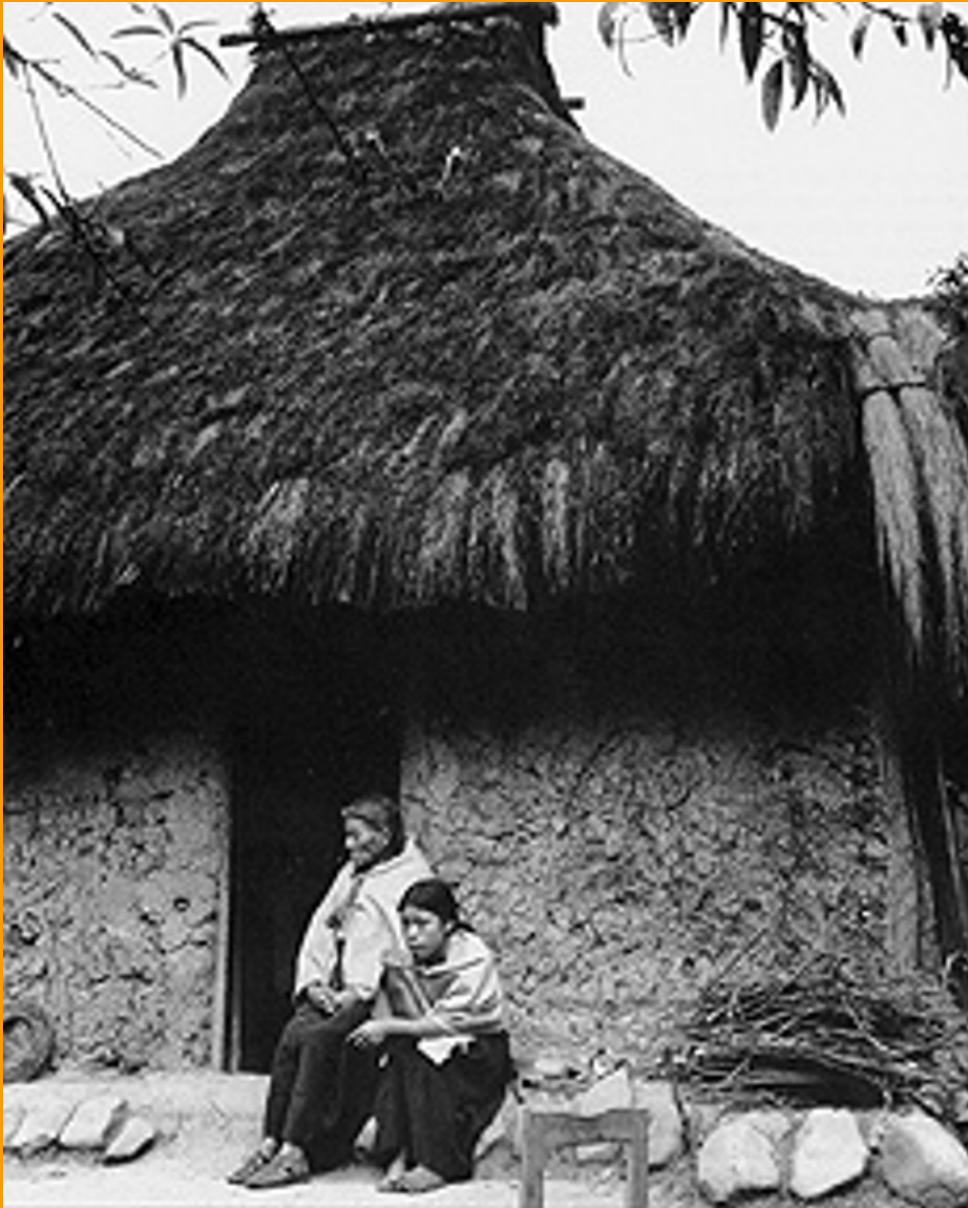


Sk'op Sotz'leb: The Tzotzil of Zinacantán



A Tzotzil Grammar

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INTRODUCTION

In the history of indigenous studies of Chiapas, it is ironic that despite the decades of ethno-linguistic research conducted in that region and the dozens of investigators that have surrounded and invaded the indigenous communities of the highlands, there is very little useful and accessible material related to problems of interest to the subject of those scientific investigations (that is to say, the indigenous people themselves).

The lack of a practical grammar for Tzotzil, mother tongue of more than one-hundred thousand people in Chiapas, written in Spanish, is at once a symptom and a cause of the scorn and ignorance with which this indigenous language is viewed by many investigators and bureaucrats. The pedagogical and linguistic materials currently in existence are almost all of foreign origin (as are the few non-indigenous individuals that have more than a merchant's mastery of Tzotzil).

After ten years of struggling to learn Tzotzil, with questionable success, I feel more than ever the lack of practical and systematic materials on Tzotzil that can be used by non-indigenous students with genuine interest, or by those indigenous people who wish to develop their linguistic abilities, both analytical and communicative, studying this variety of batz'i k'op ("the true language").

I have been inspired by John Smith's *Manual de Tzeltal* (or *El Tzeltal como Quien Dice*), a model that I have shamelessly emulated here. I have also taken advantage of R.M. Laughlin's magnificent Tzotzil dictionary (*The Great Tzotzil Dictionary of San Lorenzo Zinacantán*, 1975), which represents the richness of Tzotzil with impressive erudition. Furthermore, it gives me pleasure to express my gratitude to Norman McQuown, Bejamín Preciado-Solís, and especially Galio Gurdián for their editorial help with the Spanish text.

However, the wellspring of this work--from which the words, the conversations, and the following explanations flow--is the talk I have shared with my Zinacanteco compadres, friends, and neighbors. I hope that this grammar serves the readers not only as an instrument for learning the structure and basic vocabulary of the language, but also to get a feel for the "genius" of Tzotzil, thereby

Chapter One:

Notes on Phonology

1.0 Sounds and Pronunciation

The Tzotzil spoken in Zinacantan (that is, Zinacantec Tzotzil) has more or less the same phonemic system as other dialects of Tzotzil.

Vowels:

a i e o u (nearly the same as the vowels in Spanish)

Stops and Affricates:

p t tz ch k

Ejectives:

p' t' tz' ch' k' ` b (occlusive glottalized voiced consonant)

Fricatives:

v s x j

Nasals:

m n

Approximants: *l (r) y*

There are also two hypothetical proto-phonemes that represent different sounds depending upon the context in which they occur:

A (a root vowel, which is pronounced as *a* or *o*)

H (a consonant that in other dialects is a voiced pharyngeal or velar, but is pronounced as *v*, *y* or *j* in Zinacantec Tzotzil.)

The symbol (´) represents a glottal stop (which is written as 7 or ? in other orthographies). This symbol contrasts with ('). The symbol (') after a consonant indicates the glottalization of that consonant, which results in a strong explosion of air. (In order to learn to pronounce these sounds it is better to imitate the pronunciation of a native-speaker of Tzotzil.)

The letters *b* and *v* contrast. The *v* is articulated with the lips above the teeth, more or less like the *v* in English (*vine*), although in other dialects (including certain words of Zinacantec Tzotzil that occupy an intermediate position) the *v* appears more like a bilabial fricative or *w*. The Zinacantec word *vinik* "man" is equivalent to the Tzeltal word *winik*. The *b*, in initial or post-consonant position, is equivalent to the English *b*--it is a bilabial stop, lightly glottalized, often implosive. In intervocalic position, the *b* is strongly pre-glottalized. At the end of a syllable or a word, *b* is reduced to a sound that resembles *m*. Thus, in the word *tzeb* "girl" the *b* sounds like an *m* and, and the word is pronounced *tze`m*, but in the phrase *li tzebe* "the girl" the *b* sound like the English *b*, and the phrase is pronounced *li tze`be*. In some dialects of Tzotzil, *p'* becomes *b*. Thus, the Zinacantec word *p'in* "water jug" is equivalent to Chamulan word *bin*.

In reality, all glottalized consonants include three sounds, according to their position, such that the consonant is:

1. Strongly glottalized when encountered in word-initial or post-consonant position:

k'in party

balch'uj to slip

2. Strongly pre-glottalized when encountered in intervocalic position:

buch'u who [*bu`ch'u*] TR> *nak'al* hidden [*na`k'al*]

3. pre-glottalized and lightly articulated when encountered in word-final or pre-consonant position:

j`elek' thief [*j`ele:`k*] *muk'ta* big [*mu:`kta*]

(It is necessary to test these words with someone who speaks Tzotzil.) In the third context (in word-final or pre-consonant position), a glottalized consonant produces an apparent prolongation and tension in the preceding vowel.

The *x* represents a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative (like the *sh* in *short*). The *k* is a velar stop (like the *c* in *can* or *cable*), and *k'* is its ejective equivalent. The *j* is a velar fricative, which is somewhat strongly aspirated according to the dialect, although before a glottal stop, the *j* sounds smoother.

vaxakib eight
kok my leg
Xun John
kevu shade
k'ok' fire
k'ib water jug
Jobel San Cristobal
joj crow
j`ilol curer

The Tzotzil *r* is never pronounced as the Spanish trill *rr*. The latter occurs only in Spanish loan words with *rr*:

karo car

The letter *r* occurs in very few native words, but in loan words it is frequently equivalent to *d*, *r*, and *rr*:

krem boy
roxa rose
ryox God
reva language
roston fifty centavo piece
Romin Domingo (proper noun)

In new or recently derived words, the letters *d*, *f*, and *g* are occasionally found, even when there also exist transformed, more "Tzotzilized" forms.

dyablo/yavlo devil
foko/joko flashlight
gas/kas gas

I also write a few words, all Spanish loan words, with *w* -a letter that corresponds to the initial *u* of diphthongs in Spanish words.

bweno "bueno," good

bwelta "vuelta," walk, stroll

Exceptions to this norm are:

Manvel Manuel

In other dialects of Tzotzil, the sound represented here by *w* is pronounced more like *v* (like: Chamulan *bveno* or *veno* "bueno").

Some roots contain the hypothetical letter *A*, a vowel which exhibit an alternation between *a* and *o*. The most common situation is the following: a noun or adjective has *o*, but the derived forms from the same root have *a*:

chob cornfield

-*chabaj* to cultivate corn (intransitive verb)

pom incense

-*pamta* to cense (transitive verb)

In these cases, we can postulate the hypothetical roots *chAb* and *pAm*. Verbal roots with *A* sometimes produce derived numeral classifiers (see section 7.4) with *o*, but verbs with *a*.

-*joy* slice, cut, half(numeral classifier)

-*jav* to split (transitive verb)

Here we also postulate a root *jAv*, which produces the forms that now occur through regular processes. (In many cases, but not all, the corresponding words in Tzeltal have an *a*, without a change in the vowel:

Tzotzil Tzeltal Gloss

k'ok' *k'ahk'* "fire" (noun)

k'ak'- *k'ahk'* "burn" (t.v.)

k'ak'al *k'ahk'al* "day" (day)

The two languages have developed different patterns, based upon common past forms.)

On the other hand, the sound represented by the letter *H* now exists in other dialects of Tzotzil. This sound represents a development of the proto-consonant **H*, which in Zinacantec Tzotzil becomes *v* before *o* and *u*; *j* before *a*; and *y* before *i* or *e*. Compare:

Zinacantn Huistan (and parts of Chamula) Gloss

<i>vo'on</i>	Ho'on	I
<i>vo'</i>	Ho'	water
<i>vo'ob</i>	Ho'ob	five
<i>yech</i>	Hech	like that
<i>ja'</i>	Ha'	emphatic particle
<i>yi'</i>	Hi'	sand
<i>vun</i>	Hun	paper

These words come from pre-existing proto-forms with **H*. Zinacantec Tzotzil retains reflexes of this phonetic inheritance. For example, a possessed form of *vo'ob* "five" would be, according to regular processes, *svo'obal* "the fifth." This form co-exists with another, *I>yo'obal*, where the combination of the possessive prefix plus the initial *H* becomes *y*. The same process can be seen in the word *I>vo'*, from the proto form *HA`*. A derived form, with the suffix *I>-VI* (vowel + *l*) shows the vowel change, and the initial consonant is completely dropped:

vo` water
y-a`al his water

There is also an inchoative verb that is formed with the suffix *-ub*:

ja`ub to get wet

Some words in Zinacantec Tzotzil are exceptions, and the *H* becomes *y* before *u*; these words also show traces of the lost *I>H*. For example, there are two verbal roots in *yu-*, which are descendents of proto-forms with **Hu*.

yu`- be able (intransitive verb= **Hu`*-)
yul- to arrive here (= **Hul-*)

(Compare Tzeltal *hu`*- "finish" and Chamulan *vul-* "arrive here"). With the tense marker "non-past" in the third person, *ch-*, the initial *y* of the two verbs is lost:

(*i*)*yu`* He was able to. *chu`* He is going to be able.
(*i*)*yul* He arrived. *chul* He is going to arrive.

On the other hand, the "true" *y* in other verbs is not lost:

(i)yal He descended.

chyal He is going to descend.

(i)yuk'e He cleaned himself.

chyuk'e He is going to clean himself.

One must take into consideration these phonetic complexities when learning another dialect of Tzotzil, because this phonetic variation is concentrated precisely in modern words that contain letters like *H*, *p'*, and *w* (the last one in loan words).

1.1 Root Forms

The most common form of a Tzotzil root is CVC (C=consonant, V=vowel). Almost all Tzotzil words can be analyzed as a root of this form together with certain affixes. The following words consist of simple roots:

pim thick

t'ul rabbit

si` firewood

puy snail

sotz' bat

vaj tortilla

pop mat

nat long, deep

k'ok' fire

`ep many, much

`ol heavy

`ich chile

`us midge/buffalo gnat

One can see that there are no roots with an initial vowel (although the glottal stop (') is lost in combination with certain prefixes). There are also monosyllabic roots, of the form CV. Aside from the particles, these roots appear to be derived from proto-forms with a word-final *H.

xa already (temporal particle)

to still

xi thus, so

te there (demonstrative and temporal particle)

mi if, whether (interrogative particle)

However, certain forms are exceptions to the rule. For example:

Tzotzil Tzeltal Gloss

<i>ch'a</i>	<i>ch'ah</i>	bitter
<i>`u</i>	<i>`uh</i>	moon
<i>ch'o</i>	<i>ch'oh</i>	mouse
<i>na</i>	<i>nah</i>	house
<i>vo</i>	<i>hah</i>	fly
<i>chi-</i>	<i>chih-</i>	say

On the other hand, compare:

ch'aj ch'aj lazy

The final H has left its stamp in derived forms of certain Tzotzil words. Thus, the word no "thread" has the hypothetical form **naH*.

<i>no</i>	thread
<i>najomaj-</i>	to thread (intransitive verb)
<i>najebal</i>	gourd dish into which the spindle is put (literally: "place for spinning")
<i>-navu</i>	spin (transitive verb)
<i>-navul</i>	the thread of ___ (possessed noun)

There is also another hypothetical root of the form **siH* that can be seen in:

<i>jsijom</i>	person that softens wool
<i>-sivu</i>	soften (wool, to prepare it for spinning)

Here, through non-productive rules, the **H* becomes *v* or *j*, or it is dropped completely in word-final position.

There are also bisyllabic roots, mostly nouns and adjectives. The typical form of such a root is CVCVC. With adjectival roots the formula is more restricted: the same vowel appears in both syllables.

<i>bik'it</i>	small
<i>chopol</i>	bad
<i>ko`ol</i>	same
<i>poko`</i>	used, old
<i>`atz'am</i>	salt
<i>bikil</i>	intestines
<i>ch'ivit</i>	market
<i>chamu`</i>	Chamula

k'evuj song, chant
me'on orphan
 `elan- to be (intransitive verb)
 -`a`iy feel, hear (transitive verb)

A few bisyllabic roots do not conform to this pattern. There are roots of the form CV(C)VC, in which the intermediary consonant disappears in a few dialects; also, certain apparently non-compound roots show the form CVC-CVC.

ta(y)iv crushed ice, frost (Tzeltal: *tahiv*)
xu(v)it worm
cha(v)uk thunder and lightning
ma(y)il pumpkin
 `ajnil wife
 `ixtol toy, ring
bankil older brother (of a man)
xibnel older brother (of a woman)

Roots with consonant clusters do not exist, except in the roots mentioned above, and in the following:

`antz woman
krem (v. *kelem* "rooster") boy
 `abt- (Tzeltal: `abat "servant") work

Finally, there are a few bisyllabic roots with final syllables that end with vowels, of the form CVCV or CVC-CV:

`ama flute
batz'i (Tzeltal: *bats'il*) truly
 -mala wait
 vo`ne long ago
bak'ni (variation: *bak'in*) early, when

These phonetic notes will help students look up a root in the dictionary (or in the vocabulary included in this grammar). The consonant clusters that begin words almost always consist of a prefix together with a root, and roots are alphabetized according to their initial consonant. Thus, *sna* "his house" can be analyzed as the prefix *s-* together with the root *na* "house." And the word *chtal* "he comes" is analyzable as the prefix *ch-* with the root *tal-* "to come" (intransitive verb). Similarly, words with three syllables or more, almost always consist of a monosyllabic or bisyllabic root with affixes. The word

`ixtalal, for example, is in the dictionary under the root *`ixtol* "toy, ring" (therefore as a form of the hypothetical root *`ixtAl*). After eliminating prefixes and suffixes in the word *jvabajom* "musician," and taking into account the possibility of a change in the vowels between a and o (engendered by the hypothetical vowel *A*), the root *vob* emerges (= *vAb*) "string instrument," from which the word *jvabajom* is derived.

1.2 Stress and Intonation

The primary accent of a word in Tzotzil falls on the first syllable of the root; there is also an even stronger accent that accompanies the last syllable of a phrase or sentence (it can consist of a single word, pronounced in isolation, or of words uttered in the same breath). For example, see the following phrases (which can be heard as a [.WAV file](#)):

<u>Tzotzil</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
<i>jvabajom</i>	musician
<i>li jvabajome</i>	the musician
<i>Chtal li jvabajome.</i>	The musician is coming.
<i>Chtal xa li jvabajom `une.</i>	Well, the musician is coming
<i>`Ali jvabajome, chtal xa.</i>	The musician, he's coming already.

Here the symbol / represent word, and the symbol // represents phrasal accent, which is even more emphatic. It is clear that particles are not accented unless they are in final position.

1.3 Examples for Pronunciation

I will give a few representative words in order to demonstrate the language's contrasting phonemes.

CV

These words can be heard as a [.WAV file](#).

<i>vo</i>	fly
<i>te</i>	there
<i>me</i>	desiderative particle
<i>li</i>	the
<i>ti</i>	the (remote)
<i>xi</i>	said

chi henequen fiber (Spanish, "agave")

CV

These words can be heard as a .WA V file.

vo` water

te` tree

me` mother

li` here

ti` mouth, edge

xi` to be afraid

chi` sweet

b

bak bone

jbix staff

`abol suffering

sbel its contents

v

vak- six

fvix my older sister

`avol corn planting

svel cut, trimmed

b

`ub singing quail

chab wax

ich'ab he finished

ch'ub church patio

lub He got tired.

jtob twenty

m

`um mouthful

cham He died.

ich'am He received it.

ch'um type of squash

lum earth, ground

jtom one handful

j

laj It finished.

kajal mounted

toj pine

Various

la` Come here!

la hearsay particle

kakal stuck, caught

ka`al my water

tok cloud

to still

C

tzib fern

chi henequen fiber (fr. Spanish, "agave")

chib two

chich' He receives it.

chuch squirrel

kok deaf, my leg

nopol nearby

sukob stopper

C'

tz'ib writing

ch'i he grew

ch'ib type of palm

ch'ich' blood

chuch' drink

ch'uch' plant (*canna edulis*)

k'ok it broke

kok' my tongue

k'ok' fire

nop'ol glowing, flashing

suk'ob water for rinsing

p' (Zinacantec dialect)

ip'aj It fell.

jp'el a word

p'in pot

p'ol to multiply

b

ibaj It was locked up.

jbel My contents.

bin- pot-bellied

bol brother-in-law, idiot

C-` (consonant plus glottal stop)

ch-`av Its planted or seeded.

ch-`il It looks.

ch-`ok He cries.

ch-`uch'e He drinks.

ch-`ul It evaporates.

chak-`ulan purple (for example, a flower)

kuch-`e with a foot coming out of the mouth

lot-`ok web-fingered

j-`ilol curer

kup-`ik'ij to drown

C' (glottal consonant)

ch'av to scream angrily

-ch'il to fry

ch'ok wart

ch'uch'(e) plant species (Canna)

ch'ul sacred, holy

chak'ulan to give continually

kuch'(e) I drank.

lot'ol lying, sitting, standing together

In these last examples, the hyphen before the glottal stop is written to make clear the correct pronunciation -the glottal stop follows the non-glottalized consonant, either the result of the use of a prefix, or in a compound word. If one does not confuse the glottal stop (C-) with the apostrophe (C') that indicates glottalization of a consonant, it is unnecessary to write the dash. In this case, words like *ch`ul* "it evaporates" and *ch'ul* "holy" will not be confused. These are problems with orthography with little analytical importance. A few students of Tzotzil prefer to use only one symbol (usually (C')) for both glottal stops and consonant glottalization, in which case it would be preferable to use the hyphen to indicate the glottal stop that follows a consonant, although for those people that already speak the language, there is little possibility of confusion.

Not being standardized, the orthography produces other similar problems, which every student will resolve differently. For example, the division of a sentence into separate words is somewhat arbitrary; some particles (for example, *-e*, which ends phrases, or *-a`a`a* "indeed") do not have an initial glottal stop, and always unite with the previous words in the phrase. In my case, I write these words separately, but with the initial glottal stop. Other words, in Zinacantec Tzotzil, also begin with a vowel without a glottal stop: *i* (contraction of *li* "definite article"), and words with the prefix *i-* (completive aspect) and *a-* (second person). All other words are written with an initial glottal stop or with another initial consonant. Similarly, when the process of adding an affix produces double fricative consonants, these reduce to only one consonant: thus when I write *xx*, *ss*, or *jj* in order to make clear the grammatical structure of the phrase, these letters should be pronounced as *x*, *s*, or *j*. Other double consonants are pronounced twice, like *chch* or *tztz*, in verbal construction or in words with the same two consonants appearing in conjoining syllables. I will give a few examples:

<i>li tzebe</i>	the girl	<i>li tzebe</i>
<i>ja`a`a</i>	indeed	<i>ja`a`a</i>
<i>ta ana</i>	in your house	<i>taana</i>
<i>nom ibat</i>	He went far away.	<i>nomibat</i>
<i>`oy `on</i>	There is avocado.	<i>`oy `on</i>
<i>ta xxi`</i>	He is scared.	<i>ta xi`</i>
<i>ta ssut</i>	He is returning.	<i>ta sut</i>
<i>jjamtik</i>	Let's open it!	<i>jamtik</i>
<i>chchan</i>	He learns it.	<i>ch-chan</i>
<i>tztzak</i>	He grabs it.	<i>tz-tzak</i>
<i>ixcha`-`al</i>	He returned to say. (two glottal stops together)	
<i>vak-koj</i>	six grades	(with two <i>k</i> 's together, not <i>*vakoj</i>)

Contrast *vuk-koj* "six grades" with *svukoj sba* "It puffed up."

Chapter 2:

Basic Sentences

2.0 Existence

- ʼOy vo`. There is water.
vo`, "water"
- ʼOy vaj. There are tortillas.
vaj, "tortillas"
- ʼOy vob. There is music.
vob, "(string) music"
- ʼOy k'in. There is a party.
k'in, "party"
- ʼOy chamel. There is sickness; someone is sick.
chamel, "sickness"
- ʼOy ch'ivit. There is a market.
ch'ivit, "market"

The word ʼoy expresses the existence of something. It means "there is" or "a thing exists." A simple sentence in Tzotzil has the basic order:

Commentary Topic

In other words, the topic, the thing we are talking about, follows the commentary-what the sentence says about the topic. In sentences that indicate existence, the commentary is ʼoy-a predicate that indicates the existence of something. Sentences that indicate existence in Tzotzil can express the existence of something concrete or a process, activity, or condition, depending upon the noun that functions as topic.

- ʼOy vob. There is music.
Mi ʼoy vaj? Are there tortillas?
Mi ʼoy vo`? Is there water?

Questions in Tzotzil are formed by inserting the word mi before an indicative (declarative) sentence. (Questions are also followed by an interrogative, or rising, intonation.)

- Mi ʼoy vo`? Is there water?
Mi ʼoy vaj? Are there tortillas?
ʼOy. ʼOy vaj. Yes, there are. There are tortillas.

To answer in the affirmative, it is necessary in Tzotzil to repeat, at the very least, the operative words-the commentary or the predicate-of the affirmative sentence. Note that the word vaj can be translated as "tortilla" or as "tortillas," according to context.

Ch'abal vaj. There are no tortillas.
 ch'abal, "there is none, there isn't any"
Mu`yuk vaj. There are no tortillas.

The negative form of `oy is mu`yuk. The word ch'abal is also used frequently to express the non-existence of something, and it is equivalent to mu`yuk.

Mi `oy vo`?	Is there water?
`Oy.	Yes, there is.
Mi `oy vaj.	Are there tortillas?
Ch'abal. Ch'abal vaj.	No, there aren't. There are no tortillas.
Mi `oy chenek'?	Are there beans?
	chenek', "beans"
Mu`yuk. Mu`yuk chenek'.	No, there are none. There are no beans.
Muk' chenek'.	There are no beans.
Muk' bu `oy.	There are no beans whatsoever.

Muk' is another negative form of `oy, more or less equivalent to mu`yuk, but it cannot occur in isolation-rather it functions as commentary in a complete sentence. Muk' bu `oy is an emphatic negative form of `oy.

Mi muk vaj?	Are there no tortillas?
Ch'abal.	None.
Mi `oy bek'et?	Is there meat?
	bek'et, "meat"
Mu`yuk.	No.
Mi `oy vo` mi ch'abal?	Is there or is there not water?
Mi `oy chenek' mi `oy bek'et?	Are there beans or is there meat?

The word mi is used to form questions, and, by extension, is also equivalent to the word "or," which marks exclusive disjunction.

Mi `oy kajve mi `oy `ul?	Is there coffee or is there atole?
	kajve, "coffee"
	`ul, "atole"
`Oy `ul.	There's atole (a drink made from corn flour).
Mi `oy bek'et mi `oy chitom?	Is there meat (beef) or is there pork?
Mu`yuk bek'et mu`yuk chitom.	There is neither beef nor pork.

Two phrases or sentences can be conjoined in Tzotzil without the word "and."

ʔOy vaj ʔoy k'oxox. There are tortillas and tostadas.
k'oxox, "tostada"

2.1 Specific Time and Place

It is possible to specify time and location in a sentence that indicates existence.

ʔOy vo` ta k'ib.	There is water in the jug. k'ib, "water jug"
ʔOy chenek' ta p'in.	There are beans in the pot. p'in, "pot"
ʔOy vob ta k'in.	There is music during the party.
ʔOy ch'ivit ta lunex.	There is a market on Mondays.
Ch'abal vaj ch'abal vo` ta `olon.	There are neither tortillas nor water in the lowlands. `olon, "low"
ʔOy pukuj ta `ak'ubal.	There are demons at night. pukuj, "devil, demon" `ak'ubal, "night"

Ta is the only preposition in Tzotzil, and it has a very general meaning: as much temporal as spatial (with or without movement). Temporal and spatial constituents with ta take the following form:

ta + noun (either a time or a place)

Examples follow:

Mi ʔoy chon ta be?	Is there a snake on the road? chon, "animal, snake" be, "road"
Ch'abal ta be. ʔOy ta te`etik.	There are none on the road, (but) there are in the forest. te`etik, "forest"
Mi ʔoy vaj ta ch'ivit?	Are there tortillas at the market?
Mu`yuk.	No.

A phrase with ta is always definite: ta ch'ivit means "in the market"; ta be is equivalent to "in the road."

ʔOy vo` ta sob. Ch'abal to `ol k'ak'al. There is water in the morning, but none at noon.
sob, "early, morning"

	k'ak'al, "day, sun"
	`ol k'ak'al, "noon"
`Oy karo ta jun `ora.	There is a car (that comes) at one.
	karo, "truck, car"
	jun, "one"
	`ora, "hour"
`Oy `ajan ta `akosto.	There will be corn in August.
	`ajan, "corn"
`Oy ch'ivit ta Jobel. Ch'abal ta	There is a market in San Cristóbal, but not in
Nabenchauk.	Nabenchauk.
	Jobel, "San Cristobal"

These locative and temporal phrases can be fronted in order to give special emphasis to the time or place specified.

Ta Jobel `oy ch'ivit.	In San Cristóbal, there is a market.
Ta `ak'ubal `oy pukuj. Ta `ol k'ak'al	
ch'abal.	At night, there are demons. At noon, there are
	none.

In these examples, the phrases with ta are in the commentary position-that is to say, they go at the beginning. Questions about location can be formed this way.

Mi ta Jobel mi ta Nabenchauk `oy	Is it in San Cristóbal or Nabenchauk that there is a
ch'ivit?	market?
Mi ta jun `ora mi ta `ol k'ak'al `oy	Is it at one or at noon that there's a car?
karo?	

