <sub>5</sub>xniʔe [<sub>7</sub>šatál <sub>8</sub>k'áɪal <sub>9</sub>ti <sub>10</sub>xóʔ laxneb <sub>11</sub>k'ák'áɪ], <sub>12</sub>stšl. 'It  
is thus <sub>4</sub>(the) <sub>5</sub>my father-in-law <sub>6</sub>(remote) <sub>2,3</sub>said, [<sub>7</sub>'Come <sub>8</sub>(when) <sub>9</sub>in  
<sub>10</sub>fifteen <sub>11</sub>days], <sub>12</sub>he said.' (NM070)  
tšaxák'bot [<sub>2</sub>mi <sub>3</sub>lák <sub>4</sub>avt'š <sub>5</sub>ti <sub>6</sub>ʔinfórme <sub>7</sub>e]. 'I will ask you [<sub>2</sub>if <sub>3,4</sub>you re-  
ceived <sub>5</sub>the <sub>6</sub>report <sub>7</sub>(remote)].' (NM314)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as náʔ 'know', ʔɪ 'see', k'án 'want', tá 'find', which may take as object question clauses, independent active indicative clauses, and conditional phrases.

mú <sub>2</sub>xnáʔ [<sub>3</sub>k'ú <sub>4</sub>tšèʔél <sub>5</sub>tixták <sub>6</sub>táɪel]. 'It is not <sub>2</sub>I know [<sub>3</sub>what is <sub>4</sub>the man-  
ner <sub>5</sub>I will send it <sub>6</sub>coming] (i. e., I don't know how I will send it to you).'  
(NM177)

ikl̥lutik [itál]. 'We (excl) saw [it come].' (OD088)  
mú sk'án [mi tstóy sbáik ti stóxol]. 'It is not he wants [if they raise up themselves before him] (i. e., He doesn't want them to go their own way).' (NL142)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as t'sún 'believe' which may take as object questions clauses, quotations, and independent active indicative clauses.

ʔák'o st'súmbot [k'úsi tšaválbe]. 'Let him believe you [what it is you will tell him].' (NL078)  
yúʔun tst'súnik [mól ša tštfxvan stšf]. 'Because they believe ["He is old now, he throws curses," they said.]' (F1.046)  
mú ša xt'súntik [ʔóy xtfxvanex]. 'Not now we believe [there is a curse-thrower] (i. e., We don't believe any longer in curse-throwers).' (F2.050)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as mála 'wait for', sáʔ 'look for' which may take as object question clauses or active indicative clauses.

tixsáʔtik [k'úsitik xp̥kt'sit'š]. 'We look for [what they are witchdoctors] (i. e., We look for some witchdoctor).' (MG051)  
lá xmálatutik [itál ti xtómas e]. 'We waited for [he came (the) Thomas (remote)] (i. e., We waited for Thomas to come).' (F2.141)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as ʔóxtikin 'be familiar with', t'ux 'choose', tšól 'explain', méltsan 'make, repair', pás 'do' which may take as object of the clause question clauses.

múk xkóxtikin [k'úsi sbf]. 'It be not I was familiar with [what is its name] (i. e., I didn't know what his name was).' (NM012)  
ʔák'o me xp̥ástutik [k'ú sk'án avóʔnton]. 'Let it (emphatic) we (ex) do [what it is wants your heart] (i. e., May we do what you want).' (MP034)

There is a small subset of transitive verbs such as kdy 'suppose' which may take as object of the clause independent active indicative clauses.

[kúšul] xkdyoxtik. 'We have supposed [it is alive].' (PP258)  
ixkdy [ti tšák' tšámel]. 'We supposed [that it brought sickness].' (F1.004)



There is a small subset of intransitive verbs such as tóxob 'become right' which may take as subject question clauses and independent active indicative clauses.

1mú 2šitóxob [3ti4bú 5ti6sná7e]. 'It is not 2I am enlightened [3(the) 4where is 5(the) 6his house 7(remote)] (i. e., I don't know where his house is).'  
1mú 2šitóxob [3tixpás 4ti5kárta]. 'It is not 2I am enlightened [3I will make 4(the) 5letter] (i. e., I don't know how to write a letter).' (NL051)

There is a small subset of intransitive verbs such as tún 'serve' which may take as subject independent active indicative clauses, Demonstration clauses, and Conditional phrases.

1mú 2štún [3ti4xétš 5lá 6xpás 7lúm8e]. 'It is not 2it serves [3that 4it is thus 5I did 7that 8(remote)] (i. e., It is bad that I did it that way).' (PP035)  
1mú 2štún [3av4š 5'elan 6stfk 7sbáik8e]. 'It is not 2it serves [3you see 4the circumstance is 5they put in 6themselves 7(remote)] (i. e., It is not good the way they got themselves involved in it).' (PP055)  
1mú 2štún [3mi4šixbát]. 'It is not 2it serves [3if 4we will go] (i. e., It is not good if we go).'

There is a small subset of intransitive verbs such as vfnax 'appear' which may take as subject an independent active indicative clause.

1ivfnax [2ti3mú 4kúšuluk]. 'It appeared [2that 3it is not 4alive].' (X2.207)  
1ivfnax [2ti3tšk'á 4ti5té]. 'It appeared [2that 4the 5wood 3is rotting].'  
 (X2.207)

**4.2. Permission Clauses.** A PERMISSION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on the transitive stem ʔák 'give'. It has a subjunctive clause or a negative clause as goal, and may itself be indicative or injunctive.

1lax 2yák [3nákkluk]. '1 2He permitted [(that) 3he be seated].'  
1ʔák'o [2mú 3šiyák'bun]. '1Let it be (that) [2not 3he give it to me].'  
1tsk'án 2ti 3ʔák'o [4st'šúmbeik 5smántal6ʔuk]. '1They want 2(that) 3let it be [4they obey 5their commands 6also].'

An injunctive permission clause with inclusive person subject, and only a predicate constituent (viz. kák'tik), functions as an interjection of pertinacity.

[1xt'šámuntik] 2kák'tik [3anénebotš4e]. '2Come on now, [1lend me 3your nice little gourd 4(remote)].'

[<sub>1</sub>k'ú <sub>2</sub>stú <sub>3</sub>avú?un] <sub>4</sub>kák'tik. 'Come on now, [<sub>1</sub>what is <sub>2</sub>its use <sub>3</sub>by you] (i. e., Come on now, what use do you have for it)?'

The perfective reflexive form of ?ák' with the same person of subject as its object clause indicates that the performance referred to by the object clause is in process.

kák'ox <sub>2</sub>bá [<sub>3</sub>tixtóxobtas <sub>4</sub>yú?un <sub>5</sub>mú <sub>6</sub>šóxtikin <sub>7</sub>bú <sub>8</sub>lék <sub>9</sub>ti <sub>10</sub>?ánts<sub>11</sub>e]. 'I am in the process [<sub>3</sub>I am guiding him <sub>4</sub>because <sub>5</sub>it is not <sub>6</sub>he is familiar with <sub>7</sub>where <sub>8</sub>are good <sub>9</sub>the <sub>10</sub>women <sub>11</sub>(remote)] (i. e., I am in the process of guiding him because he doesn't know where the best girls are).' (NM017)

sk'án <sub>2</sub>?ép <sub>3</sub>póšil <sub>4</sub>yíp <sub>5</sub>ti <sub>6</sub>?óra<sub>7</sub>to <sub>8</sub>yú?un <sub>9</sub>yák'ox <sub>10</sub>sbá [<sub>11</sub>tsyáksax] <sub>12</sub>š?élan. 'He needs <sub>2</sub>a lot of <sub>3</sub>medicine for <sub>4</sub>strength <sub>5</sub>at <sub>6</sub>once <sub>7</sub>still <sub>8</sub>because <sub>9</sub>, <sub>10</sub>he is in the process [<sub>11</sub>he is becoming weaker] <sub>12</sub>is the appearance (i. e., He needs a lot of medicine for strength right away because it appears he is in the process of becoming weaker).' (NM534)

**4.3. Situation Clauses.** A SITUATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of clauses based on š?élan, the intransitive verb stem ?élan 'is the appearance' with third person subject. It may have an indicative clause as subject. š?élan always follows its subject when occurring as an independent clause. When embedded, š?élan may permute to a position following the predicate of the clause which is its subject. A Situation Clause is semantically and syntactically similar to a Sensory clause (3.10).

[<sub>1</sub>t'sf?ukutik <sub>2</sub>tšixyflukutik] <sub>3</sub>š?élan. '[<sub>1</sub>We are dogs <sub>2</sub>they see us] <sub>3</sub> is the appearance (i. e., It seems they treat us like dogs).' (PP094)

[<sub>1</sub>yák'ox <sub>2</sub>sbá <sub>3</sub>tsyáksax] <sub>4</sub>š?élan. '[<sub>1</sub>, <sub>2</sub>He is in the process <sub>3</sub>he is becoming weaker] <sub>4</sub> is the appearance (i. e., It appears that he is becoming weaker).' (NM534)

<sub>1</sub>aví [<sub>2</sub>š?élan <sub>3</sub>tšismáxukutik]. 'You see [<sub>2</sub>its appearance is <sub>3</sub>they are hitting us] (i. e., See how they hit us).' (PP168)

A ?élan clause may occupy the subject of a Quantitative Clause based on xún to.

<sub>1</sub>xún<sub>2</sub>to [<sub>3</sub>tšámen<sub>4</sub>ša <sub>5</sub>š?élan <sub>6</sub>ti<sub>7</sub>t'sf?e]. 'It is one <sub>2</sub>still [<sub>3</sub>it is dead <sub>4</sub>now <sub>5</sub>is the appearance <sub>6</sub>the <sub>7</sub>dog <sub>8</sub>(remote)] (i. e., The dog looks like it's dead).'

The difference in meaning between yá?yel (3.10) and š?élan is quite subtle. š?élan has reference to the prima facie visual impression given, whereas yá?yel has reference to non-visual impressions.

[1lék] 2š?élan [3ti4ká5e]. ' [3The 4horse 5(remote)] 2looks [1good].'  
 [1lék] 2yá?yel [3ti4tráto5e]. ' [3The 4agreement 5(remote)] 2seems [1O. K.].'

**4.4. Demonstration Clauses.** A DEMONSTRATION CLAUSE is one of a subset of transitive clauses based on the two transitive verb stems ?ŋ 'see', and ?á?i 'hear', inflected with second person subject. In this construction the final consonant of the ?ŋ stem never occurs, and the non-stressed vowels may not occur. The object of an avf clause may be a noun, a possessed noun phrase, or a clause. The object of an avá?i clause is always a clause.

N: 1k'élo2me 3avf [4vákaš5i] 6tsvé? 7tšóbtik. '1Take care of 2(emphatic) 3you see [4a cow 5(immediate)] 6it is eating 7the cornfield (i. e., Take care of that cow right there; it is eating the cornfield).'

PNP: 1mi2šú? 3tšakóltaun 4avf [5yépal 6ti7kŋ8e]. '1If 2can 3you help me with 4you see [5the amount of 6(the) 7my debt 8(remote)] (i. e., Can you let me have this amount on credit?)' (NM614)

iCl: 1avf [2tšópol3no?oš 4tspásik 5ti6kristšánoetik7i]. '1(You see (it) [5the 6people 7(immediate) 4do 3only 2evil].' (PP032)

iCl: 1vá?i [2it'óm 3túk]. '1Hear it [2a gun 3was fired].'

An Interrogation clause may occur as object of a Demonstration Clause.

1avf [2k'ú 3tšè?él 4lax 5kó?ntontik6e]. '1You see it [2what is 3the manner 5our hearts 6(remote) 4finished] (i. e., See how we finished).' (PP115)

1avá?i [2k'úsi 3tšál4e]. '1(You) hear (it) [2what it is 3he says 4(remote)].'  
(AB170)

A Situation clause may occur as object of a Demonstration clause.

1vá?i [2š?élan 3tsnópik 4xmúltik]. '1You hear it [2its appearance is 3they are thinking up 4our sin] (i. e., Hear how they are slandering us).' (PP215)

1vf [2š?élan 3tst'súnik4i]. '1You see it [2its appearance is 3they believe it 4(immediate)] (i. e., See how it appears they believe it).' (PP217)

An avf clause may occupy a nominal position of another clause.

In Subject: 1?óy 2té 3ti4mélixiko [5avf 6bŋk'it 7?espéxo]. '1There are 2there 3in 4Mexico [5you see them 6little 7glasses] (i. e., There are there in Mexico those little glasses).' (NM597)

In Object: 1bá 2k'óponik [3avf 4sánto5e]. '1Go (and) 2talk to [3you see it 4a saint 5(remote)] (i. e., Go and talk to that saint).' (PP066)

In Descriptive: 1tá2 me 3šatákbun 4tálel 5sk'éšol 6ti7kárta [8avto]. '3You send me 4coming 5its substitute 6the 7letter [8you see it 9still] 1is found 2(emphatic) (i. e., 'You will send me an answer to this letter).'<sup>1</sup> (NM488)

**4.5. Capability Clauses.** A CAPABILITY CLAUSE is one of a subset of pseudo-passive transitive clauses. It is grammatically anomalous in two respects. First, it has a goal as subject and the agent constituent is based on the associative noun stem ú?un as in a true transitive passive clause. Second, the verb stem—which may be intransitive or transitive—occurs with active intransitive inflection. The construction indicates capability (or if negated, lack thereof).

1tšk'ót 2kú?un. '1It arrives there 2by me (i. e., I can get it there).'  
[1mú 2šmán 3avú?un] 4ti5vákasé. '4The 5ox 6(remote) [1it is not 2it buys 3by you] (i. e., 'You can't buy the ox).'<sup>1</sup>

The stative verb stem xú? has the same meaning as the Capability clause construction; viz. 'is able to'. This means that it is possible to convey this meaning either by using xú? as a predicator, or by employing the capability construction. The two clauses which follow have the same meaning. (Note that šú? is the timeless aspect form of xú?.)

1šú? 2kú?untutik 3tixtšántutik 4ti5xún6e. '(It) 1is able 2by us (that) 3we learn 4the 5paper 6(remote) (i. e., 'We can learn to read).'  
1tstšán 2kú?untutik 3ti4xún5e. '(It) 1learns 2by us 3the 4paper 5(remote) (i. e., 'We can learn to read).'<sup>1</sup>

**4.6. Aspectual Clauses.** There are two verb stems which interfere with a clear interpretation of the system of aspectual inflection.

The first of these is the intransitive verb stem láx 'finish'. It may occur as a regular intransitive verb stem with intransitive inflection.

1nixlák 2ti3máxel. '1We were finished 2by 3beating (i. e., 'We were badly beaten).'<sup>1</sup>  
1ilák 2ti3póšil4e. '2The 3medicine 4(remote) 1is finished.'<sup>1</sup>

It also may occur preceding transitive verb stems in the manner of an auxiliary verb. As in the case of other auxiliaries, the completive aspect is realized as null before lák, and the nuclear verb of the verb phrase is subjunctive. Unlike other auxiliaries, however, when lák occurs with completive aspect, it adds no auxiliary meaning to the nuclear verb, but merely has the same meaning as a simple completive aspect form without auxiliary.

lāx yāk'bun. 'He gave it to me.' (DB013)  
niyāk'bun. 'He gave it to me.'

In closely related Tzeltal, the cognate lā is the only form used to indicate completive aspect of transitive verbs.

The other case of interference in the system of aspectual inflection concerns the transitive root tā 'find'.

tšatā<sub>2</sub> amōton. '1You will find<sub>2</sub> your gifts (i. e. , You will receive gifts).'  
 (VA028)  
nistāun. 'He found me.'

In addition to occurring as predicator in independent clauses of the type illustrated above, tā functions in limited cases as equivalent to incomplete aspect inflection. In such cases, the following conditions obtain:

- (1) tā itself is devoid of inflection acting like a stative verb stem rather than an active transitive stem.
- (2) It is the predicator of the clause, having a clause as subject whose predicator is inflected for timeless or incomplete aspect.
- (3) tā only functions this way when modified by a modal.

tā<sub>2</sub> ša<sub>3</sub> šaxná<sub>2</sub> ošuk. '(That)<sub>3</sub> I think of you (pl)<sub>1</sub> is found<sub>2</sub> now (i. e. , I am lonely for you (pl) now).'  
tā<sub>2</sub> o<sub>3</sub> no<sub>2</sub> oš<sub>4</sub> tšbá<sub>5</sub> stóx<sub>6</sub> smól. '(That)<sub>4</sub> he will go<sub>5</sub> pay for<sub>6</sub> his misdeed<sub>1</sub> is found<sub>2</sub> surely<sub>3</sub> precisely (i. e. , He will surely go and pay for his misdeed).'

This construction adds nothing to the lexical information conveyed by the other elements but seems only to direct more attention to the modal(s). Compare the following examples:

šaxná<sub>2</sub> ošuk<sub>2</sub> ša. '1I am lonely for you<sub>2</sub> now.'  
tšbá<sub>2</sub> stóx<sub>3</sub> o<sub>4</sub> no<sub>2</sub> oš<sub>5</sub> smól. '3,4Surely<sub>1</sub> he will go (and)<sub>2</sub> pay for<sub>5</sub> his misdeed.'

**4.7. Quotation Clauses.** A quotation is DIRECT or INDIRECT as defined by the occurrence of direct quotation verbs based on the two stems: tšf 'say' and út 'tell'. A direct quote is followed by a direct quotation verb; an indirect quote is not.

lāx<sub>2</sub> káltutik [3<sub>2</sub> út'šan<sub>4</sub> škútutik]. '1,2We (excl) said, [3"Drink," 4we (excl) told him].'

1láx 2káltutik [3tškót'štutik]. '1,2 We (excl) said (that) [3we would drink it].'

As in the above example (and as mentioned above in 4. 1), there are several verbs which may have a quotation as object. Such verbs are inflected for an object, and the quotation may be that object. This is not the case with Direct Quotation verbs.

Verbs based on tšf 'say' are always intransitive and are not in cross-reference with their quotation constituent. In the following examples, the verb stšf 'he said' is intransitive. In the first example it is preceded by a subject and a quotation; in the second by a Time constituent and a quotation.

1ti2xún3e [4k'ók' 5škŋ] 6stšf. '1The 2one 3(remote) (said) [5I see 4fire, "] 6he said.' (DB007)

1k'alal 2ti3itšám4e [5mú 6ša'ók' 7mé'?8e 9tšbá 10xkúses 11tál 12ti13xtót14e] 15stšf. '1When 2he 3died 4(remote), [5Don't 6cry, 7mother 8(remote), 9I'll go (and 10bring to life 11(coming) 12(the) 13my father 14(remote), "] 15he said.' (SM003)

In that a direct quotation may occupy a nominal position of a clause, it may also be determined by ti 'the'. In keeping with the fact that the quotation is not cross-referenced in the quotation verb, it seemingly also can be ignored in the placement of ti and following deictic e. Rather than flanking the entire quotation clause, these two elements may flank only the remainder of the clause, leaving the quotation outside. When the determiner ti precedes the whole clause—including the quotation—no deictic ending occurs; when the quotation remains 'outside', ti and e both occur.

1láx 2yál 3[ti]4tšák' 5tšámel 6stšf. '1,2 He said 3[that] "4It brings 5sickness, "6he said.'

1tšál2'uk 3'ák'o 4yft'š 5stóxol 6yábtel 7[ti]8mút'šu 9tš'ábtex[10e] 11ti12stšf13e. '1It says 2also "7[The] 8one who 9works 10(remote) 3let him 4receive 5pay for 6his work, 11(the) 12it says 13(remote).'

As the axis of a k'alal-Phrase, the entire clause may be determined and e may close the clause.

1k'alal [2ti3mú 4šlax 5ti6bálumil7e 8stšf9e] 10xétš11'ún 12taná 13nftšim14no'?oš 15kó'?ntontik 16stšf. '1When [2(the) "5The 6world 7(remote) 3is not 4coming to an end, "8they said 9(remote)], "11Because of this, 10it is thus 12now 13are blooming 14precisely 15our hearts, 16they said (i. e., When "The world is not coming to an end, "they said, "For this reason now we are happy, "they said).' (VA016)

A direct Quotation Clause may also occupy the Conditional position of a clause. In this position the Direct Quotation clause occupies the axis of a relator phrase based on *mi* 'if' which in this case—like *ti*—'ignores' the quotation and precedes only the remainder of the clause.

[1tšl'ábtex] 2mi<sub>3</sub>tšixtšf<sub>4</sub>e 5?ák'o 6k'ótuk 7ti 8pásel 9stšf 10ti<sub>11</sub>présidente<sub>12</sub>e.  
 'I'll work, "if we say (remote), "let it come to pass," the  
 president (remote) said.'