2.2 Temporal Particles

`Oy to vo` ta k'ib. There is still no water in the jug.

`Oy to chenek'. There are still no beans.

With sentences that indicate existence, the particle to is equivalent to "still." `Oy means that something existed before, and that it continues to exist up until the time specified. Ch'abal to means that something does not exist and continues to not exist up until the time specified.

Ch'abal ta karo. There is still no car (that is to say, it still hasn't come).

Mu`yuk to vaj. There are still no tortillas (that is to say, they still haven't been

prepared).

The sense of to can be represented with the following diagram:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Similarly, the particle xa is more or less equivalent to "already."

ʼOy xa vo`.	There's already water (whether there was before or not).
ʼOy xa ch'ivit.	There is already a market; the market has already opened.
Mu`yuk xa vaj.	There are already no tortillas (they ran out).
Ch'abal xa karo.	There's already no car.
Mi `oy to chenek' mi ch'abal xa?	Are there still tortillas, or are there already none?

We can illustrate the sense of the particle xa as follows:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

The last example can be represented with a composite diagram:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

The sentence Mi `oy chenek' mi ch'abal xa? serves to formulate the question of whether there are (still) beans at the present moment or if there are (already) none. The particles xa and to follow the first word of a sentence's commentary, and can occur in initial position.

Mi `oy karo?	Is there a car?
Mu`yuk to. Mu to `oy uk.	No, there still is none.
Mi `oy vaj?	Are there tortillas?
Ch'abal xa. Mu xa `oy uk.	There are none now.
Mi `oy xa ch'ivit?	Is there a market already?
Mi to bu `oy?	There still is none.
Mi `oy to k'in?	Is there still a party?
Mu xa bu `oy.	There is none now.

Alternative negative forms, based on the negative root mu, appear here. Mu often occurs with the enclitic uk (which one sees in mu xa `oy uk); thus mu`yuk should be analyzed as a contraction (a shortened form) of mu `oy uk. In the forms with bu-

particles that have the literal sense "where"-the enclitic uk does not appear. Thus, mu xa bu `oy means "there is no place where."

To and xa can also modify a phrase placed before ta, as in the following examples:

Ta ch'ivit `oy chenek'.	In the market there are beans.
Ta ch'ivit to (ja`) `oy chenek'.	As far as the market there are beans (and they can't be found any closer).
Ta ch'ivit xa `oy chenek'.	In the market at least there are beans (and there may be some closer, as well).

Here, the particles show a locative sense, obviously related to the temporal sense illustrated above. Consider also:

Mi `oy k'in?	Is there a fiesta?
Ch'abal to. Ta lunex to `oy.	Not yet. Not until Monday.
Mi `oy to `ajan ta k'in?	Will there still be corn-on-the-cob at the fiesta?
Ta k'in ch'abal xa. (K'al) ta k'in xa, ch'abal.	
At the fiesta there already weren't any.	

The particle `ox is used, alone or in combination with to or xa, to indicate a specific moment in the past or in the future (but not in the present).

Mi `oy `ox manko ta k'in?	Will there be (or were there) mangos at the fiesta?
`Oy xa `ox.	manko, "mango"
	There already will be some. Or: there already were some.
`Oy to `ox.	There will be some. Or: There still were.
Mi `oy xa `ox be ta Nabenchauk junabi?	Was there already a road in Nabenchauk last year.
	junabi, "a year ago"
Ch'abal to `ox.	There still wasn't.

Often, `ox is accompanied by an explicit temporal expression:

Mi `oy to `ox k'in `ok'ob?	Will there still be a fiesta tomorrow?
Mu`yuk xa `ox `ok'ob?	Tomorrow, there won't be.
	`ok'ob, "tomorrow"
Mi `oy to `ox `ixim volje?	Was there still corn yesterday?

	`ixim, "corn"
	volje, "yesterday"
`Oy to `ox, pero lavie ch'abal xa.	There was still some (yesterday), but today there is already none.
	lavie, "now, today"
Mi `oy to si`?	Is there still firewood?
	si`, "firewood"
`Oy `ox nax. Mu xa `ox bu `oy tana.	Earlier today there still was, but in a little bit there won't be.
	nax, "earlier today"
	tana, "in a minute, in a little while"
Mi `oy `us ta `olon?	Are there gnats in the lowlands?
	`us, "gnat"
Ch'abal `ox samel.	There weren't any last night.
	samel, "last night"
`Oy has the shortened form `o (and sometimes `u).	
Mi `o vo`? Is there water?	

Chapter Three:

Location

3.0 Definite Articles: Location

Sentences that indicate existence, like those dealt with in the previous chapter, often have indefinite nouns: There is water-some water, water in general. There is a party, etc. One can also speak of things that are definite: the water or the tortillas or the party (which we have already mentioned in discourse). A noun in Tzotzil has the following form:

(Article) + Noun (+ Demonstrative) (+ Enclitic)

(where elements in parentheses are optional). An indefinite noun consists of the noun by itself, without an article.

vo`	water
`ixim	corn
k'in	party

A definite nouns has an article and ends with an enclitic:

li vo` e	the water
li `ixim e	the corn
li k'in e	the party

Li is a definite article that signals the proximity of a specific thing: li is equivalent to "the." ti vo` e the water (remote) ti `ixim e the corn

Furthermore, the article ti indicates that the noun, which is as definite and specific as it would be if it carried li, is remote and distant in time and space.

li vinik e	the man (already referred to, and also nearby)
ti vinik e	the man (already referred to, distant, or remote) but dead,

Personal names also co-occur with definite articles.1 li Xun e John (literally: the John) li Manvel e Manuel ti Petule Peter (for example, a character in a myth who is named Peter) li Loxa e Rose li Maruch e Mary

Examples of each article's use follow: li vo` li` e this water (here) li Xune le` e John, who is over there li vitz taj e that mountain (already mentioned) vitz, "mountain"

The elements li` "here," le` "there," and taj "this, that" combine with a definite noun to indicate the relative proximity of a referent. Taj ordinarily indicates that something is distant and not visible. Taj can also function as an article.

(a) taj Xun e	that John (about whom we are speaking)
taj `ixim e	the already mentioned corn

The contrast between these forms can be seen with personal names:

li Xun e	John (some definite person)
li Xun li` e	this John here
li Xun le` e	that John there
li Xun taj e	John, who is over there visible)
taj Xun e	(nearby, but not the already mentioned John
ti Xun e	John (who is far away and lived in the past)

3.1 Locative Sentences

`Oy vo` li` to e	There is water here.
`Oy `ixim le` to e.	There is corn there.
`Oy vitz taj to e.	There is a mountain over there.

Expressions with li`, le`, and taj combine with to to function in sentences that indicate existence, just like locative phrases with ta. Note that locative phrases with ta can also take the enclitic -e [and demonstrate calificación].

`Oy vo` ta k'ib.	There is water in the jug.
`Oy vo` li` ta k'ib e.	There is water here in the jug.
`Oy ch'ivit taj ta Jobel e.	There is a market over there in San Cristobal.
`Oy sik le` ta `ak'ol e.	It is cold up there.
sik, "cold"	
`ak'ol, "up"	

These sentences express the existence of things that are definite, while at the same time indicating their location. In these sentences, the word `oy means, "There isä" Such sentences contrast with locative sentences, which specify the place where some definite thing can be found.

Li` `oy li` `ixim e.	The corn is here.
Li` `oy `ixim.	There is corn here.

The second example sentence indicates existence (the existence of a certain quantity of corn) with the locative constituent li` preceding it. The first example sentence-whose topic is a definite noun (the corn)-indicates location. In sentences of the this type (that is, locative sentences) the word `oy can be eliminated.

Li` li`ixime.	The corn is here.
Mi li` li`ixime?	Is the corn here?
Mi li` xa li`ixime?	Is the corn already here?
Li` xa.	It is already here.
Mi le` to`oy li nae?	Is the house over there?
na, "house"	
Le` to`oy.	Yes, over there.

Like the main word of the predicate, li` "here" can function without the particle to, but the predicate le` to "over there" seems indivisible.

`Oy vo` ta k'ib.	There is water in the jug.
Te`oy ta k'ib li vo` e.	The water is there in the jug.

Similarly, locative sentences can be based in phrases with ta. The place, the location, is indicated with the preposition ta. The central word of the predicate is te "in such a place" together with `oy and the word `oy can be dropped.

Mi te ta na li tz'i` e?	Is the dog in the house?
tz'i`, "dog"	
Te ta na.	He is (in the house).
Te li tz'i`e.	The dog is there (in the place mentioned).
Te (`oy).	Yes, he is there.
Mi te to ta te`tik li tzeb e?	Is the girl still in the forest?
Te to.	She still is (there).
Te to `ox ta Jobel nax li Xun e.	John was in San Cristóbal earlier today.
Mi te to lavi e?	Is he still there?

The negative forms of these locative sentences show the presence of the word `oy in their basic template.

Mi te ta na li luk e.	Is the billhook still in the house?
luk, "billhook"	
Ch'abal te. Ch'abal.	It isn't there. There isn't one.
Mi te to ta p'in li 'ul e?	Is the atole still in the pot?
Mu`yuk xa.	Not now.
Mi li` xa li Xune?	Is John here yet?
Mu to bu li`e.	
Ch'abal to li`e.	Not yet.

Locative assertions negate easily with forms of `oy-ch'abal, mu`yuk, muk' bu. With the particle to and xa, the negative forms mu xa bu "not now" and mu to bu "not yet" are used. I will give a few more examples.

Mi li` to `ox ta Nabenchauk li mol e?	Was the old man here in Nabenchauk earlier?
mol, "old man"	
Mu to `ox bu li` e. Ch'abal to `ox.	No, he wasn't he earlier.
Mi te ta vitz li krus e?	Is the cross there on the mountain?
Muk' bu te. Mu`yuk.	No, it isn't there.
Mi li` ta na li tz'i`e?	Is the dog here in the house?
Mu li` uk e.	He isn't here.
Mi te to ta muk'ta be li karo e?	Is the car still on the highway?
muk'ta, "big"	
Mu xa te uk.	Not now.

The negative particle mu, and the enclitic -uk that accompanies it, can combine directly with locative words like te and li`. In this way, the predicate li` "here" or te "in such a place" is directly negated-to suggest that the topic is neither here nor there but rather in another specified place.

Muk' bu li`e.	NO Gloss.
Ch'abal li`e.	NO Gloss.
Mu`yuk li`e.	It isn't here (neutral sense).
Mu li` uke.	It isn't here (but is in another place).

3.2 Emphasis, Fronting, and Definiteness

Contrast the word order and meaning of the following sentences:

(Te) `oy `ixim ta moch.	There is corn in the basket.
moch, "basket"	
Te (`oy) ta moch li `ixim e.	The corn is in the basket.

(The words in parentheses in each sentence can be omitted. Note the difference.) The most definite noun in each sentence occupies the final position. In the sentence that indicates existence, the noun `ixim "corn" is indefinite-it means "some corn, an

indefinite amount of corn"; `ixim does not carry an article, and it occupies an intermediary position. On the other hand, ta moch "in the basket" is more definite, although it does not carry the definite article li. In reality, the objects of the preposition ta never carry articles, or, better said, the articles appear to be dropped after ta, a preposition that contains a definite sense by itself. Thus, the phrase ta moch "in the basket"-being the most definite constituent of the sentence-goes to the end (2).

In the sentence

Te ta moch li `ixim e.

the subject-the noun in final position-li `ixime is very much definite: "the corn" (for example, the corn that we are looking for). It is possible to move the subject to the beginning of the sentence, for greater emphasis or to focus attention on the topic (in this case, the corn).

`Ali `ixime, te ta moch.	As for the corn, it's in the basket.
--------------------------	--------------------------------------

The particle `a- combines with the article at the beginning, and a pause separates the fronted subject from the rest of the sentence.

We have already observed that a noun inside a locative phrase with ta cannot carry an article, because the preposition ta has a sense of definiteness. Consider how one constructs a locative phrase with ta based on a definite noun like one of the following:

li be li`e	the road here, this road
li na le`e	the house there, that house
ti vitze	the mountain (remote)
li nab taje	the lake in that direction

All the nouns are deictic: they signal what we see or remember, and they carry demonstrative articles, which indicate the position of the named object relative to the speaker. Observe how one incorporates these nouns in phrases with ta:

`Oy vo` li` ta be e.	There is water here on the road.
`Oy k'ok' le` ta na e.	There is fire there in the house.
`Oy to `ox pukuj (te) ta vitz e.	There was a demon (there) on

ʔOy choy taj ta nab e. the mountain.
 There are fish over there in the
 lake.

Here one sees that the basic form of a locative phrase with ta is:

Locative Particle + ta + Noun

The locative particle can be deictic (demonstrative like li', le', etc.) or neutral, like te. And the neutral particle te can be dropped completely. Note that it is the locative particle that is negated in negative sentences with a locative phrase with ta.

Mi te to ta na li Xun e? Is John still in the house?
Mu xa te uk.
Mu xa bu te.
Ch'abal xa te. Not now (he isn't).

In locative sentences (of the form "X is in Y"), the entire locative expression-with a locative particle, and ta plus a noun-functions as predicate.

3.3 Questions of Location

Bu (ʔoy) li Xun e? Where is John?
Te ta na. (He's) in the house.
Bu li muk'ta be e? Where is the highway?
Te ta `ak'ol. Up above.

The word bu (which we have already seen in negative expression like muk' bu) means "where." In questions of location, bu functions as an interrogative locative expression.

Li' ta k'ib li vo'e. Here in the jug there is water.
Bu li vo'e? Where is the water?

Bu ordinarily occupies the initial position. But it is possible to front subjects for a different focus.

ʔAli Xune, buy? And John? Where is he?

(Bu and buy are alternative forms, like te and tey.)

Sentences that indicate existence can also become questions by means of the word bu.

Li` ta k'ib `oy vo`. Here in the jug there is water.
Bu `oy vo`? Where is there water?

Here bu replaces a locative phrase in initial position.

Bu `oy vaj? Where are there tortillas?
Muk' bu `oy. There aren't any.
Mu xa bu `oy. There aren't any now.

In these examples one can see that negative expressions with bu represent the direct application of negative particles to the word bu: muk' bu `oy means, literally: "there is no place where there is/are."

3.4 Other Interrogative Words

`Oy	vo`	ta k'ib.
EXISTENCE	TOPIC	LOCATION

We have already learned how to question the existence and location of things whose existence is asserted in sentences like the one above. Thus:

Mi `oy vo` ta k'ib?
Bu `oy vo`?

One can also form another question, questioning the topic.

K'usi `oy ta k'ib? What is there in the water jug?

K'usi "what" alternates with the short form k'u, which appears frequently in negative forms.

K'usi te ta k'ibe? What is there over there in the
water jug?
Muk' k'u `oy.
Muk' k'usi. Nothing. There's nothing.

(The expression muk' k'usi usually contracts to muk'usi.) In a similar manner, one can form questions with the word much'u (which in the speech of many Zinacantecos is buch'u) "who(m)."

Much'u li`e? Who is here?
Li` li Xune. John is here.

Much'u te ta jobel?	Who is in San Cristobal?
Te li Paxku`e.	Paxku is (here).
Much'u `oy ta na?	Who is (literally: who is there) in the house?
Muk' buch'u `oy.	There isn't anyone.
Much'u te ta jol vitz?	Who is on the peak of the mountain?
Muk' buch'u tey. jol, "peak, top; head"	No one is there.

We will treat compound expression like jol vitz (literally: "the head of the mountain," in other words, "the mountaintop") in the following section.

These interrogative words are also used as relative pronouns, like their English equivalents. In sentences that indicate existence, it is possible to say, for example: "there is someone who is in the house"-in other words, "someone is in the house." In such contexts, the interrogative pronouns function as indefinite pronouns, like the English words "someone," "somewhere," "something," etc.

Mi `oy buch'u te ta na?	Is there someone in the house?
`Oy. Te li Manvele.	There is. Manvel.
Mi `oy k'usi li` ta k'ibe?	Is there something in the water jug?
Mu k'usi `oy. Ch'abal xa li vo`e.	There isn't any. There is no water now.
Mi `o bu `oy chenek' lavie?	Is there a place where there are beans now?
`Oy le` ta ch'ivit.	There are over there in the market.

In questions, the interrogative words always comes at the beginning, except when other constituents have been fronted for emphasis.

K'usi li` ta k'ibe?	What is there in the water jug?
Li` ta k'ibe, k'usi?	Here in the water jug, what is there?

(Note that the initial particle `a-, which combines with the article li when a definite noun is fronted, does not combine with li`.) On the other hand, in its relative uses, such

words like k'usi, much'u, etc., go at the beginning of the constituents to which they pertain:

Mi	`oy	k'usi	li`	ta k'ibe?
ø	exists	something	here	in the water jug?

Is there something
here in the water
jug?

In this sentence, the entire expression k'usi li` ta k'ibe functions as a single noun, the subject of the predicate `oy, which indicates existence.

Another indefinite use of the interrogative words can be seen in the following examples.

Bu li j`ilol e?	Where is the curer?
j`ilol, "curer"	
Te nan buy.	Someplace (Who knows where?)
nan, "perhaps (indicates uncertainty)"	
K'usi taj ta ba tontik?	What is there over there on top of the rocks?
ba, "on top, face"	
ton, "rock"	
tontik, "rocky place"	
Te nan k'usi.	Something. (Who knows what?)
Much'u to `ox li` e?	Who was here?
Te nan much'u.	Someone. (Who knows who?)

As the previous examples have shown, the negative forms of these words are also equivalent to "no one," "nothing," "never," and "nowhere."

Muk' buch'u te ta na.	There is no one in the house.
Muk' kusi li` ta k'ib.	There is nothing in the water jug.
Muk' bu (`oy) vo`.	Nowhere is there water.

Chapter 4:

The Structure of Nouns, Part 1

4.0 Nouns and Possession

<i>ʼOy krus ta jol vitz.</i>	There is a cross on top of the mountain.
<i>ʼOy much'u te ta ba ʼosil.</i>	There is someone on top of the hill.
<i>Te ta ti`na li tz'i`.</i>	The dog is in the doorway. <i>ti`</i> , "mouth, bank, opening"
<i>Taj ta pat mok li tzebe.</i>	The girl is behind the fence. <i>pat</i> , "back, behind" <i>mok</i> , "fence"
<i>ʼAtaj krem e, te ta pat mak na.</i>	As for that boy, he is behind the door.

A large class of nouns, many of which are body part terms, combines with other words to create compound forms:

X (part) of Y

Thus, for example, from *jol* "head" and *vitz* "mountain," one forms the compound *jol vitz* "on top of the mountain." The grammatical relation of possession, marked by "X of Y" or "Y's X" in English, is indicated by word order in Tzotzil: the grammatical possessor follows the main noun, the possessum. The roots *jol* "head," *ba* "face, top," *ti`* "mouth, bank," and *pat* "back" are all body part terms. Furthermore, they all figure into numerous compound expressions with derived meanings. For example,

jol na "roof, loft, attic"
ba na "on top of the house, on the roof"
ti`na "entrance to the house"
pat na "patio (behind the house)"

These expressions are true compounds. Compound expressions of this sort often have a special meaning that is not predictable from the meaning of their constituent parts. For example, *ti` be* means "the side of the road," and *ti` k'ok'* means "the edge of the fire," but *ti` na* does not mean "side of the house" but rather "entrance to the house." The compound *pat na* has a shortened form, *pana*, which means "outside (of the house)," and arises from derivational processes like the [integral root]. (Similar compound expressions are common enough in English: e.g., hilltop, rooftop, hillside, doorway, etc.)

The example *ta pat mak na* shows a great level of complexity. The constituents *pat* "back," *mak* "lid," and *na* "house" combine in order to form a structure of the form:

pat mak na
the back of the cover of the house

The compound *mak na* "door of the house" (literally: "cover of the house") serves as the grammatical possessor of *pat*; thus the total compound means "behind the door of the house" (literally: "the back of the cover of the house"). The order of elements determines their grammatical relation.

4.1 Possessive Prefixes

Although "quasi-possessive" compounds of this sort are fairly common in Tzotzil, they actually represent special forms of constructions that result from general processes.

`Ali tzebe, te ta sna li Xune. As for the girl, she is in John's house.
Mi `oy si` ta ana e? Is there firewood in your house?
Li` ta jna e, ch'abal ch'o. Here in my house, there aren't any rats.

In the expression *ta sna li Xun e* the complement of the preposition *ta* is a possessed noun. The possessor is *li Xun e* "John." As in the previous examples, this noun, like other possessors, follows the possessed object. *Sna* can be broken down as a possessive prefix *s-* "his/her," plus the root *na* "house." This is the resulting structure:

s- na li Xune
his house of John

The possessed nouns in the rest of the examples are the result of a similar process. The possessive prefixes are:

j- na my house
a- na your house
s- na his/her house

Examples follow:

Bu l ana e? Where is your house?
`Ali jna e, te ta ti` vo`. My house here, it is on the riverbank.
Buch'u te ta ana e? Who is in your house?
Te li jkrem e. There is my son.

Note that articles are used with possessed nouns. *L ana e* (which sounds like *lanae*) is composed of *l-* (a shortened form of *li* which is always used before the possessive prefix *a-*), the possessed noun *a-na* "your house," and the enclitic *-e*: literally "the your house." In Zinacantec Tzotzil, the possessive prefix of the second person, *a-*, does not carry a glottal stop and therefore has a very smooth sound. *Ta ana* "in your house" is pronounced like *taana*, with a long *a*.

`Alanae, ch'abal xa. As for your house, it no longer exist.

`Alanae can be analyzed as *`a-* "initial particle with definite nouns" + *l-* "definite article (shortened form)" + *a-na* "your house" + *-e* (enclitic).

Mi `oy akrem? Do you have a son?
Ch'abal to, pero `oy jtzeb. Not yet, but I have a daughter.
krem, "boy, son"
tzeb, "girl, daughter"
pero, "but"

Here we see the form taken by sentences of ownership in Tzotzil. Thus, in order to say "I have a daughter", one says, literally: "My daughter exists."

Mi `oy ana? Do you have a house?
Ch'abal jna li vo`on e. `Oy sna li jtot e. I don't have a house. My father has a house.
vo`on, "I"
tot, "father"

We have seen that a possessed phrase has the form:

Object Possessed + Possessor

The possessor follows the possessum, whose possessive prefix cross-indexes its possessor. When the possessor is another noun--another person, for example--the prefix is s- "his/her."

s- na li Xun e (his) house of John

When, according to context, the possessor is known from discourse--for example, if we have already spoken of John--it does not have to be explicitly stated.

Bu li Xun e? Where is John?

Te ta sna. In his house.

Here the prefix s- indicates that the possessor is someone (or something) already mentioned in discourse, and the noun that denotes this person (or thing) remains implicit. On the other hand, when the possessor is in the first or second person--if the possessor is the speaker or addressee, respectively--it is generally unnecessary to specify the possessor.

`Ali tzeb e, te ta jna. As for the girl, she is in my house.

`Oy xa ana. You already have a house.

For greater emphasis, it is possible to include an explicit first or second person "pronoun." The singular pronouns are:

vo `on, "I"

vo `ot, "you"

Pronouns conform to the same pattern: they follow possessed objects and can also carry articles.

jna li vo `on e my house (of mine)

A pronoun appears as possessor in order to stress its contrast with another possessor.

Li` jna ta Nabenchauk. My house is here in Nabenchauk.

Bu ana vo `ot? Where is your house?

It is also possible to construct stratified possessive expressions with three or more levels of possession (as in the previous example, *ta pat mak na*). For example, the subject of the sentence

`Oy sna li jtot e. My father has a house. (Literally: the house of my father exists.)

shows the structure:

[DIAGRAM MISSING] The pronoun *vo`on*, "I," does not appear, but remains implicit in the prefix *j-* "my." Very complex expressions can often result from this stratification of possession.

Mi `oy stz'i` stzeb skrem l abankil Does the daughter of your older brother's son have a
e? dog?
bankil, "older brother"

The basic structure of this complex possessive phrase is:

[DIAGRAM MISSING]

Note that, although the entire possessive phrase is definite--it means "the dog of the daughter of the son of the older brother"--only the last constituent carries the definite article *li*. Similarly, the complement of a locative phrase with *ta* cannot carry the definite article, but a possessor in this construction can:

<i>`Oy `ixim ta sna li jtot e.</i>	There is corn in my father's house.
<i>`Ali tz'i` e, te ta sna skrem li jbankile.</i>	As for the dog, he is in my older brother's son's house.

Possessed nouns also occur without an article, with an indefinite, generic, or partitive meaning.

<i>skaro</i>	the car of someone who inhabits the region of Nachij (indefinite meaning: we don't know which inhabitant)
<i>jnachij</i>	<i>j-nachij</i> , "inhabitant of Nachij"
<i>sk'u` `antz</i>	woman's blouse (generic sense: the type of blouse woman generally wear)
	<i>k'u</i> , "blouse, clothing"
	<i>`antz</i> , "woman"

One sees the partitive meaning of an indefinite noun in the contrast between the following examples:

Li` li jchenek Here are my beans.
e.

`Oy jchenek' I have (a certain amount of) beans. Or: I have planted (a certain amount of) beans.

A possessed noun whose possessor is definite can be either definite or indefinite.

Li` xchenek' li jtote. Here are the beans belonging to my father.
`Oy xchenek' li jtote. My father has beans.

The form x-chenek' results when one adds the prefix s- "his/her" to chenek' "beans."

The s assimilates to the initial ch of chenek' and becomes x. (One says that the s "assimilates" because it becomes a sound closer to ch.) The letters x and ch' also cause the assimilation of the prefix s-.

j-xan my palm
 xan, "palm (one uses it to sew hats)"
a-xan your palm
x-xan his/her palm (sounds like *xan*)

Examples follow:

<i>Mi `oy ach'akil?</i>	Do you have fleas?
<i>ch'ak(il)</i> , "flea"	
<i>Ch'abal jch'akil vo `on. `Oy xch'akil jtz'i`.</i>	I don't have fleas. My dog has fleas.
<i>Mi `oy ana?</i>	Do you have a house.
<i>Vo `on e, ch'abal jna, ch'abal kosil.</i>	As for me, I have neither a house nor land.

The word *kosil* is composed of a possessive prefix k- "my" and the noun `osil "land."

Nouns beginning with a glottal stop and a vowel take different possessive prefixes than those beginning with a consonant. The prefixes are the following:

k-osil my land
av-osil your land
y-osil his/her land

One can see that a root's initial glottal stop disappears before the addition of the prefix.

<i>Mi `oy xa avajnil?</i>	Do you already have a wife?
	<i>`ajnil</i> , "wife"
<i>Ch'abal to. Vo `ote?</i>	No, I don't. And you?
<i>Vo `one, `oy kajnil.</i>	As for me, I have a wife.
<i>Mi `oy xa `ox avajnil janabi e?</i>	Did you already have a wife last year?
<i>Ch'abal to `ox a`a.</i>	Not yet then.

a`a, "indeed (emphatic particle)"

4.2 Fronting Nouns

Mi `oy xa smalal li Xunka` e? Does Jane already have a wife?
malal, "husband"
Xunka`, "Jane"
`Ali Xunka` e, ch'abal smalal. `Ali Loxa e, `oy smalal. As for Jane, she has no husband. (On the other hand,) Rose does have a husband.

We have already seen that the subject of a sentence can be fronted-it moves to the front of the sentence for greater emphasis.

Te ta Jobel li Xunka` e. Jane has a husband.
`Ali Xunka` e, `oy smalal. As for Jane, she has a husband.
`Oy avixim. You have corn.
`Ali vo`ote, `oy avixim. You, you have corn.

And the possessor within a phrase with ta can also move.

`Oy `ixim ta sna li Xun e. There is corn in John's house.
`Ali Xun e, `oy `ixim ta sna. As for John, there is corn in his house.
Ta sna li Xun e, `oy `ixim. In John's house, there is corn.

One must distinguish sentences such as these, which express the existence of something (corn) in a certain place (John's house) from locative sentences, which express the location of something specific.

<i>Te ta sna Xun li `ixim e.</i>	The corn is in John's house.	What interest us is the corn in particular.
<i>Te `oy `ixim ta sna li Xun e.</i>	There is corn there in John's house.	What interests us is where we find something.

In the first sentence, the word Xun does not carry a definite article. Zinacantec Tzotzil avoids sequences of nouns with definite articles. In a sequence of definite nouns, only the last noun carries an article. We can conclude that the first examples results from the underlying hypothetical sentence that follows:

****Te ta sna li Xun e li `ixim e.*

But this hypothetical sentence never occurs. The correct form results from the disappearance of the article carried by Xun, an article that is deleted by the presence of

the definite noun *li`ixim e*. If the subject, *li`ixim e*, moves forward, the omitted article re-appears.

`Ali`ixim e, te ta sna li Xun e.

Sometimes even more complicated sentences show up:

Li` ta jna vo`on skrem sbankil li Xun e. The son of John's older brother is here in my house.

`Ali Xun e, li` ta jna skrem li sbankil e. As for John, his older brother's son is here in my house.

`A taj sbankil li Xun e, li` ta jna li skrem e. As for John's older brother, his son is here in my house.

`A taj skrem sbankil li Xun e, li` ta jna li vo`one. As for John's older brother's son, he is here in my house.

It would appear that the word *taj* shows up in these formulations to avoid the occurrence of two nouns in a row introduced by *li*. Furthermore, *taj* provides a vehicle for the introductory particle *`a-* that goes at the beginning of sentences with fronted definite nouns.

Indefinite nouns also can be fronted, but they do not require the initial *`a-* particle.

`Oy`ixim ta kuveta. There is corn in the bucket. (What interests us is what is in the bucket.)

Te ta kuveta, `oy`ixim. In the bucket there is corn.

`Ixim e, `oy ta kuveta. There is corn in the bucket. (What interests us is the location of the corn, any amount of corn.)

These fronted indefinite nouns have a clearly partitive meaning.

`Osil e, `oy ta `olon. As for land, there is some in the lowlands.

Tzebetik e, `oy ta Nabenchauk. As for girls, there are some in Nabenchauk.

Bolom e, ch`abal xa li` e. As for tigers, there aren't any around here anymore.
bolom, "tiger, jaguar"

(The suffix *-etik* indicates plurality: *tzeb* "girl," *tzebetik* "girls"; similarly, *tz'i`etik* "dogs," *naetik* "houses.")

This partitive construction is somewhat rare. In general, only definite nouns at the end of a sentence can be fronted.

Te ta sna Xun li jchamel e. The sick person is at John's house.
jchamel, "person who is sick"
`Ali jchamel e, te ta sna li Xun e. The sick person, he's at John's house.

Contrast the following example sentences:

`Oy `ixim ta sna li Xun e. There is corn at John's house.
`Ali Xun e, `oy `ixim ta sna. As for John, there's corn at his house.
Te ta sna Xun li `ixim e. At John's house there is corn.
`Ali `ixim e, te ta sna li Xun e. As for the corn, it's at John's house.

In all of these sentences, the most definite noun comes in sentence-final or gets fronted.

The formulation of questions is related to this process of fronting, because interrogative words are always sentence-initial. Look at the following pairs:

`Oy X ta sna li Xun e. // X e, `oy ta sna li Xun e.
K'usi `oy ta sna li Xun e? What is there in John's house?
`Oy `ixim ta X. // Ta X e, `oy `ixim.
Bu `oy `ixim? Where is there corn?
`Oy `ixim ta sna li X e. // `Ali X e, `oy `ixim ta sna.
Buch'u `oy `ixim ta sna? In whose house is there corn?
Te ta sna Xun li X e. // `Ali X e, te ta sna li Xun e.
Much'u te ta sna li Xun e? Who is in John's house?

One question precisely those constituents that can be fronted, but it is obligatory to move the questioned constituent to the beginning of the sentence. The fronting does not impede the interrogative sentence from being transformed by the fronting of other constituents. (In indicative sentences, only one constituent can be fronted.)

That is to say, the presence of one interrogative word in a sentence alters the word order. As a consequence, another noun is liberated for fronting.

Much'u te ta sna li Xun e? Who is in John's house?
`Ali Xun e, buch'u te ta sna? As for John, who is in his house?

Note that various types of fronted nouns precede interrogative words:

`Ali jtz'i` e, mi te ta ana? Is my dog in your house?

Te ta k'ib e, k'usi `oy? What is there in the water jug?
`Ali Xun e, much'u te ta sna? As for John, who is in his house?

We have seen that only indefinite nouns--in general with a partitive meaning--can be fronted from a non-final position. In this sense, note that the word *k'usi* "what?" is the indefinite interrogative.

`Oy si` ta te`tik? Is there firewood in the forest?
Si` e, `oy ta te`tik. As for firewood, it is in the forest.
K'usi `oy ta te`tik? What is there in the forest?

There is a structural relationship between the following sentences:

*`Ali Xun e, `oy `ixim ta
sna.*

Much'u `oy `ixim ta sna? Who has corn in his house? (Literally: In whose house is there corn?)

Also note the possibility of these sentences:

Ta sna li Xun e, `oy `ixim. At John's house there is corn.
Much'u ta sna `oy `ixim. At who's house is there corn?

In the last example, the process of question formation seems to transform only the locative phrase with *ta*. A phrase of the form *ta sna X* becomes *much'u ta sna*. The resulting sentence means: "We know that there is corn in some house, but in whose house?" or "At whose house is there corn?"

Possessed nouns have special characteristics, which we see in the following sentences:

`Oy jna ta Jobel. I have a house in San Cristobal.
Te ta Jobel li jna e. My house is in San Cristobal.
Te jna ta Jobel. I have my house in San Cristobal.

The phrase *li jna e* means "the house (in particular) that exists and is mine," whereas *jna* means "a house that exists and is mine." Saying *jna* "a house of mine" asserts the existence of a house that is mine (although we employ the word only in order to negate the existence of such an entity:

Ch'abal jna. I don't have a house. (My house does not exist).

The sentence *Te jna ta Jobel* seems to violate the rule that the more definite noun should be at the end of a sentence. Thus, the sentences:

Te sna ta Jobel li Romin e. Domingo's house is in San Cristobal.
Romin, "Domingo" (personal name)

and the most common form:

`Ali Romin e, te sna ta Jobel.

appears to violate the rule that the grammatical possessor should directly follow the possessed noun. Analogous sentences with unpossessed subjects are not permitted.

Thus:

(Te) `oy k'in ta Jobel.
`Oy k'in (te) ta Jobel. There is a party in San Cristobal.
Te ta Jobel li k'in e. The party is in San Cristobal.

But one cannot say:

*** *Te k'in ta Jobel.*

The possibility of sentences such as:

Te jna ta Jobel.

appears to be related to the fact that the possessed noun includes in its meaning an assertion of the existence of the thing named. But I cannot find a satisfactory explanation of either this phrase nor of the form with the possessor fronted:

`Ali vo `on e, te jna ta Jobel.

Furthermore, it appears that this construction is only used with nouns that denote immovable objects, things that remain in the place indicated. One does not say:

*** *Te kajnil ta Nabenchauk.*

But it appears correct to say:

Ta jchob ta Nabenchauk. I farm in Nabenchauk.
chob, "cornfield"

This sentence asserts not only that I do have a cornfield, and that this cornfield is in Nabenchauk, but also that it is in Nabenchauk that I maintain my cornfield.1

4.3 Agentive Nouns with the Prefix j-

One should not confuse the possessive prefix j- "my" with a homophonous prefix j- that appears in words like j`ilol "curer," jnachij "inhabitant of Nachij," and jchamel "sick person." The agentive prefix j- transforms roots of various types into words that denote person or living things.

<i>j`il</i> , "to see"	j`ilol, "seer, curer"				
<i>Nachij</i> (place name)	jnachij, "inhabitant of Nachij"				
<i>chamel</i> , "sickness"	jchamel, "a sick person"				
<i>`olon</i> , "below, lowland"	j`olon, "inhabitant of `ik'al"	j`ik'el, "black"	`abtel, "work"	j`abtel, "worker"	

An obvious difference between the possessive prefix j- and the agentive prefix is that only the latter combines with roots that begin with a vowel. Thus, for example,

<i>j`abtel</i>	"worker"
<i>j`abtel</i>	"worker" (the j- cannot be possessive)
<i>kabtel</i>	"my work"

Agentive nouns with j- can also carry possessive prefixes: the possessed forms are based on the infix -aj- instead of the prefix j-.

<i>j`abtel</i>	"worker"
<i>kaj`abtel</i>	"my worker (who works for me)"
<i>avaj`abtel</i>	"your worker"
<i>yaj`abtel</i>	"his worker"
<i>jchamel</i>	"(a) worker"
<i>kajchamel</i>	"the worker that I care for"
<i>avajchamel</i>	"your worker" etc.

The root of the possessed form of agentive nouns begins with -aj-, with a vowel, and attracts the k-/av-/y- pattern of possessive prefixes.

4.4 Other Possessive Compounds

We have seen compounds like *ti` na* "entrance to the house" and *jol vitz* "mountaintop." It is evident that these compounds are derived from possessive expressions that have frozen, often acquiring an extended or metaphorically-changed meaning. *Ti` na* is related to a construction of the form

X of Y

which, in general, occurs with a possessive prefix, derived from the element Y, together with the element X. That is to say,

jol na "roof"

is a special example of the construction in:

s-jol li Xun e "John's head"

The construction with a possessive prefix differs from the compound (which lacks an explicit possessive prefix), which functions as a unity. For example, the compound can carry a definite article:

li jol na e "the roof"

li mak na e "the door"

li jol `itaj e "the cabbage"

`itaj "vegetable"

One can see that the expression *jol `itaj* "cabbage" means, literally: "head of vegetable"). On the other hand, one cannot say: *** *li sjol Xun e* and we already know that *sjol li Xun e* is definite (it means "the head of John"), although the article that accompanies *sjol* has disappeared as the result of the presence of the article carried by *Xun*. If one adds an article to the second element of a compound, it loses the frozen relation of the unity, and the underlying possessive prefixes cannot disappear.

Te ta jol na li Xun

e. John is on the roof (we already know which house.)

Te ta `ak'ol li jol na e. The roof is up there. (This sentence might be used, say, to explain what a roof is.)

Ch'abal to sjol li na e. The house still has no roof. (Literally: The head of the house still does not exist.)

Here we are talking about a definite thing--we are talking about his roof in particular--and the possessive prefix appears explicitly. Similarly, if the second element of a compound receives a possessive prefix, it loses the tight-knit relation between possessed and possessor, and the compound expression loses its integrity.

*Te ta sjol jna
li Xun e.*

John is on the roof of the house.

*`Ali tz'i` e,
te ta ti` na.*

The dog is in the
entrance to the
house.

*`Ali tz'i` e, te
ta sti` ana.*

The dog is in the entrance to your
house.

Mi `oy `itaj?

Are there vegetables?

`Oy jol `itaj.

There is cabbage.

*Vo `ote, mi `oy
sjol avitaj?*

And you, do you have cabbage?

(Literally: Does the head of your
vegetable exist?)

There are similar constructions in English:

Buy li na ba e? Where is the molehill?
ba, "mole"

"Molehill" is a compound word equivalent to na ba (literally: mole house).

Buy sna li ba e? Where is the mole's hill?

"Mole's hill" loses its integrity when the explicit possessive suffix -'s appears. Similarly, when we talk in Tzotzil about the hill of some specific mole, the first element of na carries the explicit prefix s-. Not all possessive expression can function as a unity without possessive prefixes: a student should be mindful of the constructions (the expressions) that permit the dropping of the prefix s-. Many roots that denote body parts begin with vowels. These also function in compound expressions, but they never lose the possessive prefix, which in this case is y-.

`Oy krus ta yok vitz. There is a cross at the foot of the mountain.
ok, "foot"

`Oy k'ok' ta yut na. There is a fire inside of the house.
ut, "interior, inside"

Mi `oy yav `ak'al? Is there an incensory?
av, "place"

ak'al, "charcoal"

The corresponding expressions based on consonant-initial roots omit the possessive prefix *s-*, as we have seen. With these vowel-initial roots, if the grammatical possessor (the second element) carries an article or is possessed, there is no change in the first element.

ʔoy krus ta yok li muk'ta

vitz e.

There is a cross at the foot of the big mountain.

ʔoy k'ok' ta yut li jna e.

There is fire inside of my house.

Mi ʔoy yav avak'al?

Do you have an incensory? (Literally: Does the place of your charcoal exist?)

Note that in compound possessive expressions the "true" possessor is marked by a prefix together with the second element.

sjol jbi my last name (literally: the head of my name)

bi, "name"

yav kabtel my workplace (literally: the place of my work)

yut amok your patio (literally: the inside of your fence)

sni ʔak'ob your finger (literally: the nose of your hand)

*ni*ʔ, "nose, point"

k'ob, "hand"

4.5 Inalienable Possession

Many words, especially names of body parts and kinship terms, always occur with a possessor. In general, we do not speak of a hand without it being someone's hand: a father is someone's father, etc. In Tzotzil, the inalienable character of certain nouns has a formal and grammatical reflex. For example, the root *k'ob* "hand" is never used in isolation. It either carries a possessive prefix (for example, *jk'ob* "my hand") or it requires a nominal suffix, which produces an absolute form, indicating the indefiniteness of the possessor (for example, *k'ob-ol* "hand (of some unspecified person).") One never hears the root in isolation, except in fixed compounds, in which the possessive prefix *s-* is thought to have disappeared.

k'ob krus arm of the cross

With the majority of these words, the absolute suffix (of indefinite possession) is *-il*, but there are so many exceptions that it will be preferable to indicate (and for the students it is necessary to memorize) the particular suffix that accompanies each inherently possessed noun. Here we employ the notation introduced by Josh Smith (n.d.): a noun with a hyphen loses the absolute suffix upon being possessed: for example, *k'ob-ol* "hand." Of the nouns we already know, the following are of the same type:

Body Parts

`ok-ol, "foot"

pat-il, "back"

ti`-il, "mouth, entrance, side; lip"

ba-il, "forehead, face"

jol-ol, head"

k'ob-ol, "hand"

Other Words

bi-il, "name"

`av-il, "place, container, footprint"

`ut-il, "inside"

k'u`-ul, "clothing, blouse, shirt"

Kinship Terms

bankil-al, "older brother (of a man)"

`ajnil-al, "wife"

malal-il, "husband"

To recapitulate, the possessed forms of these words carry possessive prefixes (except in fixed compounds) without the absolute suffix:

kok, "my foot"

jba, "my face"

jbi, "my name"

ak'u`, "your

clothes"

avajnil, "your wife"

If they are not used in a possessive construction, these roots should carry the indicated absolute suffix. However, the use of the so-called "absolutes" forms is very restricted. It

does not correspond to the English usage of non-possessed equivalents. In general, the suffix signifies indefinite possession.

Li` `oy k'u`ul. There is clothing here (of someone unknown).

The forms of the suffix also have a general meaning:

<i>jayib` `ok'ol?</i>	How many steps?
<i>jayib,</i> "how many, how much"	
<i>ta` `okol</i>	by foot, walking
<i>ta k'obol</i>	by hand

In other cases, the form of the suffix has a changed or extended meaning. For example, *bankilal* can denote senior officials of elders. It also means a type of indigenous tobacco that is considered to have supernatural powers and protective virtue (perhaps as a type of older brother?). Also, *totil* (from *tot-il* "father") can mean either "a father" or "an elder, a venerated person." *Jolol* means not only "head" but also "hair." And the roots

- *`e-al,* "mouth"
- *`o` `on-il,* "heart"
- *ch'ut-il,*
"stomach"

produce absolute words that denote infirmities of the body parts mentioned above: mouth ulcers or angina, dizziness or nausea, and stomach aches and diarrhea, respectively. In reality, the "absolute" forms with a suffix are more specialized than generalized, and the roots more frequently occur with possessive prefixes.

Grammatical "possession" in Tzotzil is a well-developed syntactic resource. Tzotzil uses possessed forms to express ideas that are communicated by means of very different constructions in English. We have already seen a basic example: English sentences of ownership employ the verb "to have." Their Tzotzil equivalents are sentences indicative of existence, with a possessed noun as the subject.

`Oy kixim. I have corn.

We also know about the use of relational nouns, with possessive prefixes, which are used in place of preposition.

ta jol na on top of the house
ta yut mok inside of the house, on the patio
ta yolon jtem beneath my bed
ta yak'ol ana above, on top of your house

Another example, which Josh Smith mentions in his description of Tzeltal, is the use of body part terms. For example, person who speaks Tzotzil will offer as the translation of the word "hand" not the "absolute" form of the suffix-a form that, as we have already seen, has a restricted and special usage-but instead the possessed form *jk'obtik*, which means "our hands." This word suggests that hands are things inherently possessed, which we all have.

Certain roots that we write with a hyphen show more complexities. For example, *ti`-il* gives the expected forms:

ti` na entrance to the house
ti` be large door, entrance to the road
sti` l ana e the entrance to your house
jtí` my mouth, my lips
ti`il entrance, side, mouth (absolute form)

But additional forms also exist:

ti`il be the side of the road
sti`il jbe the side of my road (where I walk)

This latter form contrasts with:

sti` jbe the entrance to my road (in other words, the turn where the road leaves for the house)

Thus, there is a form of the suffix, *ti`il*, obviously related to the basic root, but this form with a suffix can also carry possessive prefixes, with an extended meaning.

Provisionally, we can represent these words this way:

ti`-il, "mouth, entrance"
ti`il, "side" (without a hyphen)

Other words show similar complexities. The word *`ut-il* "inside" gives the expected forms: *yut* "inside of ___," *kut* "my inside," *`util* "inside (absolute form)." But the following forms also occur:

ta yutil yo`on [heartfelt] (literally: in the center of his heart)

ta yutil in the center (of a population)

That is to say, there is another stem (from the same root `ut-il) of the form `util (without the hyphen) with the meaning "center." However, this stem has very limited usages.

From the root `av "place" there are the forms `av-il "place" and `avil (without a hyphen) "origin." Thus we have:

yav li Xun e the seat (place) of John

yav li `ixim e the place of corn

ta yavil in its original or permanent place

In the following pages we will delve more deeply into the complexity of Tzotzil's possessive system.

Chapter 5:

Stative Sentences

5.0 Stative Sentences

`Antz li Loxa e.

Rose is a woman.

Tzeb to li Petu` e.

[Petu7] is still young (a girl).

Mi krem to li Chep e, mi vinik

xa? Mi `oy xa yajnil.

Is Joseph still a boy, or is he a

man already?

Does he have a wife yet?

"Stative" sentences are sentences that attribute a quality, condition, or state to their subjects. These sentences have the following form:

Predicate
(noun or adjective)

Subject

The predicate, which can be a noun or an adjective, ordinarily precedes the subject.

ʔep li ʔabtel e.

The work is numerous (i.e.,
there is a lot of work).

ʔep, "much, a lot"

Muk' li na e.

The house is big.

muk', "big"

Mi lek li ʔitaj e?

Are the vegetables good?

lek, "good"

Mi bik'it to li tzeb e?

Is the girl still little?

bik'it, "small, little"

As in locative sentence or sentences indicating existence, the interrogative particle mi precedes the predicate in question formation, while a particle of time like to and xa follow it. The subject can also be fronted.

ʔAli jna e, ʔach' to.

My house is still new.

ʔach', "new"

ʔA l amok e, mi ton mi te`?

Your fence, is it of rock or
wood?

te`, "tree, wood"

Note that generic subjects of stative sentences are formed with the definite article li.

ʔAli xulem e, mut.

Vultures are birds.

xulem, "buzzard, vulture"

mut, "bird"

Tzotz li ton e.

Rocks are hard.

tzotz, "hard, strong"

In general, subject of stative sentences are definite: these sentences assert that something specific pertains to some class, or shows a quality, or is some condition or state. Tzotzil sentences do not require a copular verb, like "to be," in such constructions.

Vinik li Xun e.

John is a man. (We
are talking of
someone
specific.)

Nat li ch'en e.

The cave is long

(deep).

nat, "long, deep"

ch'en, "cave, cavern,

precipice"

Chi` li kajve e.

Coffee is sweet.

chi`, "sweet"

kajve(l), "coffee"

It is fairly common for a possessed noun to serve as the subject of a stative sentence, often without an explicit article (but no less definite as a result).

Mi `ip to avajnil?

Mi `ip to l avajnil e?

Is your wife still sick?

`ip, "sick"

Sak xa ajol.

Sak xa l ajol e.

Are you white-haired already?

sak, "white"

A locative phrase with ta can also delimit the predicate or the subject of a stative sentence.

Sak ta `util li jk'u` e.

My clothes are clean inside.

Sak ta yut li jk'u` e.

The inside of my clothes are
clean.

Muk' li jna ta `ak'ol e.

My house up above is big.

In the first example, ta `util functions as the adverb "inside," modifying the predicate sak "white." In the latter example, ta `ak'ol functions as a (restrictive) relative clause, modifying the subject: my house<which is up above>is big. In the second example, the phrase li jk'u` e "my rope" functions as the subject of the predicate sak and as the possessor of `ut "inside." The sentence means, literally: "My clothing is white in its interior." I will give a few other examples of this process:

Tzotz `ip ta jmek li `unen e.

The child is seriously ill.

`unen, "child"

ta jmek, "very" (Literally: "one

once")

time,

Mas lek li k'in ta `enero.

The party in January is

better.

mas, "more"

Words like mas "more," tzotz "strong," lek "well," and jutuk "a little" can modify nouns and predicative adjectives. Comparison is often expressed through a structure of this type:

Mas nat li Xun e, mas komkom li
yitz'in e.

John is taller than his little
brother. (Literally:
yitz'in-al, "younger brother"
komkom, "short, scrawny")

John is taller, and his
brother is shorter.)

Note also that temporal particles can follow the predicate or the modifier.

Tzotz to `ox `ip volje li `unen e.
Tzotz `ip to `ox volje li `unen e.

The child was still very sick
yesterday.

volje, "yesterday"

Jutuk xa k'ux li jjol e.
k'ux, "painful"

My head hurts less already.

Lek `ox muk' ta junyo li jchob e.

My cornfield will already be
pretty big in June.

Another word that can modify a stative predicate is batz'i "true, truly," although this word has different characteristics. Batz'i cannot be a predicate; it functions only in conjunction with a noun or an adjective.

Batz'i lek l avabtel e.

Your work is really good.

Batz'i j`ak'-chamel li mol e.

The old man is a real
witch.

j`ak'-chamel, "witch" (literally:
one

who gives illness)

Particles cannot separate batz'i from the predicate it modifies.

Batz'i `ip xa li jtot e.

My father is already very sick.

The word batz'i can also directly modify a noun that is not in predicate position (that is, the subject of a sentence or the object of the preposition ta).

Lek li batz'i vob e.

The true musician is good.

Comparative data from Tzeltal and other dialects of Tzotzil suggest that the so-called pronouns of the first and second person are in reality based on the root ja`.

Much'u li` e? Mi vo`ot? Who is here? Is it you?
Vo`on. It is me.

Furthermore, other, more complex stative sentence use the particle ja` for the sake of emphasis.

Mi ja` abankil li Petul e? Is it Peter that is your
Ja`. Ja` jbankil. older brother?
 Yes, that's him. He is my
 older brother.

`Ali Maryan e, che`e. And Marean, well?
Ja` `onox jbankil noxtok. He is also my older
 brother.

che`e, "well" (it goes at the end sentence)
of a
`onox, "anyway, always"
noxtok, "also, again"

These particles have different characteristics. `Onox pertains to the group of temporal particles. It follows the first word of the predicate, and also follows xa and to if these occur in the same sentence. Che`e "well" always ends a sentence, sometimes replacing the final enclitic -e. Noxtok can move liberally in the sentence, more or less like locative phrases with ta.

Tzotz li Xun e, pero ja` xa `onox mas John is strong, but his brother is even
tzotzil li yitz'in e. stronger.
Mi lek li tajimol e? Is the game good?
tajimol, "game"
Lek, che`e. Well, yes.

Every nominal predicate has, in its basic form, the emphatic particle ja` which can disappear in a non-emphatic sentence (a situation similar to that with te in locative phrase or ta in temporal phrases. (For example, te ta Jobel "there in San Cristobal").

5.1 Sentences of Existence and Locatives Used as Stative Sentences

Sentences that assert the existence of something have the general form:

ʻOy X.
(where X represents the subject.)

Sentences that indicate the location of a specific thing have the general form:

Te ta Y li X e.
(Y represents the location, and X the subject.)

A combined form, that can be seen in sentence like

Te (ʻoy) sna ta ʻak'ol. His house is house up there.

asserts the existence, the ownership, and location of something. The general form is:

Te (ʻoy) X ta Y

We can see that sentence of this form are, basically, stative sentences, made up of a predicate P and a subject S. These sentences means "S is P." In sentences that indicate existence, the predicate is ʻoy<a noun with the meaning "something exists">and the subject is an indefinite noun:

ʻOy vo`. Water exists. There is water.
ʻOy jna. My house exists. I have a house.

Locative sentences use the predicate te, which is a noun with the approximate sense: "existing in such a place">in other words, te is the reduced form of a locative phrase with ta. In effect, one can consider that there are locative predicates of the form:

te ta X

from which te can disappear when it does not serve as predicate of the entire sentence (that is to say, when the construction with ta is only the locative phrase in the sentence and not the predicate) (1).

`Oy k'in (te) ta Jobel.	There is a party in San Cristobal.
Tey ta Jobel li k'in e.	The party is in San Cristobal.

In general, subjects of locative sentences are definite, taking the article li, and come at the end of sentences.

Sentences with locative predicates but indefinite subjects have a meaning that is as much existential as it is locative. According to the normal pattern, the indefinite subject precedes the locative phrase with ta.

Te vo` ta `olon `osil.	There is water (i.e., rain) in the lowlands.
------------------------	---

This sentence appears to be equivalent to the following:

Te `oy vo` ta `olon `osil.
`Oy vo` (te) ta `olon `osil.

The existential meaning appears to be derived from the indeterminacy of the noun vo` and from its position in the sentence.

Thus, it is not surprising that other stative sentences are characterized by a partially existential meaning. Consider the following sentences:

Mi tzotz xa li vo` ta `olon e?	Is the rain in the lowlands heavy?
Mi tzotz xa vo` ta `olon?	Are there heavy rains in the lowlands?

In the first, we already know that it is raining in the lowlands, and we are asking whether the rain is heavy. In the second, we are asking whether there is rain and whether it is strong. A negative response to the first question would be:

K'un to. (No), it is still light.

A negative response to the second question would be:

Ch'abal to. There is still none.²

Also note that the negative forms of locative sentences or sentences indicating existence are basically stative.

Ch'abal vaj.

The predicate of this sentence is the adjective ch'abal, which means "non-existent, absent."

`Oy vaj.

Mu`yuk (= mu `oy uk) vaj.

Te ta sna li Xun e.

Mu te uk ta sna li Xun e.

The basic negative form of a sentence with the predicate `oy or te has the particle mu "no" and the negative/subjunctive suffix -uk in conjunction with the predicate. (We have also seen other negative forms, for example, with ch'abal.)

The position of `oy in stative sentences with locative predicates or adjectives appears to be variable, and there is a reflex of this variability in the interrogative and negative forms. For example, both of the following sentences appear to be equivalent.

Te ta sna li jkumpare.

Te `oy ta sna li jkumpare.

My godfather is in his house.

kumpa(re)-il, "godfather"

If there is a difference between these sentences, the difference can be characterized by the two translations.

1. My godfather can be found in his house.
2. My godfather is in his house.

Note that, in locative sentences, the first element of the predicate is te, followed optionally by `oy. The inverted order signals existence and not location.

Te (`oy). He is there.
`Oy (te). There is over there.

`Oy also appears together with certain adjectives.

Lek to li jkumale.
Lek to `oy li jkumale. My godfather is still well.

The only difference I can find between these sentences is this: the predicate without `oy emphasizes the condition or quality of the subject ("My godfather is good."), whereas the predicate with `oy underscores the non-permanent state of the subject ("My godfather is well."). (The difference corresponds to the difference in Spanish between *estar* and *ser*, the two forms of the verb "to be.") Thus, the following sentence is strange or abnormal:

??? Muk' `oy li vitz e.

because largeness is not a transitory condition for a mountain, but rather a permanent state. Similarly, `oy does not appear in sentences with nominal predicates that mark their subjects as members of a specific class. Thus, for example, one can say:

J'ilol li Tonik e. Antoinette is a curer.
Tonik, "Antoinette"

But one cannot say:

*** J'ilol `oy li Toniik e.3

5.2 Interrogative and Negative Forms of Stative Sentences

In a sentence like:

Vinik li Petul e. Peter is a man.

the negative can be used in two ways: 1) We can negate that Peter is a man, or 2) We can negate that it is Peter who is a man. Thus, there are two negative forms of this sentence:

Mu vinik uk li Petul e. Peter is not a man (for

example, he might still be a
boy).
Ma`uk vinik li Petul e. It isn't Peter who is a man (but
rather Joseph).

In the first sentence, the negative particle mu and the negative suffix -uk join with the
predicate vinik. In the second, the word ma`uk "it is not him, it is not this" appears.
There are also negative forms with the particle bu, which absorbs the negative suffix.

Muk' bu vinik li Petul e. Peter is not a man.
Mu to bu vinik li Petul e. Peter is still not a man.
(Literally: There is still not a
time/place in which Peter is a
man.)

The contrast between the negative forms can also be seen in predicate nominative
sentences, in which the predicate notes a social position or office.

Mu xa bu preserente li Xun e. John is not the president.
Ma`uk xa preserente li Xun e. It is not John who is president.

Similarly, there are various negative forms of the sentence

Lek li jchob e. My cornfield is good.

I will present a few more negative forms:

Mu lek uk li jchob e.
Muk' bu lek li jchob e. My cornfield isn't good (i.e., it
is bad).
Ma`uk lek li jchob e. My cornfield isn't good
(although yours is).

Sometimes the following form also occurs:

Mu`uk lek li jchobe. My cornfield isn't good.
(Literally: I don't have a
cornfield that is good.)

which appears to be derived from a sentence indicative of existence like

Lek `oy li jchob e. The cornfield that I have is
good.