[1?ák'o 2abáik 3ti<sub>4</sub>pásel 5ti<sub>6</sub>muk'] 7mi<sub>8</sub>stšf 9ti<sub>10</sub>káxvaltík<sub>11</sub>e 12š'útat 13ti<sub>14</sub>pedro  
15ti<sub>16</sub>juan<sub>17</sub>e. ["Let yourselves be honored," if (the) our Lord  
 (remote) said, they were told (the) Peter (and) (the) John  
 (remote) (i. e., Let yourselves be honored, did our Lord say to Peter  
 and John)?' (X1.089)

A Direct Quotation Clause may also occupy the Subject of a Negation or a Contrary-to-Fact Clause. In this position the quotation is also left 'outside'.

1mú 2lák 3vál [4?élk'axan 5mflvanan] 6múk 7stšf. 'It is not 2, 3he said  
 ["Steal, 5kill,"] 6it be not 7he said it (i. e., He did not say, "Steal,  
 kill.")'

[1lI?oy 2ti<sub>3</sub>stóxol<sub>4</sub>e] 5táka 6tšfuk<sub>7</sub>e. 'Here is 2the 3price of it 4(remote), ]  
5if (it were) 6he would say 7(remote).'





## NOUNS AND NOUN PHRASES

In this chapter classification of nouns is discussed, followed by a description of the Descriptive Noun Phrase and the Possessed Noun Phrase. The chapter closes with a description of restricted subsets of Possessed Noun Phrases.

### 5.1-5.4 Noun Classification

There are three classes of nouns defined by patterns of possession.

1. Unpossessable Nouns.
2. Optionally Possessed Nouns
3. Obligatorily Possessed Nouns

5.1. Unpossessable Nouns. An UNPOSSESSABLE NOUN may not occur with a pronoun as possessor. It may be simple or composite. Composite unpossessable nouns include personal names.

<sub>1</sub>tšapásbun [<sub>2</sub>pertón]. '<sub>1</sub>You will do me [<sub>2</sub>pardon] (i. e. , You will pardon me).' (CL078)

<sub>1</sub>xá? <sub>2</sub>ti[<sub>3</sub>tótil<sub>4</sub>e] <sub>5</sub>ti<sub>6</sub>ibát<sub>7</sub>e. '<sub>1</sub>It is that <sub>2</sub>the [<sub>3</sub>father <sub>4</sub>(remote)] <sub>5</sub>who <sub>6</sub>went <sub>7</sub>(remote) (i. e. , It is the father who went).'

<sub>1</sub>itál <sub>2</sub>ti[<sub>3</sub>tótil-pále<sub>4</sub>e]. '<sub>2</sub>The [<sub>3</sub>head priest <sub>4</sub>(remote)] <sub>1</sub>came.'

<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>2</sub>tšamán [<sub>3</sub>tón-kášlan]. '<sub>1</sub>If <sub>2</sub>you will buy [<sub>3</sub>eggs] (i. e. , Will you buy eggs)?'

<sub>1</sub>mi<sub>2</sub>ibát <sub>3</sub>ti [<sub>4</sub>xpétul] <sub>5</sub>avú?un<sub>6</sub>e. '<sub>1</sub>If <sub>3</sub>(the) <sub>5</sub>your [<sub>4</sub>Peter] <sub>6</sub>(remote) <sub>2</sub>went (i. e. , Did your Peter go).'

<sub>1</sub>šú? <sub>2</sub>tšbá <sub>3</sub>yálbe <sub>4</sub>ti[<sub>5</sub>šmál] <sub>6</sub>kú?un<sub>7</sub>e. '<sub>4</sub>(The) <sub>6</sub>my [<sub>5</sub>Mary] <sub>7</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>can <sub>2</sub>go (and) <sub>3</sub>tell her.'

5.2. Optionally Possessed Nouns. An OPTIONALLY POSSESSED NOUN may occur with or without a pronoun as possessor. It may be either simple or composite.

<sub>1</sub>káxal <sub>2</sub>ti[<sub>3</sub>ká?] <sub>4</sub>ibát. '<sub>1</sub>Mounted <sub>2</sub>on [<sub>3</sub>a horse] <sub>4</sub>he went.' (MC051)

<sub>1</sub>?ép <sub>2</sub>?išim <sub>3</sub>isvé? [<sub>4</sub>ská?]. '<sub>1</sub>It was much <sub>2</sub>corn (that)[<sub>4</sub>his horse] <sub>3</sub>ate.' (OD048)

- 1vókol 2tstšán [3ʔábtel]. '1(It's) with difficulty 2they learn (how to) [3work].'  
(EW026)
- 1ʔóy [2kábtel]. '1There is [2my work] (i. e. , I have work to do).'
- 1xáʔ [2x-ʔábteletik]. '1It is that: [2work-ers] (i. e. , They are workers).'  
(X2. 160)
- 1mi 2ʔóy [3avax-ʔábtel]. '1If 2there is [3your work-er] (i. e. , Do you have any workers)?'
- 1ʔóy [2ʔát'š-na] 3lám4to5i. '1There is [2a new house] 3there 4still 5(immediate) (i. e. , There is a new house away over there).'
- 1ixú 2ša 3yúʔun 4ti[5yát'š-na]6e. '1It was able 2already 3by him 4(the) [5his new house 6(remote)] (i. e. , He has finished his new house).'

An IMPERSONAL NOUN is one of a subset of optionally possessed nouns which may only occur with an impersonal possessor. An Impersonal noun is derived from an Unpossessable noun, an Optionally possessed noun, or a temporal stative stem, suffixation of Al.

- 1xáʔ [2stótil-al] 3ti4bálumil5e. '1It is that: [2he is the head one over] 3the 4land 5(remote) (i. e. , He is the one in charge of all the land).'
- 1xáʔ [2tóttil] 3yúʔunik. '1It is that: [2he is the chief one] 3of them (i. e. , He is their leader).'
- 1[lékil]-ʔánts 2lúm3e. '(That one) 2there 3(remote) 1is a [good] woman.'
- 1mi2ti[3lékil-al] 4láx 5yál. '1If 2with [3goodness] 4, 5he said it (i. e. , Was it of his own free will he said it)?'

5.3. Obligatorily Possessed Nouns. An OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED NOUN must always occur with a pronoun as possessor. It may be simple or composite.

- 1láx 2smfl 3ti[4sbáankil]5e. '1, 2He killed 3(the) [4his brother 5(remote)].'  
(SM021)
- 1xáʔ [2smóton] 3ti4kampána5e. '1It is that: 3the 4bell's 5(remote) [2gift].'  
(FB018)
- 1ʔát'š2to 3ti[4at'šdk-t'šut]5e. '3(The) [4your tie-abdomen (i. e. girdle) 5(remote)] 1is new 2still.'
- 1ip'áx [2spřs-xol]. '1[2His wrap-head (i. e. hat)] 1dropped.' (PP096)

An UNPOSSESSABLE NOUN may be derived from an Obligatorily Possessed Noun by suffixation of Il.

- 1láx 2yák' 3nákluk 4ti[5báankil-al]6e. '1, 2He let 3be seated 4the [5eldest brother 6(remote)].'
- 1itšám2ša 3ti [4xbáankil]5e. '3(The) [4my brother] 5(remote) 1died 2already.'  
(SM045)

- 1tšák' 2ti[3móton-il] 4sták'in. '1He gives 2as [3a gift] 4his money (i. e., He gives away his money).'
- 1tšbá 2yák'beik [3smóton]. '1will go 2they give him [3his gift] (i. e., They are going to go and give him a gift).' (VA021)
- 1t'úxum 2ti[3ná] 4e. '2The [3house] 4(remote) 1is pretty.' (NM328)
- 1itál 2ti[3sná]. '1He came 2to [3his house] (i. e., He came home).' (SM030)
- 1tspás [2náil]- ?řšim. '1He is making 2a corn-[house].'
- 1tstšik'ik [2bóm]. '1They are burning [2incense].'
- 1mi 2avft'šox 3tál [4apóm]. '1If 2you have brought 3coming [4your incense] (i. e., Have you brought the incense you are going to use)?'
- 1bá 2sló ?ik 3ti[4spómal] 5ti 6kólomen 7e. '1Went 2they eat 3(the) [4its incense] 5the 6bees 7(remote) (i. e., They went and ate the bees' honey).' (SM023)

**5.4. Classification of Nouns by Distribution.** Several subsets of nouns may be defined on the basis of their distribution in phrases and clauses. Of these, those subsets of possessed nouns which define possessed noun phrases with special distribution are discussed below in 5.7-5.12. In addition, two subsets of nouns are here defined, REFLEXIVE and VOCATIVE nouns.

A REFLEXIVE NOUN is an obligatorily possessed noun based on the stem bá. It occupies a position in the nucleus of the Verb Phrase (2.7).

- 1k'únk'un 2lřk 3xtám [4xbá]. '1It is slowly 2began 3I pick up [4myself] (i. e., I slowly gained strength).' (OD112)
- 1tsk'ópon [2sbáik]. '1They talk to [2themselves] (i. e., They talk to each other).' (VA017)

A VOCATIVE NOUN is one which may occupy the Vocative Position of a clause. It may be unpossessable, optionally possessed, or obligatorily possessed.

- 1xáyibošuk 2natálik [3mé ? 4e] [5tót 6e] 7lá ?ik 8?ók'om. '(The) 1how many of you 2you came [3mother 4(remote)], [5father 6(remote)] 7come 8tomorrow (i. e., The number of you that came, mothers, fathers, come tomorrow).' (X1.201)
- 1 ?áltik 2aná ?un 3tál [4kérem]. '1It is in vain (that) 2you remembered me 3coming [4boy] (i. e., It's in vain you thought of coming to me, boy).' (AB127)
- 1 ?óřšan 2tál [3xbánikil]. '1Enter 2coming, [3my elder brother].' (AB198)

### 5.5-5.6 Noun Phrase Structure

**5.5. Descriptive Noun Phrases.** A DESCRIPTIVE NOUN PHRASE consists of two coordinate constituents; an APPELLATIVE constituent, and a DESCRIPTIVE constituent. They are considered coordinate (and appositive)

rather than attributive (i. e. a head with modifiers) because either constituent may occur independent of the other, and both have the same semantic referent. Though the relative order of the constituents is fixed, either of the two, or both, may occur in a nominal position.

Appellative alone:

- 1mú 2stóx [3svf'nik]. 'It is not 2he pays [3his men] (i. e., He doesn't pay his men).' (OD050)  
1lax 2stsóbik [3táak'in]. '1, 2 They collected [3money].' (FB012)

Descriptive alone:

- 1mú 2sk'án 3šák' 4ti 5mól 6xm'ikel 7e [8té 9ti 10yólon 11témpló 12e]. '1It is not 2he wants 3he gives it 4(the) 5Old 6Mike 7(remote) [8it is there 9,10below (the) 11church 12(remote)] (i. e., Old Mike doesn't want to give (the piece of land) there below the church).' (NM582)  
1xá? 2tst'úxik [3ti 4bú 5mól 6šá 7e]. '1It is that: 2they choose [3(the) 4where 5he is old 6already 7(remote)] (i. e., It's that they choose one who is old).' (SD024)

Appellative plus Descriptive:

- 1kó? 2ol 3tšák [4ántsetik 5ti 6lf'oyik 7e]. '1She is the same 2as [3women 4that 5(they) are here 6(remote)].' (X1.016)  
1tšák' 2kast'iko [3ti 4diós 5lf'áto]. '[3The 4god 5here 6still] 1gives 2punishment (i. e., This god punishes).' (FB026)

The appellative may be a NOUN or a POSSESSED NOUN PHRASE.

- 1ip'áx [2ti 3té? 4e]. '[2The 3tree 4(remote)] 1fell.' (SM029)  
1lax 2spásik [3k'in]. '1, 2They made [3a fiesta].' (FB012)  
1tál 2stfk' [3sk'ób 4ti 5bólom 6e]. '1Came 2he put it in [3his paw 4the 5tiger 6(remote)] (i. e., The tiger came and stuck his paw in).' (NT006)  
1tšákák' 2be [3xkantélatik]. '1We give to it [2our candles].' (PP263)

The descriptive may be a CLAUSE or a ti-PHRASE. The Clause may or may not be determined.

- 1lfk 2sméltsan 3ti 4bá 5e [6xá? 7ti 8tšvé? 9ti 10vút 11lám]. '1Began 2he made it 3the 4mole 5(remote) [6it is that 7that 8eats 9,10inside (the) 11ground] (i. e., He then made the mole, it that eats inside the ground).' (SM027)

1sá?bun 2tálel 3k'éox [4ti 5kastíva] [6ti 7bú 8lék 9e]. '1Look for me 2 coming 3 a song [4 in 5 Spanish] [6(the) 7where 8it is good 9(remote)] (i. e., Bring me a song in Spanish that is good).' (NM622)

An appellative noun is in cross-reference with the following descriptive clause as one of its nominal referents. Two examples follow in which the noun is (first) the agent and (second) the goal of the descriptive clause.

1nftšim 2no?oš 3kó?ntontutik 4xkótoltutik 5stšr?uk [6ti 7mariána 8ti 9tálem 10lr? 11to]. '1A flower 2precisely 3our (ex) hearts 4all of us (ex) 5along with [6(the) 7Marion 8who 9has come 10here 11still] (i. e., We (ex.) are all happy including Marion who has come here).' (MS050)

1lax 2ša 3kft's [4ti 5akárta 6e 7ti 8lax 9atak 10talél 11ti 12kuátro 13noviembre]. '1, 3I received 2now [4(the) 5your letter 6(remote) 7that 8, you sent 10coming 11(the) 124th (of) 13November].' (NM538)

The DESCRIPTIVE NOUN PHRASE may occupy a nominal position of a clause and may (or may not) be determined.

Subject: [1ti 2tak'in 3tixtsóbtutik] 4xá? 5ti 6spasáxe 7ti 8mút'su 9tštál 10e. '1The 2money 3we will gather] 4it is that: 5the 6fare of 7the 8one 9who will come 10(remote).' (NM162)

Subject: 1tšám [2ti 3vákaš 4ti 5lax 6smán 7vólxe]. '2The 3cow 4that 5, he bought 7yesterday] 1died.'

Object: 1mi 2ik'ót [3ti 4kárta 5e 6ti 7lá 8xták 9tálel 10e]. '1If 2it arrived [3the 4letter 5(remote) 6that 7, I sent 8coming 10(remote)] (i. e., Did the letter that I sent arrive)?' (NM472)

Object: 1lax 2kft's 3tál [4ti 5xún 6ti 7lax 8ak'ámbun 9e]. '1, 2I brought 3coming [4the 5paper 6that 7, you asked me for 8(remote)].'

**5.6. Possessed Noun Phrases.** A POSSESSED NOUN PHRASE consists of an ITEM followed by a POSSESSOR. The Item may be a POSSESSED or an UNPOSSESSED NOUN.

When the Item is a Possessed Noun, the Possessor may be a Noun, a Noun Phrase, or a Clause. A Clause in this position may (or may not) be determined.

1pó?ot 2ša 3tš?án [4yól 5xtšftom]. '1It is soon 2already 3will be born [4her offspring 5my pig] (i. e., My pig will soon have her litter).' (NM616)

1tšaxk'ámbot 2vokol 3stšr?uk [4skótol 5ti 6xvíniktak 7e 8ti 9k'tú 10yápal 11xkóx 12e]. '1I ask of you 2trouble 3along with [4all 5(the) 6my men 7(remote) 8(the) 9what is 10their muchness (on) 11my account 12(remote)] (i. e., I ask help of you along with all my men, the number of them that are at my command).' (CL015)

1mú 2xétšuk [3sxám 4ti5lá 6xt'sf'babot7e]. 'It is not 2be it thus [3its meaning the 5,6I wrote to you 7(remote)] (i. e., That was not the meaning of what I wrote to you).' (NM164)

The provision that the Possessor may itself be a Possessed Noun Phrase theoretically allows for infinite recursion. In practice, no more than one or two embeddings of Possessed Noun Phrases as Possessor is common.

1t'úxum 2srónil [3sk'ú? 4ti5šlél6e]. '(The) 2embroidery (on) [4(the) 5Manuela's 6(remote) 3blouse] 1is pretty.'

1sk'án 2smélt'sambel [3smákte? 4ti5pále6e]. 'He wants 2its being made for him [3his fence 4the 5priest 6(remote)] (i. e., The priest wants a fence made for him).' (PP440)

When the Item is an Unpossessed Noun, the Possessor is either an ASSOCIATIVE NOUN or an ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASE. The Associative Noun is a Possessed Noun based on ú?un, and an Associative Noun Phrase is a subset of Possessed Noun Phrases having an Associative Noun as Item.

1ti2 iskuéla [3kú?untutik] 4l'5to 6ti7?ispitor [8avú?un]9e 10lék 11sná? 12tšálbe 13mántal 14ti15máystro [16avú?un]17e. 'At [3our] 2school 4here 5still 6(the) [8your] 7inspector 9(remote) 10well 11knows how 12he says to him 13commands 14(the) [16your] 15teacher 17(remote) (i. e., Your inspector really knows how to command your teacher at our school here).' (CL052)

1lá 2xtšón 3ti4l'fmeton [5yú?un] 6ti7čóš8e. 'I sold 3the 4large decanters [5of the 7liquor 8(remote)] (i. e., I sold the large liquor bottles).' (F2. 167)

The Possessor agrees in person with the pronoun prefix of a Possessed Noun occupying the Item position. Since the Possessor is a Noun, a Noun Phrase, or a Clause, the pronoun prefix of the noun in the Item position is almost always the third person pronoun. The two exceptions to this are when the Possessor is either a TOTALITY PHRASE (5. 8) or an ATTENTION CLAUSE (3. 3). It is the POSSESSOR of a Totality Phrase, or the SUBJECT of an Attention Clause which is in cross-reference with the pronoun in the Item position rather than the phrase or clause as a whole.

1xá? [2xták'in 3xtók]. 'It is that: [2it's my money 3my aloneness] (i. e., It is my money alone).'

1tixk'ántutik 2vókol 3ti [4atóxol 5xó?ot] 6ti 7?óy 8avábtel9e. 'We are asking 2trouble 3in [4your presence 5it is you:] 6(the) 7there is 8your official position 9(remote) (i. e., We are asking help of you who have an official position).' (CL040)

5.7-5.12 Subsets of Possessed Noun Phrases

Two subsets of possessed noun phrases have already been introduced, ASSOCIATIVE and TOTALITY phrases. In addition to these, ACCOMPANIMENT, CAUSATIVE, LOCATIVE and TEMPORAL noun phrases are discussed below.

5.7. Associative Noun Phrases. The ASSOCIATIVE NOUN PHRASE is based on the obligatorily possessed stem ú?un, and must be present in the possessor position with an unpossessed noun, as mentioned above. It may also occupy three other positions.

In a passive clause, the goal of the predicator is the subject of the clause, and the agent of the predicator is out of focus, but the agent may be introduced obliquely by an Associative Noun Phrase.

1mú 2lékuk 3i?nat [4yú?un 5ti8sbáankil7e]. 'It is not 2it be good 3he was seen [4by 5(the) 6his elder brother 7(remote)] (i. e., He was not liked by his elder brother).' (AJ005)

1mi 2itšápaX [3avú?unik]. 'If 2it was arranged [3by you] (i. e., Was it settled by you)?'

1k'úsubbil [2yú?un 3ti4stót5e]. 'He was loved [2by 3(the) 4his father 5(remote)].' (AJ002)

The Associative noun phrase may occupy the Purpose Position of a clause.

1mú 2šú? 3tšaxk'óponot 4?ép [5yú?un 6štál7ša 8ti9mút'šu 10tšft'š 11bátel 12ti 13kártá14e]. 'It is not 2it is able 3I will talk to you 4much [5because 6he is coming 7now 8the 9one who 10will take 11going 12the 13letter 14(remote)] (i. e., I am not able to tell you much because the one who is going to take the letter is now coming).' (NM189)

1k'úšik 2ti3sbá 4xk'ób5e [6yú?un 7?ép 8lá 9xót'silan]. 'They hurt 2the 3tops of 4my hands 5(remote) [6because 7much 8,9I scratched them] (i. e., The backs of my hands hurt because I scratched them a lot).' (NL028)

A Question Clause based on k'ú 'what' may have an Associative Noun Phrase as Subject directing the question to the cause of an event. In this construction ú?un receives phrase stress on its final syllable. The grammatical significance of this, if any, is not clear.

1k'ú [2yú?ún 3mú4me 5škák']. 'What is [2its cause 3it is not 4(emphatic) 5I give it] (i. e., Why must I not give it)?' (AB199)

1k'ú [2yù?ún 3tstšón]. '1What is [2its cause 3he will sell it] (i. e., Why is he selling it)?'

The Associative Noun yù?ún may also occupy the Conditional Position of a Manner Clause based on xétš 'thus' (3.4). In this case, only the noun occurs without a possessor constituent following. As in the case mentioned immediately above, ú?ún receives phrase stress on its final syllable when occupying this position. In this case, however, the occurrence of phrase stress may have grammatical significance, since it is not what follows that is in grammatical construction with it. Following xétš, yù?ún has reference to a preceding form, and is comparable to English 'therefore'.

1púro 2sák?obal 3tšá?yik. [4xétš 5yù?ún] 6lâx 7kft'š 8múl. '1Simply 2white-cough 3they feel. [5Because of this, 4it is thus (that)] 6,I received 8fault (i. e., It is simply tuberculosis they are suffering from. Therefore I was sad).' (NM425)

1múk 2š?ák'bat [3xétš 4yù?ún] 5i?flin. '1It be not 2he was given it [4because of this 3it is thus (that)] 5he became angry (i. e., He was not given it so he became angry).' (SM026)

**5.8. Totality Noun Phrases.** A TOTALITY NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset of Possessed Noun Phrases based on two obligatorily possessed noun stems, kótol 'all' and túk 'alone'. Unlike other possessed nouns whose pronoun agrees with a following Possessor, the possessor of a totality noun agrees in person and number with the possessed noun in the item position of the Phrase.

1nftšim 2no?oš 3kó?ntontutik [4xkótol tutik]. '2Simply 1are a flower 3our (ex) hearts (of) [4all (of us (ex.))] (i. e., We (ex) are all happy).' (MS050)

1mú 2ti 3svéntauk [4stókik]. '1It's not 2by 3their good cause [4they alone] (i. e., It's not on their account alone).' (X1.098)

**5.9. Accompaniment Noun Phrases.** An ACCOMPANIMENT NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset based on the obligatorily possessed noun stem tšf'uk. In certain cases, the Accompaniment Noun Phrase could be interpreted as occupying an association position of a clause. An example of such a clause is lékto ?óyun xó?oni stšf'uk káxnil stšf'uk xnit'snab 'I am still fine, I along with my wife and my children,' (NM438) where the subject of the clause is xó?oni, and the verb is unmarked for plural which would seem to indicate that stšf'uk káxnil stšf'uk xnit'snab is an association constituent and not part of the subject.

Such an interpretation is not sure, however, since it is not absolutely necessary to mark the verb for a plural subject when the subject is known to be plural. In other cases, the accompaniment noun phrase is obviously an



appositive to another noun phrase both of which occupy together a nominal position of their clause. Examples of this are:

- 1'?ép 2ti3tšámel 4tšká'?itutik [5stšf'?uk 6kól 7xmf'tšon]. 'It's 1much 2the 3sickness 4we (excl) feel [5along with 6, 7our children].' (NM503)
- 1tšakálbót 2ti3lék 4nik'ótutik 5ti6méxiko [7stšf'?uk 8ti9xmártin10e]. 'I will tell you 2that 3fine 4we (excl) arrived 5in 6Mexico City [7along with 8(the) 9Martin 10(remote)] (i. e., I will tell you that Martin and I arrived O. K. in Mexico City).' (NL112)

Since the accompaniment noun phrase is often clearly in this kind of apposition and can in the previously mentioned cases also be so interpreted, it seems best to consider it to function as an appositive in all cases.

**5.10. Causative Noun Phrases.** A CAUSATIVE NOUN PHRASE is one based on one of two causative nouns, kóx and vénta. They differ in their connotation; kóx implying that the cause is evil, and vénta that it is good. vénta comes from Spanish cuénta. A Causative noun phrase occupies the purpose-cause position of a clause. It differs from the Associative noun phrase in this position in that the latter is connotatively neutral (5.7).

- 1'?úts 2sbáik [3skóx 4ti5mú 6st'sún 7ti8amánta9e]. 'Poor 2them [3its bad cause is 4(the) 5not 6they obey 7(the) 8your commands 9(remote)] (i. e., They are in a bad way because they don't obey your commands).' (MP066)
- 1nip'fxub [2ti3svénta 4ti5máystro6e]. 'I became wise [2(the) 3its good cause 4the 5teacher 6(remote)] (i. e., I got educated on account of the teacher).'

A vénta phrase may also occur as subject of a Question clause based on k'úsi 'what', but in this position vénta requires the impersonal suffix A1 (10.8).

- 1k'úsi [2svéntail 3ti4natál5e]. 'What is [2its good cause 3that 4you came 5(remote)] (i. e., For what good purpose did you come)?'

**5.11. Locative Noun Phrases.** A LOCATIVE NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset based on locative nouns of which there are eight:

- yút 'its insideness (i. e. inside)'  
sbá 'its firstness (i. e. on top, at the beginning)'  
yólon 'its belowness (i. e. below)'  
sxól 'its head (i. e. at the top)'

yók 'its foot (i. e. at the foot)'  
spát 'its back (i. e. at the back, outside)'  
šókon 'its side (i. e. beside)'  
stóxol 'its straightness (i. e. in front, before)'

A Locative Noun Phrase occupies the axis of a Locative Phrase based on the relator ti.

itšvé? [2ti<sub>3</sub>yút 4lúm]. 'It eats [<sub>2,3</sub>inside <sub>4</sub>(the) ground].' (SM027)  
ilá 2xt'sfba 3té [4ti<sub>5</sub>sbá]. 'I, <sub>2</sub>I wrote it <sub>3</sub>it is there [<sub>4,5</sub>at the beginning of it].'  
 (NM010)  
ité 2tšaxmáaot [3ti<sub>4</sub>yólon 5vfts]. 'It is there <sub>2</sub>we will wait for you [<sub>3,4</sub>below  
<sub>5</sub>(the) hill].' (F2.139)  
i?óy 2t'sáyil 3tšlók' [4ti<sub>5</sub>sxól 6ti<sub>7</sub>vfts<sub>8</sub>e]. 'There is <sub>2</sub>smoke <sub>3</sub>(it is) coming  
 out [<sub>4,5</sub>at the top of <sub>6</sub>(the) <sub>7</sub>mountain <sub>8</sub>(remote)].'  
ité 2nákal [3ti<sub>4</sub>yók 5vfts]. 'It is there <sub>2</sub>he lives [<sub>3,4</sub>at the foot of <sub>5</sub>a mountain].'  
ité 2tšmálavan [3ti<sub>4</sub>spát 5aná]. 'It is there <sub>2</sub>he is 'waiting [<sub>3,4</sub>outside <sub>5</sub>your  
 house].'  
ité 2stsóbox 3sbáik [4ti<sub>5</sub>šókon 6t'súlna<sub>7</sub>i]. 'It is there <sub>2</sub>they have gathered  
<sub>3</sub>themselves [<sub>4,5</sub>beside <sub>6</sub>(the) church <sub>7</sub>(immediate)].'  
itixkəxan 2xbátik [3ti<sub>4</sub>stóxol 5ti<sub>6</sub>krús<sub>7</sub>e<sub>8</sub>ti<sub>9</sub>vfts<sub>10</sub>e]. 'We make kneel <sub>2</sub>ourselves  
 [<sub>3,4</sub>before <sub>5</sub>the <sub>6</sub>cross <sub>7</sub>(remote) <sub>8</sub>the <sub>9</sub>mountain <sub>10</sub>(remote)] (i. e., We  
 kneel before the cross and the mountain).' (F2.037)

**5.12. Temporal Noun Phrases.** A TEMPORAL NOUN PHRASE is one of a subset based on impersonal nouns derived from Temporal Stative stems or Numerals. In the case of the nominalized numeral, its Possessor is a temporal noun. The Temporal Noun Phrase may occupy the Time position of a clause.

ixétš 2yù?ún [3sxúnul 4k'ák'al] 5mu 6šk'ópox. 'Because of this, <sub>1</sub>it is thus  
 (that) [<sub>3</sub>its oneness <sub>4</sub>a day] <sub>5</sub>it is not <sub>6</sub>he talks (i. e., Therefore he doesn't  
 talk all day long).' (NM241)  
ik'álal 2mi<sub>3</sub>méltsaxem<sub>4</sub>e [5stšfba<sub>6</sub>to 7k'ák'al] 8tšbát. '(It's) <sub>1</sub>when <sub>2</sub>if <sub>3</sub>it is  
 made <sub>4</sub>(remote), [<sub>5</sub>its secondness <sub>6</sub>still <sub>7</sub>a day] <sub>8</sub>they go (i. e., When it  
 has been made, it's still the second day that they go).' (SD010)

There is a subset of Temporal Noun Phrases which always occupies the axis of a Temporal relator phrase based on ti. Members of this subset are based on either nominalized numerals or nominalized stative stems.

ital 2ti<sub>3</sub>yók'omal]. 'He came <sub>2</sub>on (the) [<sub>3</sub>morrow].'  
ik'ót 2ti<sub>3</sub>pásel 4ti<sub>5</sub>svólxeal]. 'It arrived <sub>2</sub>by <sub>3</sub>being done <sub>4</sub>on [<sub>5</sub>its yesterday]  
 (i. e., It happened the day before).'

iláx ti mfléi ti [stšá' exal] ti méro sk'ák'alil ti k'fn e. 'He was finished <sub>2</sub> by <sub>3</sub> killing <sub>4</sub> on [<sub>5</sub>its two-future-days] <sub>6</sub> the <sub>7</sub>true <sub>8</sub>day of <sub>9</sub>the <sub>10</sub>fiesta <sub>11</sub>(remote) (i. e., He was killed two days after the main day of the fiesta).'

### 5.13. Possessed Nouns as Predicators.

A Possessed Noun Phrase occasionally may occur as an independent sentence or as subject of a negation clause, with its Item constituent interpreted as a predicator. Witness the following examples where the possessed noun may be modified by a modal or inflected for subjunctive mode like a verb.

[iyú'un] kúšul. '[(It's) <sub>1</sub>because] <sub>2</sub>it is alive.' (X1.138)

[iyú'un van] tšiyákub xétš syù'un ixát. '[<sub>2</sub>Probably (it's) <sub>1</sub>because] <sub>3</sub>I am drunk, <sub>5</sub>because of this, <sub>4</sub>it is thus (that) <sub>6</sub>it tore (i. e., It's probably because I'm drunk that it tore).' (NM320)

mú [iyú'unuk] pléito tixpástik stšif'uk. '<sub>1</sub>It is not [<sub>2</sub>it be because] <sub>3</sub>fighting <sub>4</sub>we are doing <sub>5</sub>with them (i. e., It is not that we are fighting with them).'

xá' [stšif'uk] ti xúras e. '<sub>1</sub>It is that: [<sub>2</sub>they are with him] <sub>3</sub>(the) <sub>4</sub>Judas <sub>5</sub>(remote) (i. e., It is they along with Judas).'

té [xšif'uktik] o no'oš péro múk škflik bú ibát. '<sub>1</sub>It is there [<sub>3</sub>we were with him] <sub>3</sub>(conclusive) <sub>4</sub>precisely <sub>5</sub>but <sub>6</sub>it be not <sub>7</sub>we saw <sub>8</sub>where <sub>9</sub>he went (i. e., We were right there with him but we didn't see where he went).'

[spát] ti bú lax yft'še. '[(It's) <sub>1</sub>his back] <sub>2</sub>(the) <sub>3</sub>where <sub>4</sub>, <sub>5</sub>he received it <sub>6</sub>(remote) (i. e., It's his back where he got hurt).'

[skóx] ti mú šá'i ti ak'óp e. '[<sub>1</sub>Its bad cause is] <sub>2</sub>that <sub>3</sub>it is not <sub>4</sub>he hears <sub>5</sub>(the) <sub>6</sub>your words <sub>7</sub>(remote) (i. e., It's because he doesn't hear you).'

(MP067)



## NOMINAL INFLECTION

There are four sets of inflectional forms which are nominal:

1. Pronouns
2. Plural
3. The Determiner *tj*
4. Deictic endings

6.1. Pronouns. There are four persons in Huixtec—first, second, inclusive, and third—and a morpheme for each—FIRST, SECOND, INCL, and THIRD. These morphemes indicate the agent, goal, or referent of a verb, or the possessor of a noun.

As indicated above (2.2), there are three pronoun positions in the verb phrase. These positions are defined to account for differences of (1) pronominal reference, and (2) morphophonemic realization. The pronominal position which precedes the noun stem of a possessed noun is equivalent to position two (PN<sup>2</sup>) of the verb phrase nucleus in respect to the morphophonemic realizations of pronouns. In the following paragraphs, the distribution of pronouns in respect to their grammatical reference is discussed first, followed by a description of their morphophonemic realizations.

A pronoun occupies Position One (PN<sup>1</sup>) of the verb phrase nucleus of an indicative, nonperfective verb if it is (1) the agent of an intransitive verb, (2) the goal of a nonreflexive transitive verb, or (3) the referent of a referential verb.

COMPL-[FIRST]-xóyp'ix 'I turned around,' n-[i]-xóyp'ix, nixóyp'ix,  
INCOMPL-[FIRST]-THIRD-kólta-FIRST 'he helps [me],' tš-[i]-y-kólta-un,  
tšiskóltaun.

INCOMPL-[FIRST]-THIRD-póx-REF-FIRST 'he is taking it away from [me],'  
tš-[i]-y-póx-be-un, tšispóxbøun, tšispóxbun.

A pronoun occupies Position Two (PN<sup>2</sup>) of the verb phrase nucleus if it is the Agent of an Active Transitive or Active Referential Verb. A pronoun occupies Position Two of the possessed noun if it is the possessor of the noun. If a transitive verb is reflexive, position two is occupied twice—preceding the verb stem and the reflexive noun.

INCOMPL-THIRD-[FIRST]-?áventa-THIRD 'I will resow it,' tš-ø-(k)-?á-  
venta-ø, tškøáventa, tškáventa.

INCOMPL-SECOND-[FIRST]-ʔál-REF-SECOND 'I will tell it to you,'  
 tš-a-[k]-ʔál-be-ot, tšakʔálbʔot, tšakálbot.  
[FIRST]-ʔí 'my debt,' [k]-ʔí, kʔí, kí.  
INCOMPL-[THIRD]-kólta-[THIRD]-bá-PL 'they are helping each other,'  
 tš-[y]-kólta-[y]-bá-Uk, tškóltašbáik, tškólta sbáik.

A pronoun occupies Position Three (PN<sup>3</sup>) of the verb phrase nucleus of an indicative, nonperfective verb if it is the goal of an active nonreflexive transitive verb, or the referent of an active referential verb. In these cases the person of goal or referent is marked redundantly in both PN<sup>1</sup> and PN<sup>3</sup>.

COMPL-FIRST-THIRD-ʔí-[FIRST] 'he saw [me],' n-i-y-ʔí-[un], niyʔíun,  
 niyíun.  
INCOMPL-SECOND-THIRD-ʔák'-REF-[SECOND] 'he will give it to [you],'  
 tš-a-y-ʔák'-be-[ot], tšayʔák'bʔot, tšayák'bot.

If the verb is subjunctive, imperative, or perfective, a pronoun occupies Position Three as the agent of an active intransitive verb, goal of a transitive or stative intransitive verb, or the referent of a referential verb.

yál-IMPV-[SECOND] 'get down [(you sg.)]!' yál-o-[an], yálʔan, yálan.  
tál-PERF-[SECOND] '[you] have come,' tál-em-[ot], tálemot.  
COMPL-tál-THIRD-ʔík'-SUBJN-[FIRST] 'He came and called [me],' ʔ-tál-  
 y-ʔík'-ʔ-[un], tályʔík'un, tál yík'un.  
kólta-IMPV-[FIRST] 'help [me]!' kólta-o-[un], kóltaʔun, kóltaun.  
THIRD-máx-PERF-[SECOND] 'he has hit [you],' y-máx-ox-[ot], smáxoxot.  
nák-PERF-PASS-[FIRST] '[I] am seated,' ná-k-ʔ-Rl-[un], nákalun.  
nát-PERF-PASS-[FIRST] '[I] am tall,' nát-ʔ-ʔ-[un], nátun.  
vfnik-PERF-PASS-SUBJN-[FIRST] '[I] were a man,' vfnik-ʔ-ʔ-uk-[un],  
 vfnikukun.  
pás-REF-IMPV-[FIRST] 'do it for [me],' pás-be-o-[un], pásbʔʔun, pásbun.  
THIRD-mán-PERF-REF-[SECOND] 'he has bought it for [you],' s-mán-ox-  
 be-[ot], smánoxbʔot, smánoxbot.

With two exceptions, the morphophonemic realization of the four pronouns in each of the three pronoun positions is as indicated in the following Table.

	PN <sup>1</sup>	PN <sup>2</sup>	PN <sup>3</sup>
FIRST:	i	k	un
SECOND:	a	av	ot
INCL:	ix	k	ʔ
THIRD:	ʔ	y	ʔ

The exceptions are in respect to SECOND, which (1) if occupying PN<sup>2</sup> of an imperative verb is realized as the null element, and (2) if occupying PN<sup>1</sup> of an intransitive verb which is imperative or subjunctive it is realized as an. Examples follow of each of the pronouns in each of their environments.

- INCOMPL-[FIRST]-THIRD-tšúk-[FIRST] 'He is tying me,' tš-[i]-y-tšúk-[un], tšistšúkun.  
COMPL-THIRD-[FIRST]-ŋ-THIRD-PL 'we (excl) saw it,' i-ŋ-[k]-ŋ-ŋ-tutik, ikŋtutik.  
yál-PERF-[FIRST] 'I have descended,' yál-em-[un], yálemun.  
INCOMPL-[SECOND]-THIRD-lában-[SECOND] 'they will deride you,' tš-[a]-y-lában-[ot], tšaslábanot.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-[SECOND]-ʔík'-THIRD 'you will take him,' tš-ŋ-[av]-ʔík'-ŋ, tšavŋík', tšavík'.  
[SECOND]-mán-REF-IMPV-FIRST 'Buy it for me!' [ŋ]-mán-be-o-un, mám-bŋŋun, mámbun.  
ík-IMPV-[SECOND] 'Arise!' ík-o-[an], íkan.  
INCOMPL-[INCL]-THIRD-ʔák'-REF-[INCL]-PL 'he will give it to us (incl),' tš-[ix]-y-ʔák'-be-[ŋ]-ukutik, tšixyŋák'bŋukutik, tšixyák'bukutik.  
lák-THIRD-[INCL]-náʔ-PL-THIRD 'we (incl) remembered,' lák-ŋ-[k]-náʔ-tik-ŋ, lákŋnáʔtik, lák náʔtik.  
ʔábtex-PERF-[INCL]-PL 'we (incl) have worked,' ʔábtex-em-[ŋ]-ukutik, ʔábtexemukutik.  
INCOMPL-bát-[THIRD]-[THIRD]-ʔáʔi-[THIRD] 'he is going to go and hear it,' tš-bá-[ŋ]-[y]-ʔáʔi-[ŋ], tšbáyáʔi, tšbá yáʔi.  
[THIRD]-ʔábtel 'his work,' [y]-ʔábtel, yŋábtel, yábtel.  
SECOND-k'ópon-IMPV-[THIRD] 'Talk to him,' ŋ-k'ópon-o-[ŋ], k'ópono.

**6.2. Plural.** The morpheme PLURAL may modify a noun or a pronoun. Along with possession, the occurrence of PLURAL is a defining characteristic which distinguishes noun stems from stative stems. There are eight morphophonemic realizations of PLURAL; four which indicate plurality of pronouns—tutik, tik, ukutik, Uk,—and four which indicate plurality of nouns—etik, tak, ab, and Vbtak. They may occupy one of two positions in the nucleus of the verb phrase (2.2), or a position immediately following a noun. The distribution of PLURAL is defined as follows.

(1) It may occupy Plural Position Two (PL<sup>2</sup>) of a transitive or referential verb to indicate plurality of the agent.

- lák kŋ[tutik]ot 'We (excl) saw you (sg.)'  
lák avŋ[uk]un 'you (pl) saw me'  
lák x máx bá[tutik] 'we (excl) hit ourselves'

(2) It may occupy Position One (PL<sup>1</sup>) of a nonreflexive verb nucleus, to indicate plurality of (a) the agent of an intransitive verb, (b) the goal of a transitive verb, or (c) the referent of a referential verb.

tšixkóm[ukutik] 'we (incl) will stay'  
tškóm[ik] 'they will stay'  
lâx kfloš[uk] 'I saw you (pl)'  
lâx kŋ[ik] 'I saw them'  
lâ xpásboš[uk] 'I did it for you (pl)'  
lâ xpásbe[ik] 'I did it for them'

(3) It may occupy the plural position following nouns indicating either plurality of the noun or of a possessive pronoun prefix. When a possessive pronoun occurs with a noun, the plural suffix almost invariably has reference to the pronoun. An unpossessed noun, on the other hand, may have a plural suffix indicating plurality of the noun, even though followed by an associative noun (or noun phrase) which indicates the possessor of the noun.

kftš[tutik] 'our (excl) chile'  
yftš[ik] 'their chile'  
ná[etik] kú?un 'my houses'  
?ántš[etik] kú?untutik 'our (excl) women'

The distribution of the various morphophonemic realizations of Plural is described below, first for forms which indicate plurality of pronouns, and then for those which indicate plurality of nouns.