The following sentences originate from the same source:

Ch'abal / mu`yuk bu lek li No part of my cornfield is
jchob e. good.

In general, negative sentences with ma`uk differ from sentences with mu + -uk or mu`yuk or muk'.

Ma`uk `oy vo` ta Jobel, ja` `oy It isn't raining in San Cristobal; its
bot. hailing.

Ma`uk `ip li Chep e, ja` `ip li John isn't sick; his sister is.
xch'amal e.

Ma`uk `oy yixim li Chep e, ja` It isn't Joseph who has corn, but rather
`oy avixim. you.

Mu`yuk vo` ta Jobel. It doesn't rain (it isn't raining)
in San Cristóbal.

Muk' bu `ip li Chep e. Joseph isn't sick.

Ch'abal yixim li Chep e. Joseph doesn't have corn.

Demonstratives like li` "here," le` "there," and taj "that" can serve as the subjects of stative sentences.

`Ol li` e. This is heavy.

`ol, "heavy"

Ton taj e. That is a stone.

Mu lek uk le`e. That isn't good.

This sort of demonstrative subject does not carry the definite article li, although it combines with the final enclitic -e.

Now we will consider questions based upon stative sentences. We have already seen interrogative forms with mi.

Mi takin xa li chenek' e? Are the beans dry yet?

takin, "dry"

Mi ja` `ip l atot e? Is your father sick?

Sometimes mi and ja` combine to form ma`, "Is it him?" or "Is it this?"

The interrogative roots much'u "who" and k'usi "what" are used as predicates, as in the following examples:

Much'u taj e?	Who is that?
K'usi li` e?	What is this?

Other questions, based on the same interrogative roots, are distinguished by the definite character of another noun.

Much'u li vinik e?	Who is that man?
Jnachij.	He is an inhabitant of Nachij.
K'usi li mas muk' e?	Which is bigger.
Ja` mas muk li` e.	It is this one. (Literally: This one is bigger.)

K'usi li tulán e?	What is a "tulán"?
`Ali tulane, te`.	A "tulán" is a tree.
tulan, "oak tree"	

(Note in the last example how one asks about the meaning of an unknown word.)

A construction like li mas muk' e shows how an adjective with a definite article can function as a noun. A similar process occurs in English: "big" (adjective), "the biggest" (noun).

Also note that an isolated noun can be a complete sentence. In Tzotzil, there is no third person pronoun. An isolated noun is interpreted as a predicate noun, with the implicit subject "he, she, it."

Tzeb.	She is a girl.
J`apas.	He is an inhabitant of `Apas.
Lek.	It is good.

Questions are also formed with adjectives or indefinite nouns.

Much'u p'ij?	Is there someone who is intelligent? (And who is it?)
K'usi lek?	What is good? Is there something good?
Much'u j`ilol?	Is there someone who is a curer?

Likes other sentences with indefinite subjects, these examples question the existence of something: of an intelligent person, of something good, or of a curer.

Much'u, together with an animate [human?] noun, means "which."

Much'u te ta ana e?	Who is in your house?
Te jun vinik.	A man.
jun, "one"	
Much'u (ti) vinik te?	Which man?
Ja` li Pavlu e.	Pablo.

There are similar interrogative expressions.

Te `oy j` Apas ta Jobel.	There is an inhabitant of `Apas in San Cristóbal.
Much'u junukal?	Who?
Te `oy vo` ta `ak'ol.	There is water up there.
Bu jotukal?	On which side? Where, exactly?

Junukal is related to jun "one" (compare with English: Which one?), and jotukal is derived from jot "side."

`Oy jka`.	I have a horse.
K'usi jtosukal?	What kind?

Jtosukal is related to tos "type, class, species."

5.3 Stative Sentences with Subjects in the First and Second Person

Vinik li Xun e.	John is a man.
Vinikon li vo`on e.	I am a man.
Te ta sna li Xap e.	Sebastian is in his house.
Teyot ta ana li vo`ot e.	You are in your house.
Mi li` li karo e?	Is the car here?
Mi li`ot e?	Are you here?
Li`on e.	I am here.
Mi muk' xa li `unen e?	Is the child big already?
Mi muk'ot xa?	Are you big already?
Muk'on xa.	I'm already big.

We have already seen that the basic form of a stative sentence is:

Predicate + Subject

Not only nouns, but also "pronouns" of the first and second person, can occupy the subject position. The "first person" denotes the person who is speaking, "I," and "the second person" denotes the person who is being spoken to, "you." The predicate of a stative sentence should carry a suffix that corresponds to the subject. The suffixes are the following:

Vinik- on.	I am a man.	
Vinik- ot.	You are a man.	
Vinik.		He is a man.

One can see that a noun subject (the so-called "third person") engenders a null suffix. Also note that an explicit subject is not necessary, because the suffix (although it is null), together with the predicate, indicates the implicit subject. However, an explicit noun or a pronoun such as vo`on or vo`ot can be used for emphasis or greater clarity.

Mi kuxulot to?	Are you still sober? (Literally: Are you still alive?)
kuxul, "alive, sober"	
Kuxulon to li vo`on a`a. `Ali vo`ot e?	I am still sober. And you?
`Ali vo`on e, kuxulon `uk.	I am also sober.
`uk, "also"	

Note that the pronominal subject can be fronted.

The word `uk "also, equally" should be distinguished from the negative suffix -uk (without an initial glottal stop) that we have already encountered.

The "absolute" suffixes, -on "I" and -ot "you," combine with the first word of the predicate. Here I will present examples of various stative sentences that we have already seen, in order to indicate the correct position of the suffixes.

`Antz li Loxa e.	
`Antzot (li vo`ot e).	You are a woman.
Mi krem to li Chep e?	
Mi kremot to (li vo`ot e)?	Are you still young?
Muk' li na e.	
Muk'on.	I am grown-up (literally: big).

A l avajnil e, mi `ip to?

Ali vo`ot e, mi `ipot to? Are you still sick?

`Ip li jjol e.

`Ali vo`on e, `ip li jjol I have a head cold. head is sick.)

e. (Literally: As for me,

my

In the last example, the grammatical possessor has been fronted, but the grammatical subject is a noun (li jjol e "my head") that, as a result, engenders a null suffix on the predicate `ip "sick."

Tzotz xa `ip li `unen e.

The child is still violently ill.

Tzotz xa `ipon (li vo`on e).

I am already violently ill.

Vo`ot e, mas natot. Vo`on e, mas

komkomon.

You are taller, and I am shorter.

Batz'i j`ak'-chamelot.

You are a true witch.

Batz'i tzotzon xa.

I am already really strong.

One can see how the "pronouns" themselves, vo`on "I" and vo`ot "you," carry the appropriate absolute suffixes. I already mentioned that the root of these words, vo`-, is related to ja`. (Both roots have the hypothetical form: HA`.) The relationship can still be seen in sentences like the following:

Mi ja` bankilal li Chep e? Is Joseph older?

Ja` (li Chep e). Yes, he is.

Mi vo`ot bankilalot? Are you older?

Vo`on. Yes, I am.

These sentences with ja` are focused on the identity of the person who is older, while sentences without ja` refer to the quality of being older.

Mi bankilal li Chep e? Is Joseph older?

Bankilal. Yes, older.

Mi bankilalot? Are you older?

Bankilalon. I am.

I will offer another example:

Much'u li jvabajom e? Mi ja` li

Chep e?

Who is the musician? Is it

Joseph?

Ja`.

Yes, (it is him).

Much'u li j`ilol e? Mi vo`ot?

Who is the curer? Is it

you?

Vo`on.

It's me.⁴

We have seen that the subject of a sentence can be fronted for emphasis. A definite noun, with an demonstrative article, attracts the initial particle `a- when fronted.

J`ilol li Xun e.

John is a curer.

`Ali Xun e, j`ilol.

As for John, he is a curer.

As Josh Smith has suggested, based on Tzeltal, it seems likely that the initial particle `a- is a reduced form of ja`, which serves to call attention to the fronted subject. Here I will present some Tzotzil sentences, with their Tzeltal equivalents, to illustrate the argument.

Tzotzil

Tzeltal

Krem to li Xap e.

Kerem to te jxap e.

`Ali Xap e, krem to.

Ha` te jxap e, kerem to.

The relationship between ja` and the explicit pronouns vo`on and vo`ot can be seen with greater clarity in the first and second person (when one speaks of me or you).

Kremon to.

I am still a boy.

Vo`on kremon to.

And me, I'm still young.

Note that it is not necessary to separate the constituent vo`on from the predicate with a pause (indicated with a comma in the examples with fronted nouns). This pause appears to be engendered by the presence of the enclitic -e, which ordinarily comes at the end of a group of words.⁵

Sentences with `oy that use locative predicates also occur with first and second person subjects.

Te ta kavipto li Xap e.

Teon ta kavipto.

Te `oy ta sna li Xun e.

Te `oyot ta ana.

When the predicate of a sentence is an adjective that can accompany `ot, the position of the absolutive suffixes depends on the presence or absence of `oy.

Lek li Xun e.	John is good (permanent state).
Lek `oy li Xun e.	John is well (transitive state).
Lekon.	I am good (permanent state).
Lek `oyon.	I am well (transitive state).

Not all adjectives can accompany the predicate `oy (which appears to contribute a sense of transience to the predicate). Without the word `oy the suffixes directly combine with the adjectives.

Chapal ta kastiya li	Domingo speaks	
Romin e.	Spanish.	
kastiya, "Spanish"		
Chapalon ta kastiya.	I speak Spanish.	Spanish.)
	(Literally: I am ready	
	for	

To negate a sentence with a first or second person subject, it is very easy to employ the negative forms with muk' bu, mu to bu, mu xa bu, etc., without an explicit negative suffix.

Mi chapalot xa?	Are you ready yet?
Mu to bu chapalon.	I am still ready.
Mu`yuk to.	Not yet.
Kremon to.	I am still a boy.
`I'i. Mu xa bu kremot. Molot xa.	No, you aren't a boy. You're
	old already.
`i'i, "no!"	

The word mol can be a noun, "an old man," just as easily as an adjective "old, big."

Mol li te` e.	The tree is big.
Kuxul to li mol e.	The old man is still alive.
Mi muk' bu jvabajomot?	Aren't you a musician?
Jvabajomon a`a.	Yes, I am.

When directly negating a predicate with absolutive suffixes, one must use an additional negative suffix that combines with the absolutive suffix. We have already seen that the negative suffix is -uk when there is no absolutive suffix (with third person subjects).

Mi p'ij li jkaxlan e?	Is the ladino intelligent?
Mu p'ij uk.	He is not intelligent.
Mi `ep l avixim e?	Do you have much corn?
Mu `ep uk.	No.

With other persons, the negative predicate acquires the following form:

mu + Predicate + ik + Absolutive Suffix

(One can see that the form -uk is, in reality, the negative infix -ik- without any following suffix.)

Mi p'ijot?	Are you intelligent?
Mu p'ijikon.	I am not.
Tzebon to.	I am still a girl.
Mu tzebikot xa.	You are no longer a girl.

Many adjectives, of the form CVCVI, like chapal "ready," or chopol "bad," lose the second root vowel when they combine with the infix or the negative suffix.

Mu chaplikon.	I am not ready.
Mu choplikot.	You are not bad.
Mu chopluk.	Isn't bad.
Mu jamluk. jamal, "open"	It isn't open.

The pronouns vo`on and vo`ot also have negative forms.

Mi ja` `ip li Xun e?	Is John sick?
Ma`uk. Ja` `ip li Chep e.	No, Joseph is sick.
Mi vo`ot `ipot?	Are you sick?
Mu vo`onikon.	No (but another person is).
Mi mu vo`otikot j`ilolot?	Aren't you a curer?
Vo`on che`e.	Yes, I am.

Forms like ma`uk vo`on and ma`uk vo`ot also occur.

ʔipot volje. You were sick yesterday.
Ma`uk vo`on. Mu vo`onikon. I wasn't sick. It wasn't me who was
Ja` `ip kitz'in. sick. It was my younger brother.

Absolutive suffixes combine directly with interrogative predicates.

Buy li Xun e? Where is John?
Buyot? Where are you?
Buyon samel? Where was I last night?
Teyot ta kantina. Jyakubelot. You were at the bar, and you
were drunk.
jyakubel, "a drunkard"

Furthermore, it is possible to ask:

Much'uo?
Who are you?

or:

K'usiot `onox? Mi tz'i`ot?
What are you? Are you a dog?

Chapter 6: Intransitive Verbs

6.0 Intransitive Verbs

The kinds of sentences that we have seen so far are comprised of a predicate (which can indicate existence, location, or a state) and a subject, which can either be a noun (possibly possessed) or a pronoun (which represents either the speaker--"I"--or the hearer--"you"). They are all of the following form:

Predicate

Subject

We have also seen that the predicate of every previously mentioned sentence carries an absolutive suffix (although it can be null), which agrees with the subject in terms of person.

[INSERT DIAGRAM]

Intransitive verbs also appear in [compound] sentences with a predicate and a subject. As predicates, intransitive verbs also carry absolutive affixes that correspond to the subjects of the sentences. Intransitive verbs include three classes: Neutral Verbs, Active Verbs, and, in Mayan languages, Positional verbs.

1. Neutral Verbs (What happened? He fell.)
2. Active Verbs (What did he do? He worked.)
3. Positional verbs (What position or form is he in? He is seated.).

In general, intransitive verbs in Tzotzil can be recognized by the affixes with which they combine.

6.1 Stative Forms of Intransitive Verbs

Batem ta Jobel li Xun e.

John has gone to San Cristóbal.
bat, "to go"

P'ajem ta lum li k'u`ul e.

The clothing has fallen to the ground.
p'aj-, "to fall"

`Ech'em ta chan-vun li tzeb e.

The girl has passed through school (in other words, she has studied).
`ech-, "to pass"
chan-vun, "school, to study" (literally: "to learn paper")
vun, "paper"

Chamem xa li jtot e.

My father has already died.
cham-, "to die"

Komem ta na li jluk e.

My sickle is in the house (Literally: It remains in the house).
kom-, "to remain"

Lubem li j`abtel e.

The worker has gotten tired.
lub-, "to tire, to get tired"

K'ak'em xa li k'ajben e.

The stubble has burned already.

k'ak'-, "to burn"

k'ajben, "stubble"

Sutem xa yajnil.

sut-, "to return"

His wife has already returned.

A stative verb stem is formed from the root of an intransitive verb. (According to the notation introduced by Josh Smith, I will write intransitive verb roots with a hyphen at the end: e.g., bat- "go.") The best translation of this form of the verb is the "(present) perfect":

Batem.

He has gone.

But the meaning of this form is, to be more precise, stative: the form with *-em* indicates that the subject is in the state resulting from the action, process, or the event denoted by the verb. The *-em* verb forms bear a strong resemblance to adjectives.

K'o` li lum e.

k'o`, "fertile, rotten"

K'a`em li lum e.

k'a`-, "to rot"

lum, "ground, earth"

The ground is fertile.

The ground has already rotted;

it has already become fertile.

To say that something *k'a`em* "has rotted" (using the stative form of the verb *k'a`-*) is to say that it has undergone the process of rotting, but to say that it is *k'o`* "fertile" is simply to attribute to it the condition of being rotten.

Note the relationship between *k'o`* "fertile" (adjective) and *k'a`* "to rot" (intransitive verb), and the relationship between *k'ok'* "fire" (noun) and *k'ak'* "to burn" (intransitive verb). The basic forms are *k'A`* and *k'Ak* respectively, from which the verbs are derived through a regular process (which engenders the vowel change).

If the subject of the verb is "I" or "you," the absolutive suffix combines directly with the stative suffix *-em*.

Lubemon ta jmek.

`Ech'emot ta `abtel.

I am very tried.

He has passed work (in other words, he has done religious or official work).

Buyot volje?	Where were you yesterday?
Vayemon to `ox.	I was sleeping today.
vay-, "to sleep"	
Mi `abtejemot ta pinka?	Have you worked on the farm?
`Ayemon ti vo`on e.	I have gone, long ago.
`abtej-, "to work"	
`ay-, "to go to (and come back from)"	
vo`on, "long ago, in the past"	

The word *`abtej* is clearly related to *`abtel*. (The root *`abt* can be seen in the Tzeltal word *`abat* "servant", but Tzotzil lacks such an isolated form.) Also, note that the article *ti* is used with *vo`one*, denoting a remote time.

Xanavemon jun k'ak'al.	I have walked a day.
xanav-, "to walk"	

This sentence is negated with *muk'* or with negative expressions with *bu*.

Mi lubemot to? Mi tzotzot xa?	Are you tired yet? Are you strong already?
Muk' lubemon. Muk' bu `abtejemon.	I am not tired. I haven't worked.
Bu li Xun e? Mi te xa ta Jobel?	Where is John? Is he already in San Cristóbal?
Li` to. Muk' batem.	He is here still. He hasn't gone.
Mu to bu k'ak'em li jchob e. `Oy to vo`.	My cornfield still hasn't been burned (because) there still is no rain.
Mi tzotz `ip I ame`?	Is you mother really sick?
Tzotz `ip, pero muk' chamem. Kuxul to.	She is really sick, but she hasn't died.
me`-el, "mother, old woman"	She's still alive.

The verb root *cham-* "to die, to get sick" is the basic root of *chamel* "sickness."

The negative forms of intransitive verbs are not formed with the suffix *-uk*. See the following examples:

Mi ch'ayem volje l atuluk' e?	Did your turkey get lost yesterday?
tuluk', "turkey"	
ch'ay-, "to get lost, be lost?"	
Ma`uk. Ja` ch'ayem li jchij e.	No (in other words, my turkey

Ma`uk ch'ayem li jtuluk' e. didn't get lost, but rather my
sheep).
What was lost was not my
Mu vo`onikon ch'ayemon volje. guajolote.
I didn't get lost yesterday.

Locative or temporal constituents also appear in stative sentences. Furthermore, it is possible to front nouns.

Ali Xun e, yulem xa ta Jobel. As for John, he has already
arrived in San Cristóbal.
`A taj ka` e, mi k'otem xa `ox As for that horse, had it
ta jun `ora? already arrived by one?

K'ot means "to arrive (to another place)"; yul- means "to arrive (here)." Thus,

k'otem ta Jobel

means "he has arrived in San Cristóbal," and this would be said if the speaker himself is not in San Cristóbal. But

yulem ta Jobel

has two meanings: either "he has arrived in San Cristóbal (if the speaker is also in San Cristóbal), or "he has arrived here from San Cristóbal" (if the speaker is not in San Cristóbal).

6.2 Other Forms of Intransitive Verbs

The sentences that we have seen contain a subject (a noun or a "pronoun"), and a main word (either the predicate or an intransitive verb), which combines with an absolutive suffix. The suffixes already mentioned belong to the following series:

-on	"I"
-ot	"you"
-Ø (null)	"she, he, it"

I will write these prefixes with two hyphens because, although they precede the verb root, they never remain in initial position but instead are always preceded by other

prefixes. For example, the imperfective forms of intransitive verbs combine the verb root with the prefix *ch-* and an absolutive marker that agrees with the subject. For example,

Chibat ta Jobel.	I am going to San Cristóbal.
Chayul ta `ak'ubal.	You are going to arrive at night.
Chlub ta `abtel li Xun e.	John is getting tired from work.

These verbs can be analyzed in the following way:

Prefix	Prefix	Verb Root	
ch-	i-	bat	"I go."
ch-	a-	yul	"You arrive."
ch-	Ø-	lub	"He tires."

These forms are called "imperfective" because in their ordinary use they refer to actions or events in the present or future--in other words, to actions that are unfinished. To be more exact, these forms do not specify the tense but rather the "aspect" of an action--the fact that they have not come to an end. The imperfective forms of a verb can denote unfinished actions in the present or in the future as well as the past. (In the latter case, the particle `ox "at another time," which we have already discussed, would be used.)

Mi chabat xa?	Are you going already?
Chibat li` ta jlikel e.	I'll go in a moment.
likel, "moment"	
ta jlikel, "in a moment"	

(Note the temporal use of li` "here.")

Mi chalik xa?	Are you getting up already?
lik-, "to rise, get up, begin"	
Mi ch`abtej to li Xun e?	Is John still working?
Chlaj xa li yabtele.	His work is already finished.
laj-, "to finish"	
Vo`on chivay xa.	Me, I'm going to sleep.

Imperfective forms in the past tense denote actions that did not occur although they were planned:

Buyot volje? Muk' bu teyot ta Jobel.

Where were you yesterday? You

weren't in San Cristóbal?

Teyon to `ox ta k'in.

I was still at the party.

Chilok' `ox ta chib `ora.

I was going to leave at two.

Pero ch'ayemon xa `ox ta pox.

But (by two) I had already lost
my senses to liquor.

lok'-, "to leave"

chib, "two"

pox, "shot, medicine"

Ch'abtej `ox lavie, pero chamem xa

`ox smalel.

He was going to work today, but last

night he died.

Note that the roots of intransitive verbs do not lose word-initial glottal stops with absolute or imperfective prefixes.

Cha- `ech' ta jna.

You are passing my house.

Chi- `abtej ta `ora.

I am going to work now.

The imperfective forms refer to the beginning of an action or an event. The "stative" forms refer to the resulting state.

Chvay xa ta jun `ora.

He was going to sleep at one.

Vayem xa ta jun `ora.

He was asleep by one.

Vayem xa `ox ta jun `ora.

At one he will be asleep
already.

Chvay `ox ta jun `ora.

He was going to sleep at one.

The particle `ox indicates that an action, event, or state (depending on whether it is the verb or the predicate) took place not at the moment but at another specific time, while the form of the verb indicates the character of the action: in progress, not begun, etc.

Mi chabat `onox ta Jobel tana? Do you always go to San

Cristóbal today?

Chibat `ox, pero mu xa bu

I used to go, but now I don't.

xibat.

The word `onox "always" indicates that some action, which may be in doubt, truly did or will take place.

The negative forms of the imperfective use *mu* "no" with a neutral form of the verb, which takes the prefix *x-* instead of the imperfective *ch-*.

Mu xibat.	I am not going.
Mu xabat.	You are not going.
Mu xbat.	He is not going.

These forms suggest that the subject does not want to go or rather wants to not go. They contrast with other negative forms with *muk'* or *mu`yuk*.

Mi chabat ta `olon?	Are you going to the lowlands?
Muk' xibat.	I am not (neutral sense).
Mi cha`ech' ta na.	Will you pass by your house?
Mu`yuk.	No (neutral sense).
Mi ch`abtej?	Are you going to work?
Mu xi`abtej.	I am not going to work (declaration of unwillingness).

In reality, the perfective form (with the prefix *ch-*) is analyzable as a compound of the neutral form (with the prefix *x-*) plus a particle *ta* that marks the imperfective. For example, the word *chibat* is a contracted form of *ta xibat*, which results from the contraction of *ta + x-* to *ch-*. The temporal particles, which follow the first word of a sentence, directly follow the shortened form or come between *ta* and the verb.

Mi chlok' xa li Xun e?	Is John leaving already?
Ta xa xlok' li ` ta jlikel.	He leave in a minute?
Mi ta `onox xajataV?	Will you really flee?
ChijataV `onox.	Really.
Chital xa, pero ta to xi`abtej jlikeluk.	I'm really going now, but I will still work for a minute.
tal-, "to come"	
jlikeluk, "a minute, a moment"	

All the dialects of Tzotzil have *ta* as a signal of the imperfective, but there are other prefixes that replace or combine with *ta*. For example, in Tzeltal and some other dialects of Tzotzil, the word *yak* indicates the imperfective. In Zinacantec Tzotzil, *yak* plus *ta* indicates an action that follows or continues.

Yak chtoy stojol `ixim.	The price of corn continues to
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	rise.
toy-, "rise, increase"	
Yak to chi`abtej.	I'm going to continue working still.

The root yak also appears in the verbal root yaket- "to continue, to be on the way."

Batz'i xyaket `abtel.	The work is in progress.
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The particle te, which we know as a locative and temporal particle, also occurs as an indicator of the imperfective. Together with ta or the shortened form of a verb with ch-, te has its normal meaning: "at such time, at such place."

Te chbat.	He's going to go there. (Or: He will go at that time.)
Te chbat ta Jobel.	He's going to go to San Cristóbal.
Te chik'ot ta `olon `osil.	I customarily work in the lowlands. (Literally: I arrive there in the lowlands.)

But te also can replace ta, with a future sense. Te signals that the person speaking is in agreement with the action that occurs in the specified time or place.

Te xbat.	Yes, he is going (since we are now in agreement).
Te xik'ot ta `olon che`e.	Yes, I will go to the lowlands (for example, to work, according to an agreement).
Te xatal che`e.	Go then (when it suits you).

Te has a determinate meaning above, which is coupled with the indication of some future occurrence.

The verbal prefix x- assimilates to the initial consonant of the verbal root. Before s, tz, or tz', the prefix x- becomes s-.

Te nan ssut tana.	Perhaps he is returning today.
sut-, "return"	
nan, "perhaps"	

Mu stzul yok, ch'abal `ach'el.

One's feet won't slip, because
there isn't any mud.

tzul-, "to slip, to slide"

`ach'el, "mud"

Ta stz'ibaj li krem e, ja` chapal ta vun.

The boy is going to write, since he

knows how (literally: because he is

ready for paper.)

tz'ibaj-, "to write" (intransitive verb)

In the first and second person there is no assimilation because the absolutive prefix i- or a- comes between the prefix x- and the initial consonant of the verb root.

Ta nan xisut.

Perhaps I will return.

Mu xitzul.

I won't slip.

Ta xatz'ibaj vo`ot.

You're going to write.

We have seen that ta + x- gives the shortened form ch-. Similarly, ta + s- gives the assimilated form tz-.

Tztzul yok tana.

One's foot will slip.

Lek tztz'ibaj.

He writes well.

A shortened form such as tztz'ibaj can then be analyzed as: ta + x- + Ø (null absolutive prefix) + tz'ibaj, which assimilates first to ta + s-tz'ibaj and finally to tz-tz'ibaj.

The double consonants ss, xx, and jj are not pronounced twice but are instead pronounced as a single consonant. This explains why intransitive verbs in the third person with an initial x or s further contract.

Ta to xxanav li ka` e.

The horse is still going to
work.

Ta xa ssut ta sna li j`ilol e.

The curer is going to return to
his house already.

In both cases, the double consonants are pronounced as if they were single: xxanav sounds like xanav, and ssut sounds like sut. In combination with the imperfective particle ta, these verbs produce the shortened forms chanav "he is going to work" and tzut "he returns." Students should learn the automatic processes that phonetically

transform the grammatical formatives. Those who want to speak Tzotzil should take note of the structure hidden in the resulting forms.

ACTUAL FORM	ANALYSIS	GLOSS
tzut	ta x-sut	"He returns."
chanav	ta x-xanav	"He walks."
tztzul	ta x-tzul	"He slips."

There are also a few verbs beginning with y (which ultimately derive from roots with an initial *H), which lose the y when they combine with the prefix x-. Thus, for example, the verbs yoch- "to feel weak" and yul- "to arrive (here)" (from the hypothetical root Hul) contrast in the third person.

Chiyoch ta `abtel. I feel weak (that is, I suffer)
from work.
Chiyul ta jna. I arrive at my house.

But note the following cases:

Chyoch yak'il li vob e. The strings on the instrument
are weakening.
`ak'il, "string, fiber"
Chul ta sna. He is arriving at his house.

The form chul can be analyzed in the following manner: ta x-yul. But the y is a "false" y, derived from the hypothetical *H, and therefore disappears, leaving the form ta xul. The latter contracts to chul. On the other hand, the "true" y from yoch- does not disappear after x-, and the form chyoch is simply the shortened form of ta x-yoch. (In other dialects, for example, that of Chamula, yul appears as vul- "to arrive (here)"--more regular transformation corresponding to the hypothetical *H before the vowel u.)

6.3 The Perfective Form

The perfective form, which denotes an already finished action, uses another verbal prefix, which is l- in Zinacantec Tzotzil.

l- + Absolutive Prefix + Verb Root

When the subject of a verb is in the third person, there is no absolutive prefix, and the weak prefix i- (or no prefix at all) is used to mark the preterite.

Mi labat ta Jobel volje?	Did you do to San Cristóbal yesterday?
Libat. I went.	
Ta jayib `ora lalok'?	What time did you leave?
Lilok' ta `ol k'ak'al.	I left at noon.
jayib, "how much, how many"	
`ol k'ak'al, "noon"	
Mi i`och xa li j`ilol e?	Has the curer entered already?
I`och xa.	He has.
`och, "to enter"	
Bu ibat l atot e?	Where did your father go?
Bat ta `abtel.	He went to work.
Much'u te ijatav ta te`tik?	Who fled to the forest?
Ja` ijatav li j`elek' e.	It was the thief who fled.

The prefix i-, which signals the third person perfective, is very weak, and usually disappears completely, leaving only the bare verb stem.

`Och li Xun e.	John entered.
Sut tzna.	He returned to his house.

(The form tzna can be analyzed as a contraction of ta sna, which results from the process already seen: ta + s- gives tz-.)

The perfective forms of Tzotzil verbs are usually equivalent to the past tense in English: they denote actions that have come to a finish (in other words, actions that took place some time in the past). Nevertheless, it is possible to speak of an action that will finish in the future.