In the first place, it should be noted that plurality is not always marked even when the reference is plural. The speaker may fail to mark plurality at his discretion. Apart from this freedom, there are two specific situations where plurality may not be marked.

(1) In a transitive or referential verb neither of whose nominal referents is third person, the agent may not be overtly marked as plural if the other referent is plural.

lâx kfloš[uk] 'I/we (excl) saw [you (pl)]'  
lâx avŋun[tutik] 'you (sg/pl) saw [us (excl)]'  
lâx skútšbun[tutik] 'He/they carried him for [us (excl)]'  
lâx skútšboš[uk] 'He/they carried him for [you (pl)]'

(2) A third person goal of a transitive verb, or a third person referent of a referential verb may not be overtly marked as plural unless the agent is first person singular.

lâx kŋ[ik] 'I saw them'  
lâx kŋtutik 'We saw him/them'  
lâx avŋ 'You (sg) saw him/them'  
lâx avŋlik 'You (pl) saw him/them'



lāx kfltik 'We (incl) saw him/them'

lāx yfl 'He saw him/them'

lāx yflik 'They saw him/them'

With the above restrictions, PLURAL is realized morphophonemically as follows to indicate plurality of pronouns:

(1) as tutik to indicate plurality of first person;

lāx kfl[tutik]ot 'We (excl) saw you (sg)'

tixmfl xbá[tutik] 'We (excl) will kill each other'

lāx yflun[tutik] 'He/they saw us (excl)'

tšiyá[tutik] 'We (excl) will descend'

xmé?[tutik] 'our (excl) mother'

(2) as Uk to indicate plurality of second or third person;

lāx avfl[uk]un 'You (pl) saw me'

lāx avfl[ik] 'You (pl) saw him/them'

lāx amáx abá[ik] 'You (pl) hit each other'

lāx yfloš[uk] 'He/they saw you (pl)'

tša? átin[ik] 'You (pl) will bathe'

até?[ik] 'your (pl) poles'

lāx yfl[uk]un 'They saw me'

lāx yfl[uk]ot 'They saw you (sg)'

lāx yfl[ik] 'They saw him/them'

tsmfl sbá[ik] 'They will kill each other'

tš? ábtex[ik] 'They are working'

sná[ik] 'their house'

(3) as tik to indicate plurality of an inclusive person when the agent of a transitive or referential verb or the possessor of a noun;

lāx kfl[tik] 'We (incl) saw him/them'

tixkólta xbá[tik] 'We (incl) will help each other'

lá xpásbe[tik] 'We (incl) did it for him/them'

xlúm[tik] 'our (incl) land'

(4) and as ukutik to indicate plurality of an inclusive person when agent of an intransitive verb, goal of a transitive verb, or referent of a referential verb.

lāx yfl[ukutik] 'He/they saw us (incl)'

tšixnák[ukutik] 'We (incl) will sit down'  
lâx yák'b[ukutik] 'He/they gave it to us (incl)'

The realization of PLURAL when indicating plurality of a noun classifies nouns into four subsets. The vast majority of nouns are pluralized by etik.

?áxvali[etik] 'authorities'  
vínik[etik] 'men'  
xkêrem[etik] 'my boys'  
atséb[etik] 'your (sg) girls'

The other three subsets are quite small, and are limited to obligatorily possessed nouns.

(1) tak occurs with a small subset of obligatorily possessed nouns, most of which are kinship terms.

xbánki[tak] 'my older brothers'  
xmóso[tak] 'my servants'  
tóte[tak] 'Fathers!'

(2) ab only occurs with two kinship terms.

snft'šn[ab] 'his sons'  
kft'sin[ab] 'my younger brothers (in one's family)'

(3) vbtak only occurs with five kinship terms.

xvřš[obtak] 'my older sisters'  
smók[ubtak] 'her younger siblings'  
yál[abtak] 'her children'

**6.3. Determiner Phrases.** A DETERMINER PHRASE consists of the Determiner tj followed by a noun, a noun phrase, a relator phrase based on k'alal or mi, or a clause. A form must be determined by tj if it has been previously mentioned or is clearly understood from the context or situation. In nominal positions, the determiner tj almost always occurs with one of the deictic endings, i (immediate context) or e (remote context).

,xétš ,yù?ún ,tj,tšópol [,tj,kristšánoetik,i]. 'Because of this, it is thus

- 3(that) [5the 8people 7(immediate)] 4are evil (i. e., Therefore the people right here are evil).' (PP082)
- 1tšbá 2xšá? 3tál [4ti<sub>5</sub>xbánkil<sub>8</sub>e]. 'Going 2I look for 3coming [4(the) 5my elder brother 8(remote)] (i. e., I'll go and look for my elder brother).' (SM035)
- 1lax 2yá? 3ti<sub>4</sub>ltfx [5ti<sub>8</sub>kampána<sub>7</sub>e]. '1, 2They heard 3that [5the 8bell 7(remote)] 4rang.' (FB002)

The Determiner Phrase may be a contrary-to-fact condition and occupy the conditional position of a clause when the form determined is a subjunctive clause. Any affirmative subjunctive clause may occur with ti in this way, but of negative verbs, only the negative subjunctive verb mántšuk may so occur.

- [1ti<sub>2</sub>tšápaluk<sub>3</sub>e] 4tšbá 5kft's 6tálel. '[1That 2it be ready 3(remote),] 4going 5I bring it 6coming (i. e., If it were ready, I would go and get it).'
- [1ti<sub>2</sub>laxuk 3stšón<sub>4</sub>e] 5xá? 6más 7lék. '[1That 2, 3he had sold it 4(remote),] 5it is that: 6most 7good it is (i. e., If he had sold it, it would have been better).'
- [1ti<sub>2</sub>mántšuk 3itšám 4ti<sub>5</sub>stót 6ti<sub>7</sub>k'ák'al<sub>8</sub>e] 9xétš 10mú 11šixtšám. '[1That 2it be no matter (that) 6the 7sun's 8(remote) 4(the) 5father 3died] 9it is thus 10not 11we die (i. e., If the sun's father had not died, thus we would not die).' (SM013)
- [1ti<sub>2</sub>mántšuk 3ti 4ʔoy 5mút'su 6tšiskóltau] 7mú 8šú? 9tšaxk'óponot 10ʔép. '[1That 2it be no matter 3that 4there is 5who 6is helping me] 7it is not 8it is able 9I talk to you 10much (i. e., If it were not that there is someone helping me, I would not be able to write much to you).' (NL091)

**6.4. Deictic Endings.** There are two DEICTIC ENDINGS, i (immediate context) and e (remote context). They occur finally in both verb and nominal positions. In the case of a noun phrase which occupies a clause position, even if the noun phrase is constituted of several embedded forms which independently might have a deictic ending, these forms may not have such an ending when embedded in another phrase.

e is much more frequent than i, presumably for semantic reasons, since i is limited to immediate context only. In a concordance of 45,914 tokens, e occurred 2,269 times, while i occurred only 84 times. As the final syllable of phrases, deictic endings always occur with phrase stress.

- 1xókol 2avál 3ti<sub>4</sub>lax 5apásbun 6tálel 7ti<sub>8</sub>xkárta[9e]. 'Trouble 2you say 3that 4, 5you made for me 6coming 7(the) 8my letter [9(remote)] (i. e., Thank you for sending me the letter).' (NM303)
- 1tšaxák'bot 2xóʔot[3i] 4k'úsi 5tšánóp. 'I will ask you 2it is you [3(immediate)] 4what is it 5you think (i. e., I will ask you what you think).' (NM454)



## RELATOR PHRASES

A relator phrase is a relator-axis construction based on one of four relators:

1. ti
2. ʔásta
3. k'álal
4. mi

**7.1. ti-Phrases.** A ti-PHRASE consists of the relator ti followed by a noun, a noun phrase, or a clause. It is one of three types.

A MANNER ti-PHRASE occupies the Manner Position of a Clause and has a Noun or Noun Phrase of Manner as axis.

- 1l̥k 2sk'éx 3sbá [4ti 5ʔánil]. '1Began 2he set aside 3himself [4in 5a hurry] (i. e., He got out of the way in a hurry).' (PP011)
- [1ti 2pék'] 3tskútš 4bátel. '[(It's) 1with 2a tumpline] 3he will carry it 4going.' (SD022)
- 1pásbil [2ti 3sk'ób 4kristšáno]. '1It has been made [2by 4 people's 3hands].' (X2.187)

A LOCATIVE ti-PHRASE occupies the Locative Position of a Clause and has a Locative Noun, or Locative Noun Phrase as axis.

- 1l̥x 2slápi [3ti 4préšu]. '1 2They enclosed him [3in 4prison] (i. e., They threw him into prison).' (MC011)
- 1l̥ʔ [2ti 3vistán]. '1It is here [2in 3Huixtán].' (MC011)
- 1šánav [2l̥ʔ 3ti 4slók'eb 5k'ák'al]. '1He travelled [2here 3at 4its place of exiting 5the sun] (i. e., He travelled here in the east).' (VA052)

A TEMPORAL ti-PHRASE occupies the Time Position of a Clause and has a Temporal Stative Stem, a Temporal Noun Phrase, or a Numeral Clause as axis.

- 1xáʔ 2l̥x 3spás 4ti 5xvášakmel 6e [7ti 8vóʔone]. '1It is that: 4(the) 5Vashakmel 6(remote) 2, 3did it [7in 8the past].' (VA002)

1láx 2smfl 3sbáik [4ti 5svfšperesal 6ti 7k'in 8e]. '1,2They killed 3each other [4on 5the night before 6the 7fiesta 8(remote)].'  
1tixk'ópon 2xbátik [3ti 4yán 5šemána]. '1We will talk to 2each other [3at 4another 5week] (i. e., We will talk together some other time).' (NM259)

**7.2. ?ásta-Phrases.** An ?ásta-PHRASE consists of the Relator ?ásta followed by a temporal noun or noun phrase, a ti-Phrase, or a clause as axis. ?ásta is borrowed from Spanish *hasta* 'until'. In Hulxtec, it indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause continues (continued, etc.) up to the point in time indicated in the axis of the ?ásta-Phrase.

1stálel 2té 3?óy 4ti 5slíkeb [6?ásta 7sláxeb]. '1It's his nature 2there 3he is 4from 5its beginning [6up to 7its end] (i. e., It's his nature to be there from the beginning to the end).' (X1.115)  
1sk'án 2to 3tixk'él [4?ásta 5sláxeb 6ti 7xún 8e]. '1Its lack is 2still 3I read [4up to 5its end 6the 7book 8(remote)] (i. e., I still haven't read to the end of the book).'  
1kfloxtutik 2k'álal 3b'k'ituntutik [4?ásta 5ti 6?óra 7to]. '1We have seen it 2when 3we (excl) were small [4up to 5at 6time 7still] (i. e., We have seen it since we were small right up until now).' (CL035)  
1xá? 2xétš 3lá 4xpástutik [5?ásta 6nipástutik 7ti 8vfnik]. '1It is that: 2it is thus 3,4 we (excl) did [5until 6we (excl) were made 7into 8men] (i. e., This is how we did until we became men).' (CL031)

**7.3. k'álal-Phrases.** A k'álal-PHRASE consists of the Relator k'álal followed by a noun, a ti-Phrase, or a clause as axis. It is one of two types. A LOCATIVE k'álal-PHRASE may occupy the Locative position of a clause, the subject position of a Question Clause based on bú 'where', or the axis of a mi-Phrase. It indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause continues to the point specified in the axis of the k'álal-Phrase.

1lá 2snútsik 3bátel [4k'álal 5xóbel]. '1,2They chased him 3(going) [4as far as 5Las Casas].'  
1ti 2bú [3k'álal 4šú? 5kú?un 6e 7tšaxkóltaot]. '1(The) 2where [3as far as 4it is able 5by me] 6(remote) 7I will help you (i. e., I'll help you as much as I can).' (NM094)  
[1k'álal 2ti 3xtéklum] [4mi [5k'álal 6ti 7xóbel] 8šú? 9ša 10yú?un 11ti 12kérem 13e]. '[1As far as 2to 3town] 4if [5as far as 6to 7Las Casas] 8is able 9now 10by him 11the 12boy 13(remote) (i. e., The boy can now travel as far as town or as far as Las Casas).'

The axis of a locative k'álal-Phrase may be a locative noun, or a locative ti-Phrase.

1lék 2išánay 3k'álal [4mélixko]. '1Fine 2it travelled 3as far as [4Mexico City].'  
1ti2diós3e 4láx 5stén 6bátel 7k'álal [8ti9yfoil 10vfnaxel] 11ti12pdkux13e. '1(The)  
2God 3(remote) 4,5threw 6(going) 7as far as [8to 9its roots (the) 10sky] 11the  
12devil 13(remote) (i. e., God threw the devil as far as the ends of the  
earth).' (DB033)

A TEMPORAL k'álal-PHRASE may occupy the Time Position of a clause or the Subject Position of an Attention Clause. It indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause is during the time specified in the axis of the k'álal-Phrase.

[1k'álal 2i?ét's 3ti4xtéklum] 5ikπ [6k'álal 7b'k'itun8to9e]. '1[When 2he passed  
3through 4town] 5I saw him [6when 7I was small 8still9(remote)].' (MC045)  
1xá? 2to [3k'álal 4lá 5xtátutik 6ti7bé 8ti9xtómas10e] 11xá? 12to 13láx 14ká?itutik.  
'1It is that 2still: [3when 4,5we found 6(the) 7Thomas 10(remote) 6on (the)  
7trail] 11it is that 12still: 13,14we heard it (i. e., Not until we met Thomas  
on the road did we hear it).'

The axis of a Temporal k'álal-Phrase may be a Temporal ti-Phrase or a clause. With a ti-Phrase as axis, the Temporal k'álal-Phrase indicates that the action or state of the matrix clause is consummated at the point of time indicated in the axis of the k'álal-Phrase.

1šatál 2k'álal [3ti4xó?laxuneb 5k'ák'al]. '1You come 2as long as [3in 4fifteen  
5days] (i. e., You come in fifteen days).' (NM070)  
1mú 2xná?tik 3mi4tšixsdt 5bátel 6ti7yán 8?ú 9o10k'álal [11ti 12vášakib 13k'ák'al]  
14o15k'álal [16ti17yán 18xábil]. '1It is not 2we know 3if 4we will return  
5(going) 6in 7another 8month 9or 10as long as [11in 12eight 13days] 14or 15as  
long as [16in 17another 18year] (i. e., We don't know if we will return some  
other month or in eight days or some other year).' (X1. 144)  
1tsmán 2vakašetik 3ti4kristšánoetik 5k'álal [6mú7to 8?óyuk 9yπ]. '3The 4people  
1buy 2cattle 5when [6it is not 7still 8it be there 9their debt] (i. e., The peo-  
ple buy cattle when they don't still have debts).' (OD024)

k'álal occurs idiomatically as subject of a Location Clause based on té with the meaning 'that's that'.

1mi2itšám 3té [4k'álal]. '1If 2it died (it's) 3there [4when] (i. e., If it dies, that's  
that).' (MG068)  
1té [2k'álal] 3mi4xétš 5sk'an 6ti7diós8e. '(It's) 1there [2when] 3if 4it is thus 6(the)  
7God 8(remote) 5wants (i. e., If that's what God wills, that's that).' (MG046)

7.4. mi-Phrases. A mi-PHRASE is a Conditional Phrase. It consists of the Relator mi followed by a clause as axis. It may occupy the conditional position of a clause, the subject of a Manner clause, or the object of Description clauses (4.1).

[1mi<sub>2</sub>šú? 3tšamán 4tálel] 5tákbun 6tálel. '[1If 2it is able 3you will buy it 4coming] 5send it to me 6coming (i. e., If you are able to buy it, send it to me).' (NM598)

[1mi<sub>2</sub>tšk'ót 3ti 4pásele] 5xá? 7lék. '[1If 2it arrives 3by 4being done 5(remote),] 6it is that: 7it is good (i. e., If it happens, that will be good).' (PP322)

1tixk'él [2mi<sub>3</sub>tá 4yútsil]. '1I will look [2if 3it finds 4its niceness] (i. e., I will see if it is enough).' (NM536)

When the matrix clause is a negation clause, the Conditional Phrase may have a subjunctive clause based on the numeral 'one' or xútuk 'little' as axis to indicate absolute negation.

[1mi<sub>2</sub>xúnuk] 3mú? 4yuk 5mút'šu 6?ótšem 7ti 8máystro 9l? 10to. '[1If 2it be one] 3it is not there be 4who it is 5entered 6as 7teacher 8here 9still (i. e., There is not even one who has become a teacher here).' (CL059)

1mú<sub>2</sub>xná? 3tik [4mi<sub>5</sub>xútuk]. '1It is not 2we know it [3if 4it be a little] (i. e., We don't know anything).' (F2.071)

A QUESTION FOR CONFIRMATION is a Conditional Phrase functioning alone as an independent sentence. (It carries no special interrogative intonation.)

1mi<sub>2</sub>tixpástik. '1If 2we will do it (i. e., Will we do it)?' (FB002)

1mi<sub>2</sub>?ép 3sk'án [4mi<sub>5</sub>tškák'be]. '1If 2it's much 3they want [4if 5I will give it to them] (i. e., If they want a lot, will I give it to them)?' (NM278)

The answer to a QUESTION FOR CONFIRMATION is never just 'yes', for which there is no lexical equivalent in Huixtec, and rarely 'no'; but usually involves repeating the predicator used in the question with or without negation (and any appropriate change of subject).

For example, if the question is mitšabát ?ók'om 'Are you going tomorrow?', a typical affirmative answer is tšibát 'I am going' and a negative answer, mú šibát 'I am not going'. The question may be negative, mimú šabát ?ók'om 'Aren't you going tomorrow?', and either of the two answers can still be given.

Any question, of course, has many possible answers. A question such as mitšak'án tšak'él xún 'Do you want to read (lit., look at paper)?' may be answered in the following (as well as other) ways:



tixk'él. 'I'll look at it.'

tixk'án tixk'él. 'I want to look at it.'

mú xk'án. 'I don't want it.'

mú šú? 'I am not able to.'

mú xná? 'I don't know how.'



## MODALS

A modal is one of a miscellaneous set of fifteen adverbs, which modify a predicator or clause. The fifteen modals are:

1. to (continuative)
2. ša (perfective)
3. ʔoš (past perfective)
4. ʔo (conclusive)
5. noʔoš (limitative)
6. me (emphatic)
7. van (dubitative)
8. bi (assertative)
9. mati (cognitive)
10. la (quotative)
11. noštok (repetitive)
12. ʔuk (adjunctive)
13. xuʔun (asseverative)
14. xumbi (speculative)
15. tšéʔ (consequential)

The form modified and following modal adverb together constitute a MODAL PHRASE. The form modified may be a word, a phrase, or a clause. A Modal Phrase may itself be modified by a modal, thus allowing (in a restricted sense) self-embedding. This may result in two, or even three, modals occurring in sequence. There are, of course, heavy restrictions on which modals may modify what forms, and each modal seems to have a unique distribution.

ʔóy 'there is'

ʔóy ša 'there already is'

ʔóy ša van 'there probably already is'

ʔóy ša me van 'there probably already (emphatic) is'

8.1. The PRESENT CONTINUATIVE PHRASE may be any otherwise unmodified predicator followed by to (present continuative). It indicates that action initiated in the past continues in the present.

lax<sub>[2]</sub>to xpás. 'I [<sub>2</sub>still] <sub>1,3</sub>did it.' (F2, 153)

1mú[<sub>2</sub>to] 3škáak'. 'It is not [<sub>2</sub>still] 3I give her (i. e., I still will not give her).' (AB102)

8.2. The PERFECTIVE PHRASE may be any otherwise unmodified predicator followed by ša (perfective). It indicates that an action is prior to present or future time.

1mú[<sub>2</sub>ša] 3if'ukot ti 5méxiko. 'It is not [<sub>2</sub>now] 3you be here 4in 5Mexico (i. e., You are not here in Mexico now).' (NM348)

1'áy[<sub>2</sub>ša] 3sp'is ti 5bálumil<sub>6</sub>e. 'He has [<sub>2</sub>already] 1come and gone (and) 3measured 4the 5land 6(remote).' (NM592)

8.3. The PAST PERFECTIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator of a perfection Phrase followed by ʔoš (past perfective). It indicates that an action is prior to some other past action.

1k'álal 2i'ótš 3ti 4xóbel 5itál[<sub>6</sub>ʔoš] 7ti 8'ávyon. 'When 2he entered 3(into) 4Las Casas, 7the 8plane 5came [<sub>6</sub>already] (i. e., When he entered Las Casas, the plane had already come).' (OD071)

ti<sub>2</sub> ʔakósto 3yfx 4ša[<sub>5</sub>ʔoš] 6ti 7xtšób<sub>8</sub>e. 'In 2August 6(the) 7my cornfield 8(remote) (is) 4now [<sub>5</sub>already] 3ripe.' (YW008)

8.4. The CONCLUSIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator, a Perfective Phrase, or a clause followed by ʔo (conclusive). It indicates a lack of deviation.

1tē[<sub>2</sub>ʔo] 3no ʔoš 4isút 5batel. 'It was there [<sub>2</sub>(conclusive)] 3precisely 4he returned 5going.' (OD094)

1múk<sub>2</sub>ša[<sub>3</sub>ʔo] 4sút 5bátel. 'It be not 2now [<sub>3</sub>(conclusive)] 4he returns 5going (i. e., He never went back now).' (OD084)

1mú<sub>2</sub>ša 3xk'ántik[<sub>4</sub>ʔo]. 'It is not 2now 3we want it [<sub>4</sub>(conclusive)] (i. e., We now don't want it ever).' (PP254)

8.5. The LIMITATIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator, a Present Continuative, a Perfective, or a Conclusive Phrase followed by no ʔoš (limitative). It indicates circumscribed and unmixed action.

1vókol[<sub>2</sub>no ʔoš] 3itfl. 'Trouble [<sub>2</sub>precisely] 3it burst into flame (i. e., It didn't want to light).' (PP042)

1tē<sub>2</sub>to[<sub>3</sub>no ʔoš] 4tálel 5tšixnúpun. 'It is there 2still [<sub>3</sub>precisely] 4our custom (that) 5we marry (i. e., It's still our custom to marry).' (AB109)

1lá<sub>2</sub>ša<sub>3</sub>[no ?oš] 4xt'šák. 'Finished <sub>2</sub>now [<sub>3</sub>precisely] <sub>4</sub>we divide them (i. e., We have already disbursed them).' (NM134)  
1té<sub>2</sub>o<sub>3</sub>[no ?oš] 4isút 5bátel. 'It was there <sub>2</sub>(conclusive) [<sub>3</sub>precisely] <sub>4</sub>he returned <sub>5</sub>going.' (OD094)

8.6. The EMPHATIC PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator, a present continuative, a perfective, or a limitative phrase followed by me (emphatic). It indicates emphasis.

1ná 2?ik<sub>3</sub>[me] 3akótolik. 'Remember [<sub>3</sub>(emphatic)] <sub>3</sub>all of you.' (X1.105)  
1tá<sub>2</sub>to<sub>3</sub>[me] 4stšápax. 'Find <sub>2</sub>still [<sub>3</sub>(emphatic)] <sub>4</sub>it is arranged (i. e., It will still be settled).'  
1mú<sub>2</sub>ša<sub>3</sub>[me] 4šálik 5tikóralito. 'It is not <sub>2</sub>now [<sub>3</sub>(emphatic)] <sub>4</sub>they do down <sub>5</sub>to <sub>6</sub>Corralito (i. e. They are not to go down to Corralito now).' (PP030)  
1xún<sub>2</sub>no ?oš<sub>3</sub>[me] 4kárton 5škft'š 6bátel. 'One <sub>2</sub>only [<sub>3</sub>(emphatic)] <sub>4</sub>carton (that) <sub>5</sub>I'll take <sub>6</sub>going (i. e., I'll take only one carton).'

In Negation Clauses me indicates injunctions. Compare the following sets of examples:

mú šápás. 'You are not doing it.'  
múme šápás. 'Don't do it!'  
mú xpástik. 'We don't do it.'  
múme xpástik. 'Let us not do it.'

8.7. The DUBITATIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicate, a present continuative, a perfective, or a limitative, followed by van (dubitative). It indicates that an action is probable.

1xó 2?obuk<sub>3</sub>[van] 3lá 4xmúk. 'It be five [<sub>2</sub>probably] (that) <sub>3</sub><sub>4</sub>I buried (i. e., It was probably five that I buried).' (OD107)  
1mú<sub>2</sub>to<sub>3</sub>[van] 4sk'án. 'It is not <sub>2</sub>still [<sub>3</sub>probably] <sub>4</sub>he wants it (i. e., He probably does not want it yet).'  
1?óy<sub>2</sub>ša<sub>3</sub>[van] 4xúnuk 5?ú. 'There is <sub>2</sub>now [<sub>3</sub>probably] <sub>4</sub>be it one <sub>5</sub>month (i. e., It is now probably about a month).' (F2.154)  
1xétš<sub>2</sub>no ?oš<sub>3</sub>[van] 4tšálik. 'It is thus <sub>2</sub>precisely [<sub>3</sub>probably] <sub>4</sub>they are saying it (i. e., They are probably saying just that).' (MC058)

8.8. The ASSERTATIVE PHRASE is a clause or a conclusive phrase followed by bi (assertative). It indicates that a statement is unquestionably true.

1xá? 2tixk'án[3bi]. '1It is that: 2I want it [3for sure] (i. e., That's what I want).' (PP395)  
1pókux 2'o[3bi]. '1(It's) a devil 2(conclusive) [3for sure] (i. e., It's devilish for sure).' (PP144)

8.9. The COGNITIVE PHRASE is an otherwise unmodified predicator followed by matf (cognitive). It indicates a sudden recognition of actuality. The Cognitive Phrase receives phrase stress on its final syllable, and often occurs with exclamatory intonation.

1tšópol[2matf]. '1It is harmful [2truly] (i. e., It really is harmful)!' (F2.133)  
1xóvil[2matf] 3tixk'ópontik. '1It is in vain [2truly] (that) 3we talk to him (i. e., It really is in vain that we talk to him)!'

8.10. The QUOTATIVE PHRASE is a clause, an otherwise unmodified predicator, a present continuative, or a perfective phrase followed by la (quotative). It indicates that someone other than the speaker is originally responsible for the statement.

1k'úsi[2la] 3tšak'án. '1What is it [2it is said] 3you want (i. e., What do you want?, she said).'  
1tštál[2la] 3?ftšin. '1It is coming [2it is said] 3an owl (i. e., They said an owl was coming).' (F1.016)  
1?óy2to[3la] 4?tšim. '1There is 2still [3it is said] 4corn (i. e., They say there is still corn).'  
1tšák'2ša[3la]. '1He is giving it 2already [3it is said] (i. e., They say he is already giving it).'

8.11. The REPETITIVE PHRASE is a clause followed by noštok (repetitive). It indicates that an action has been performed before.

1ti2xúnyo 3tšitš'ák'inax[4noštok]. '(It's) 4in 2June 3I weed [4again].' (YW004)  
1?óy2van 3xúnuk 4k'ák'al[5noštok] 6lá 7xft'tutik 8ti9na10e. '1There is 2probably 3be it one 4day [5again] (that) 6, 7I put the walls on 8the 9house 10(remote) (i. e., There was probably another day again when we put the walls on the house).' (HB022)

8.12. The ADJUNCTIVE PHRASE occurs in a variety of clause positions and, unlike other modals, may consist of a possessed noun with following ?uk (adjunctive). It indicates that the item modified is in a similar relation to another item.

1tšakálbot[<sub>2</sub>?uk] 3i?ótš 4ti<sub>7</sub>kavfíto 5ti<sub>7</sub>xmfkel<sub>9</sub>e. 'I will tell you [<sub>2</sub>also] (that) <sub>6</sub>(the) <sub>7</sub>Miguel <sub>8</sub>(remote) <sub>3</sub>entered <sub>4</sub>the <sub>5</sub>presidency (i. e., I will tell you that Miguel has town work).' (NM152)

1tsták 2tálel 3skárta[<sub>4</sub>?uk] 5ti<sub>9</sub>xnft'šon<sub>7</sub>e. '<sub>1</sub>(The) <sub>6</sub>my son <sub>7</sub>(remote) <sub>1</sub>is sending <sub>2</sub>(coming) <sub>3</sub>his letter [<sub>4</sub>also].' (NM469)

**8.13.** The ASSEVERATIVE PHRASE is a clause followed by xu?un (asseverative). It indicates strong affirmation with an implied lack of forbearance.

1k'álal 2itál 3ti<sub>4</sub>carránza[<sub>5</sub>xu?un] 6lák 7stóy 8ti<sub>9</sub>šaxvalil. '<sub>1</sub>It was when <sub>3</sub>(the) <sub>4</sub>Carranza <sub>2</sub>came [<sub>5</sub>(affirmation)] <sub>6</sub>the <sub>9</sub>authorities <sub>8</sub>, <sub>7</sub>raised it (the wage).' (OD008)

1ti<sub>2</sub>šóra<sub>3</sub>me[<sub>4</sub>xu?un]. '<sub>1</sub>At <sub>2</sub>once <sub>3</sub>(emphatic) [<sub>4</sub>(affirmation)] (i. e., (Do it) right away)!' (NM489)

**8.14.** The SPECULATIVE PHRASE is a clause followed by xumbi, which occurs with phrase stress on its final syllable. The derivation of xumbi is not clear. It looks in form like xu?un (asseverative) or xún 'one' followed by bi (assertative), but the joining of these does not give an acceptable semantic interpretation. It indicates indecisiveness and a willingness to further consider the situation.

1xtúk 2tšikóm[<sub>3</sub>xumbi]. '<sub>1</sub>I alone <sub>2</sub>(I) will stay [<sub>3</sub>I guess].' (AJ034)

1mélel 2múto 4škák' [<sub>5</sub>xumbi]. '<sub>1</sub>It's true (that) <sub>2</sub>it is not <sub>3</sub>still <sub>4</sub>I give her [<sub>5</sub>I am thinking] (i. e., It's true, I am not thinking of giving her yet).' (AB102)

**8.15.** The CONSEQUENTIAL PHRASE is a clause followed by tšé? (consequential) and the deictic ending e (remote context). It indicates that an action naturally follows from something else.

1k'élo 2avfi [<sub>3</sub>tšé?<sub>4</sub>e] 5šánav 6tšavfi. '[<sub>3</sub>So <sub>4</sub>(remote)] <sub>1</sub>look (so) <sub>2</sub>you see, <sub>5</sub>he is walking <sub>6</sub>you see (i. e., So look, he is walking you see).' (MC015)

1tá<sub>2</sub>me 3šaválbun 4tálel 5k'úsi 6šóra 7tšatál [<sub>8</sub>tšé?<sub>9</sub>e]. '[<sub>8</sub>So <sub>9</sub>(remote)] <sub>1</sub>find <sub>2</sub>(emphatic) <sub>3</sub>you tell me <sub>4</sub>coming <sub>6</sub>what <sub>7</sub>time <sub>9</sub>you will come (i. e. So you will tell me when you are coming).' (NM550)





## APPOSITION

Apposition is an important phenomenon in Tzotzil (as in other languages) and one which requires a good deal more study and understanding than is represented by this brief chapter. The following description, therefore, must be considered only suggestive and tentative. Further study should take semological units into consideration.

Appositive phrases are additive or alternative. Alternative phrases may occur in the Time, Conditional and Object positions of the clause; Additive phrases may occur in any nominal position of the clause, and in the Time, Location, and Vocative positions.

9.1. Alternative Phrases. Alternative Phrases in the Time position are composed of two temporal stative verbs.

tšaxk'óponot ?ók'om tšá?ex, 'I will talk to you <sub>2</sub>tomorrow (or) <sub>3</sub>two days from now (i. e. the next day).' (AB230)

Alternative phrases in the Object and Conditional positions are always mi-Phrases.

In Object: tšká?itik ša mi tššápax e mi mú stšápax e. 'We will hear <sub>2</sub>now <sub>3</sub>if <sub>4</sub>it will be arranged <sub>5</sub>(remote) <sub>6</sub>if <sub>7</sub>it is not <sub>8</sub>it is arranged <sub>9</sub>(remote) (i. e., We will hear now whether it will be taken care of or not).' (PP174)

In Conditional: mi kérem mi tséb tstóy sbáik. 'If <sub>2</sub>it is a boy <sub>3</sub>if <sub>4</sub>it is a girl <sub>5</sub>they lift up <sub>6</sub>themselves (i. e., Whether boy or girl they want to go their own way).' (EW055)

9.2. Additive Phrases. Additive Phrases may be series of nouns, phrases, or clauses, or combinations of these.

In Possessor: lék ?óyuntutik stší?uk ti kermána maryána krasyéla xmartín. 'Fine <sub>2</sub>we (excl) are <sub>3</sub>along with <sub>4</sub>(the) <sub>5</sub>my brethren <sub>6</sub>Marion <sub>7</sub>Grace <sub>8</sub>Martin (i. e., Our brethren Marion, Grace, Martin and myself are all fine).' (NL136)

nftšim no?oš kó?nton xkótoitutik stší?uk ti kermánotik ti li? skótoi li? to víniketik ?ántsetik ?óloletik. 'A flower <sub>2</sub>precisely <sub>3</sub>our

hearts <sub>4</sub> all of us (excl) <sub>5</sub> along with <sub>6</sub> (the) <sub>7</sub> our brethren <sub>8</sub> that <sub>9</sub> are here <sub>10</sub> all of them <sub>11</sub> here <sub>12</sub> still <sub>13</sub> men <sub>14</sub> women <sub>15</sub> children (i. e., All of us here are happy along with our brethren, men, women, and children).' (MS023)

In Object: 1skótol 2k'ák'al 3tšbá 4xk'ópontik 5ti<sub>6</sub>xtótik 7'ánxel<sub>8</sub>e. '1Every <sub>2</sub> day <sub>3</sub> going <sub>4</sub> we talk to <sub>5</sub> (the) <sub>6</sub> our father <sub>7</sub> the angel <sub>8</sub> (remote) (i. e., Every day we go and talk to our father the Angel).' (VA021)

1tšistšók'bun 2ti<sub>3</sub>xk'ú? 4xpók'tutik<sub>5</sub>e. '1She washes for us (excl) <sub>2</sub> (the) <sub>3</sub> our shirt-dress <sub>4</sub> our cloth <sub>5</sub> (remote) (i. e., She washes our clothes for us).' (NL107)

In Subject: 1xá? 2lék 3táka 4st'shún 5ti<sub>6</sub>yán 7ti<sub>8</sub>kermánotik 9xtšf'íltik 10ti<sub>11</sub>xtékum. '1That is it: <sub>2</sub> it is good <sub>3</sub> if it were <sub>4</sub> they believe it <sub>5</sub> the <sub>6</sub> others <sub>7</sub> (the) <sub>8</sub> our friends <sub>9</sub> our companions <sub>10</sub> in <sub>11</sub> town (i. e., It would be good if the others of our brethren, our companions in town, would believe it).' (PP164)

1ti<sub>2</sub>'antfvo 3ti<sub>4</sub>xtót 5xmé?tutik<sub>6</sub>e 7lák 8yá?vik 9ti<sub>10</sub>ló?il 11ti<sub>12</sub>vó?one. '1The <sub>2</sub> ancient (ones) <sub>3</sub> (the) <sub>4</sub> our fathers <sub>5</sub> our mothers <sub>6</sub> (remote) <sub>7</sub> they heard <sub>8</sub> the <sub>10</sub> story <sub>11</sub> in <sub>12</sub> the past (i. e., Our forefathers heard the story long ago).' (VA001)

1ná?ik<sub>2</sub>me 3akótolik 4xáyibošuk 5l?'oyošuk<sub>6</sub>e. '1Remember <sub>2</sub> (emphatic) <sub>3</sub> all of you <sub>4</sub> how many of you <sub>5</sub> are here <sub>6</sub> (remote).' (X1.105)

In Vocative: 1xbánkil 2vřšin 3tšaxk'ópon 4ká?itik 5?ók'om 6tšá?ex. '1Older brother, <sub>2</sub> older sister, <sub>3</sub> we will talk to you (so) <sub>4</sub> we will hear <sub>5</sub> tomorrow (or) <sub>6</sub> the next day.' (AB178)

A series of Accompaniment phrases may occupy the subject position.

1lék 2?óyuntutik 3stšf'uk 4ti<sub>5</sub>kermána 6maryána 7krasyéla 8xmartín 9stšf'uk 10xó'on 11stší'uk 12skótol 13yán 14kermánotik 15tálem 16ti<sub>17</sub>losestáros. '1Fine <sub>2</sub> we (excl) are <sub>3</sub> along with <sub>4</sub> (the) <sub>5</sub> our friends <sub>6</sub> Marion, <sub>7</sub> Grace, <sub>8</sub> Martin <sub>9</sub> and <sub>10</sub> I <sub>11</sub> and <sub>12</sub> all (the) <sub>13</sub> other <sub>14</sub> our friends (who) <sub>15</sub> have come <sub>16</sub> from <sub>17</sub> the States.' (NL136)

A series of clauses may occupy the Subject position.

1?óy 2xún 3vřnik 4mól'sša 5té 7ti<sub>8</sub>tšána?al. '1There is <sub>2</sub> one <sub>3</sub> man <sub>4</sub> he is old <sub>5</sub> now <sub>6</sub> he is there <sub>7</sub> in <sub>8</sub> Chanal (i. e., There was an old man there in Chanal).' (MC001)

A series of Determined Noun Phrases may occupy the Object position.

1xá? 2lák 3sméltšan 4skótol 5ti<sub>6</sub>vřnaxel<sub>7</sub>e 8ti<sub>9</sub>k'ánaletik<sub>10</sub>e 11ti<sub>12</sub>vřnaxel<sub>13</sub>e 14ti<sub>15</sub>ú<sub>16</sub>e 17ti<sub>18</sub>skótol<sub>19</sub>e. '1That is it <sub>2</sub>, <sub>3</sub> he made <sub>4</sub> its allness <sub>5</sub> the <sub>8</sub> sky-heaven <sub>7</sub> (remote) <sub>8</sub> the <sub>9</sub> stars <sub>10</sub> (remote) <sub>11</sub> the <sub>12</sub> sky <sub>13</sub> (remote) <sub>14</sub> the <sub>15</sub> moon <sub>16</sub> (re-

mote) <sub>17</sub>(the) <sub>18</sub>its allness <sub>19</sub>(remote) (i. e., It is he who made all the sky, the stars, the sky, the moon, all of it).' (VA046)

A series of stative verbs, phrases, or phrase and clause may occupy the Time Position.

1tšibát 3sób 3ʔfk'luman 4ʔók'om. 'I will go <sub>2</sub>early <sub>3</sub>in the morning <sub>4</sub>tomorrow.'  
1xētš 2ik'ót 3ti 4pásel 5ti 6vóʔonen 7k'álal 8ʔúnenvinkun 9to. 'It is thus <sub>2</sub>it arrived <sub>3</sub>to <sub>4</sub>be done <sub>5</sub>in <sub>6</sub>the past <sub>7</sub>when <sub>8</sub>I was a young man <sub>9</sub>still.'  
1ti 2sákubʔosil 3ʔóy 4van 5ti 6báluneb 7ʔóra 8ixók' 9lók'el. 'At <sub>2</sub>daybreak <sub>3</sub>there is <sub>4</sub>probably <sub>5</sub>at <sub>6</sub>nine <sub>7</sub>hours <sub>8</sub>it was dug <sub>9</sub>out (i. e., It was dug up at day-break probably around nine o'clock).' (FB041)

A series of ti-Phrases, locative clauses, or a sequence of phrase and clause may occupy the Locative position.