Mi lik'ot ta `olon, chi`abtej.	Upon arriving to the lowlands,
	I am going to work.
Ja` to chibat mi iyul mantal.	I am not going until the order comes. (Literally: I will only go if the order arrives.)
ja` to, "notŠ until, until now"	
mantal, "an order, a command"	
Mi laj `abtel, chiyakub.	When the work finishes, I'll

get drunk.

yakub-, "to get drunk"

In these sentences, the particle *mi* has the meaning "if." (The word *timi* "if" also exists.)

In combination with the perfective form of a verb, *mi* produces a clause with the meaning "once such an action is finished" The perfective form focuses upon the completion of the action or event, although at the moment of speech the action has not occurred.

Ilaj `ox `ok'ob.	I will be finished tomorrow.
Lalok' xa `ox lik'ot `ok'ob.	When I finish tomorrow, you will have left already.

The particle `ox, with the perfective form of a verb, expresses the completion of an action in either the future or the past.

Γ och xa `ox ta `ol k'ak'al volje.	By noon tomorrow I will have entered.
Mi li`ot to `ox e, mi labat `ox?	At that time: are you still going to be here.

Or: Will you have gone?
Or: Were you still there, or had you
left already? [double-check original
here]

A *mi* clause with the perfective form of a verb has a temporal meaning: "when such a thing happens" But a clause introduced by (ti)*mi* with an imperfective verb has a truly conditional meaning: "if such a thing happens".

Timi chabat ta k'in, chibat `uk.	If you go to the party, I will go too.
Timi `oy pukuj, chijatav.	If there are demons, I am going to run away.

Timi chlaj `abtel tana, `ok'ob tzut tzna
li j`abtel e.
If the work finishes today, tomorrow
the worker will return to his house.

This type of clause also occurs with stative forms of intransitive verbs.

Timi vayem li jchamel e, chisut no`ox. If the sick person is sleeping, I will
return immediately.

no`ox, "just, only"

Timi lubemot to `ox e, mu xa`abtej. If you are still tired (then), you are not
going to work.

No`ox "only" (which sometimes shortens to nox) has various usages. Like the temporal
particles, no`ox follows the first word of a sentence: the predicate, if a verb, or an
emphatic word (such as ja` or te).

Mi te no`ox chakom ta Jobel? You are going to go to San
Cristóbal only. (Literally:
There in San Cristóbal only
you will remain.)

Ja` no`ox chvabaj li Xun e. Only John is going to play.

vabaj-, "play"

Mi `ip li Xap e? Is Sebastian sick?

Lubem no`ox ta `abtel. He is just tired (due to work).

Bu `oy si`. Where is there firewood?

Ja` no`ox `oy ta jna. There is some only in my
house.

6.4 Review of Intransitive Verb Forms

The exact meaning of a verb depends as much on the indicated form as it does on the
meaning of the root. The concept of the verb "to sleep," for example, includes:

1. the state of being asleep
2. the event of remaining asleep.

The various forms of the verb vay- "to sleep" denote:

1. the fact that some is going to sleep but has not gone to sleep yet (imperfective)
2. the fact that the event of going to sleep has already occurred (perfective); and
3. the fact that someone has entered the state of sleep (stative).

The various forms are summarized below:

Chvay xa. He is going to sleep already.

Ivay xa.	He went to sleep.
Vayem xa.	He is asleep.
Chvay to.	He is going to sleep still.
Ivay to.	He remained asleep (after being awakened).
Vayem to.	He remains asleep.

The case of cham- "to die" is somewhat different. If the event (of dying) has already come to a finish, someone has died (perfective). If they are dead, they are in the state resulting from dying (stative). However, if someone is going to die, and if the process remains incomplete, the person is sick.

Ta xa xcham.	He is going to die (i.e., he is gravely ill).
Icham xa.	He died already.
Chamem xa.	He is dead.
Chcham to.	He is still going to die (in other words, he is going to become gravely ill).
Icham to.	He died nevertheless. (In other words, he was still alive some time after getting sick, but he finally died.)

As another example, consider the verb `och- "to enter," which appears to denote a specific moment or definite event. The imperfective is the appropriate aspect when the moment of entering has not yet come, while the perfective denotes the moment of entering and the stative denotes the state of being inside. Here I will give a few examples based on the expression `och ta `abtel (literally: "enter work" but essentially meaning "to begin an cargo").

Chi`och ta `abtel lavie.	Now I am going to start (literally: enter) my cargo (but I still haven't done so).
Li`och ta `abtel lavie.	Today I start my cargo.
Ochemon ta `abtel lavie.	Today I started my cargo.

Below is a summary of the forms of the intransitive verb:

Stative	Perfective	Imperfective
-emon	ta xi- / chi-	li-
-emot	ta x- / cha-	la-
-em	ta x- / ch-	(i)-

The prefixes and suffixes combine directly with verb roots.

We have seen the negative form constructed from mu plus the neutral aspect (called "aorist") of the verb (with x-).

Mu xibat.	I am not going (I am unwilling or unable).
Mu x`abtej.	He doesn't work (he refuses).
Mu xtal.	He isn't coming (we can't convince him to).

The imperfective and perfective forms are also negated with the negative particle muk' plus the neutral aspect x-. Here, the distinction between perfective and imperfective appears to be neutralized:

Mi chabat?	Are you going?
Muk' chibat.	I am not going.
Mi labat?	Did you go?
Muk' xibat.	I didn't.

These appear to be the preferred forms, although the following forms are also heard:

Muk' chibat.	I am not going to go.
Muk' libat.	I didn't go.

I am not sure whether there is a difference between the forms with explicit aspect and those with the neutral x-.

The forms with mu in the second person also serve as negative imperatives, often with the additional particle me (which gives a desiderative emphasis).

Mu me xabat!	Don't go!
Mu xa`abtej!	Don't work!

The positive imperative is formed with a verb root and the suffix -an.

Batan!	Go!
Lok'an!	Leave!
`Abtejan!	Work!
Vayan me!	Go to sleep!

6.5 Forms Derived from Intransitive Verbs

Ilok' xa tal li karo e.	The car already left for here.
`Och' `ech'el tzna li t'ul e. t'ul, "rabbit"	The rabbit entered his house.
Li'on ta jol na. Lip'it muyel tal.	Here I am on the roof of the house. I jumped up here.
Chmuy xa ta te` li mut e.	The bird climbed the tree.
Chjatav `ochel.	He is going to flee inside.
Lap'aj komel ta `ach'el.	You fell in the mud (and remained there).

Many monosyllabic intransitive verbs that denote some type of motion (or the lack of motion, as in kom- "to remain") form nouns with the suffix -el. These nouns add a directional sense to the sentence when they follow the main verb of a clause. For example, the verb `och- "to enter" forms the noun `ochel. The sentence

Chjatav `ochel.

means, "He fled and entered," or, better said, "He fled entering." The root tal (from tal- "to come") or the suffixal form talel serves as a directional with the meaning: "through here, coming."

Chmuy tal / chmuy talel. He climbed up here.

Other forms have meanings that are slightly peculiar. In Zinacantec Tzotzil, the noun that signals direction away from here ("going") is based not on bat- "to go" but rather on `ech- "to pass." Thus, one hears `ech'el (or the shortened form `el).

Chisut `ech'el tana.	I am going to return (to the place from whence I came).
Lok'em `ech'el li Xun e.	Johns has already left (from here).

The form batel, from bat- "to go," has the expected meaning in other dialects of Tzotzil, but in Zinacantec Tzotzil, this words means: "at times, occasionally."

Chik'ot batel ta Chamu`.	I occasionally go to Chamula.
Chipaxyaj batel ta `ak'ubal.	I occasionally go out at night
	(e.g., hunting, to walk around).

paxyaj- "hunt, walk around"

The most general directional nouns--talel "through here" and `ech'el "from here," as well as the "immobile" directional komel "remaining"--can supplement another more specialized directional.

Ch`anilaj lok'el talel li tz'i` e.	The dog left for here running.
	(The person speaking is
	outside, and the dog runs in his
	direction.)

Ivil yalel komel li xulem e.	The buzzard swooped down
	(and remained there).

yal- "to descend"

vil- "to fly"

Li`ipaj yalel `ech'el.	I got sick when I came down
	from here (for example, when I
	went to the lowlands from the
	highlands).

Pero lilekub xa k'otel.	But upon arriving, I improved.
lekub- "to improve"	

Verbs such as yul- and k'ot-, which appear to denote events ("the moment of arriving, the arrival"), provide "directional" nouns with the meaning "upon arriving, arriving."

See the following:

I`ok' sutel.	Upon arriving, he wept.
`ok'-, "to cry"	
Liyakub vayel.	I got drunk when I slept (at
	sleeping time).

(The class of verbs that produce directional nouns is limited; vay- "to sleep" is the only verb that has a "directional" usage without a meaning that involves motion (with the exception of the motionless verb kom- "to remain.")

Nouns formed from the suffixing of -el to intransitive verb roots have various uses. We have already seen a few specialized usages:

cham-, "to do, to fall gravely ill"

chamel, "sickness"

jchamel, "a sick person"

yakub-, "to get drunk"

jyakubel, "a drunk"

yakubel, "drunkenness"

`ach'-, "to get wet"

`ach'el, "mud"

lik-, "to begin, to rise"

likel, "moment, instant"

Nouns with specialized meanings also derive from other intransitive verbs that we have seen:

`och'-, "to enter"

`och'el ta na, "ceremony for the receiving a bride-to-be into the house of the groom-to-be"

lub-, "to get tired"

lubel, "fatigue"

k'a`-, "to rot"

k'a`el, "venereal disease"

These nouns have lost their verbal character and function as ordinary nouns.

Toj tzotz li jlubele.

I'm very tired. (Literally: My fatigue is great.)

Tol chajatav ta syakubel.

He usually runs off when he is drunk (literally: in his drunkenness).

tol, "often, a lot"

(Tol is a shortened form of toyol "high," which modifies predicates and verbs as an intensifier.) In these examples the nouns with -el carry possessive prefixes.

Another more clearly verbal construction uses a derived noun with -el with a possessive prefix. Consider the following example sentences with intransitive verbs:

Nax to liyul.	I arrived early. (Literally: I arrived earlier today)
K'usi `ora i`och?	When (what day) did he enter?
Volje i`och.	Yesterday.
Jayib `ora lalik?	What time did you get up?
Jun `ora to lilik.	I got up at one.

In these sentences a temporal expression precedes and modifies the verb. In initial position, the temporal expression is the focus of the sentence.

Liyul nax.	I arrived early.
Nax to liyul.	I've been here since earlier today (literally: earlier still I arrived).
Mi sob chajulav?	Are you going to get up early (with emphasis)?

The meaning of a fronted temporal expression can be seen in negative forms.

Muk' xiyul nax.	I didn't arrive earlier (in other words, I didn't arrive).
Mu xa bu nax liyul.	It wasn't early when I arrived.
Muk' xijulav ta sob.	I didn't get up early.
Mu masuk sob chijulav.	It was early in the morning when I got up.

(Note that in the last sentence, the negative particle mu combines with mas "more, very," and the aspect of the verb is not affected.) In sentences with a fronted temporal word fronted, the verb appears to be the "subject" and the temporal expression the "predicate"; the sentence predicates the temporal quality, represented by the predicate, with respect to the event or the action denoted by the verb: "the moment in which I got up was not early," etc.

A noun derived with -el can also be the subject of a temporal predicate.

Nax to syulel. He arrived early. (Literally:

His arrival was early.)

Mi nax to avochel ta `abtel? Did you begin work early?

(Literally: Was your entrance
to work early?)

Naka to kochel.

I just started.

naka, "just"

naka to, "just a moment ago"

Mi nax ajulavel?

Has it been long since you got
up?

Naka to jlikel.

I just got up a moment ago.

It is obvious that the "possessive" prefix together with the derived noun agrees with the true subject of the verb. That is to say, a verbal noun of the form:

s-yul-el

"his arrival"

is related to the sentence:

Iyul (i-0-yul).

He arrived.

The verb's true subject appears explicitly as the subject of an intransitive verb, or as the grammatical possessor of the form derived with -el.

Iyul li Xun e.

John arrived.

Nax to syulel li Xun e.

John arrived early. (Literally:
John's arrival was earlier.)

Here we have another example of the highly developed usage of grammatical possession in Tzotzil. Note that there is a similar construction in English: "John's arrival, "my arrival," etc.

There is another verbal suffix, -ebal, which occurs with intransitive verbs (especially with yul- and tal-) with the explicit meaning "the moment in which something happens."

Thus:

Talebal xa li vo` e.

It's about to rain. (Literally: the
rain is about to come.)

Yulebal xa li j`abtel e.

The workers are about to
arrive.

Jayib `ora chayul `ok'ob?	What time will you arrive tomorrow?
Chiyul ta jun `ora.	I will arrive at one.
Lok'ebal xa `ox li Xun e.	John will be about to arrive at that time.

These words derived with -ebal do not permit possessive prefixes. They function in isolation as predicates. Thus, these words with -ebal carry nominative suffixes.

Jayib `ora chalok' tana?	What time will you leave later?
Batz'i lok'ebalon xa.	I am about to leave.

6.6 Complete Sentences with Intransitive Verbs

In sentences like the following, the predicate is an adverbial expression and the subject is a complete phrase.

Sob to lik'ot ta ch'ivit ta Jobel.	It was early when I arrived at the market in San Cristóbal.
Muk' bu sob lik'ot ta ch'ivit ta Jobel.	It wasn't early when I arrived at the market in San Cristóbal.

The phrase

lik'ot ta ch'ivitŠ

denotes an event and a more complex sentence asserts that the event did or did not occur earlier. Other adverbial expressions function in the same manner.

Jset' mu icham.	He almost died. (Literally: Little he didn't die.) jset, "a little"
Nat i`och ta ch'en.	He went deep into in the cave.
Jal ikom ta nom.	He remained isolated for a long time.
jal, "a long time"	
nom, "far away"	
Skotol k'ak'al chvay ta be.	Every day he sleeps on the road.
Sjunul k'in mu xvay.	During the party he didn't sleep.

(The forms of -kotal "all" and -junul "all, complete, entire" are considered in the following chapter.) The negative form of these sentences negate not the verb, but rather the adverb, its modifier.

Muk' bu nat i`och. He went in, but not very far.
Mu jaluk ikom. He remained for a long time.

(Literally: It wasn't for long
that he remained.)

Mu skotoluk k'ak'al te chvay. He didn't sleep there every
day.

Mu sjunluk k'in. Ivay `onox jun
k'ak'al.
It wasn't for all of the party (that he
sleep). He always sleep one night.

One can see that the subjects of these sentences are entire sentences, modified by adverbial expressions.

(The distance) that he went into the cave: it is great.

(The time) when he remained isolated: it was great.

The following sentences illustrate another class of structures:

`Ip xa isut ta na. He returned to his house sick.
Jyakubel liyul ta k'in. I arrived to the party very
drunk.
Vayem lakom ta te`tik. You remained sleeping in the
forest.

A similiar meaning is expressed by means of the temporal conjunction k'alal "when."

K'alal isut ta na, `ip xa. He was already sick when he
returned to the house.
Jyakubelon k'alal liyul ta k'in. I was sick when I arrived at the
party.

Compare the following sentence, with the particle mi "whether/if":

Jyakubelon mi liyul ta k'in. When I arrive at the party, I

will be drunk.

Vayemot k'alal lakom ta te`tik. You were sleeping when you remained in the forest. [where does footnote end?]

The structure of sentences with k'alal can be represented in the following manner:

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

On the other hand, in other sentences only the principal verb carries an absolutive affix, and the additional predicate goes without an absolutive suffix.

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

However, the additional predicate is understood as referring to the same subject. From the sentence:

`Ip libat ta jna. Being sick, I went to my house.

one understands that:

`Ipon. I was sick.

although the adjective `ip does not carry an affix in the original sentence. Consider the following conversation:

«Lalok' ta k'in ta `ak'ubal. Mi jyakubel

lak'ot ta ana?

I left the party at night. Were you

drunk when you arrived at your house?

«`I'i, kuxulon.

No, I was sober.

«Pero ch'ayem yilel lalok'.

But you seemed like you were ready to pass out when you left.

yilel, "appears that way"

ch'ayem, "pass out" (literally: lost)

«Bweno, pero kuxul livay.

Yes, but I was sober when I went to sleep.

In these constructions, the first predicate provides the principal commentary on the topic, the subject. This predicate combines with the intransitive verb which in turn carries an explicit absolutive prefix, thereby qualifying the meaning of the main predicate.

The word *yilel* is related to the root *-il* "to see" (a root that can also be seen in *j`ilol* "curer, seer"). *Yilel* means "apparently, it seems that, it looks as if", as in the following examples:

<i>Yipot yilel.</i>	You look sick.
<i>Ibat xa ta Jobel yilel.</i>	It looks like he has gone to San Cristóbal.
<i>Vayem to yilel.</i>	Apparently he is still sleeping.

Yilel can also be fronted, as an adverb:

<i>Yilel te to ta ch'ivit.</i>	He appears to be in the market still.
<i>Yilel to mu xtal.</i>	It looks like he isn't coming.

Another similar construction is the following:

<i>Yochel ta x`abtej.</i>	He is beginning to work.
<i>Yochel ta xlok' `ajan.</i>	The corn is starting to leave.

The work *-ochel* (from *`och* "to enter") appears to have an entire sentence as its grammatical possessor and it is this possessor which gives the possessive prefix *y-*. The combination means "it is the entrance of S" (where S stands for sentence) or "S begins." The word *yolel* functions in a similar manner, with the meaning of "in the process of, in the midst of." (See also *yak*, *yaket*.)

<i>Yolel ch`abtej.</i>	He is working.
<i>Yolel chyakub.</i>	He is getting drunk.
<i>Yolel `abtel.</i>	The work is under way.
<i>Yolel `ak'ot.</i>	The dance is in progress.
<i>`ak'ot, "dance"</i>	

Another construction employs forms of intransitive verbs whose subjects do not engender absolutive affixes.

Toj k'asel liyal ta lum. I broke something falling to the ground. (In other words, when I fell to the ground, I hurt myself.)

k'as, "to break something"
Ch'ayel ik'ot sjol. He got upset. (Literally: His head became lost.)

Batel xa chibat. I am still going far away.

Reduplication of verbal nouns with -el indicates a process or a repetitive and continuous action:

Solel toyel toyel stojol. The price keeps rising (again and again).

solel, "only, simply"
Lok'el lok'el sk'oplal. Jokes about the surgeon are constantly coming up (literally: leaving).

These nouns with -el can also carry explicit absolutive suffixes when they function in isolation as predicates.

Toj k'aselon ta jmek. I am very shaken up?
Toj k'aselot yilel, toj k'asel avok. You seem hurt: your leg is broken.

These absolutive suffixes disappear in combination with another verb, as in:

Toj k'asel lik'ot ta jna. I was really shaken up when I arrived at my house.

Note the position of the absolutive suffix with reduplicated forms:

Te no`ox ch'ayel ch'ayelon ta Mejiko. Whenever I go to Mexico I get lost.
Solel talel batelon tajmek. I only come and go, come and go.

6.7 Intransitive Sentences with Instrument or Agent

Lilaj ta ton.	I hurt myself on a rock (literally: I finished myself.)
Chacham ta bala timi chabat.	If you go, you will die from a bullet.
Ali ixkirvano e, tzitz'ibaj ta makina.	The writer is writing on a typewriter.
Ali me`el e, mu xanav ta karo.	The old woman doesn't want to go (literally: to walk) by car.

We already know that ta is the only Tzotzil preposition. Ta combines with various types of nouns in order to incorporate temporal and locative constituents into a sentence, as we have already seen. Phrases that specify instrument are also formed with ta. (There are even sentences with two or three different constituents that all use the preposition ta.)

Lijach' ta `ach'el ta te`tik ta byernex. I slipped in the mud in the forest on Friday. jach', "to slip, to fall"	
Ta `ak'in ta `olon `osil chi`atej ta `asaluna. In the lowlands I work with a hoe at cleaning time. `ak'in, "to clean (as in a cornfield)" `asaluna, "hoe"	

Clauses with ta can indicate various types of cause, instrument, or agent in relation to an action.

Ijam ta `ak'in li na e. jam-, "to open" `ik', "wind"	The house was opened by the wind.
Lilaj ta `utel. `utel, "scolding"	They really scolded me. (Literally: I finished myself from scolding.)
Ibat ta vinik li tzeb e.	The girl married a man.

	(Literally: the girl went with a man).
Ch`ok' ta vi`nal li `unen e.	The girl cried from hunger.
vi`nal, "hunger"	
vi`naj, "to be hungry"	
`ok'-, "scream, cry"	
Chjatav ta pox li `antz e.	The woman fled from the liquor (because she didn't want to drink any.)

These instrumental constituents with ta can be fronted and negated when they serve as the focus of a complex sentence.

Mi ta machita ilaj mi ta bala?	Did he die from a machete or a bullet?
Mi ta `ik' ijam li na e?	Was it from the wid that the house opened?
Ma`uk, tz tz'i` ijam.	No, by a dog.
Mi ta karo chak'ot ta Tuxta?	Is it by car that you are going to (literally: arriving in) Tuxtla.
Mu ta karouk. Ta kok chik'ot.	Not by car, but by walking.

Again, note that the complement of ta lacks the article li, although it is definite. On the other hand, there is a construction to express the instrument or the cause of an action, or event, that permits the use of articles. This construction uses the related word `o.

Lixi` `o li chon li`e.	I was scared by this snake.
`Ali chon li`e, lixi` `o.	It was because of the snake that I got scared.

Compare:

Lixi` ta chon.	I was scared by a snake.
----------------	--------------------------

In these sentences, the ordinary order of constituents is the following:

Verb `o Instrument Subject

where the subject produces absolutive affixes on the verb. If there is no ambiguity (if the "instrument" or the subject is in the first or second person), the instrument or the subject can be fronted. (And remember that when two definite nouns with *li* occur in sequence, only the last article survives. The rest disappear.)

Chijatav ta pox li vo`on e.	I fled because of the liquor.
Chijatav `o li pox e.	Because of the liquor, I fled.
Vo`on chijatav `o li pox e.	I was the one who fled from of the liquor.
`Ali poxe, chijatav `o (li vo`on e).	It was because of the liquor that I fled.
Pox chijatav `o.	It's the pox that I fled from.
Mi vo`on chaxi` `o?	Was it me you were afraid of?
Mu vo`otikot chixi` `o.	It wasn't you I was afraid of.
J'ik'al chixi` `o.	It was a spook that I was afraid of.

When the subject and the instrument are nouns (in the third person) there exists the possibility of ambiguity, which is avoided through circumlocution.

`Ali `unen e, ixi` `o li chon e.	The child was scared by the snake.
Chon ixi` `o li `unen e.	It was a snake that the child was scared of.
`Ali chon e, ixi` `o li `unen e.	The snake was scared of the child.
Ja` ixi` li chon e.	It was the snake that was scared.

Note that the construction with `o always indicates instrument or cause, while a clause with *ta* can also denote a time or place.

Mi laxi` ta vo`?	Were you scared by the water?
Or: Were you scared near the water?	
Lixi` ta vo`tik.	It was scared during the rainy season.
vo`tik, "rainy season"	
Lixi` `o li vo` e.	I was scared of the water.

It is also possible to question the instrument/agent/cause.

K'usi chi` `o li `unen e? What was the child scared of?

(The root xi` - "to be afraid," in the imperfective form of the third person gives ta xxi`, which reduces to chi`).

Much'u chajataV `o? Who are you fleeing from?

K'usi lalaj `o? What did you hurt yourself on?

Lilaj ta ton. It was a rock.

Much'u ixi` ? Who was afraid?

Much'u ixi` `o? Who was he afraid of?

In the last question, we already know who is afraid, and we are asking who the person fears. On the other hand, the following sentence is ambiguous.

Much'u ixi` `o li jmak-be?

jmak-be, "assassin,

highwayman"

There are two possible interpretations:

1. Who was the bandit afraid of?
2. Who was afraid of the bandit?

(The speech context will generally resolve this ambiguity.)

The word `o also relates one sentence to another, in the following way:

Ch'abal `asaluna. There isn't a hoe.

Chi` abtej ta `asaluna. I work with a hoe.

Ch'abal `asaluna chi` abtej `o. There isn't no hoe for me to
work with.

K'usi laxi` `o? What frightened you?

Ch'abal k'usi lixi` `o. Nothing frightened me.

There is a relation of subordination between two sentences of the form:

Ch'abal	[` asaluna	[chi` abtej ta `asaluna]]
There isn't	a hoe	I work with a hoe

Ch'abal	[` asaluna chi` abtej `o]
---------	---------------------------

The word `o replaces the clause ta `asaluna in the second sentence. A similar subordinate relation can be seen in the following sentences:

<p>`Oy mayol. Chbat ta mantal li mayol e.</p>	<p>There is a constable. The constable will give a mandate. mayol, "constable" mantal, "command, mandate"</p>
<p>`Oy mayol chbat ta mantal.</p>	<p>There is a constable who is going to give a mandate.</p>

Here the repeated noun in the second part of the sentence--*mayol*--is the subject of the verb *chbat* which simply disappears without leaving a word like `o as a trace.

<p>`Oy There is</p>	<p>[mayol a constable</p>	<p>[chbat mayol ta mantal]] the constables will give a mandate</p>
<p>`Oy</p>	<p>[mayol chbat ta mantal]</p>	

These two processes of subordination can combine in a single complete sentence.

`Ali `asaluna li`e, ch'abal jtojbalal
ch`abtej `o.
As for that hoe, there isn't a work who
will work with it.

The phrase *ch`abtej `o* results from the disappearance of two constituents from the underlying sentence:

<p>ch`abtej ch`abtej</p>	<p>[ta `asaluna] `o</p>	<p>[li jtojbalal e]. Ø</p>
------------------------------	-----------------------------	--------------------------------

Therefore, a sentence like:

<p>Ja` chcham `o.</p>	<p>Because of this, he is going to die.</p>
-----------------------	---

results from a process of subordination of two sentences:

<p>Ja` X.It is X. Chcham ta X.</p>	<p>He is going to die from X.</p>
--	-----------------------------------

where X represents something already known. The following example sentence results from the same process:

Vo`on chi` `o. He is afraid of me.

(Remember that the pronouns vo`on and vo`ot contain the basic predicate ja`.)

The word `o is also used in other contexts. With verbs, `o can signify "forever".

Ibat `o. He left (and hasn't returned).
Ilaj `o. It is finished forever.
Lital `o. I'm here for good.
Ilaj `o k'op. The argument ended for good.

With the number jun "one," and with other expressions like j-tos "one class/type" or j-chop "a family/pair/group" or j-jot "one side", one uses `o in the sense of "another, different."

Jun `o xa ital. It was the other one who came.
Jchop `o lak'u`e. Your clothing is different.
Jjot `o chk'opoj. He talks differently (literally: from
another side).
 k'opoj-, "talk, converse"
Jtos xa `o le`e. That is a different kind.

Chapter 7:

The Structure of Nouns, Part 2

7.0 Other Expressions with Possessive Prefixes

We already know how to form a sentence such as "I have a house"--by means of *'oy*, which signals existence, plus a possessed noun with a possessive prefix: *jna* "my house."

'Oy jna. I have a house.

'Oy jtot. I have a father (in other words, my father is still alive).

'Oy skaro stot li Xun e. John's father has a car.

There are also "nominative" sentences whose predicates are possessed nouns. Thus, in the following examples, the predicate is a noun and the subject is a demonstrative word or a name.

Ja' jna li'e. This is my house.

Ja' jbankil li Xun e. John is my father.

We can distinguish between two constructions with *ja'*. In the first, *ja'* is an emphatic part of the nominal predicate (or any other type of predicate), which calls attention to the subject and emphasizes what it being predicated. The structure is:

ja' + Predicate + Subject

The previous sentences with *ja'* are of this form, as are the following:

Predicate Subject

ja' bankilal-on (li vo'on e) I am the older brother.

ja' kitz'in-ot to (li vo'ot e) You are younger.

In these examples, the particle *ja'* disappears if special emphasis is unnecessary. (Other authors have called the particle *ja'* a particle of "attention." See Cowan, 1969:31).

Ja' can also function as the entire predicate of a sentence, replacing another predicate (much like a "pro-verb") or just the predicate [**huh?**], with the meaning "it is this, it is that." For example:

Ja' li Xun e. It is John.

Ja' li jbankil e. It is my older brother.

Vo'on. It's me.

In that case, the following sentence is ambiguous:

Ja' sbankil li Xun e.

According to its basic structure, this sentence can have two meanings. It can either mean "John is his older brother," with the form

Predicate Subject

ja' sbankil li Xun e

Or it can mean "It is John's older brother," with the form

Predicate Subject

ja' sbankil li Xun e

A special relationship between the two structures depends on the "pro-verbal" use of *ja'*, because not only the subject, but also the predicate, can be fronted, leaving *ja'* as the residual predicate of the sentence.

Ja' jbankil li Xun e. John is my older brother.

'Ali Xun e, ja' jbankil. Speaking of John, he is my older brother.