1bá 2yák'ik 3ti 4póštael 5ti 6ʔispital. 'Went <sub>2</sub>they give him <sub>3</sub>to <sub>4</sub>be doctored <sub>5</sub>at <sub>6</sub>a hospital (i. e., They went and turned him over to be doctored at a hospital).' (MC040)  
1tšavál 2tálel 3amántal 4lfʔ 5ti 6xóbel 7e 8té 9ti 10kaványa 11e. 'You will tell <sub>2</sub>coming <sub>3</sub>your command <sub>4</sub>it is here <sub>5</sub>in <sub>6</sub>Las Casas <sub>7</sub>(remote) <sub>8</sub>it is there <sub>9</sub>at <sub>10</sub>the Cabaña <sub>11</sub>(remote) (i. e., You will send your order here to the Cabaña here in Las Casas).' (CL074)  
1lax 2sláplk 3ti 4préšu 5lfʔ 6ti 7vistán. '1,2They enclosed him <sub>3</sub>in <sub>4</sub>a prison <sub>5</sub>it is here <sub>6</sub>in <sub>7</sub>Huixtán.' (MC011)



## WORD FORMATION

A GRAMMATICAL WORD in Huixtec is either a PARTICLE or is STEM-BASED. A particle is a single morpheme which does not occur with affixes—derivational or inflectional. A stem-based word has a stem as base. A stem differs from a particle either in (1) being constituted of more than one morpheme, or (2) having a potential for occurrence with inflectional affixes, or both. A simple (i. e. one-morpheme) stem is a ROOT. A composite (i. e. more-than-one-morpheme) stem is a RADICAL, a COMPOUND, or a COMPOUND RADICAL. A radical is a root in construction with one or more derivational affixes. A compound has two constituents, either of which may be a root, a radical, or a compound. A compound radical is a compound in construction with one or more derivational affixes.

10.1. Root Classification. A Root is classified on the basis of its occurrence with inflectional affixes and upon syntactic function. There are six classes of single-function roots,

1. intransitive (ir)
2. transitive (tr)
3. stative (sr)
4. numeral(numr)
5. classifier (cr)
6. neutral (ntr)

five classes of double-function roots,

7. intransitive-transitive (i-tr)
8. intransitive-noun (i-nr)
9. transitive-classifier (t-cr)
10. transitive-noun (t-nr)
11. stative-noun (nr)

and one small class of triple-function roots

12. intransitive-transitive-noun (i-t-nr)

(1) An INTRANSITIVE ROOT occurs directly with intransitive inflection, as in

COMPL-FIRST-[bát] 'I went, ' n-i-bát, nibát.  
COMPL-THIRD-[vfnax] 'it appeared, ' i-β-vfnax, ivfnax.  
INCOMPL-SECOND-[lúb]-PL 'You are becoming tired, ' tš-a-lúb-ik, tšalúbik.

(2) A TRANSITIVE ROOT occurs directly with transitive inflection, as in

COMPL-SECOND-FIRST-[ʔfk'] 'I took you, ' n-a-k-ʔfk', nakβfk', nakfk'.  
INCOMPL-FIRST-THIRD-[póx]-REF-FIRST 'She will snatch it away from me, ' tš-i-y-póx-be-un, tšispóxbβun, tšispóxbun.  
THIRD-FIRST-[pás]-PERF-THIRD 'I have done it, ' β-k-pás-ox-β, xpásox.

(3) A STATIVE ROOT occurs directly with intransitive stative inflection as marked for passive mode and perfective aspect, yet without an overt aspect marker, as in

[nát]-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I am tall, ' nát-β-β-un, nátun.  
[ʔántš]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'It is a woman, ' ʔántš-β-β-β, ʔántš.  
[p'fx]-PERF-PASS-SECOND 'you are wise, ' p'fx-β-β-ot, p'fxot.

(4) and (5) NUMERAL ROOTS and CLASSIFIER ROOTS occur in compound to form a subset of stative stems.

Numeral roots name the numbers from one to twelve. They are xún 'one', tšáʔ 'two', ʔóš 'three', tšán 'four', xóʔ 'five', vák 'six', xúk 'seven', vášak 'eight', bálu 'nine', laxun 'ten', búlutš 'eleven', laxtšaʔ 'twelve'.

A Classifier root is descriptive of objects quantified, and classifies nouns into gender classes. For example, vfnik 'man' and ʔántš 'woman' belong to one gender class and occur with the classifier vóʔ, whereas ʔáxan 'ear of corn' and lápís 'pencil' fall into a different class and occur with the classifier t'šfš.

tšáʔ-kót vákaš 'two (nonbiped) oxen'  
ʔóš-kót ʔávyon 'three (nonbiped) airplanes'  
tšán-kót kftš 'four (nonbiped) peppers'  
tšán-bús naránšaš 'four piles of oranges'  
tšáʔ-vóʔ ʔántsetik 'two (biped) women'

A Numeral root may also occur reduplicated in construction with a classifier root to form a stative stem.

xú-xú-tós 'one one kind (i. e. each kind)'  
tšá?-tšá?-vó? 'two two bipeds (i. e. each pair of people)'

(6) A NEUTRAL ROOT always requires the occurrence of one or another derivational affix, the particular affix determining whether the resulting radical is intransitive, transitive, or stative. As is the case with other roots, a neutral root may occur with a variety of derivational affixes.

[ták]-in-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is dry,' ták-in-Ø-Ø-Ø, tákin.  
COMPL-THIRD-[ták]-Vx 'it dried,' i-Ø-ták-ix, itákix.  
COMPL-SECOND-[tšé?]-in 'you laughed,' n-a-tšé?in, natšé?in.  
[tšé?]-ex-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'laughter,' tšé?-ex-Ø-Ø-Ø, tšé?ex as in  
?ép tšák' tšé?ex 'Much it gives laughter (i. e., It makes us laugh).'

(7) An INTRANSITIVE-TRANSITIVE ROOT may occur directly with either intransitive or transitive inflection.

INCOMPL-FIRST-[šf?] 'I am afraid,' tš-i-šf?, tšišf?.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[šf?]-THIRD 'I fear him,' tš-Ø-k-šf?-Ø, tixšf?.  
COMPL-FIRST-[vé?] 'I ate,' n-i-vé?, nivé?.  
COMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[vé?]-THIRD 'I ate it,' i-Ø-k-vé?-Ø, ixvé?.

(8) An INTRANSITIVE-NOUN ROOT may occur directly with intransitive inflection or noun possession.

INCOMPL-SECOND-[p'ól]-PL 'You (pl) are multiplying,' tš-a-p'ól-ik,  
tšap'ólik.  
SECOND-[p'ól] 'your increased corn (i. e. your popped corn),' av-p'ól,  
ap'ól.

(9) A TRANSITIVE-CLASSIFIER ROOT may occur directly with transitive inflection or function as a classifier.

INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[šét']-THIRD 'you will break it in pieces,'  
tš-Ø-av-šét'-Ø, tšašét'.  
tšan-[šét'] 'four pieces (as of a pill, cookie, etc.)'

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[tút'š]-THIRD 'I am cutting it,' tš-Ø-k-tút'š-Ø,  
tixtút'š.  
tšáʔ-[tút'š] 'two pieces (as of land, meat, etc.)'

(10) A TRANSITIVE-NOUN ROOT may occur directly with transitive or noun inflection.

COMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[tšúk]-THIRD 'I tied it,' i-Ø-k-tšúk-Ø, ixtšúk.  
FIRST-[tšúk] 'my wool sash,' k-tšúk, xtšúk.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[mát's]-THIRD 'you are chewing it,' tš-Ø-av-  
mát's-Ø, tšamát's.  
SECOND-[mát's] 'your corn drink,' av-mát's, amát's.

(11) A STATIVE-NOUN ROOT occurs directly with intransitive inflection, passive mode, and perfective aspect (like single-function stative roots), and with noun possession. The vast majority of Tzotzil noun roots belong to this class.

[vńik]-PERF-PASS-SECOND 'you are a man,' vńik-Ø-Ø-ot, vńikot.  
SECOND-[vńik] 'your man,' av-vńik, aØvńik, avńik.  
[téʔ]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is wood,' téʔ-Ø-Ø-Ø, téʔ.  
SECOND-[téʔ] 'your pole, trees, wood,' av-téʔ, aØtéʔ, atéʔ.

(12) An INTRANSITIVE-TRANSITIVE-NOUN ROOT may occur with transitive or intransitive inflection, or noun possession.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[mák]-THIRD 'I will cover it,' tš-Ø-k-mák-Ø,  
tixmák.  
COMPL-THIRD-[mák] 'It closed (by itself),' i-Ø-mák, imák.  
THIRD-[mák] 'its cover,' y-mák, smák.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[xám]-THIRD 'You are opening it,' tš-Ø-av-  
xám-Ø, tšaØxám, tšaxám.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-[xám] 'It is opening (by itself),' tš-Ø-xám, tšxám.  
THIRD-[xám] 'its opening (i. e. its meaning),' y-xám, sxám.

10.2. Stem Classification. A Stem is classified by the same criteria as a root: by occurrence with inflectional affixes and by syntactic function. There are three major classes of stems:

1. intransitive verb stems (ivs)
2. transitive verb stems (tvs)
3. stative verb stems (svs)



These three classes of stems have the same inflectional and syntactic characteristics as the roots of the same name. They differ mainly from roots in including both simple roots and composite forms as well—radicals, compounds, and compound radicals.

COMPL-THIRD-[sák-Ub] 'it became light,' i-s-sák-ub, iðsákub, isákub.  
[kák-bát]-IMPV-SECOND 'go on ahead,' kák-bát-o-an, káxbátþan, káxbatan.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-[xóvil-k'óp-ox] 'He is talking in delirium,' tš-β-xóvil-  
k'ópox, tšxóvilk'ópox.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-[sákub-tas]-THIRD 'I will whiten it,' tš-β-k-sákub-  
tas-β, tšxákubtas.  
INCOMPL-THIRD-SECOND-[tšá?-pás]-THIRD 'You are doing it again,'  
tš-β-av-tšá?-pás-β, tšaβtšá?pás, tšatšá?pás.  
lák-THIRD-SECOND-[šón-xól-Vn]-THIRD 'You used it as a pillow,' lák-β-  
av-šón-xól-in-β, lák aβšónxólin, lák ašónxólin.  
[xó?-vó?]-PERF-PASS-SECOND-PL 'you are five,' xó?-vó?-β-β-ot-Uk,  
xó?vó?ošuk.  
[k'ón-k'ón-tik]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is yellowish,' k'ón-k'ón-tik-β-β-β,  
k'ónk'ontik.

Each of the stem classes has several subclasses, but stative verb stems, in particular, need to be divided into two classes on the basis of inflection:

1. noun stems (ns)
2. stative stems (ss)

A Noun stem may occur with possessor or plural inflection as well as stative verb stem inflection. A Stative stem only occurs with stative verb stem inflection, and may not be possessed or pluralized. Each of these classes must be further classified on syntactic grounds, and this has been indicated to a certain extent in Chapters 3 and 5 above.

FIRST-[?áxnil] 'my wife,' k-?áxnil, kβáxnil, káxnil.  
FIRST-[?áxnil]-PERF-PASS-SECOND 'You are my wife,' k-?áxnil-β-β-ot,  
kβáxnilot, káxnilot.  
THIRD-[?áxnil]-PL 'his wives,' y-?áxnil-tak, yβáxniltak, yáxniltak.  
SECOND-[ná] 'your house,' av-ná, aβná, aná.  
SECOND-[ná]-PERF-PASS-THIRD-PL 'These are your houses,' av-ná-β-  
β-β-ik, aβnáik, anáik.  
[ná]-PL 'houses,' ná-etik, náetik.  
[póšta]-REF-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I have been doctored,' póšta-be-Rl-β-un,  
póštastabilun, póštabilun.  
[tákin]-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'It is dry,' tákin-β-β-β, tákin.

No attempt is made here to classify stems on the basis of their structure. Such a classification would be extremely complex and involve the whole question of idiom formation. Discussion of derivation is limited in this study to a description of certain prime tendencies of the derivational system.

**10.3. Formation of Compounds.** A compound has two constituents, either of which may be a root, a radical, or a compound, in the following patterns.

(1) Root plus root:

nr-nr: bé-t'šft'š 'trail-blood (i. e. vein, artery)'  
 sr-nr: k'áʔ-t'šfš 'rotten-thorntree (i. e. hawthorn tree)'  
 tr-nr: pš-xól 'wrap-head (i. e. hat)'  
 ntr-nr: k'ál-ná 'side-house (i. e. wall)'  
 numr-cr: tšáʔ-kót 'two-nonbiped (i. e. two (animals, airplanes, etc.))'  
 sr reduplicated: lék-lék 'good-good (i. e. just right, nice)'  
 sr-ir: sák-vl 'white-fly (i. e. pale (of face))'  
 ntr-tr: káx-sáʔ 'on top of-search (i. e. search before)'  
 numr-tr: tšáʔ-pás 'two-do (i. e. do again)'  
 ntr-ir: káx-bát 'on top of-go (i. e. go on ahead)'  
 numr-ir: tšáʔ-sút 'two-return (i. e. return again)'  
 Sp. loan-nr: ʔóra-tšón 'right away-snake (i. e. deadly viper)'  
 nr-Sp. loan: tíʔ-kóral 'opening-corral (i. e. gate of corral)'  
 Sp. loan-Sp. loan: ʔéstranxéro-trfko 'foreign-wheat (i. e. barley)'

(2) Root plus radical:

nr-ns: méʔ-[k'ín-ob-al] 'mother-mist (i. e. rainbow)'  
 sr-ns: tú-[nftš-im] 'fetid-flower (i. e. mint)'  
 ir-ns: mál-[k'ák'-al] 'set-sun (i. e. afternoon)'  
 ntr-tvs: káx-[mél-ts-an] 'on top of-fix, make (i. e. fix, make ahead of time)'  
 numr-tvs: tšáʔ-[lók'-es] 'two-take out (i. e. take out again)'  
 ntr-ivs: káx-[tšáp-ax] 'on top of-prepare (i. e. prepare ahead of time)'  
 numr-ivs: tšáʔ-[kúš-i] 'two-live (i. e. come to life again)'  
 sr-ss: mól-[méʔ-el] 'old(men)-old(women) (i. e. old people)'  
 numr-nums: xóʔ-[láxun-eb] 'five-ten (i. e. fifteen)'  
 Sp. loan-ns: kántela-[nftš-im] 'candle-flower (i. e. gladiola)'

(3) Radical plus root:

ns-nr: [t'súb-il]-lúm 'powder-ground (i. e. dust)'  
 ss-nr: [vók'-b-il]-téʔ 'broken-wood (i. e. shingles)'

ivs-nr: [k'át-in]-bák 'warm one's self-bone (i. e. hell)'  
 ss-tr: [múk-ul]-?fk' 'hidden-call, invite (i. e. secretly call, invite)'  
 ns-Sp. loan: [t'é?-el]-mansána 'tree-quality-apple (i. e. apple tree)'

(4) Radical plus radical:

ns-ns: [sík-il]-[tšám-el] 'cold-quality-sickness (i. e. malaria)'  
 ss-ns: [xfs-b-il]-[tf-b-ol] 'cut in strips-meat (i. e. salted meat strips)'  
 ss-tvs: [t'šút'š-ul]-[púš-ilan] 'small pieces-fold repeatedly (i. e. fold something smaller and smaller)'  
 tvs reduplicated: [mák-an]-[mák-an] 'repeatedly close off-repeatedly close off (i. e. keep on taking over (as land))'  
 ns reduplicated: [šók-on]-[šók-on] 'side-side (i. e. all sides (of something))'

(5) Root plus compound:

nr-ns: tf?-[mák-té?] 'opening-[enclosure-wood] (i. e. fence gate)'  
 tr-ns: pás-[kášlan-váx] 'make-[foreign-corncakes] (i. e. bread-making)'

(6) Radical plus compound:

ns-ns: [k'án-al]-[?ó?n-ton] '[yellow-quality]-[heart-stone] (i. e. bird with yellow breast)'  
 ss-tvc: [xóv-il]-[máx-an-máx-an] '[in vain]-[hit repeatedly-hit repeatedly] (i. e. needlessly keep on hitting repeatedly)'

(7) Compound plus root:

ns-nr: [tšá?-vá?-al]-mé? '[two-person-quality]-mother (i. e. stepmother)'  
 ns-nr: [t'f?-t'f?]-náb '[edge-edge]-deep water (i. e. lake shore, ocean shore)'  
 ss-nr: [k'ál-k'ál]-vfts '[side-side]-mountain (i. e. mountainsides)'  
 numr-cr: [xú-xú]-tšóp '[one-one]-kind (i. e. every kind)'  
 cr reduplicated-tr: [kóx-kóx]-tá '[layer-layer]-find (i. e. hunt with dogs)'  
 nums-cr: [tšán-láxun]-tšóp '[four-ten]-classifier of families (i. e. 14 families)'

(8) Compound plus radical:

sr reduplicated-ns: [tóx-tóx]-[tšám-el] '[straight-straight]-[act of dying] (i. e. die very quickly)'

**10.4. Formation of Compound Radicals.** A compound radical is a compound in construction with one or more derivational affixes.

An Intransitive compound radical is a noun compound in construction with an intransitivizing suffix Vx or van.

xóvil-k'óp-ox 'be delirious;' Cf. xóvil-k'óp 'foolish words'.  
pán-múkta-van 'take on the character of a spy;' Cf. pán-múkta 'spy on someone'.

A Transitive compound radical is a noun compound in construction with a transitivizing suffix Vn or ta.

šón-xól-in 'use as a pillow;' Cf. šón-xól 'pillow'.  
k'únil-k'óp-ta 'entreat;' Cf. k'únil-k'óp 'soft words'.

A Noun compound radical is a noun compound in construction with a nominalizing suffix Il or Al.

t'šúk-t'šút-il 'belt for men (unpossessed);' Cf. t'šúk-t'šút 'belt for men (possessed).'  
tsó?-mút-al as in tsó?-mútal-?řtš 'a kind of pepper;' Cf. tsó?-mút 'bird dung'.

A Stative compound radical is composed of the stativizing suffix tik or an and either two roots of different classes or a reduplicated root.

?řk'-lúm-an 'very early in the morning;' Cf. ?řk' 'black' and lúm 'ground'.  
bé-bé-tik 'a place of many trails;' Cf. bé 'trail, road'.  
k'ón-k'ón-tik 'it is yellowish;' Cf. k'ón 'yellow'.

#### 10.5-10.9. Derivational Suffixes

No attempt is made here to give a strict distributional statement of derivational affixes. Though Huixtec presents a very fascinating problem in stem derivation, only a very tentative and general outline of the system can be given.

An interesting problem for further study (which would require comparative data from related Mayan languages) would be to see if roots can be shown to have (in general) a CVC structure in terms of phonological realization. Many forms realized as CVCVC and CVCCVC have been analyzed in this

study as roots for lack of convincing evidence to the contrary, but it is suspected that further study (and further data) might reveal the last -VC or -CVC of such roots to be (at least in some historical sense) derivational in nature. The reader will note that almost all derivational affixes have the form -VC, and that a great many roots have the form CVC. A few affixes with form -CVC are easily conceived as a reduction of -VC + -VC.

Derivational affixes fall into four broad classes as defined by the class of radicals of which they are the outermost layer of derivation, and corresponding to the four classes of inflection. Thus, if a radical is constituted of a root followed by three derivational suffixes (not uncommon in Huixtec), the last (right-hand-most) suffix determines the possible syntactic functions of the radical, and the type of inflection which may occur. The four classes are: intransitivizer, transitivity, stativizer, and nominalizer. The affixes are listed and illustrated below with a general statement of the classes of constituents with which they may occur in construction. In some cases, it is possible to assign a lexical value to a particular derivational affix, in other cases not.

Derivational affixes not accounted for in this classification have been introduced above (2.3-2.6) without mentioning their derivational nature. The morphemes in question are PERF, REF, PASS, and SUBJN. They are considered derivational in that verbs formed with them may receive further derivational affixation, as in the following examples.

yáx-em-al 'wound;' Cf. yáx-em 'wounded'.

t'sún-ox-el 'faith;' Cf. t'sún-ox 'has believed'.

mél-ts-am-b-el 'manufacture for someone;' Cf. mél-ts-am-be 'make it for him'.

vó-b-il-al 'roasted (things);' Cf. vó-b-il 'roasted by someone'.

xún-uk-al 'whichever one;' Cf. xún-uk 'be it one'.

Apart from these, there are 29 class-changing suffixes and 8 non-class-changing affixes. They are presented below under the heads intransitivizing, transitivity, stativizing, and nominalizing suffixes, and non-class-changing affixes.

10.5. Intransitivizing Suffixes. There are eight intransitivizing suffixes: van, Vx, Uh, Cun, et, i, Vn, and av. (Where V represents the affix vowel, it has not always been possible to determine the rules of occurrence of the various vowels. Where possible, a rule is given.)

(1) van 'characteristic mode' occurs with a large set of transitive roots (tr) and (derived) transitive verb stems (tvs) to form intransitive verb stems.

lútšvan 'gore characteristically' from tr: lútš 'gore it'

tšánubtasvan 'characteristically teach, be a teacher' from tvs: tšánubtas 'teach him'

(2) Vx seems to occur freely with roots and stems of almost all major classes to form intransitive stems. V is realized unpredictably as a, e, i, o, or u.

tákix '(to) dry' from ntr (shown with stativizer): tákin 'dry'

tšápax 'be taken care of, have affairs arranged by officials' from tr: tšáp  
'roll it up (as rope)'

k'ópox 'talk' from nr: k'óp 'word, language'

tšúk'omax 'wash clothes' from ns (shown with possession): atšúk'om 'your washing of clothes'.

nátex 'grow tall, long' from sr: nát 'tall'

mé'munax 'meow (as cat)' from ivs: mé'mun 'characteristically meow'

tšfbax 'be two (as in two-hearted' from numr: tšfb 'two' as in tstšfbax  
yó'nton (his heart is two) 'he is doubting'

In some cases, the stem formed with Vx never occurs without at least one other suffix.

vá'axtik 'they are standing' from cr. (shown with numeral): tšá'vó? 'two bipeds' (vá' alternates with vó?).

váyaxtik 'they are asleep' from ir: váy 'sleep'

tšúkaxtik 'they are tied' from tr-nr: tšúk 'tie it, wool sash'

xóbelaxel 'one on his way to or from Las Casas' from nr: xóbel 'San Cris-tóbal Las Casas'

In some cases, the stem with which Vx occurs, does not itself occur alone. Such stems are indicated below by an asterisk (\*). (The suffix tas loses its vowel when preceding Vx.)

xók'tsax 'be caused to be snagged, (e.g. on a thorn bush)' from \*xók'tas;  
Cf. tvs: xók'-an 'hang it up.'

Stative stems occurring with Vx lose a vowel; transitive stems do not.

k'fšnax 'become warm' from sv: k'fšin 'warm'

tšfk'inax 'perspires' from \*tšfk'in; Cf. nr (shown with possession): stšfk'  
'his perspiration'.

Neutral stems occurring with Vx show vowel dissimilation, i occurring after back vowels of root, u after others.

bált'šux 'roll over and over' from \*bált'š; Cf. tr: bál 'roll it up'.  
púšk'ix 'double over itself' from \*púšk; Cf. tr: púš 'fold it'.

(3) Ub 'developmental' occurs with a large set of stative roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems. Most stems occurring with Ub show vowel dissimilation, i occurring after back vowels of stem, u after others. When the stem vowel is o, however, the suffix vowel is also o.

p'ixub 'become wise' from sr: p'ix 'wise'.  
kúšib '(to) rust, mold' from nr: kúš 'rust, mold'.  
mé?elub 'become old (of women)' from ss: mé?el 'old (of women)'.  
šókob 'be unoccupied' from ntr (shown with stativizer): šókol 'empty, unoccupied'.

In some constructions the stem formed with Ub never occurs without at least one other suffix following.

váyubtas 'put him to sleep' from ivs: \*váyub; Cf. ir: váy 'sleep'.  
tšánubtas 'teach him' from ivs: \*tšánub; Cf. tr: tšán 'learn it'.

(4) Cun 'characteristic motion or sound' occurs with a large set of neutral roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems. C is a reduplication of the initial consonant of the root.

mékmun 'walk with a limp' from ntr. (shown with stativizer): mékan 'lame'.  
lá?lun 'characteristically bend (as boards when being carried)' from tr:  
lá? 'bend it (as a board)'.  
p'ftp'un 'go leaping along' from ir: p'ft 'jump'.  
kótkun 'characteristically move on more than two legs (as airplane, car, horse, etc.)' from cr (shown with stativizer): kótol 'standing on more than two legs'.

(5) et 'characteristic state or sound' occurs with a large set of neutral roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems.

k'fšet 'be characteristically warm (as day when sun shines)' from ntr (shown with stativizer): k'fšin 'warm'.  
kflēt 'characteristically drag (as body of snake)' from tr: kfl 'drag it'.  
kótēt 'characteristically stand on more than two legs' from cr (shown with stativizer): kótol 'standing on more than two legs'.

xámet 'characteristically be open (as landscape when weather is clear)'  
from i-t-nr: xám 'open, open it, meaning'

(6) i 'characteristic stance' occurs with a set of neutral roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems.

náki 'sit down, live in a place' from ntr (shown with stativizer): nákal  
'seated, at home'.

vá?i 'stand up' from cr (shown with stativizer): vá?al 'standing as a biped'.  
páti 'lie (back up) face down' from nr (with possession): apát 'your back'.

(7) Vn occurs with a small set of noun roots and a few neutral and transitive roots to form intransitive stems. V is realized as a, i, or u.

kábin 'urinate' from nr (with possession): skáb 'his urine'.

tsé?in 'laugh, smile' from ntr (shown with nominalizer): tsé?ex 'laughter'.

núpun 'be married' from tr: núp 'meet her'.

(8) av occurs with a small set of transitive roots and a few roots of other classes to form intransitive stems.

xálav 'weave' from tr: xál 'weave it'.

múlav 'commit adultery' from nr (shown with possession): smúl 'his fault, error, sin'.

k'éšav 'be ashamed, embarrassed' from tr: k'éš 'exchange it'.

The suffix av occasionally occurs with Vx without any notable change in meaning. The vowel of av is affected unpredictably.

tšaxálav or tšaxálovax 'you are weaving'.

imúlav or imúlivax 'he committed adultery'.

10.6. Transitivity Suffixes. There are five transitivity suffixes:  
Vn, es, tas, ta, and V.

(9) Vn occurs with large sets of neutral and noun roots and with a few roots and stems of almost all major classes to form transitive stems. V is realized as a, i, o, or u.



nákan 'seat him' from ntr (shown with stativizer): nákal 'seated'.  
k'ópon 'talk to him' from nr: k'óp 'word, language'.  
pák'an 'mend it' from tr: pák 'mud it (as walls of a house)'.  
búsan 'pile it up' from cr (shown with stativizer): búsul 'in a pile'.  
?áxvalin 'use him as boss, make him boss' from ns (shown with possession):  
káxval 'my boss'.  
tásin 'use it as padding' from t-nr (shown with noun possession): atás  
 'your padding for carrying loads'.  
k'úšubin 'take care of him, pity him' from ivs: k'úšub 'become sore'.

In some constructions the stem with which V<sub>n</sub> occurs, never occurs alone. Stems formed with tas 'transitive causative' lose the vowel of this stem formative with resulting cluster occurring at the end of the first syllable of the stem.

méltsan 'repair it, make it' from \*méltas; Cf. cr (with stativizer): mélel  
 'it is true'.

Neutral stems occurring with V<sub>n</sub> show vowel dissimilation, i occurring after back vowels of root, u after others.

bált'šun 'roll it over and over' from \*bált'š; Cf. tr: bál 'roll it up'.  
xélp'un 'hang it over the shoulder' from \*xélp'; Cf. tr: xél 'change it'.  
búsk'in 'throw down in a pile (as beans)' from \*búsk'; Cf. cr: bús 'a pile'.

(10) es 'transitive causative' occurs with a large set of intransitive roots and (derived) intransitive stems and a few roots of other classes to form transitive stems.

lók'es 'take it out' from ir: lók' '(to) exit'.  
nópexes 'make it approach' from ivs: nópex 'approach'.  
nóxes 'fill it' from sr: nóx 'full'.  
p'óles 'increase it (as flock of chickens)' from i-nr: p'ól 'increase'.  
kúses 'cause to live' from ntr (shown with stativizer): kúšul 'alive'.

(11) tas 'transitive causative' occurs with a set of (derived) intransitive stems and with a few neutral and noun roots and (derived) noun stems to form transitive stems.

lékubtas 'make it become good' from ivs: lékub 'become good'.

t'šúltas 'bless it' from ntr (shown with nominalizer and possession):

at'šúlel 'your soul'.

nft'šontas 'cause him to become one's son' from nr (shown with noun possession): anft'šon 'your son'.

bfilatas 'name him' from ns: bfil (a name'.

(12) ta occurs with intransitive, noun and neutral roots and (derived) stems to form transitive stems.

póšta 'give him medicine' from nr: póš 'liquor'

kólta 'help him' from ir: kól 'be freed'

?flinta 'hate him' from ivs: ?flin 'become angry'

?ávta 'shout at him' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): ?ávan 'shout, holler'

bóxta 'blood-let him' from tr: bóx 'cut it'

ló?ilta 'relate it (as a story)' from ns: ló?il 'a story, tale'

k'éšta 'replace it' from tr: k'éš 'exchange it'

(13) V occurs with a few roots and stems to form transitive stems. V is realized as i, u, or a.

t'sfba 'write it' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): t'sfbax 'write'

tšápa 'arrange it (a matter)' from tr: tšáp 'roll it up (as rope)'

túki 'scatter it (as corn)' from ir: túk 'broke out (as measles)'

In some constructions with V, there is a change of stem vowel.

náu 'spin it (as wool)' from nr: nó 'thread'

In some constructions with V, there is a loss of stem vowel.

k'fšna 'warm it' from sv: k'fšin 'warm'

ló?la 'deceive him' from ns: ló?il 'a story, tale'

10.7. Stativizing Suffixes. There are four stativizing suffixes: tik, ROOT, Vn, and um.

(14) tik, sometimes with the meaning of 'it's a place of', occurs with a large set of intransitive (derived) stems, a large set of stative roots, and a

few noun and stative stems to form stative stems. The intransitive stems which occur with this suffix never occur alone.

nákaxtik 'they are sitting down' from ivs: \*nákax; Cf. ivs: nák-l.  
téʔtik 'a place of trees, a forest' from nr: téʔ 'tree, stick'  
ʔák'ubaltik 'darkness' from ns: ʔák'ubal 'night'  
nómtik 'few and far between, rare' from sr: nóm 'far'

Stative stems which occur with this suffix are formed by reduplication of the root. This reduplicated form never occurs alone.

sáksáktik 'whitish' (from sv: sák 'white')

(15) A ROOT is a reduplication of the root, and occurs with stative and classifier roots to form stative stems.

k'únk'ún 'slowly' from k'ún 'soft'  
mélmél 'one after another' from cr (shown with numeral): xmél 'one trip  
 (as carrying water)'

(16) Vn occurs with a few transitive, intransitive, neutral and noun roots to form stative stems. V is realized as e, i, o, or u.

ʔápun 'carbuncle' from ir: ʔáp 'crack (as a mud wall)'  
tákin 'dry' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): tákix '(to) dry'

Three vocative statives are formed with Vn:

bólin 'brother-in-law (of man)' from nr: ból 'brother-in-law (of man)'  
vřšin 'older sister' from nr: vřš 'older sister'  
múʔin 'sister-in-law (of man), brother-in-law (of woman)' from nr: múʔ  
 'sister-in-law(of man), brother-in-law (of woman)'

(17) um occurs with a few transitive roots to form stative stems.

t'úxum 'pretty' from tr: t'úx 'choose it'

10. 8. Nominalizing Suffixes. There are twelve nominalizing suffixes: Al, al, Il, el, Ob, Ex, Om, ol, et, i, itš, it'š.

(18) Al occurs with almost all optionally possessed noun roots with the meaning of impersonal possession. It also occurs with almost all numerals and a large set of stative roots as well as roots of other classes to form noun stems. A is realized as a, e, i, o, or u.

tšének'ul from nr: tšének' 'beans' as in

stšének'ul tšóbtik 'the cornfield's beans (unharvested beans)'

tšének'ul-váx 'bean tamales'

tótilal from ns: tótil 'the chief one' as in

stótilal k'in 'the fiesta's chief one'

tšá'vá'al from num: tšá'vó' 'two people' as in

stšá'vá'al v'niketik (their two-personness the men) 'the two of the men'

atšá'vá'al-mé' (your two-personness-mother) 'your stepmother'

p'fxil 'wisdom' from sr: p'fx 'wise'

v'f'nal 'hunger' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): v'f'nax 'be hungry'

xámaliil 'width' from sv: xámal 'wide'

With some intransitive verb stems there is a change of vowel.

ʔák'ubal 'night' from ivs: ʔfk'ub 'become dark'

(19) al occurs with almost all optionally possessed noun roots, all personal names as well as some noun and stative stems to form noun stems. Noun stems so formed may be the subject of an interrogative clause.

té'al from nr: té' 'tree, stick' as in k'úsi té'al 'which tree, stick'

tšámelal from ns: tšámel 'sickness' as in k'úsuk no'óš tšámelal 'what-ever sickness'

x'ántrešal from ns: x'ántreš 'Andrew' as in mút'šu x'ántrešal 'which Andrew'

ból-k'ópal from nc: ból-k'óp (ignorant words) 'profane language' as in k'úsi ból-k'ópal 'which profane language'

xúnukal from sv: xúnuk 'any one' as in bú xúnukal 'which one'

(20) il, with the meaning of unpossession occurs with all obligatorily possessed noun roots, with a few roots of other classes and some noun compounds describing sickness to form noun stems.

k'ú'íl 'a dress, blouse, shirt' from nr (with inflection): ak'ú' 'your dress, blouse, shirt'

t'šáyil 'smoke' from i-tr: t'šáy 'lose, lose it'

k'úš-t'šút-il 'stomach ache' from sr: k'úš 'it hurts' plus t'šút 'abdomen'  
plus nominalizer

When some stative roots combine with Il there is a change of vowel.

málal 'husband' from sr: mól 'he is old'

(21) el, with the meaning of 'act of', occurs with all transitive roots and radicals, with or without referent, with most intransitive roots and a few intransitive radicals to form noun stems.

k'úšubinel 'act of pitying him, taking care of him' from tvs: k'úšubin 'pity him, take care of him'

kápel 'act of mixing it' from tr: káp 'mix it'

tšókbel 'act of tying it for him' from tr. with referent: tšókbe 'tie it for him'

tšf'imbel 'act of accompanying him for her' from tvs. with referent:

tšf'imbe 'accompany him for her'

múel 'act of ascending' from ir: mú 'ascend'

t'sísomaxel 'act of sewing' from ivs: t'sísomax 'sew'

(22) Ob, with meaning of 'instrument' or 'place of' occurs with a large set of transitive roots and a few roots and radicals of other classes to form noun stems. O is realized as a, e, o, or u.

pásob 'instrument for making' from tr: pás 'do, make' as in pásob-váx  
'a press for making tortillas'

váyeb 'place for sleeping, bed' from ir: váy 'sleep'

xóyob from ntr 'shown with stativizer): xóyol 'encircling' as in xóyob-ná  
'a building built around a central patio'

púkub from i-tr: púk 'scatter (it)' as in púkub-tán 'dish used for mixing lime with water (for use in cooking corn)'

When stative verb stems occur with Ob the final stem vowel is lost.

nákleb 'place of sitting, a seat' from sv: nákal 'he is seated'

Ob occurs with some transitive verb stems which never occur alone.

k'áxaneb 'harvesting instrument' from tvs: k'áxan; Cf. tr k'áx 'harvest it'

as in k'áxaneb-té? 'piece of bone used for cutting open cornhusks when harvesting'

(23) Ex, with the meaning of 'customary or habitual act', occurs with a few stative and intransitive stems and a few roots of various classes to form noun stems. E is realized as e or o.

kóltavanex 'act of habitually helping' from ivs: kóltavan 'be habitually helpful'

tsé?ex 'laughter' from ntr (shown with intransitivizer): tsé?in 'laugh'

tšáblex 'customary act of taking care of' from tvs: tšábi 'take care of it'

as in x-tšáblex-préšú (one who customarily takes care of a jail) 'a jailer'

k'áxox 'customary act of harvesting' from tr: k'áx 'harvest it'

When stative verb stems occur with Ex, the final stem vowel is lost.

náklax 'act of living with in-laws as part of marriage contract' from sv: nákal 'be at home, sit down'

Some constructions formed by the occurrence of Ex do not occur alone. The final vowel of the stative stem is lost on the occurrence of Ex.

xóylex from sv: xóyol 'encircling' as in sxóylexal balumil (its encircling the world) 'all around the world'

(24) Om, with meaning of 'act' or 'process', occurs with a few roots and stems of various classes to form noun stems. O is realized as i, o, or u.

tšúk'om 'washing of clothes' from tr: tšúk' 'wash it (clothes)'

sútum 'act of returning' from ir: sút 'return' as in sútum-?ík' 'whirlwind'

t'sfbaxom 'act of writing' from ivs: t'sfbax 'write'

When Om occurs with some transitive stems, there is a loss of vowel.

?íkatsnom 'act of carrying loads' from tvs: ?íkatsin 'carry it as a load'

Constructions formed with neutral roots and Om do not occur alone, but occur with intransitivizers to form intransitive stems.

ʔátisim 'act of sneezing' as in ivs: ʔátisimax 'sneeze'

(25) ol, with the meaning of 'act of', occurs with a very few intransitive roots to form noun stems. All these roots have the shape CVC plus in, with the final n becoming m before ol.

ʔátimol 'bathing' from ir: ʔátin 'bathe'  
táximol 'game, play' from ir: táxin 'play'

(26) et occurs with two roots to form noun stems.

póket 'clay basin used for washing hands' from tr: pók 'wash it (a part of the body)'  
k'ák'et 'a burn' from ir: k'ák' 'burn itself'

(27) i occurs with a very few neutral roots to form noun stems.

táki 'dryness' from ntr (shown with stativizer): tákin 'dry' as in táki-tfʔil (dryness-opening) 'thirst'

(28) itš occurs with a very few roots to form noun stems.

váyitš 'a dream' from ir: váy 'sleep'

(29) it'š occurs with a very few roots to form noun stems.

xfmit'š 'a native slingshot' from tr: xfm 'throw it'

**10.9. Non-class-changing Affixes.** There are eight affixes which are not class changers and therefore are not included in the preceding section. These affixes which add other meaning to the stem, do not come under what is usually considered as inflection, and so are mentioned in this special section. There are five suffixes: ilan, an, t'š, p', k'; and three prefixes, x/ax, x, and š.

(1) ilan, with the meaning of 'repeated action', occurs with almost all transitive, intransitive, and transitive passive stems.

k'élilan 'repeatedly look at it' from tvs: k'él 'look at it'

bátilan 'repeatedly go' from ivs: bát 'go'

k'ánilambat 'be repeatedly asked for it' from tps: k'ámbat 'be asked for it'

(2) an, with the meaning of 'multiple action of the same kind', occurs with transitive roots, and intransitive stems derived with Vx. When an occurs with transitive roots, the stem so formed may occur reduplicated.

mflan 'do a lot of killing of them' from tvs: mfl 'kill it' (NM390)

máxanmáxan 'do a lot of hitting of them' from tvs: máx 'hit him'

On the occurrence of an with intransitive stems, there is a vowel change.

léblaxan 'blink (as stars, lights of a distant city, or fireflies)' from ivs:

léblex 'flash (as lightning, fireworks)'

(3) t'š, with the meaning of 'rolling over motion', has been found to occur with a very few transitive roots forming a neutral stem. The derivational suffix which follows this affix determines the class of the stem, whether transitive or intransitive.

bált'šun 'roll it over and over (as a large stone)' and

bált'šux 'roll over and over (as a rock down the mountain)' from \*bált'š;

Cf. tr: bál 'roll it up (as a grass mat)'

(4) p', with the meaning of 'revolving motion', occurs with a very small set of transitive, intransitive and neutral roots forming neutral stems. The derivational suffix which follows this affix determines the stem class, whether transitive or intransitive.

xélp'un 'carry it slung from the shoulder (as a woven bag or gun)' from

\*xélp'; Cf. tr: xél 'change it'

xóyp'ix 'turn around' from \*xóyp'; Cf. ntr 'shown with stativizer): xóyol

'be in a circle'

sútp'ix 'return in a round-about away' from \*sútp'; Cf. ir: sút 'return'

(5) k', with the meaning of 'turning over motion', occurs with a very small set of transitive, neutral, classifier, and noun roots forming neutral stems. The derivational suffix which follows this affix determines the stem class.



púšk'in 'bend it over (as a nail)' and púšk'ix 'double over itself' from \*púšk'; Cf. tr: púš 'fold it over'  
válk'un 'turn it over (as the page of a book)' and válk'ux 'turn over by itself (as the page of a book)' from \*válk'; Cf. ntr: vál (meaning unknown)  
búšk'in 'throw it down in a pile (as money, beans)' from \*búšk'; Cf. cr (shown with numeral): tšá?bús 'two piles (of beans, money, corn, etc.)'  
pátk'ux 'fall in (as wall of a house)' from \*pátk'; Cf. nr (shown with possession): apát 'your back'

(6) x/ax occurs with a small set of noun stems and a few noun roots to form 'agentive' noun stems. When preceded by a pronoun, it has the form ax.

x?ábtel 'a worker,' from ns: ?ábtel 'work'

kax?ábtel 'my hired help'

xtšónolaxel 'one who habitually sells' from ns: tšónolaxel 'act of habitually selling'

x?élek' 'a thief' from nr: ?élek' 'act of stealing'

xpás-résal 'a cantor in the Catholic church' from nc: pás-résal 'act of reciting prayers'

(7) and (8) There are two non-class-changing prefixes which are gender remnants and occur with names; x occurs with all men's names, š with all women's names.

xpétul 'Peter'

x?ántreš 'Andrew'

šlél 'Manuela'

špét 'Petrona'



## MORPHOPHONEMICS

Two kinds of morphophonemes are dealt with in this paper: The realization of morphemes as strings of morphophonemes, and then the realization of morphophonemes as strings of phonemes. The first type of realization has been dealt with throughout the study in the presentation of individual morphemes; the second type is discussed in this chapter.