(In both sentences the particle *ja'* can disappear.) But when fronting the predicate--in the form of a noun with a definite article--the particle *ja'* should remain as the "pro-verbal" predicate.

'Ali jbankil e, ja' li Xun e. My older brother, it's John here.

The same possibilities accompany those sentences that have a demonstrative pronoun as their subject.

(Ja') jchob le'e. That is my cornfield.

'A le'e, (ja') jchob. That, it's my cornfield.

'Ali jchob e, ja' le'e. My cornfield, it's that one.

One forms such sentences with first or second person subjects.

Ja' mas bankilalon (li vo'on e). I am older.

Vo'on mas bankilalon. I'm the one who's older.

'Ali vo'on e, mas bankilalon. As for me, I'm older.

'Ali vo'on e, ja' mas bankilalon. Me, I'm older.

'Ali mas bankilal e, (ja') vo'on. The older one, that's me.

The last sentence would be used to correct the impression that someone else is older than I am. The important thing is that the true predicate of this phrase--*mas bankilal*--does not carry an absolutive affix: in this case it appears in a simple form, with the definite article that identifies it as a nominalized form of the predicate: "the older one."

The same construction that is used for nominal and adjectival predicates is also used for verbs. For example,

Batem ta Jobel li Xun e. John has gone to San Cristóbal.

Ja' batem ta Jobel li Xun e. It is John who has gone to San Cristóbal.

'Ali Xun e, ja' batem ta Jobel. John, he's the one who went to San Cristóbal.

'Ali batem ta Jobel e, ja' li Xun e. The one who went to San Cristóbal, it's John.

Chi'och ta 'abtel li vo'on e. I'm going to work. (Literally: I am going to enter work.)

Ja' chi'och ta 'abtel li vo'on e. I'm going to work.

Vo'on chi'och ta 'abtel. I'm the one who is going to work.

'Ali ch'och ta 'abtel e, (ja' li) vo'one (e).

The one who is going to work, it's me.

In these examples one can see that from the following structure

one can form the following structure by fronting the subject

Alternatively, by fronting the verb or the predicate, one can form the following structure:

A predicate, whether nominal or verbal, does not carry absolutive affixes when fronted.

The absolutive affixes combine with *ja'*.

Ja' jna le'e. This is my house.

Ja' ku'un li na le'e. That house is my house.

'Oy jka'. I have a horse.

Mi 'oy avu'un? Do you have one?

'Ali pixalal li'e, ja' ku'un. This hat is mine.

Yan li'e, much'u yu'un? This other one, whose is it?

Much'u spixol li'e? Whose hat is this?

pixAl-al, "hat"

'u'un-il, "possession of, for the benefit of"

The word *pixAl-al* is a noun that loses its suffix when possessed (similar to, for example, *tot-il* "father"). The hypothetical vowel *A* in the non-possessible (shortened) form comes to sound like *o*. Thus,

pixalal hat

jpixol my hat

apixol your hat

spixol his hat

These two nouns show the same pattern:

sik'Al-al cigarette

jsik'ol my cigarette

'ixtAl-al toy, ring

kixtol my ring

The special noun *'u'un-il* functions as a possessive pronoun: "the possession of...". The hyphen indicates that the root without a suffix combines with possessive prefixes in order to give emphasis to the pronoun:

ku'un my, mine

avu'un your, yours

yu'un his

The possessed form can be the predicate of a sentence whose subject is something possessed:

Ku'un li ka' e. The horse is mine.

Yu'un Xun li 'ek'el e. The axe is John's.

Mi ja' avu'un li si' li'e? Is this firewood yours?

'*Uun-il* is also used to indicate possession when a noun cannot combine with possessive prefixes.

Mi 'oy 'aktav'us avu'un? Do you have a car?

Mi 'oy atak'in? Mi 'oy tak'in avu'un?

Do you have money?

Much'u 'oy ska'? Who has a horse?

'Oy yu'un li Xun e. John has one.

Or: There is one that is John's.

Much'u 'oy skaro? Who has a car?

Muk' much'u 'oy yu'un. No one has one. (Literally: there is no one who has one.)

The negative forms of '*uun-il* are similar to the negative forms of other nouns.

Mi ja' avu'un li 'ixim li'e? Is this corn yours?

Ma'uk. Mu ku'unuk. No. It isn't mine.

Mi mu yu'unuk Xun li tz'i' li'e? Is this dog here John's?

Mu'yuk. Ja' ku'un. No, it's mine.

7.1 Word Order in Possessive Sentences

Note the word order in a sentence that has a possessed noun as its predicate. The general form is the following:

If the subject is in the first or second person, the absolutive suffix combines directly with the predicate--that is, with the possessed noun--although the explicit pronoun follows.

Ja' yamikoon li Palas e. I am Frank's friend.

Mi skremot mol Xun li vo'ot e. Are you Mr. Johnston's son?

'Ali v'on e, yajvabajomon li martomo 'une.

I am the mayordomo's musician.

Vo'on jvabajomon yu'un nupunel. I am the musician for the wedding.

nupunel, "wedding, marriage"

Mi kamikoot to? Are you still my friend?

Much'u skremot? Whose son are you?

Much'u skrem li k'ox li'e? Whose son is the boy here?

Or: Who is this boy's son?

Mi vo'ot akrem? Is he your son?

In general, it is possible to front the final constituent of a sentence. For this reason, the subject is ordinarily fronted in sentences with a possessed noun as predicate.

Ja' skrem Palas li Chep e. Joe is Frank's son.

'Ali Chep e, ja' skrem li Palas e. As for Joe, he's Frank's son.

If the subject does not appear explicitly (or if it is not in the first or second person), the possessor can still be fronted.

Ja' skrem li mol Xun e. I am Old John's son.

'Ali mol Xun e, ja' skremon. As for old man John, I'm his son.

Thus, the ordinary interpretation of a sentence of the following form:

'Ali Xun e, ja' skrem.

would be: "John is his son." Nevertheless, context can suggest another meaning: "He's John's son"--referring to another person already mentioned in discourse.

The inversion of word order caused by an interrogative word creates even more complex situations. For example:

Much'u skremot? Whose son are you?

Much'u akrem? Who is your son?

However, the following question is ambiguous:

Much'u skrem li Xun e?

This sentence can have two meanings:

(1) Whose is John the son of?

(2) Who is John's son?

according to where the word *much'u* "who" originates (from the subject or from the possessor).

In some cases, if the possessor is a specific person, the entire possessed phrase--and not only the possessor--is enclosed within the article *li* and the enclitic *-e*.

Ja' skrem 'ajente le'e. That's the son of the agente.

Mi ja' 'ip li skrem 'ajente e? Is the agente's son sick?

'A le'e, ja' stz'i' me'el Mal. That--it's Mary's dog.

Note the position of the absolutive suffixes in the following examples with *'u'un-il*:

Vo'on preserenteon avu'un. I am your president.

Vo'on avu'unon. I am yours.

The absolutive suffix combines with the predicate's head, that is to say, the principal word of the predicate.

These predicates have negative forms like those of other predicate nominatives.

Mi ja' avu'un li machita li'e? Is this machete here yours?

Mu'yuk. Ma'uk ku'un. Mu ku'unuk.

It's not mine.

Mi ja' akrem li Xun e? Is John your son?

Ma'uk. Mu jkremuk. No. He isn't my son.

And with other persons--

Mi ja' skremot li Xun e? Are you John's son?

Ma'uk. Mu skremikon. No, I'm not his son.

Mi mu vo'onikon avamikoon? I am not your friend?

Mu xa bu kamikoot. You're not my friend now.

Ja' jkrontaot xa. You're my enemy now.

kronta, "enemy"

7.2 Other Uses of 'u'un-il

We have already seen that *'u'un-il* serves as a possessive pronoun. Here the root has the meaning "for..., for the benefit of...". Thus, *ku'un* "mine" means "for me, for my benefit." *Tak'in avu'un*, then, means "the money that is for your benefit, your money." In reality, there are many uses of *'u'un-il*, and all the other uses take advantage of this basic meaning.

Chibat yu'un li k'in e. I am going to the party.

Lijatav yu'un li vo' e. I fled from the rain.

Chi'abtej avu'un 'ok'ob. Tomorrow I am going to work for you.

In these sentences, constituents with *-u'un* denote the object, the cause, or the beneficiary of some action. The objects (the "grammatical possessors") of *-u'un* are nouns: "to the party," "for you," etc. The grammatical possessor also can be an entire sentence, in which case *yu'un* (with a third person possessive prefix, generated by the sentence) means "because" (literally: "because of the fact that...").

Chibat yu'un 'oy k'in. I am going because there is a party.

Ja' 'o ital li vo' e. At the point, the rain came.

Lijatav yu'un ja' 'o ital li vo' e. I fled because the rain came at that point.

Chi'abtej 'ok'ob yu'un mu to xlj lavabtel e.

I will work tomorrow because your work hasn't finished.

Similarly, the expression *k'usi yu'un* (or more frequently in the abbreviated form *k'u yu'un*) means, "for what?" or "why?"

K'u yu'un chabat ta Jobel? Why are you going to San Cristóbal?

Chibat yu'un 'abtel. I am going because of work.

Much'u yu'un li 'abtel e che'e? Who is the work for, then?

'Ali 'abtel e, ja' yu'un balamil. The work is for the land.

K'' yu'un tol chbat ta te'tik li 'antz e?

Why does the woman go to the forest so much?

Chbat yu'un te 'oy si'. She goes because there is firewood there.

(There is an expression,

K'u yu'unot?

which means: "What is it to you?" or "[???]." This expression is used to scold someone who misbehaves or wants to stick their nose into someone else's business.)

Thus, one can see that the use of *-u'un* goes even farther beyond its function as possessive pronoun. The possessed forms of *-u'un* can modify or clarify a noun that already has a possessive prefix.

'Oy to yil li Petul e. Peter still has doubts.

'il-il, "debt"

'Oy to yil ku'un li Petul e. Peter still owes me.

Ch'abal xa kil avu'un. I don't owe you money. (Literally: My debt with you no longer exists.)

In these examples there is no ambiguity: one understands that they refer to the person in debt (the grammatical possessor of *-il*) and the person who loaned the money (the grammatical possessor of *-u'un*). When the two "possessors" are nouns, both generate the prefix *y-*, and only word order determines meaning:

'Oy yil yu'un Petul li jbankil e. My older brother owes Peter money.

When the borrower or the lender is in the first or second person the order is the same:

Existence *-il* Lender Borrower

'Oy y-il ku'un li Petul e.

Pedro owes me money.

'Oy k-il yu'un li Petul e.

I owe Peter money.

In both sentences it is possible to front: *vo'on* or *Petul*.

Vo'on 'oy yil ku'un li Petul e. As for me, Peter owes me money.

Vo'on 'oy kil yu'un li Petul e. As for me, I owe Peter money.

'Ali Petul e, 'oy yil ku'un. As for Peter, he owes me money.

'Ali Petul e, 'oy kil yu'un. As for Peter, I owe him money.

When the borrower or the lender is in the third person, only the last constituent--the borrower, the grammatical possessor of the noun *-il--*can be fronted:

'Oy yil yu'un Petul li jbankil e.

'Ali jbankil e, 'oy yil yu'un (li) Petul (e).

My brother owes Peter money.

Other words appear in a similar construction.

K'usi smul avu'un li krem e? What has the boy done? (Literally: What beef does the boy have with you?)

mul-il, "crime, sin, guilt"

Mi 'o kabtel avu'un? Do you have work for me? (Literally: Does my work for you exist?)

In the examples we have seen, the word *-u'un* means "belonging to *X*" or "for *X*'s benefit." In other constructions, with intransitive verbs, *-u'un* means "through *X*'s efforts," "by means of *X*," or "on account of *X*"--that is to say, it indicates an agent or an actor.

Chlok' li ton e. The rock will move.

Chlok' ku'un li ton e. I can move the rock. (That is, the rock moved through my efforts.)

Mu xk'ot li 'ikatzil e. The load isn't going to arrive.

'ikatz-il, "load"

Mu xk'ot avu'un lavikatze. You can't carry the load. (Literally: your load won't arrive because of you.)

'Ali chitom e, mu xcham. The pig won't die.

'Ali chitom e, mu xcham yu'un li Xun e.

John can't manage to kill the pig.

Here, *'u'un* represents not only the agent--the one who performs the action--but also adds to the sentence a sense of possibility or ability (or inability).

La'ok ku'un. I managed to make you scream.

Chajata'v yu'un li toro e. The bull is going to charge you. (Literally: The bull is going to send you running.)

Mu xi' ku'un li chon e. The snake doesn't fear me; I can't scare the snake.

There is an explicit verb that equates to "be able to, be possible, to be capable of." Its paradigm is defective: it appears only in the basic form (without first and second person absolutive affixes), with various affixes of tense and aspect, quite often with the form *-u'un*, which indicates the agent. The root of this verb is *yu'-* (in reality **Hu'-*), and its forms are a bit irregular. (Like *yul-* "to arrive (here)," the initial *y-* disappears after the *x* of neutral tense/aspect; consequently, after the *ch-* of incompletive aspect, the root reduces to *-u'*, giving *xu'* and *chu'* "he is able.)

Bu chu' li k'op e? Where can the talk take place?

Mi mu xu' li' toe? It can't happen around here?

Mi xu' avu'un li 'abtel e? Can you do the work? (Literally: Is the work possible for you?)

Mu xu' ku'un. I can't.

Lek to'ox iyu' ku'un. Before I wasn't prosperous. (Literally: Before, everything was possible for me.)

Lavie, mu k'usi 'oy ku'un. Now, I have nothing. (Literally: There is nothing that is mine.)

The verb *yu'*- also combines with other verbs, often with neutral aspect (in the form of *xu'* "it is possible, it is possible that...".)

Ilaj xa ku'un li 'abtel e. I managed to finish the work. (Literally: The work finished through his efforts.)

Mi xu' xa xibat? Can I go already?

Xu' xabat mi ilaj lavabtel a'a. Yes, you can indeed if your work is finished.

Mi xu' xi'och jlikeluk ta ana e? Can I enter your house for a moment?

Mu xu'. Ja' 'oy chamel. You can't. There is sickness.

With negative or incomplete aspect *yu'*- denotes the possibility (or impossibility) of something; in the perfective aspect *yu'*- denotes the termination of an action, the realization of a possibility:

Iyu' 'onox li na e. The house is finished for good; it is constructed.

The stative forms of *yu'*- also occur; for example:

Yu'em to li k'op e. The issue lingers on (for example, a sickness, a dispute).

We can finish by reviewing the various uses of *-u'un* with a few more examples. As examples, consider the following meanings:

Ownership:

Ch'abal jtuk'. Mi 'oy avu'un? I don't have a rifle. Do you?

Ku'un yilel li ka' taj e. That horse is mine, it seems.

Much'u yu'un le'e? Whose is that?

Benefit:

Chi'abtej yu'un kovyerno. I work for the government.

'Oy kil yu'un jme'. I borrowed money from my mother.

Mi lavabaj yu'un nupunel? Did you play music for the wedding?

Cause:

Likom yu'un chamel. I stayed [home] because of the illness.

Li'ipaj, yu'un li'ay ta k'in. I got sick, because I went to the party.

K'u yu'un cha'ok'? Why are you crying?

Agency:

Vo'on e, chlaj ku'un li tarya. As for me, I can finish my work.

Yan li vo'ot e, mu xlaj avu'un. You, on the other hand, can't manage it.

Mu xu' 'abtel yu'un li krem e. The boy can't work. (Literally: the work is impossible for him.)

7.3 Other Possessed Nouns

Tzotzil frequently makes use of "possessive" prefixes in situation where a possessive form would not be used in English. There are many *relational* words (for example, *-u'un*) or body part terms (*jol-ol* "head," *'ok-ol* "foot") that have possessive prefixes but lack a possessive meaning. For example, the word *kwenta*, borrowed from the Spanish word "cuenta," functions in a similar manner to *'u'un-il*.

Vo'ot avu'un. It's yours. It is for you.

Vo'ot ta akwenta. It's your business.

Ta kwenta yu'un; ta skwenta. It's his responsibility.

Mu ku'unuk. It isn't mine.

Mu jkwentauk. It's none of my business.

K'u jkwenta 'o? What does it matter to me?

Yu'un, as much as *skwenta*, can be equivalent to "because" or "for," as in the following examples:

'Ali limite, ja' skwenta pox.

'Ali limete, ja' yu'un pox. The bottle is for liquor.

Chi'abtej lavi ta rominko yu'un chibat ta k'in 'ok'ob.

This Sunday I will work because tomorrow I am going to the party.

Chi'abtej lavie skwenta xu' xibat ta k'in 'ok'ob.

I will work today so that tomorrow I can go to the party.

Kwenta suggests a translation such as "for, in order for/to/that." A constituent with *kwenta* can also be a predicate.

Ja' skwenta Xun li vaj e. The tortillas are for John.

Mu skwentauk Xun taj e. That isn't for John.

Tol chixanav skwenta kabtel. I walk a lot for my work.

Ja' skwenta kabtel ti tol chixanav e. It is for my work that I walk so much.

Here the entire sentence *tol chixanav* serves as the subject of the predicate with *-kwenta*. The subject begins with the article *ti* (which could be considered equivalent to the English complementizer "that"). The subject, a nominalized sentence, ends with the enclitic *-e*. Also, in other contexts, entire sentence are nominalized by means of the article *ti*.

(Ja') lek ti cha'abtej e. It is good that you work.

Lek cha'abtej. You work well.

Chopol ko'on. I am sad. (Literally: My heart is bad.)

K'usi chopol 'o avo'on? Why are you sad? (Literally: Why is your heart bad?)

Ja' chopol 'o ko'on ti chabat e. I am sad because you're going.

We will later re-encounter the conjunction *ti* in other constructions (see Chapter 9).

We can analyze the constituents with *-u'un* or *-kwenta* as optional constituents with a "benefactive" meaning. In general, these constituents tell us for what or whose benefit some event or action takes place. (In some cases, these "benefactive" constructions have a more instrumental or agentive meaning: What was it done with? Who did it? It can also have a meaning that concerns objectives: What purpose did it serve? Why was it done? To what end?) The word *-koj* "blame, fault" functions similarly.

Skøj pox icham. He died from drinking.

Skøj sbolil ti jal i'ipaj e. The fact that he got sick for so long owes to his stupidity.

-bolil, "stupidity"

Mi vo'on ta jkoj? Is it my fault?

Mu me ta jkojuk mi lalaj e. If something happens to you, it isn't my fault. (Literally: It isn't my fault if you hurt yourself.)

Here we can see the different ways of representing the relationship between an event (the death of someone, for example) and what causes it to take place (for example, liquor).

Icham ta pox. He died from drinking.

Icham yu'un. Liquor managed to kill him.

Icham 'o li pox e. He died of overdrinking (a specific amount of liquor).

Ta pox icham. From drinking, he died.

Pox icham 'o. It was the liquor that killed him (that is to say, liquor in general).

Skøj pox icham. [**double-check all these translations**]

The difference in emphasis can be seen in the negative forms:

Muk' icham ta pox. He didn't die from drinking. (Neutral sense.)

Muk' icham yu'un pox. Liquor didn't kill him.

Muk' icham 'o li poxe. The liquor didn't manage to kill him.

Mu ta poxuk icham. The liquor didn't kill him (although he drank a specific amount).

Ma'uk pox icham 'o. It wasn't from liquor that he died (but rather another thing).

Mu ta skøjuk pox mi icham e. If he died, it was because of liquor. (Or: If he dies, it won't be from liquor.)

[1]

"Possessed" forms of the words *-tuk* "alone," and *-kotoł* "all" have unusual characteristics: these words also illustrate Tzotzil's developed usage of possessive prefixes.

Chi'abtej ta jtuk. I work all by myself.

Lakom ta stuk. You stayed alone.

I'ipaj ta skotoł e. They all got sick.

Mi latal ta akotołik? Did you all arrive together?

(The suffix *-ik* from *akotołik* is a plural suffix which we will discuss in more detail later.) In these examples, the expressions with the preposition *ta* appear to modify the *subject* of the sentences, specifying its quantity or extension. The possessive prefixes originate in the subjects of these sentences and reflect them.

Xu' ta jtuk xi'abtej.

It is possible by myself I work.

I can work by myself.

In this sentence, for example, the prefix *j-* should be derived from the implicit subject of *chi'abtej: vo'on* "I." It cannot be derived from another independent constituent. One cannot say, for example:

*** *Chi'abtej ta stuk.*

because the "possessive" prefix of *-tuk* must correspond to the subject of the verb or predicate.

Also, *-tuk* and *-kotel* can occur without *ta*, often at the beginning of the sentence.

Jtuk li'ech' ta 'abtej. I went through my religious cargo on my own (without anyone's help).

Skotel chbat. Everyone is going.

Chbat skotolik. All of them are going.

These words are also negated as the focus of a sentence:

Mu atukuk li'ot e. Here you aren't alone.

Mu skotoluk chbat. Not everyone is going to go.

The difference between the forms with and without *ta* is very subtle.

Jtuk to'ox li'ech ta 'abtel. [???

Ta jtuk to'ox li'ech' ta 'abtel. [???

Ta skotel chbatik. They're all going together.

Skotel chbatik. Everyone is going (but not necessarily at the same time).

Again, the suffix *-ik* indicates plurality with a third person verb.

-Kotol also combines directly with a noun; it requires the prefix *s-*. The resulting compound can function as another complex noun.

Chbat skotol krixchano. The whole world is going.

Chbat skotol li j'ilol e. All the curers are going.

'Oy k'ok' ta skotol na. There's fire in all the houses.

Skotol jpas-'abtel 'oy sna ta Jteklum.

All the religious officials have a house in Zinacantán.

Chixi' 'o skotol li chon e. All snakes scare me.

If the explicit subject of the verb is a possessed form of *-kotol* in the first or second person, the verb should carry the corresponding absolutive affix.

Mi chabat skotolik? Are all of you going?

On the other hand, *-tuk* does not appear as an isolated noun, but rather as an "emphatic" related to another noun that plays an independent role in the sentence.

Jtuk li'on e (li vo'on e). I am here all by myself.

Jtuk vo'on chibat. I myself will go.

Much'u i'ay ta ana e? Who went to your house?

Li'ay jtuk. I went by myself.

Bu batem li Xun e? Where has John gone?

Te ta sna stuk. He's in his own house.

One can see that *-tuk* means as much "alone" as "by him/herself." The form of the third person, *stuk*, is the only word in Tzotzil that functions as a "pronoun" of the third person: "he, she, it."

Mi 'ip skrem li mol Xun e? Is John's son sick?

Ja' 'ip stuk. He himself is sick (that is to say, John himself).

Mi laxi' k'ai ijach' lakreme? Were you frightened when your son fell?

Muk' lixi' li vo'on a'a. Well, I wasn't frightened.

Ja' ixi' li stuk e. He he sure was.

Also, *atuk* and *jtuk* function similarly:

Timi chamilvan e, chcham atuk. If you kill people, you yourself will die.

'Ali t'ul e, mi ixi' 'o lachi'il ta paxyal?

Was the rabbit afraid of your companion during the hunt?

Ma'uk. Ja' ixi' 'o li jtuk e. No, it was afraid of me.

chi'il-il, "companion"

paxyal, "stroll, hunt"

I will give two examples more from R.M. Laughlin (1975:348):

Ja' stuk toj mas lek. He is the better one. (Literally: He's the only good one.)

Batz'i ja' trago stuk. It's the real thing: it's pure alcohol. (Literally: It is in reality the drink itself.)

In the second sentence, *stuk* functions emphatically: "This is the drink itself." One can also say:

Mi vo'ot atuk? Is it you?

The first example from Laughlin demonstrates the Tzotzil form for expressing superlatives in an adjectival expression. The general form is the following:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

The subject is marked with absolutive affixes on the adjective and a "possessive" prefix with *-tuk*.

Ja' stuk mas p'ij li Xun e. John is the more intelligent one.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Mi atuk tzotzot ta 'abtel? Are you the only strong one when it comes to work?

Mu jtukuk. I'm not the only one.

Another construction related to this one omits the adjective. When the adjective is present, it takes an absolutive suffix.

Mi atuk 'ipot? Are you the only one who is sick?

Mu jtukuk 'ipon. I'm not the only one (there are also others).

Without the adjective, the absolutive suffix combines with *-tuk*.

Ja' jtukon. I'm the only one.

Mi atukot? Mi stuk lavajnile? Are you alone? Is your wife alone?

Ja' stuk li kajnil a'a. Vo'on e, 'oy jchi'il.

Yes, my wife is alone, but I have my friends.

Here one can see that the subject is doubly marked on the main word *-tuk*:

This type of double-reference can also be seen in the English construction: by oneself.

Jtukon. I am by myself.

Atukot. You are by yourself.

Stuk. He/she is by him/herself.

Mi stuk ital? Did he come alone?

Mo'oj, ital xchi'uk li Xun e. No, he came with John.

mo'oj, "no"

-chi'uk, "with"

Buch'u chachabaj achi'uk? Who do you farm your cornfield with?

Chichabaj jchi'uk li jbol e. I farm it with my brother-in-law.

chabaj-, "farm a cornfield"

bol-il, "brother-in-law"

Mi 'oy xa avajnil? Do you have a wife already?

'Oy. Linupun jchi'k stzeb li preserent e.

I do. I married the president's daughter.

nupun, "marry"

The noun *-chi'uk* (with alternative forms like *-chu'uk*; see Tzeltal *-jok*) is related to the word *-chi'il*, "companion." *-Chi'uk* carries a "possessive" prefix (which corresponds to the noun that accompanies something). It always carries a complement (although it can be implicit), which corresponds to the entity that the "possessor" accompanies. In general, the possessive prefix derives from the subject of the sentence.

In the third person the form *xchi'uk* derives from *s-chi'uk* through the assimilation of *s-* before *ch*. As in other constructions that we have already encountered, word order is stricter when the constituents of the sentence are all nouns. Consider the following sentence:

Chbat ta Jobel xchi'uk Xun li Petul e.

VERB with + OBJECT SUBJECT

Peter is going to San Cristóbal with John.

In this sentence, only the subject can be fronted:

'Ali Petul e, chbat ta Jobel xchi'uk li Xun e.

From the above sentence, one can construct the following questions:

Buch'u chbat ta Jobel xchi'uk li Xun e?

Who is going to San Cristóbal with John?

'Ali Petul e, much'u chbat ta Jobel xchi'uk?

And Peter, who is he going to San Cristóbal with?

With constituents that are not in the third person, word order can be even more flexible, as long as there is no possibility of ambiguity.

Much'u chabat achi'uk ta Jobel? Who are you going to San Cristóbal with?

Te much'u chibat jchi'uk. I'm going with someone (but I'm not saying who).

-*Chi'uk* shares some characteristics of transitive verbs that we will consider in Chapter VIII (Section 8.11).

Possessive prefixes show up in unexpected places. I will mention a few common examples here. To describe the sex of an animal (and, rarely, a person) one utilizes the forms *sme'* (literally: "his mother") and *stot* (literally: "his father").

Mi sme' mi stot latz'ie? Is your dog male or female?

'Ali t'ul e, mu xvinaj mi sme' mi stot k'alal bik'it 'une.

With rabbits, you can't tell whether they are male or female when they're young.

vinaj-, "appear, be evident, be visible"

That use appears to derive from compound expressions, of the *jol-na* type. For example, one can say:

me' kaxlan hen (literally: a chicken's mother)

But if the second element of the compound receives a possessive prefix or article, the first element can also take a prefix. Therefore, one can say, for example:

sme' kalak' my hen

-alak', "chicken, bird (always possessed)

Compare the following pairs:

me' k'obol thumb: (literally: mother of my hand)

sme' jk'ob my thumb

me' vinik nausea, seasickness, dizziness

sme' jvinik my nausea (which I feel) (literally: mother of my man)

The attributive usage of *sme'* ("female") and *stot* ("male") may derive from constructions of this type.

Another unexpected usage of possessive prefixes can be seen in expressions with *-talel*, a noun that comes from the verb meaning "to come."

K'u yu'un chbat 'alperes ta Ni'bak? Why are the ensign-bearers going to Ixtapa?

Stalel yech (ti chbat e). Just because.

Ni'bak, "Ixtapa"

'alperes, "ensign-bearer"

K'u yu'un tol chive'? Why do you eat so much?

Stalel (ti tol chive'). I just do.

ve'-"to eat (intransitive)"

The meaning of *stalel* "custom" may relate to expressions like the following:

ta stalel ta slikel by tradition (literally: since its arrival, from the beginning)

in which the grammatical possessor is a person, place, or thing that has been that way from the beginning. Many Tzotzil expressions have the form of a possessed noun that has lost its possessive character.

7.4 Numeral Expressions

We have already seen complex nouns of the form:

Noun + Possessor

or of the form:

Article + Noun (+ Demonstrative)

Thus, for example:

sna li Xune

li jna e

li ton li'e

taj sna e

Specific numeral expressions precede the nouns that they modify.

Ital jun vinik. The man came.

'Oy chib pexu ku'un. I have two pesos.

Buy li chib limete e? Where are the two bottles?

jun, "one"

chib, "two"

pexu, "peso"

limete, "bottle"

Numbers can also be predicates.