The statements given below have been worked out principally in the analysis of the Tzotzil verb phrase. This being the case, they are incomplete; and, in particular, closer attention to derivational affixes will require further clarification of the situation.

Only those statements are made which involve diverse (non-one-to-one) realizations of morphophonemes. The environments which are stated as relevant to particular realizations are morphophonemic environments. The statements are not ordered except in the case of a series of statements concerning a single morphophoneme. In short, the statements are of a 'stratificational' variety.

Any consonant morphophoneme except b is elided when preceding itself.

INCOMPL-FIRST-k'ót-PL 'we (excl) will arrive,' tš-i-k'ót[t]-tutik, tšik'ót-  
[Ø]tutik, tšik'otutik.

INCOMPL-THIRD-šén 'he is vomiting,' t[š]-Ø-šén, t[Ø]šén, tšén.

tsób-REF-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been gathered,' tsó[b]-be-R1-Ø-Ø,  
tsó[b]bØil, tsóbbil.

The morphophoneme y is realized phonemically as the null element after š within the syllable, as well as before š or s.

INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-?ák'-THIRD 'he will give it,' tš-Ø-[y]-?ák'-Ø,  
tš[Ø]Øák', tšák'.

COMPL-láx-THIRD-šókobtas-SUBJN-THIRD 'he emptied it,' Ø-láx-[y]-  
šókobtas-Ø-Ø, láx[Ø]šókobtas, láx šókobtas.

INCOMPL-FIRST-THIRD-sá?-FIRST 'she is looking for me,' tš-i-[y]-sá?-  
un, tš[i]Øsá?un, tšisá?un.

Otherwise, morphophonemes k, y, and y are realized phonemically as x, Ø (null), and s, respectively, when preceding a stressed syllable beginning with any consonant except ?.

FIRST-mán-PERF-THIRD 'I have bought it, ' [k]-mán-ox-Ø, [x]mánox.

SECOND-tót 'your father, ' a[v]-tót, a[Ø]tót, atót.

THIRD-p'fs-PERF-THIRD 'he has measured it, ' [y]-p'fs-ox-Ø, [s]p'fsox.

In all other environments, the morphophonemes k, v, and y are realized as the phonemes k, v, and y.

FIRST-ʔák'-PERF-THIRD 'I have given it, ' [k]-ʔák'-ox-Ø, [k]Øák'ox, kák'ox.

SECOND-ftš 'your chile, ' a[v]-ʔftš, a[v]Øftš, avftš.

THIRD-ʔól 'her child, ' [y]-ʔól, [y]Øól, yól.

The morphophoneme ʔ is realized phonemically as the null element following k, v, or y, or preceding any two consonants which do not include ʔ; otherwise, it is realized phonemically as ʔ.

FIRST-ʔál-PERF-REF-THIRD 'I have told her, ' k-[ʔ]ál-ox-be-Ø, k[Ø]áloxbe, káloxbe.

COMPL-láx-SECOND-ʔáʔi-SUBJN-THIRD 'you heard it, ' Ø-láx-av-[ʔ]áʔi-Ø-Ø, láxav[Ø]áʔi, láx aváʔi.

COMPL-THIRD-THIRD-ʔŋl-THIRD 'he saw him, ' i-Ø-y-[ʔ]ŋl-Ø, iy[Ø]ŋl, iyŋl.

tál-INCL-t'šún-SUBJN-PL-THIRD 'Come, let's believe it, ' lá[ʔ]-k-t'šún-Ø-tik-Ø, lá[Ø]xt'šúntik, lá xt'šúntik.

COMPL-FIRST-ʔótš 'I entered, ' n-i-[ʔ]ótš, ni[ʔ]ótš.

The morphophoneme š is realized as s when preceding t or t' followed by s or š, and when otherwise preceding stress group final s noncontiguously within the stress group.

TLESS-THIRD-tséʔin 'he laughs, ' [š]-Ø-tséʔin, [s]tséʔin.

TLESS-THIRD-t'sfbox 'he writes, ' [š]-Ø-t'sfbox, [s]t'sfbox.

TLESS-THIRD-t'šf 'he grows, ' [š]-Ø-t'šf, [s]t'šf.

TLESS-THIRD-láts 'it stacks up, ' [š]-Ø-láts, [s]láts.

TLESS-THIRD-k'ás 'it breaks, ' [š]-Ø-k'ás, [s]k'ás.

š is realized phonemically as i when following t and preceding k plus any consonant except ʔ.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-tá-THIRD 'I'll find it, ' t[š]-Ø-k-tá-Ø, t[i]xtá.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-k'él-THIRD 'I'll look at it, ' t[š]-Ø-k-k'él-Ø, t[i]xk'él.

š is realized as the null element before any two consonants which do not include glottal.

INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-pán-THIRD 'she is boiling it,' t[š]-Ø-y-pán-Ø,  
t[Ø]spán, tspán.

INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-nóp-THIRD 'he will think about it,' t[š]-Ø-y-nóp-Ø,  
t[Ø]snóp, tsnóp.

Otherwise, š is realized phonemically as š.

INCOMPL-SECOND-?átin 'you are bathing,' t[š]-a-?átin, t[š]a?átin.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-?ák'-REF-THIRD 'I will give it to him,'

t[š]-Ø-k-?ák'-be-Ø, t[š]kšák'be, tškák'be.

INCOMPL-SECOND-šánav 'you will walk,' tš-a-[š]ánav, tša[š]ánav.

INCOMPL-THIRD-FIRST-šáš-THIRD 'I will chew it,' tš-Ø-k-[š]áš-Ø,  
tix[š]áš[š].

The morphophoneme R, a chameleon vowel, takes the value of a preceding stressed vowel, unless an unstressed vowel intervenes. In the latter case, R is realized as i.

pák'-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is stuck on,' pák'-[R]l-Ø-Ø, pák'[a]l.

lútš-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it is roosting,' lútš-[R]l-Ø-Ø, lútš[u]l.

pák'-REF-PERF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been stuck on,' pák'-be-[R]l-Ø,  
pák'bØ[i]l, pák'bil.

kómes-REF-PERF-PASS-FIRST 'I have been left behind,' kómes-be-[R]l-  
un, kómesbØ[i]lun, kómesbilun.

The morphophoneme U is realized as u when preceding ku or ko, or following ot, and as i elsewhere. Its function is marginal, in that it only occurs in the realization of one morpheme—Uk (plural)—and ot, ku, and ko also represent extremely limited morphemic environments. The alternative, however, is to introduce Uk as uk~ik. The present solution seems the lesser of the two evils.

COMPL-láx-THIRD-?ŋ-SUBJN-PL-FIRST 'they saw me,' Ø-láx-y-?ŋ-Ø-  
[U]kún, láxyØŋ[u]kun, láx yŋlukun.

COMPL-láx-THIRD-?ŋ-SUBJN-PL-SECOND 'they saw you,' Ø-láx-y-?ŋ-  
Ø-[U]k-ot, láxyØŋ[u]kot, láx yŋlukot.

COMPL-láx-THIRD-?ŋ-SUBJN-SECOND-PL 'he saw you (pl),' Ø-láx-y-  
?ŋ-Ø-ot-[U]k, láxyØŋloš[u]k, láx yŋlošuk.

COMPL-láx-THIRD-?ŋl-SUBJN-PL-THIRD 'they saw him,' Ø-láx-y-?ŋl-Ø-[U]k-Ø, láxyØŋl[i]k, láx yŋik.

When unstressed, the morphophoneme e is realized as phoneme e when preceding stress-group final Uk, whether or not o intervenes; and as the null element elsewhere before o, u, a, R, or Uk; otherwise it is realized as e.

COMPL-THIRD-THIRD-?á1-REF-PL-THIRD 'they said it to him,' i-Ø-y-?á1-b[e]-Uk-Ø, iyØá1b[e]ik, iyá1beik.

mán-REF-IMPV-SECOND-PL 'buy it for him/them,' mán-b[e]-o-Ø-Uk, mámb[e]Øik, mámbaik.

COMPL-SECOND-THIRD-?á1-REF-SECOND 'he said it to you,' n-a-y-?á1-b[e]-ot, nayØá1b[e]Øot, nayá1bot.

mú-THIRD-FIRST-tšón-PERF-REF-SUBJN-THIRD 'I have not sold it for him,' mú-Ø-k-tšón-ox-b[e]-uk-Ø, múxtšónoxb[e]Øuk, mú xtšónoxbuk.

COMPL-FIRST-?á1-REF-PASS 'I was told,' n-i-?á1-b[e]-at, ni?á1b[e]at, ni?á1bat.

pás-REF-PASS-THIRD 'it has been made,' pás-b[e]-R1-Ø, pásb[e]Øil, pásbil.

COMPL-SECOND-THIRD-?á1-REF-PL-SECOND 'they said it to you,'

n-a-y-?á1-b[e]-Uk-ot, nayØá1b[e]Øukot, nayá1bukot.

tál-PERF-THIRD 'he has come,' tál-em-Ø, tálem.

When unstressed, the morphophoneme o is realized as the null element before U, u, and a; otherwise, it is realized as o.

SECOND-?á1-REF-IMPV-PL 'Say (you pl) it to him,' Ø-?á1-be-[o]-Uk, ?á1be[e]Øik, ?á1beik.

SECOND-pás-REF-IMPV-FIRST 'Do it for me,' Ø-pás-be-[o]-un, pásb[e]Øun, pásbun.

bát-IMPV-SECOND 'Go!' bát-[o]-an, bát[e]Øan, bátan.

When unstressed, the morphophoneme i is realized as the null element before a or u; otherwise, it is realized as i.

INCOMPL-FIRST-SECOND-tá-FIRST 'you will find me,' tš-[i]-av-tá-un, tš[e]Øatáun, tšatáun.

COMPL-FIRST-SECOND-?ák'-REF-FIRST 'you gave it to me,' n-[i]-av-?ák'-be-un, n[e]Øav?ák'b[e]Øun, navák'bun.

COMPL-THIRD-?á1in 'he bathed,' [i]-Ø-?á1in, [i]Øat[i]n.

There are a few derived verb stems which end in the vowel i like tšábi

'take care of.' This vowel is a derivational suffix and though unstressed is not elided before another vowel.

COMPL-FIRST-tšáb[i]-PASS 'I was taken care of,' n-i-tšáb[i]-at,  
nitšábiat.

COMPL-INCL-t'úš[i]-PL 'we got wet,' n-ix-t'úš[i]-ukutik, nixt'úšiuikutik.

This might best be accounted for by postulating the loss of a consonant after i, since most derivational suffixes have the form VC.

When unstressed the morphophoneme u is realized as the null element following i; otherwise it is realized as u.

bú-PERF-SUBJN-THIRD 'it be where,' bú-∅-[u]k-∅, bú[∅]k, búk.  
mút'šu-PERF-SUBJN-THIRD 'it be who,' mút'šu-∅-[u]k-∅, mút'šu[∅]k,  
mút'šuk.

The morphophoneme t is realized as š before U; otherwise it is realized as t.

INCOMPL-SECOND-THIRD-ták-REF-SECOND-PL 'he will send it for you  
(pl),' tš-a-y-ták-be-o[t]-Uk, tšastákbo[š]uk, tšastákbošuk.  
kól-PERF-SECOND-PL 'you (pl) have become free,' kól-em-o[t]-Uk,  
kólemo[š]uk.

The morphophoneme x is realized as the null element before any two consonants and when preceded by an unstressed vowel and followed by a stressed vowel; otherwise it is realized as x.

INCOMPL-INCL-THIRD-máx-PL 'they hit us (incl),' tš-i-[x]-y-máx-ukutik,  
tši[∅]smáxukutik, tšismáxukutik.  
COMPL-SECOND-xól 'you arrived home,' n-a-[x]ól, na[∅]ól, naól.

The morphophoneme n is realized as m before b; otherwise it is realized as n.

INCOMPL-THIRD-THIRD-pán-REF-THIRD 'she is boiling it for him,'  
tš-∅-y-pá[n]-be-∅, tšpá[m]be, tšpámbe.  
COMPL-láx-SECOND-bón-REF-SUBJN-FIRST 'you painted it for me,'  
∅-láx-av-bó[n]-be-∅-un, láxa∅bó[m]b∅un, láx abómbun.

The morphophoneme m is realized as n when preceded by ŷmV; otherwise it is realized as m.

tšám-PERF-THIRD 'he has died,' tšám-e[m]-∅, tšáme[n].  
t'óm-PERF-THIRD 'it has exploded,' t'óm-e[m]-∅, t'óme[n].



## INDEX

- Accompaniment Noun Phrase 60-61, 86  
Active clause 9, 12  
Additive phrases 85-87  
Adjunctive phrase 82-83  
Adverbial constituents 9  
Adverbial positions 18-19  
Agent 9  
Alternative phrases 85  
Apposition 85-87  
Appositive phrases 85  
Aspect 10, 12, 14-15  
Aspectual clauses 48-49  
Assertative phrase 81-82  
Asseverative phrase 83  
Associative Noun 58, 60  
Associative noun phrase 9, 58-59  
ʔásta-phrase 74  
Attention clauses 31-32, 58  
Auxiliary 10, 15-16
- Capability clause 48  
Causative noun phrase 61  
Classifier roots 23, 90  
Classifiers 39-42  
Clause 9-22  
Clauses  
    Active 9, 12  
    Aspectual 48-49  
    Attention 31-32, 58  
    Capability 48  
    Concomitance 34-35  
    Contingency 35  
    Contrary-to-fact 36-37  
    Demonstration 47-48  
    Description 43-45  
    k'án clause 36  
    Location 33-34  
    máka clause 36-37  
    Manner 32-33  
    náka clause 36
- Negation 28-31  
Passive 9  
Permission 45-46  
Quantification 37-38  
Question 23-28  
Quotation 49-51  
Referential 13-14  
Sensory 37  
Situation 46-47  
Stative 13  
táka clause 36  
Time 34  
Cognitive phrase 82  
Completive aspect 12, 14-15  
Compound plus radical 95  
Compound plus root 95  
Compound radical 89, 96  
Compounds 89, 93-95  
Conclusive phrase 80  
Concomitance clause 34-35  
Condition 10  
Conditional position 20-21  
Consequential phrase 83  
Contingency clause 35  
Contrary-to-fact clause 36-37
- Deictic endings 71  
Demonstration clause 47-48  
Derivational suffixes 96-107  
Description clause 43-45  
Descriptive noun phrase 55-57  
Determiner Phrase 70-71  
Direct quotation 49-51  
Directionals 10, 16-17  
Ditransitive 9  
Dubitative phrase 81
- Emphatic phrase 81  
First person 65

- Formation of compound radicals 96  
 Formation of compounds 94-95  
  
 Goal 9  
  
 Imperative 11  
 Impersonal noun 54  
 Inclusive 65  
 Incomplete aspect 12, 14  
 Indicative mode 10-12  
 Indirect object 9  
 Injunctive mode 10-12  
 Interrogative stative stems 23  
 Intransitive 9  
 Intransitive root 89, 90  
 Intransitive verb stems 92  
 Intransitive-noun root 89, 91  
 Intransitive-transitive root 89, 91  
 Intransitivizing suffixes 97-100  
 Item 57  
  
 k'álal-phrases 74-75  
 k'an clause 36  
  
 Limitative phrase 80-81  
 Location clause 33-34  
 Locative constituent 10  
 Locative k'álal-phrase 74-75  
 Locative noun phrase 61-62  
 Locative position 19-20  
 Locative ti-phrase 73  
  
 máka clause 36-37  
 mantáuk 29  
 Manner clauses 32-33  
 Manner constituent 10  
 Manner position 18-19  
 Manner ti-phrase 73  
 mi-phrases 76-77  
 Modal phrase 79-83  
 Modals 79  
 Mode 10-12  
 Morphophonemes 111-116  
 Multiples 39-40  
  
 náka clause 36  
 Negation clause 28-31  
  
 Negative contrary-to-fact condition 29  
 Neutral root 89  
 Nominal constituents 9  
 Nominal positions 17-18  
 Nominalizing affixes 103-107  
 Nonnuclear constituents 9  
 Non-class-changing affixes 107-109  
 Noun phrases 53, 55-63  
 Noun stems 93  
 Nouns 53-55  
 Nuclear constituents 9  
 Nucleus 10  
 Numeral clause 38-42  
 Numeral roots 23, 89  
 Numerals 38-39  
  
 Object 9  
 Obligatorily possessed nouns 54  
 Optionally possessed nouns 53-54  
  
 Passive 10-12  
 Passive clause 9  
 Past perfective phrase 80  
 Perfective 10, 12, 14  
 Perfective phrase 80  
 Permission clause 45-46  
 Phrases  
   Accompaniment noun 60-61, 86  
   Additive 85-87  
   Adjunctive 82-83  
   Alternative 85  
   Appositive 85  
   Assertative 81-82  
   Asseverative 83  
   Associative noun 9, 58-59  
   ʔásta-phrase 74  
   Causative noun 61  
   Cognitive 82  
   Conclusive 80  
   Consequential 83  
   Descriptive noun 55-57  
   Determiner 70-71  
   Dubitative 81  
   Emphatic 81  
   k'álal-phrases 74-75  
   Limitative 80-81  
   Locative k'álal-phrase 74-75

- Locative noun 61-62  
 Locative ti-phrase 73  
 Manner ti-phrase 73  
 mi-phrases 76-77  
 Modal 79-83  
 Noun 53, 55-63  
 Past perfective 80  
 Perfective 80  
 Possessed noun 57-58  
 Present continuative 79-80  
 Quotative 82  
 Relator 73-77  
 Repetitive 82  
 Speculative 83  
 Temporal k'álal-phrase 75  
 Temporal noun 62-63  
 Temporal ti-phrase 73-74  
 ti-phrases 73-74  
 Totality 58,60  
 Verb 10  
 Plural 67-70  
 Plural markers 10, 14  
 Possessed noun phrase 57-58  
 Possessed Nouns as predicators 63  
 Possessor 57  
 Predicate 9  
 Present continuative phrase 79-80  
 Pronouns 10, 14, 65-67  
 Purpose-Cause 10  
 Purpose-Cause position 21-22  
 Quantification clause 37-38  
 Question clause 23-28  
 Questions for confirmation 23, 76-77  
 Questions for Information 23  
 Quotation clause 49-51  
 Quotative phrase 82  
 Radical 89, 94-95  
 Radical plus compound 95  
 Radical plus root compounds 94-95  
 Referential 10  
 Referential clause 13-14  
 Reflexive 10, 14  
 Reflexive noun 55  
 Relator phrases 73-77  
 Repetitive phrase 82  
 Rhetorical question 24-25  
 Root 89  
 Root classification 89-92  
 Root plus compound 95  
 Root plus radical compounds 94  
 Root plus root compounds 94  
 Second person 11, 65-67  
 Sensory clause 37  
 Situation clause 46-47  
 Speculative phrase 83  
 Stative clause 13  
 Stative root 89-90  
 Stative stems 93  
 Stative verb stems 92  
 Stative-noun root 89, 92  
 Stativizing suffixes 102-103  
 Stem classification 92-94  
 Subject 9  
 Subjunctive 11  
 táka clause 36  
 Temporal k'álal-phrase 75  
 Temporal noun phrase 62-63  
 Temporal ti-phrase 73-74  
 Third person 65-66  
 ti-phrases 73-74  
 Time clauses 34  
 Time constituent 10  
 Time position 20  
 Timeless aspect 11, 12, 14  
 Totality phrase 58, 60  
 Transitive 9  
 Transitive root 89-90  
 Transitive verb stems 92  
 Transitive-classifier root 89, 91-92  
 Transitive-noun root 89, 92  
 Transitivity 9  
 Transitivity suffixes 100-102  
 Unpossessable nouns 53-55  
 Verb 10-14  
 Verb stem 10, 12-14  
 Verb phrase 10  
 Vocative 10, 22  
 Vocative noun 55  
 Word formation 89-109

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