Mi jun mi chib li be e? Are there one or two roads?

Mi mu chibuk 'ak'ubal ich'ay? You weren't lost for two nights?

'Ox vo' jkrem. I have three sons.

Cha' vo' no'ox jtzeb. I have only two daughters.

Pero jkot no'ox li jtz'i' e. But I have only one dog.

According to the nature of the things being counted, Tzotzil numbers have different forms. Tzotzil uses a system of "numeral classifiers": words that denote countable units of some thing. (See Berlin, 1968.) For example, human beings are counted with *vo'* (which can be roughly translated as "person, bipedal thing"), while animals are counted with *kot* ("four-legged"). Some things are counted with "absolute" forms of numbers. The numbers in Tzotzil are the following:

No. Absolute Form Classifier Form

1 *jun j-kot* one animal

2 *chib cha'-kot* two animals

3 *'oxib 'ox-kot* three animals

4 *chanib chan-kot* etc.

5 *vo'ob vo'-kot*

6 *vakib vak-kot*

7 *vukub vuk-kot*

8 *vaxakib vaxak-kot*

9 *baluneb balun-kot*

10 *lajuneb lajun-kot*

11 *buluchib bulun-kot*

12 *lajcheb/lachaeb lajcha'-kot*

13 *'ox lajuneb 'ox lajun-kot*

14 *chan lajuneb chan lajun-kot*

15 *vo' lajuneb vo' lajun-kot*

... ..

19 *balun lajuneb balun lajun-kot*

20 *j-tob j-tob ta kot*

21 *jun xcha'-vinik jun xcha'-vinik ta kot*

22 *chib xcha'-vinik chib xcha'-vinik ta kot*

... ..

40 *cha'-vinik etc.*

50 *lajuneb y-ox-vinik*

60 *'ox-vinik*

80 *chan-vinik*

200 *lajun-vinik*

300 *vo' lajun-vinik*

400 (*j-bok'*)

The shortened forms of numbers (which are here presented with the classifier *-kot*) are used with classifiers. The "absolute" forms derive from shortened forms plus a hypothetical "general" classifiers (of the form *-Vb*). Thus, for example:

chib vaj two tortillas

cha'-vo' vinik two men

chan-vo' tzeb four girls

vakib pexu six pesos

vak-p'ej six houses

-p'ej "classifier for round things, houses, flowers, etc."

From the number twenty onward, the "absolute" form is used by itself or with *ta*, plus the applicable classifier.

jtob ta vo' j'ilol twenty curers

'ox-vinik pexu sixty pesos

vo'ob xcha'-vinik ta lik vun twenty-five sheets of paper

-lik "classifier for papers, articles of clothing, nets, hats, etc."

One can see that the numbers 1 to 10 are simple roots. *Buluchib* appears to denote "nine plus two," and *lajchaeb* "ten plus two." The numbers from thirteen to nineteen are composed of the shortened forms of three to nine plus *lajun(eb)* "ten."

The Mayan numeral system is vigesimal: based on multiples of twenty. (On the other hand, the Arabic system is based on multiples of ten.) The absolute form for "twenty" is *j-tob* ("a twenty"), but the root *-tob* only occurs in that context. The classifier for more than twenty is *vinik* ("man"): a reference to the fact that a man has twenty digits. Also,

for example, one expresses "forty" as *cha'-vinik* "two twenties"; "one-hundred" as *vo'-vinik* "five twenties," etc. The simple numeral roots that survive in Tzotzil and Tzeltal are the following:

-tob/-vinik (Tzeltal: *-tahb, -winik*) twenty

-bok' (Tzeltal: *-bahk'*) four hundred (= 20 x 20)

-pik (Tzeltal) eight thousand (= 20 x 20 x 20)

The numbers of each **[veintena]** belong to the following **[veintena]**: 25 = "[**cinco de la segunda veintena**]," *vo'ob xcha'-vinik*. (According to Josh Smith's observation, this system is similar to the one of counting centuries: 1976 belongs to the **[vigésimo]** century, and not to the **[décimonono]**. Note that the "possessive" prefix combines with the number that denotes the **[veintena]** which belongs to the entire expression. For example:

cha'-vinik = 40

jun x-cha'-vinik = 21

'ox-vinik = 60

chib y-ox-vinik = 42

Many Tzotzil-speakers no longer use this system. They count in Spanish instead and make use of neologisms based on the root *-chi'uk* "with."

'Oxib syen pexu ich'ay. Three-hundred pesos were lost.

Jtob xchi'uk vo'ob stojol. Its price is twenty-five (literally: twenty with five).

Sometimes the Spanish word "mil" functions as a numeral classifier. Consider the following expressions:

cha'-mil = 2,000

chib syen ta mil = 200,000

We already know another word, *jayib* "how much, how many," which can be analyzed as a number: it is the interrogative number, a compound of *jay-* (the shortened form that is used with classifiers) plus *-ib*.

Jayib pexu stojol? How many pesos does it cost?

Jayib 'ora chabat? What time are you going?

Chibat ta 'oxib 'ora. I'm going at three.

Jay vo' vinik chabat achi'uk? How many men are you going with?

Te jay-vo'uk. A few.

The suffix *-uk* gives a diminutive sense to numbers.

Jay-kot aka'? How many horses do you have?

Vuk kotuk no'ox. Only six or so.

Mi chtal to vaj? Are more tortillas coming? (In other words: Should I give you more tortillas?)

Chibuk no'ox. Only two or so (in other words: not many).

Also, the words *juteb* (which can be analyzed as the number *jut-* "few" plus *-eb* "general classifier"), and *jutuk* "few" denote small quantities. There is also another word *j-set'* (literally: "a pinch," "a drop," "a small portion").

Mi 'oy jset' juteb? Is there just a little?

Ordinal numbers are formed by means of possessive prefixes--another use of the mechanism of grammatical possession. The suffix *-Vl* (where *V* represents the final vowel of the classifier) is added to a number of a numeral classifier or *-al* is added to absolute forms.

chib, "two"

x-chib-al, "the second"

vakib, "six"

s-vakib-al, "the sixth"

vak-vo' moletik, "six elders"

s-vak-va'-al mol, "the sixth elder"

'ox-p'ej na, "three houses"

y-ox-p'ej-el na, "the third house"

With the numbers *vo'ob*, "five," and *vukub*, "seven" (which in their hypothetical forms have an initial **H*), ordinals are formed with *y-* instead of *s-* (prefix) with the initial *v* of the root.

vo'ob, "cinco"

s-vo'ob-al

yo'ob-al, "the fifth"

vuk-lik vun, "seven pieces of paper"

s-vuk-lik-il vun

yuk-lik-il vun, "the seventh piece of paper"

Note that the classifier *-vo'* changes its vowel in its suffixal form:

chan-vo', "four (people)"

x-chan-va'-al, "the fourth (person)"

The basic form of the root is: *vA'*. Many roots with the vowel *A* have *o* in their numeral classifier form, but have *a* in suffixal forms.

An ordinal number can be the predicate of a sentence:

Vo'on rejiron. I am a regidor (religious position).

Pero 'oy chan-vo' rejiron. But there are four regidors.

Sjay-va'al rejiron? Which regidor are you?

Xcha'-va'alon. I am the second.

(Note that an ordinal number is also formed with *jay-* "how much, how many.")

The ordinal numbers in expressions that denote a period of time (*'ora*, "hour," *k'ak'al*, "day," *jabil*, "year," etc.) are equivalent to the expression "... ago":

K'usi 'ora layul tal? When (which day) did you arrive here?

Svaxakibal k'ak'al. Eight days ago. (Literally: the eight day).

Sjayibal jabil la'ay ta Mejiko? How many years ago did you go to Mexico?

Yukubal xa. Seven years ago.

One must be mindful of the differences between the following expressions:

K'usi 'ora? What day? When?

Jayib 'ora? What time?

K'usi k'ak'alil? Which day (of the week)?

K'usi 'ora chatal? When will you come?

K'al to chib jabil. In two years.

K'usi k'ak'alil lavie che'e? What day is today?

Jay melkulex lavie. Today is Wednesday.

Ordinal numbers are not formed with the number *jun* (or the shortened form *j-*) "one." Zinacantec Tzotzil uses, in its place, the Spanish word "first" or compound possessive expression with the word *ba-il* "front, face, top, above."

'Ox vo' yol li 'antz e. The woman has three kids.

'ol-ol, "child, son (of a woman)"

Ja' sba yol li Xun e. John is the first (i.e., the eldest) child.

Ja' xcha'-va'al (yol) li Petul e. Pedro is the second oldest.

Primero rejirilot. You're the first regidor (the First Regidor).

Ja' xcha'-va'alon. I am the second.

The contraction *junabi* (of *jun* + *jabil*) means "one year ago." *K'al junab* means "in a year." Curiously enough, in order to say "one person" one says *jun vinik* and not ***j-vo' vinik*.

The word *'o'lol* "half" has some characteristics in common with numbers and numeral classifiers. It also occurs in combination with *j-* "one."

I'ipaj j'o'lol li parajel e. Half of the hamlet is sick.

J'o'lol icham j'o'lol ikux. Half died, and the other half recovered.

kux-, "to recover"

But, as a simple number, *'o'lol* appears in many fixed compounds. For example:

'o'lol xchibal one and a half (literally: half of the second)

'o'lol yoxp'ejel garapon two and a half large carafe (literally: half of the third large carafe)

'o'lol xchanibal syen three-hundred and fifty

In the previous section, we saw how an expression like *-tuk* or *-kotal*, used with possessive affixes, could modify a noun, specifying its reach or extension. Complex numeral expressions, with the suffix *-VI*, function in a similar manner.

Jay vo' chbat? How many people are going?

Chbat xcha'-va'alik. Two are going.

Mi chabat avoxva'alik? Are the three of you going?

Mu'yuk. Chibat jtuk. No. I'm going alone.

The word *avoxva'alik* can be analyzed in the following way:

'ox vo' three people

-ox-va'al suffixal form with *-VI*

av-ox-va'al-ik "possessed" form with the second person prefix *av-* and the plural suffix *-ik*

Mi 'ep ik'ak' naetik? Were the houses that burned many?

Ik'ak' yoxp'ejel sna li Xun e. Three of John's houses burned down. Or: His third house burned down.

The suffix *-etik* denotes plurality with unpossessed nouns.

There is a great number of numeral classifiers, many of which have very specialized and restricted usages. For example, the expression *ta jmek* "very" contains the archaic classifier *-mek* "time." The literal meaning of *ta jmek* is "one time." Laughlin (1975: 234) provides another example:

Mu jmekuk chabat 'o. Don't go forever.

Positional roots create many classifiers for counting things with the indicated positional form. For example:

busul, "in a pile, accumulated"

-bus, "classifier for piles (say, of accumulated word)"

tzelel, "in a large mound"

-tzel, "a large mound"

chepel, "sitting (say, a load of something)"

-chep, "a load (of firewood, for example)"

etc.

There are also classifiers that derive from intransitive verbs, often with the suffixation of *-el* to the verbal root. We already know a classifier of this type:

Chibat ta jlikel. I'll go in a moment.

J-likel means "one moment." *-Likel* can be analyzed as a classifier derived from the intransitive verb *lik-* "to rise, to begin." Another very common classifier derives from *lok'-* "to leave."

'Oxlok'el li'ay. I went three times.

Mu jay-lok'el li'ay. I went many times. (Literally: It wasn't just a few times that I went.)^[2]

In the following chapter we will see classifiers based on transitive verbs. Other common classifiers are the following.

-p'is, "a measure or serving"

'ox p'is pox, "three shots of liquor"

-chop, "group, family, hamlet"

jchop xonobil, "a pair of sandals"

xonob-il, "sandals"

-tos, "type"

cha'-tos 'ixim

-koj, "grade, level"

'ox koj 'abtel, "three levels of work (in other words, three positions in the religious hierarchy)"

Compare the expressions: *jchop 'o* and *jtos 'o* "different." Similarly, one says:

jkoy 'o, "one more grade"

jlik 'o, "another sheet, another piece (of rope, for example)"

jun 'o, "another, different, one more"

yan 'o, "different, separate"

yan, "different, distinct, unpleasant"

Other expressions of quantity and extension are formed by means of classifiers together with possessive prefixes and certain productive affixes. The entirety of something is expressed, for example, in a similar manner:

Possessive Prefix + Numeral Classifier + *-lej*

Solel ilaj sp'ejlej sjol. His entire head is gone.

'Ali chije, i'och ta p'in skotlej. The deer went all the way into the pot.

Sva'lej xa li tzeb e. The girl has already achieved her full height.

With the number one there are two expressions that signify entirety: *sjunul* and *sjunlej*.

'Oy vo' sjunul k'ak'al. There is water (or: it rains) all day.

'Oy vo' skotol k'ak'al. There is water every day.

Solel 'ipon ta jjunlej. All of my body is sick.

The reduplicated forms of numeral expressions signifies "each one, every two, etc." or "one by one, two by two, etc." Those forms are somewhat irregular, and circumlocutions often substitute for them.

'Oy preserente ta jujun jteklum. Each district has a president.

jteklum, "municipality, fatherland"

Ta chab-chab k'ak'al 'oy ch'ivit. There is a market every day.

Ta jujun vaxakib k'ak'al 'oy ch'ivit. Every eight days there is a market.

Ta 'ox-'ox vo' chlok'ik tal. The people are leaving three by three.

'Oy cha'-p'ej alobol jujun. Every one (of you) will have two fruits.

lobol, "fruit"

7.5 The Structure of Nouns and Adjectives

We have already various forms of nouns. So, for example:

li Xun e John

li na le' e that house

l ana e your house

jkot ka' a horse

cha' p'ej jna my second house, two houses of mine

xcha'-p'ejel jna my second house, the two houses of mine

li chib pexu taj e those two dogs (there)

The general form of a complex noun can be represented with the following diagram:

(Article) (Numeral) Noun (Possessor)

It is noteworthy that numeral expressions or possessors can directly modify a noun or serve as a predicate in a sentence where the noun is the subject. For example, there is a relationship between the complete sentence and the complex noun in the following pairs:

Li' li na e. The house is here.

li na li'e this house here

avu'un li ka' e The house is yours.

l aka' e your house

'Ox vo' li jvabajometik e. The musicians are three in number (in other words, there are three musicians).

li 'ox vo' jvabajometik e the three musicians

In all of these cases, the predicate of a sentence is attributed to the subject noun or is an integral part of a complex noun. A noun can also incorporate an attributive adjective. In most adjectives, there is a special suffixal form that is used in such circumstances.

Muk' li na e. The house is big.

'Ali muk'ta na e, ja' yu'un li Xun e. The big house is John's.

Sik li vo' e. The water is cold.

Li'atin ta sikil vo'. I washed myself with cold water.

'atin-, "to wash oneself"

Nat li vinik e. The man is tall.

'Ali 'unen e, ixi' 'o li natil vinik e. The child was afraid of the tall man.

Yox to li si' e. The firewood is still green.

Mu xk'ak' li yaxal si' e. Green firewood doesn't burn.

yAx(al), "green, humid, fresh"

We will represent such adjectives with parentheses, in order to show that the adjective takes a suffix when used attributively. In the case of *yAx(al)*, the *A* of the non-suffixal form sounds like *o*. Thus, *yox* "green" (predicative form), *yaxal* "green" (attributive form). Many of the adjectives that we already know follow this pattern. So, for example:

sik(il) cold

muk'(ta) big

lek(il) good

'ep(al) many

tzAtz(al) hard, strong

nat(il) tall, long, deep

p'ij(il) intelligent

ch'aj(il) lazy, infertile

Color adjectives are of the same type:

'ik'(al) black

sak(il) white

tzAj(al) red

k'An(al) yellow

yAx(al) green, blue

Attributive adjectives are completely incorporated into the complex noun. Possessive prefixes do not combine with the noun itself, in a complex expression, but instead with the attributive adjective that modifies and precedes it.

'Ik' li jpixol e. My hat is black.

Ich'ay li k-ik'al pixol e. My black hat is lost.

Poj li 'ul e. The atole is sour.

Mi 'oy a-pajal 'ul? Do you have sour atole?

pAj(al), "sour"

In general, the attributive suffix is *-il*, or *-al* after a bisyllabic root or in a root with the vowel *A*, although there are some exceptions.

Takin li te' e. The wood is dry.

Ch'abal taki te'. There is no dry wood.

Takin xa li balamil e. The ground is dry already.

Chicham ta taki ti'. I'm dying of thirst (literally: of dry mouth).

Here, *takin* is the predicative form of "dry." *Taki-* is the attributive form, which also functions in various fixed compounds (which don't receive possessive prefixes).

There are also adjectives that can modify nouns directly, without the use of any sort of attributive suffix.

K'ixin xa li vaj e. The tortillas are already warm.

Mi 'oy k'ixin vaj? Are there warm tortillas?

'Ach' to li balamil li'e. This land is still new. (In other words, This is still virgin land.)

Chi'abtej xa ta 'ach' balamil. I work on new land.

'Unen to li jtzeb e. My daughter is still a little girl.

'Ip li kunen tzeb e. My little girl is sick.

There are also some adjectives that can modify nouns with or without the use of an attributive suffix. There may be some difference in meaning between the suffixal and the simple form, or perhaps the simple expressions are [**compuestos congelados**].

Lek mu li vaj e. The tortillas are really tasty.

Ilaj xa li muil vaj e, naka xa poj. The tasty tortillas are gone; there are no more sour ones.

Ital li mu vinik e. The repugnant man came.

mu-il, "tasty, fragrant; repugnant"

Bik'it tajmek li tonetik e. The rocks are very small.

Naka xa chtun li bik'tal tonetik e. Now they only use little rocks.

Ch'ak'otaj li bik'it 'alkalte e. The second alcalde viejo is dancing.

Mu means "tasty, fragrant," or--with a sarcastic twist--"repugnant, bitter." The simple form in attributive position only maintains the second meaning. I do not understand the precise difference between *bik'it* and *bik'tal* in attributive position. *Bik'tal* appears to suggest plurality:

bik'tal chonetik little animals

bik'tal j-toy-k'inetik [**entretenedores menores**] (religious officials for the Party of Saint Sebastian)

On the other hand, *bik'it* in attributive position appears to have the meaning of "younger." In order to say "small," Zinacantecos favor the word *k'ox* "small" (whose equivalent in other dialects is *chin*).

Bik'it li p'in e. The pot is small.

Te ta k'ox p'in li 'ul e. The atole is in the little pot.

Not all adjectives can be incorporated into a complex noun. For example, some adjectives only function as predicates and can only directly modify nouns by means of relative clauses. This is true, for example, of some derived adjectives with the suffix *-Vl* of verbs and positional roots.

Chapal ta kastiya li tzeb e. The girl knows (literally: is ready for) Spanish.

Ital li tzeb ti chapal ta kastiya. The girl that knew Spanish came.

Kuxul li jvabajom e. The musician is sober.

I'ilin li jvabajom ti kuxul e. The musician who is sober got mad.

The formation of such relative clauses is obviously related to the process of noun fronting.

'Ip to'ox li t'ul e. The rabbit is sick.

'Ali t'ul e, 'ip to'ox. As for the rabbit, it is sick.

Icham xa li t'ul ti 'ip to'ox e. The rabbit that is sick died.

We can consider that the last sentence results from a concatenation of sentences with the following form:

Icham xa li t'ul e, 'Ali t'ul e, 'ip to'ox.

The second occurrence of *li t'ul e* is replaced by the relative particle *ti* (which appears to be related to the article *ti*); the relative clause that results end with the enclitic *-e*.

Icham xa li t'ul (ti) 'ip to'ox e.

Note that adjectives with a suffixal attributive form can also form relative clauses:

K'un li vaj e. The tortillas are smooth.

k'un-il, "smooth, weak, soft"

Ilaj xa li k'unil vaje. The smooth tortillas are gone.

Ilaj xa li vaj ti k'un e. The tortillas that are smooth are gone.

We can use the following notation to represent the various types of adjectives:

(1) with parentheses we can indicate attributive suffixes: e.g., *lek(il)*; (2) with a hyphen, we can indicate an optional suffix for the attributive use: e.g., *k'a'-al* "old, ruined, rotten"; and (3) with

*, we can indicate that it does not have an attributive use (given that the derived adjectives do not have it): e.g., *'ip*

* "sick," *jal*

* "long (duration)." I will present a few more examples:

Lek to'ox jlik jpixol. A hat of mine was good.

Pero ich'ay xa li jlekil pixol e. But my good hat is lost.

K'ajomal iko li chopol e. Only the bad one remained.

k'ajomal, "only, no more"

(Note that in the last example the adjective *chopol* functions as a noun, with the article *li* and the enclitic *-e*

[where is closing parenthesis?]

'Oy to jk'a' pixol. I still have my old hat.

K'ajomal xa 'oy k'a'al lobol. Now there are only rotten fruits.

'Ep xa ikom k'a' limete. Many broken bottles remain.

Jal chi'abtej, pero toj jal to li 'abtele. I work a lot, but the work isn't long.

There are also adjectives that are only used in attributive form. Those adjectives cannot be predicates alone; they are represented in our notation with a final hyphen.

batz'i- "true"

ch'ul- "holy"

Chapalot ta batz'i k'op. You know Tzotzil.

Icham ti jbatz'i ka'. My true horse (in other words, my stud) died.

Chtal xa lach'ul tot e. Your godfather is coming (literally: your holy father).

The two adjectives *batz'i-* and *ch'ul-* are also incorporated into compound verbs, as integral parts of the verb stems.

Mu xatun. You're useless.

Mu xabatz'i-tun. You're truly useless.

tun- "to serve, be useful"

Mi cha'abolaj? Will you do me a favor?

Mi chach'ul-'abolaj. Will you do me a big (literally: holy) favor?

'abolaj- "to do a favor, be friendly, be bothered"

The compound roots receive absolutive and temporal affixes as unities.

xa -tun You're not useful.

xa -batz'i-tun You're truly useless.

There are also attributive forms of nouns, with suffixes very similar to those with which attributive adjectives are formed.

Chlaki ta 'ich li mail e. The pumpkin is boiling with chile.

laki-, "to boil, cook"

'ich, "chile"

mail, "pumpkin"

Chlaki xa li 'ichil mail e. The chili pumpkin is boiling.

Tzeb to li chij e. The sheep is still young.

Ja' tzebal chij li'e. This is the young sheep.

Also consider the following expressions:

Ch'ivital vo' chica given to the family of the bride-to-be by the family of her husband-to-be in the market of **[las ferias]**

ch'ivit, "market"

vo', "water"

'antzil ton a rock occupied by a supernatural woman

'antz, "woman"

ton, "rock"

chenek'ul vaj bean tamale

chenek', "bean"

vaj, "tortilla"

te'tikil chij deer (literally: forest sheep)

te'tik, "forest"

chij, "sheep, deer"

Modifying a noun with the attributive form of another noun can signal a variety of relations between the two of them, for example: "pumpkin that is prepared with chili," "a sheep that is like a girl," "water that is bought in the market," "rock that is woman-like," etc. **[Hasta]** the quasi-possessive compound can receive attributive suffixes, as in the following example:

Ich'i ta yut mok li chenek' li'e. These beans grow inside of the fence.

Ilaj xa li yut-mokil chenek' e. The patio beans are all gone.

Note the form *te'tikil* (or *te'tikal*) "of the forest." *Te'* means "tree, wood." The suffix *-tik* denotes an area or extended space of some natural thing. For example, one says:

te'tik, "forest"

te', "tree"

chobtik, "cornfield"

chob, "cornfield"

tontik, "rocky place"

ton, "rock"

vo'tik, "rainy season"

vo', "water"

Te'tikil has an additional suffix, the attributive *-il*. Sometimes the attributive suffix also engenders other changes in the root.

ja'al tzo', "diarrhea"

vo' (= **HA'*) "water"

tzo', "shit"

me'anal 'antz, "widow"

me'on (= **me'An*) "orphan, poor person"

'antz, "woman"

pamal 'ul, "aromatic atole"

pom (= **pAm*), "incense"

'ul, "atole"

Not all nouns have attributive forms. There is another very common expression in Tzotzil, which produces compounds of two conjoined nouns, without any affix. The construction is of the following form:

A B

Noun 1 + Noun 2

The compound means "*B* of type *A*"

tzotz k'u'ul, "woolen poncho"

tzotz, "wool"

k'u'-ul, "clothing"

'ixtol k'op, "joke"

'ixtAl-al, "toy"

k'op, "word, speech"

nukul moral, "leather bag"

nukul, "leather"

moral, "bag"

There are compounds of the same form in English, for example, "dog food," "strawberry jam," or "squash blossom." There are also compounds in English where the first element has an attributive suffix: "watery place," "rocky place." In Tzotzil, compounds of these two types can carry possessive prefixes in their integral form, in contrast to the rigid quasi-possessive compounds like *ti'-na* "house entrance." For example one can say:

'Oy j-tzebal-chij. I have a young sheep.

'Oy j-nukul-moral. I have a leather bag.

But, note the possessive prefixes in the following expression:

'Oy sti' li jna e. My house has an entrance.

Students need to learn which nouns have an attributive suffixal form, and which form compounds without any such attributive suffix.

Mi chtal 'ep krixchano? Are many people coming?

'Ep'eptik. (Yes), enough.

Mi lek lachobe? Is your cornfield good?

Leklektik. Pretty good.

Mi ya li 'ich e? Is the chili hot?

Yayatik. Pretty hot.

ya(il), "hot, spicy"

The reduplicated form of adjectives with the additional suffix *-tik* means "pretty ____,
"somewhat ____." Polysyllabic adjectives combine with the suffix *-tik* without being reduplicated.

Mi k'ixin to li vaj e? Are the tortillas still hot?

K'ixintik to. (They're still) somewhat hot.

Mi p'ij li vinik e? Is the man smart?

'Ti, sonsotik. No, he's somewhat stupid.

sonso, "stupid"

The diminutive sense of the reduplicated forms can also be seen in the stems of a few verbs and nouns.

'Och'ochan tal. Scoot up a little.

'och- "to enter"

Tey ta ti'ti vo'. It's on the riverbank.

Mi po'ot xa li k'in e? The party is nearby (in other words: Is it coming soon?)

Tzk'an to. In a bit (literally: it wants still).

Tzk'ank'an to. In a little bit.

(See the following chapter with respect to the transitive verbs.)

Much'u li jmeme'tik le'e? Who is that old woman?

me', "mother"

hme'tik, "Mrs." (literally: our mother)

hme'me'tik, "little old woman, grandmother"

In general, only adjectives have reduplicated forms.

Adjectives for colors form numerous compounds with diverse roots. Those compounds denote the colors of specific objects.

Chibat 'ik'-luman. [???] I am going at sun up.

'ik', "black"

lum, "land"

Solel sak-nexan li sjol e. His **[destello]** hair.

K'an-nexan li sjol e. His hair is blonde.

nex, "blonde, of white complexion"

sak(il), "white"

k'An(al), "yellow"

The general form of those compounds is the following:

Color Adjective + CVC Root + *-an*

There is a special root that replaces *tzAj(al)* "red" in compounds of this type: *chak-* "red."

Solel chak-p'itan ssat li jyakubel e. The drunkard's eyes are red.

chak-, "red"

p'it-, "jump"

The situation is further complicated by the existence of nominal adjective forms, which should carry possessive prefixes. The nominalizing suffix appears to be the attributive suffix: with many bisyllabic roots and with roots with *A*, the suffix is *-al*; with other roots the suffix is *-il*. In its primary usage, nouns derived from adjectives function as true possessed nouns.

Skoy sbolil ti ichuk e. He was jailed because of his stupidity.

sbolil, "stupid"

-bolil, "stupidity"

Tol lixanav ta jbik'tal. I travelled a lot in my youth.

bik'it, "small"

-bik'tal, "young, smallness"

Mi 'ol tajmek li 'ikatzil e? Is the load very heavy?

'ol (= *'Al), "heavy"

-alal, "weight"

With those derived nouns questions such as "how much?" or "how heavy?" are formed.

K'u yepal 'oy? How many?

'ep(al), "many"

K'usi yalal? How much does it weigh?

K'u smuk'ul li krem e? How big is the boy?

muk'(ta), "big"

K'u snamal alumale. How far away is your country?

-lumal, "country"

nAm(al), "distance"

K'u sjalil latal? How long have you come for?

jal[], "a long time"

K'u snatil la'och ta ch'en? How far did you go into the cave?

nat(il), "tall, long"

Note that in the following examples, the possessive prefix *s-* (third person) does not correspond to any actual possessor, but instead plays a purely grammatical role.

Nat li'och ta ch'en. I entered deep into the cave.

K'usi snatil la'och? How deep did you go in? (Literally: how is the length you went in?)

Another similar use, in which the noun functions as an adjective, is based upon the imperatives *k'elo* "look!" and *vi* "see!":

Vi slekil. Look how good it is!

K'e(lo) smuk'ul li xchob e. Look how big his cornfield is!

Va'i sbolil li Xun e. Listen to how stupid John is!

va'i, "listen!"

In these constructions, a sentence with an adjectival predicate becomes a constituent that appears as a possessed noun.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Other expressions that also have the grammatical form of possessed nouns are clearly equivalent to adjectival sentences. For example:

Yach'il to li jpixol e. My hat is very new. (Literally: the newness still of my hat.)

Slekil yo'on ital. He came out of the goodness of his heart.

Yepal to ikom lobol e. There remained many fruits. (Literally: the numerousness of the fruits remained.)

Snamal chabate. How far you're going! (Literally: his distance that you're going.)

7.6 Noun Classes

We already know about two types of noun roots. There are nouns that can occur with or without possessive prefixes.

na, "casa"

jna, "my house"

There are also nouns of the "inalienable" type, which always take possessive prefixes or combine with a suffix (typically of the form *-il*) denoting "indefinite possession."

jk'ob, "my hand"

k'ob-ol, "the hand (of someone)"

atot, "your father"

tot-il, "the father (of someone)"

The two noun classes already mentioned contain sub-classes of more specialized roots. For example, there is a small group of nouns that can never carry possessive prefixes. It depends in part on the possibilities of possession. Laughlin (1975:24) tells us that in 1959 when no Zinacantecos had buses, the word *'aktavus* never occurred in a possessed form, but today Zinacantecos don't hesitate to buy buses or to utter the following possessed forms: *kaktavus*, *avaktavus*, *yaktavus*, etc. However, other nouns cannot combine with possessive affixes, apparently for purely grammatical reasons. These nouns are related to possessors only by means of the relational word *'u'un-il*.

ch'ivit, "market"

ch'ivit avu'un, "your market"

'ak'ot, "dance"

'ak'ot yu'un, "his dance"

Mi 'oy 'ak'ot yu'un li nupunel e? Is there going to be a dance for the wedding?

We will represent these nouns with the word-initial symbol

*, in order to indicate that possessive prefixes do not combine with the root. We already know other nouns of the same type:

**ch'ivit*, "market"

**'ak'ot*, "dance"

**'ak'ubal*, "night"

*'ok'ob, "morning"

*vaj, "tortilla"

It is possible to say "my tortilla," but in Tzotzil this idea is expressed by means of a suppletive root, which is a member of a sub-class of inherently possessed nouns (of inalienable possession). This root can be represented this way: 'ot-il "tortilla (of someone)"; however, there is no indefinite form of this root. For example, one can say

kot, "my tortilla"

avot, "your tortilla"

yot, "his tortilla"

Although by ***'otil one understands something equivalent to vaj, "tortilla," this form is never actually used. We will represent roots of this type (nouns that are always possessed or have no indefinite form) with a hyphen at the beginning: -ot, "tortilla." The special nouns we learned about in the previous section are members of this subclass:

-chi'uk, "with"

-tuk, "alone, by him/herself"

-kotol, "all"

We also know of the word -lumal "native land, place of origin," which we can also consider a member of the same sub-class. (This word is obviously related to lum "land"--a relation we will later examine.)

Nouns derived through this process of affixation inherit the characteristics of the sub-class to which they belong. For example, nouns with the suffix -tik, which denotes the extension of something natural, belong to the class of unpossessable nouns:

te'tik (=

*te'tik) "forest"

tontik (=

**tontik*) "rocky place"

Similarly, nouns derived from from adjectives through the suffix *-VI* (generally *-al*) belong to the class of always possessed nouns:

-epal, "a quantity of..."

'ep, "many"

-alal, "the wieght of..."

'ol, "heavy"

-bik'tal, "the smallness of..."

bik'it, "small"

-bolil, "the stupidity of..."

bol, "stupid"

The ownership of these nouns derived from a certain class of noun is automatic, and it is not necessary to note that relationship of ownership in every case.

Another purported example of a suppletive form is the following:

**vo'*, "water"

-al'al, "water (of someone)"

We have already seen that the basic form of *vo'* is **HA'*. In reality, the "suppletive" form *-al'al* results from suffixing *-al* (the same suffix that we see in *-lumal* "homeland") to **HA'*. The result is *-Ha'al*. This hypothetical form, united with the possessive prefix *s-*, can give either ****sya'al* or *ya'al* (see: *svo'obal/yo'obal* "the fifth"), and it appears possible that the form with an initial vowel, *-a'al*, results from the re-interpretation of *ya'al*, "water."^[3]

Similarly, the ordinary word for "chicken" in Zinacantec Tzotzil is *kaxlan*. This word appears to be derived from the Spanish word "castellano": it is used as an attributive adjective for saying "stranger, not native, introduced." With the agentive prefix, the word *j-kaxlan* means "ladino, non-indigenous person." In order to say "my chicken" one must use another root: *-alak'*.

'Oy 'ox-kot kaxlan ta jna, jot yalak' li jme' e, jokot kalak' li vo'on e.

There are three chickens in my house: two that belong to my mother and one that belongs to me.

**kaxlan*, "chicken"

-alak', "chicken (of someone)"

In Zinacantec Tzotzil the word *'alak'* does not occur alone, but only appears in possessed form. On the other hand, in Chamulan Tzotzil, the ordinary word for "chicken" is *'alak'*, which occurs in possessed or absolute form. Thanks to this suppletive root it is unnecessary to confuse *jkaxlan* "ladino" (with the agentive prefix *j-*) with the possessed form.

We already know that in Tzotzil grammatical possession is used in many non-possessive contexts. For example, the grammatical possessor of a noun derived from a verb by the suffixation of *-el* corresponds to the subject of the verb in a sentence where the verb is explicit. For example:

Nax to liyul. I arrived early.

Nax to jyulel. My arrival was earlier.

In both sentences the true subject of the verb *yul-* "to arrive (here)" is in the first person: "I." In one, there is an absolute prefix of the third person. In the other, there is a "possessive prefix" of the first person. There is impressive variety in the uses and meaning of grammatical possession, **[only in its relationship with nouns]**. We will analyze the different uses of grammatical possession with respect to the different forms of nouns.

(a) The absolute form of a noun does make reference to someone (or something) who owns or is somehow related to the object.

'Oy chitom ta ch'ivit. There are pigs in the market.

Po'ot chlok' ixim. The corn will soon leave (in other words: be harvested).

po'ot, "soon"

(b) The "simple possessed" form of a noun indicates that there exists a specific relation between the thing designated by the noun and the grammatical possessor. Among the various relationships that have been mentioned are the following:

(i) the relationship of a part of the whole

Ja' kok. This is my leg.

Te ta sti' jna. This is the entrance to my house.

(ii) the relationship of the thing or the object possessed to the possessor, which has control or power over it:

Ja' jna. It is my house.

Ja' jpixol. This is my hat (which I bought and use...)

Ja' jkrem. It is my son (whose father I am and who I am in charge of...).

Ja' kot. It is my tortilla (which I plan to eat...).

(iii) the relationship of something produced to its producer: of work to the person who did it.

Ja' kot. It is the tortilla that I made.

Ja' kabtel. It is my work (which resulted from my labor).

A noun, by itself, can share various relations. *Li jchobe* "my cornfield" can denote the cornfield that belongs to me, as well as the cornfield I have worked on and cultivated.

(In the state of Chiapas, the two things are quite distinct.) Also, many words are fundamentally relative: with these simple possession is related precisely to the terms of the relation: *jtot* "my father" (= the person with whom I have a father/son relationship.)

(b') Many Tzotzil nouns have a form of "indefinite possession," with the meaning of "the *X* of someone, of a person already understood, or inspecific, or of people in general." The words that denote body parts, or kinship terms, formed with the suffix *-VI* (in general, *-il*) show this meaning of "indefinite possession." The suffix *-il* is added to other words with absolute forms (in the sense of (a)) in order to produce a meaning of indefinite possession.

Chchap 'iktazil. Someone's load is being prepared.

chap-, "to be prepared, wrapped up"

'ikatz-il, "load, burden"

'Ep 'ilil. There are many doubts (of someone).

Chopol chpoj 'abtelil. It is bad to steal (people's) work.

Toj 'antzil le'e. That is just like a lover.

Ilik chamelil. Menstruation (literally: (someone's) sickness)) began .

These forms imply a relationship between the noun and the possessor similar to the one indicated by the simple possessed form (in the sense of (b)). However, here the possessor is not made explicit.

(c) The majority of nouns also have a possessed form, which various authors have called the form of "inanimate possession" (Laughlin, 1975) or "impersonal possession" (Cowan, 1969). I believe that this form also expresses "benefactive possession": in other words, it expresses a relationship of mutual benefit (or detriment) between a noun its grammatical possessor. The general form is the following: a possessive prefix combines a the noun with the suffix *-VI* (often *-al*) to indicates benefactive possession. I will give examples of various types:

(i) the location or origin of a thing

'Ali ch'en le'e, 'oy sbolom -al. Jaguars live in that cave there.

'Oy yuch' -al jjol. My head has lice.

'Oy avinatab -il. You've got a lizard (for example, walking on your back).

Ja' yak'al -el tulan li'e. This is oak charcoal.

'ak'al, "charcoal"

tulan, "oak (a type of wood)"

K'usi sbek't -al li'e? What kind of animal is this meat from?

(ii) object or function of a thing

Ch'abal yak' -il li ka' e. There isn't any rope for the horse.

'ak', "vine"

Tol yabtel -al li balamil e. The land needs too much work.

Tzk'an yot -al (svaj -il) li bek'et e. The meat needs tortillas.

Ch'abal yik' -al li pelota e. The ball doesn't have any air.

'ik', "air, wind"

Mi 'oy yasuka -il li kajve? Does the coffee have sugar already?

K'usi yaj -il li'e? Mi ja' yaj -il yakil vo'?

What is this [caña] for? Is the [caña] for the [chicha]?

'aj, "reed"

yakil vo', "[chicha]" (literally: [embriaguente] water)

(iii) destination, intention, cause; victim or beneficiary of a thing

'Och yalak' -il chobtik. The chickens entered the cornfield (to eat it).

'Ep ikom yil -al li na e. Because of the house there remain a lot of debts.

Ja' sbel -el Jobel li'e. This is the road for San Cristóbal.

Ja' xa jbolom -al xa chtal. What's coming is the tiger that is going to kill me.

Icham xa latzek -ale. The scorpion that was going to sting you already died.

'Animal 'oy sbot -al li chobtik e. There is a lot of hail.

tzek, "scorpion"

bot, "hail"

Tzotz xchamel -al li pox e. The hangover is bad.

Tol xchan -ul li kixim e. My corn is infested with animals.

chon (= *chAn), "animal, snake"

Chapal xa yasaluna -il li tz'i'lel e. The hoe is ready for the weeds.

tz'i'lel, "plant, weed [mala hierba]"

With very few exceptions, the root of a noun's benefactive or impersonal form takes the suffix *-al* (which changes to *-il* after a final syllable with *-a-*), although there are also suffixes with other vowels: *-el* after *-Vl*, *-ul* after *-An*, etc.

The difference between use (b)--simple possession--and use (c)--benefactive or impersonal possession--can be seen in the contrast between the following pairs of expressions:

kalak' my chicken

kalak'il the chicken for my curing ceremony

kasuka my sugar

kasukail (?) the sugar that is made by my body (?)

jmachita my machete

jmachitail the machete they are going to kill me with

kinatab my lizard

kinatabil the lizard that bit me, or that is on my body

kak'al the charcoal that belongs to me

kak'lel the charcoal that results when my body burns

'oy column, [pillar]

koy the column that belongs to me, that I'll use

yoyal jna my house's column, the column for my house

koyal the column that I am **[amarrado]** in

The forms with *-al* show what is called "inanimate possession" because, as is obvious after reflecting upon it, inanimate things and inanimate beings do not possess things in the same sense. If we re-examine the meaning of simple possession, we should be able to see that only one of the meanings allows for an inanimate thing to possess something in a simple manner: when the noun possessed denotes the part and the possessor (the inanimate thing) denotes the whole:

yok li vitz e the foot of the mountain

yok li ka' e the horse' foot

kok my foot

In these examples the relationship between the possessed noun and the possessor is the same; there is no difference between the forms. But if the relationship between the

possessed and the possessor is a relationship of "ownership" or of "product," the possessor cannot be inanimate. Thus, the noun roots and the meanings of grammatical possession contrast in the following phrases:

sna li vinik e the man's house

snail 'ixim the house for corn

yabtel li Xun e John's work (the work he did)

yabtelal chobtik the work the cornfield needs

sbe ka' the road for horses

sbelel vo' the road for water

yixim li jchabajom e the farmer's corn (the corn he produced)

yiximal chobtik the corn from the cornfield

There also seems to be a relationship between nouns of the already mentioned type with the suffix *-al* (or with another vowel) and the nouns derived from adjectives with the same suffix *-al*:

jsonsoal my stupidity, the stupidity that afflicts me

kakoval my wasp, the wasp that afflicts me

There are other similarities between nouns and adjectives that we will see below.

(c') Adding the suffix of indefinite possession to the benefactive or inanimate form of a few nouns produces an unpossessable form, which has the meaning of "indefinite benefactive possession": in other words, a form with the same meaning as the noun with *-al*, but without an explicit possessor. For example, from the root *'e-al* "mouth," there are simple possessive forms (uses (b) and (b')):

ke "my mouth"

'eal, "the mouth (of someone)"

There is also a form of "benefactive possession"--already with an extended or idiosyncratic meaning:

'Oy keal. I have ulcers of the mouth.

K'usi 'ip 'o? What is he sick from?

Ja' 'ealil. (He is sick with) ulcers of the mouth.

The word *'ealil* can be analyzed as follows:

'e + -al + -il

mouth + Benefactive Possession Suffix + Indefinite Possession Suffix

The same is true of the word *'ak'lelil* (= *'ak'al + el + il*) which means "charcoal" that results from burning someone": in other words, the indefinite form of the root of *kak'lel* "charcoal made from my body." These forms are uncommon. (Another, more common example is *'ajvalil* "owner," the indefinite form of *-ajval* "boss, lord, owner"; the basic root is *'ojob* (= *'AjAv) "owner"; *-ajval* contains the suffix of benefactive possession, *-al*. Consequently, *kajval* doesn't mean "the person that I possess" but rather "the person that possesses me, that controls me, that threatens me.")

There are other forms of nouns that also occur with possessive prefixes, although they have very specialized uses.

(d) A suffixal form is used to ask, "What type of *X* is it? Why is it so *X*?" The root generally carries the suffix *-al* (with the same vowel changes that are observed in the suffix of benefactive possession). Often, it carries the additional suffix *-il*. This form does not require possessive prefixes.

K'usi botal chtal, 'animal muk'tik. What kind of hail is coming, that is should be so big?

K'usi bililal taj e? What kind of name is that?

(Note here: *bi-il* "name"--a form of indefinite possession--plus *-al*).

K'usi 'unenalil, tol x'ok'. What a baby, what a cry baby?

K'usi 'osilal lavi e? What day is today?

K'usi 'oyal(il) chich' li mok e? What type of post does the fence need?

-ich', "to receive"

-k'an, "to want"

(We will consider transitive verbs in the next chapter.)

K'usi 'omal le'e? What kind of sand is that?

K'usi 'omalil ti batz'i toj mas? What kind of sand is that, that there should be so much?

(Here we can see that the additional suffix *-il* implies the plurality of the noun.) This form, which denotes the "type," also occurs with adjectives. For example:

K'usi toj 'alalil taj e? What is it that it should be so heavy?

'ol (= *'Al), "heavy"

K'usi 'asukail? What kind of sugar (white, brown, etc.)?

K'usi 'iximal? What kind of corn (white, red, hybrid, etc.)?

(e) There is another, very similar noun form that does carry possessive prefixes, in order to denote quantity or quality. This type of construction is very peculiar.

Yajval to much'u lek xvabaj. Those that have mastered music are few.

Yosilal(il) to ti bu lek xch'i chobtik. It isn't in every land that corn grows well.

Ssotz'al to ti xti'van. Not all bats bite.

sotz', "bat"

ti'van-, "bite, bark"

Stzekilal to li 'ep chanav. Not all scorpions walk around so much.

Yokolal yech much'u chanav. That how the legs are for walking (of someone that walks well or a lot).

K'u yu'un toj lek lachobe? Why is your cornfield so good?

Yiximal(il) to. Because of the quality of the corn.

Batz'i muk' li 'inatab li'e. This lizard is pretty big.

Yinatabilal 'o yech. That's how this kind of lizard is.

K'u yu'un tol chalo'ilaj? Why do you chat so much?

Kealil 'o yech. That's the way my mouth is.

This form can be analyzed as follows:

k- e -al -il

1st person prefix mouth Suffixes of Quality

K'u yu'un toj lek lavabtele?

Sk'abalil to yech. It depends on the hand that makes it.

(= *s- k'Ab -al -il*)

The exact order of the suffixes appears to depend on the root: roots with a hyphen (with indefinite form of simple possession) add *-al* to the indefinite form; other roots add *-al (il)*, unless the last vowel of the root is *-a-*, in which case the sequence of suffixes is *-il (al)*. There also appears to be a good deal of individual variation in the final grouping of suffixes.

(f) We already know about the use of the suffix *-ik* for denoting the "extension" of something. Nouns that denote natural things (plants, trees, etc.) also combine with the suffix *-al* (or *-il* after a syllable with *-a-*), often plus *-tik*, in order to denote a more extended space, full of some thing.

'iximaltik cornfields

'osil(*al*)tik an expansive space of mountains

'akovaltik a wasp nest, an area full of wasps

'ajil(*al*)tik a stretch of [caña]

'alavena(*il*)tik a stretch of [hierbabuena]

'alavena, "hierbabuena"

(g) Another use of the suffix *-al* (or *-il* after a syllable with *-a*) produces a noun root that can combine with possessive prefixes and which denotes the *state* of being something or the completion of some duty. (This suffix *-al* combines with noun as well as certain adjectives.)

'Ali jtot e, i'ech' ta martomoal. My father had a (religious) term as "mayordomo."

martomo, "mayordomo"

Pero i'ipaj ta smartomoal. But he got sick during his terms as "mayordomo."

In other dialects, for example in that of Chamula, the form of the word borrowed from Spanish "mayordomo" is *martoma*. For example, one says:

i'ech' ta martomail. **GLOSS?**

Me'on k'al ilok' ta spreserenteal. He was poor when he left from his term as president.

Pukujon ta jkremal e. I was a terror when I was young.

Tzpas chitomal. He carries himself like a pig.

-pas, "to do, to make"

Tzpas sonsoal. He is being stupid (literally: he makes stupidity).

Yu'van me'elot xa; atzebal to. You're not yet an old woman; you're still young.

(Literally: You are in the period of being a girl.)

yu'van, "it isn't as that..., [**as it will be that...**], how can you believe that..."

Slajunebal xa jabil i'och ta mastroale.

Ten years ago he became a teacher.

Uses (d) through (g) of the suffixal noun forms are specialized and limited. It is precisely the behavior of a sustantival root in the uses (a) through (c) that determines its type or nominal class. Not every root takes every form: the possibilities is a function of each root's meaning and syntactic character. Also, many roots have regular forms (for example, forms of "benefactive possession"), which include extended or specialized meanings, unpredictable on the basis of the syntactic form alone. We will examine a few examples in order to see the diversity and the complexity of the system:

'abtel--verbal noun, "work"

(a) *'abtel*, "work"

Ch'abal 'abtel. There is no work.

Mi ilaj li 'abtel e? Has the work finished?

(b) *-abtel*, "work of..."

Ja' to chlaj kabtel 'ok'ob. The work will last till tomorrow.

'Ep yabtel li povre karo e. The poor car has a lot of work to do.

(b') *'abtelil*, "someone's work"

Tol chch'ay 'abtelil. The work (of some unspecified person) is always lost.

(c) *-abtelal*, "the work needed by something"

Tol yabtelal li balamil e. The land needs too much work.

vo' (= **HA'*) "water"

(a)

**vo'*, "water"

Chtal vo'. It's going to rain (literally: rain is coming).

vo'-ch'oj vo' name of a hamlet ("Five Wells")

-ch'oj, "numeral classifier for holes, gaps, openings, etc."

(b) *-a'al*, "someone's water"

Ja' ka'al li' e. This is my well, my water.

Te ta tzu li ya'al e. His water is in the pumpkin.

(c) *-a'lel* (= **HA'* + *al* + *el*) "water that something produces or needs"

Ch'abal ya'lel li limon e. The lime doesn't have any juice.

Ilok' ya'lel jsat. From my eyes the tears left.

ya'lel 'itaj vegetable juice; or: water in which vegetables are boiled; or: water for [**regar sobre**] the vegetable, etc.

In this example, the possessed form of *vo'* has been derived through the suffixation of *-al*. As in (b), this suffixal form serves as the root with which another suffix is combined in order to indicate benefactive possession. (In Tzeltal, the cognate forms have different meanings: *ha'* "water," *ha'al*, "rain").

The system of possessive suffixes appears to be very complicated because Tzotzil employs many suffixes that have the same form (*-VI*), but different meanings. The suffix *-al* of *-a'al* is probably related to the suffix *-al* **by means of which noun are derived from other nouns**. Consider, for example:

bak, "bone; thin, skinny, bony"

bakal, "[**olote**]"

k'ok', "figure, light, fever, heat, hot, burning"

k'ak'al, "day (root: *k'Ak')

mol, "elder, old man, husband"

malal-il, "husband"

The second words in each pair have been derived from simple roots through the suffixation of *-al*. The members of each pair have different meanings (although they are related) and different characteristics [**en cuanto a su relación**] to the possessive.

bak, "bone"

(a) *bak*, "bone"

'Oy *bak*. There are bones.

(b) *-bak*, "someone's bone"

Buch'u sbak? Who owns this bone?

(c) *-bakel*, "something's bone, bone to accompany something"

K'ux jbakel. My bones hurt.

Li'e, ja' sbakel vakax. Those are the cow's bones.

Mi 'oy jset' sbakel li bek'et e? Is there a piece of bone for the meat?

(c') *bakelil*, "bone of some (indefinite) thing"

bakal, "[**olote**]"

(a) *bakal*, "[**olote**]"

But ta xch'ay li bakaletik e? Where [**se echan**] the [**olotes**]?

(b) *-bakal*, "[**olote**] that belongs to someone"

Much'u sbakal li'e? Whose [**olotes**] are these?

(c) -baklel, "something's [olote] (a plant)"

Li'e, ja' sbaklel 'ixim, ja' vojton. This is the corn [olote].

vojton, "ear of corn"

From the adjectival root *mol* "old" the noun *-malal* is formed "old age (of men)," whose possessor can be someone upon whom the adjective *mol* is predicated.

Mol li ka'e. The horse is old already.

Smolal to li ka'e. The horse has entered into old age.

But the word *-molal* should not be confused with the homophynous word, with the derivative suffix *-al*: *-molal* (or more frequently *malal-il*), which means: "husband, spouse."

malal-il, "husband, spouse"

(b) *-malal (-molal)* "someone's husband"

'Oy jmalal. I have a husband (that is, I'm married).

(b') *malalil*, "someone's husband"

Chlok' ta 'abtel li malil e. The husband left for work.

The number of homophynous words is even greater with the pair *k'ok/k'ak'al*. There is first the adjectival use of *k'ok'*, which we can represent with the following formula:

k'Ak'(al) aj: "hot"

K'ok' li vo' e. The water is hot.

Mi 'oy k'ak'al vo'? Is there hot water? (attributive form)

From the same root (*k'Ak'*) comes the noun *k'ok'* "fire, light," with the following forms:

k'ok', "fire, light"

(a) *k'ok'*, "fire" (absolute form)

Mi 'oy k'ok'? Is there fire?

'och''ochan li' ta ti' k'ok' e. Scoot up to the fire!

(b) *-k'ok'* "someone's fire (or light)" (simple possessed form)

Mi ch'abal ak'ok'? You don't have a fire?

Itup' li jk'ok' e. My fire went out.

tup'-, "to go out, to be extinguished"

(c) *-k'ak'al*, "fire, heat, light for something" (benefactive form)

Ilik sk'ak'al ko'on. I got angry. (Literally: The fire in my heart arose.)

Mi 'oy sk'ak'alil li ve'lil e chta'aj 'o e?

Is there a fire for the food so that it will [se cueza]?

There are also various forms of the derived word:

k'ak'al, "day"

(a) *k'ak'al*, "day, sun" (absolute form)

Chik'ot ta jun no'ox k'ak'al. I will arrive in one day.

Itoy xa li k'ak'ale. The sun rose already.

(c) *-k'ak'alil*, "day for someone" (benefactive form)

I'ech' xa sk'ak'alil. The day for this has passed already.

'Oy xa sk'ak'alil. It's been a few days since this happened.

Thus one can see the complications introduced by the multiplicity of suffixes of the form *-Vl*.

In the same way we can explain the form of *'av-il*, "place":

(b) *-av*, "place (of someone or something)"

Ja' yav 'ak'al li'e. This is the incensary (literally: the place for charcoal).

Ja' kav li' e. This is my place.

(b') *'avil*, "place" (indefinite possessed form)

(c) *-avil*, "origin, place from whence something came"

Ikom ta yavil. It stayed in its permanent place.

It should be apparent that the two *-il* suffixes have two different functions: one is the suffix of indefinite possession and the other is the suffix of benefactive possession.

We can now review the types of nouns, in terms of their possibilities for grammatical possession. The first type can be represented by *'abtel* "work." We will write the word without a hyphen, which indicates that the root can occur in an absolute as well as a simple possessed form. Also, there are forms of benefactive and indefinite possession:

(a) *'abtel*

(b) *-abtel*

(b') *'abtelil*

(c) *-abtelal* work

A subclass of this type of nouns has words without simple possessed forms, for example,

**vaj* "tortilla":

(a) *vaj*

(b) --

(b') --

(c) *-vajil* tortilla

Another example of this subtype is

**'ok'ob*, "tomorrow":

(a) *'ok'ob*

(b) --

(b') --

(c) *-ok'omal* tomorrow

(a) *'ak'ubal*

(b) --

(b') --

(c) *-ak'ubalil* night

Lik'ot ta lunex, pero lak'ot ta yok'omal.

I arrived on Monday, but you on the following day.

Lik'ot ta yak'ubalil k'in. I arrived on the night of the party.

It appears that the possibility of forming roots of benefactive possession is limited more by semantic characteristics than by syntactic ones.

We have written the second type of noun with a hyphen to indicate that the root always has possessive prefixes of some form (often with the suffix *-il*) when there is no explicit possessor. A prototypical example is *k'ob-ol*, "hand."

(a) --

(b) *-k'ob*

(b') *k'obol*

(c) *-k'abal* hand

(a) --

(b) *-sat*

(b') *satil*

(c) *-satilal* eye, face

The names of articles of clothing also show the characteristics of inalienable possession.

(a) --

(b) *-k'u'*

(b') *k'u'ul / k'il*

(c) *-k'iu'ilal* clothing, shirt

(a) --

(b) *-tze*

(b') *tzekil*

(c) *-tzekilal* skirt

Ilaj jk'ob. I hurt my hand.

Chi'abtej ta k'obol. I work with my hands.

Chopol sk'abal li be li'e, mu tuk'uk. The hand that made this road was bad, because this road isn't straight.

tuk'(il), "straight"

Mu xk'ot ssatilal. [No se ve] (literally: the eyes for this don't arrive).

'Oy xa yach'-tze. She already has a new skirt.

Pero pwersa chtal stzekilal k'in. She badly needs a skirt for the party.

A subset of the above-mentioned nouns have defective noun roots--that is to say, roots that lack some form of the paradigm. The most common situation is the absence of non-possessed (indefinite) forms.

(a) --

(b) *-ot*

(b') --

(c) *-otal* "tortillas"

(a) --

(b) *-alak'*

(b') --

(c) *-alak'il* "chicken"

There are also nouns that only have a simple possessed form.

(a) --

(b) *-bek'*

(b') --

(c) -- "seed, bone"

(a) --

(b) *-bel*

(b') --

(c) -- "content"

It seems to me that the lack of form (c) (benefactive possession) or form (b) (simple possession) often reflects semantic limitations. Animate and inanimate things do not possess "contents" in different senses: there is no need for an "inanimate" form of the word *-bel*. Thus, for example, an animate being cannot be the possessor of "morning"; in that sense, there doesn't exist a form (b) of the word **'ok'ob*.

This well-developed system of possession provides the opportunity for great subtlety of expression. In what follows a few more examples will be given. First, the word *'antz* "woman" shares characteristics of two types of nouns. As a predicate, this word appears to be an adjective (and has an attributive form).

'antz(il) adj: "feminine"

'Antz li Maruch e. Mary is a woman.

Te lijach' ta 'antzil ton. I fell nearby the "feminine" rock.

As a noun, the word *'antz* has all the ordinary forms, plus an extra one:

(a) *'antz* woman

(b) *-antz* lover

(b') *'antzil* lover

(c-1) *-antzil* woman

(c-2) *-antzilal* wife

A more adequate analysis, however, will divide these words in two groups, like the following:

(a) *'antz*

(b) --

(b') --

(c) *-antzil* "woman"

(a) --

(b) *-antz*

(b') *'antzil*

(c) *-antzilal* "lover"

The forms from the first group pertain to the word **'antz* "woman," which does not have a simple possessed form.

Ital li 'antz e. The woman came already.

Ch'abal yantzil li na e. The house does not have a woman (to care for it).

The forms of the second group belong to the word *'antz-il* "lover, wife." Note that the concept of "lover" presupposes a possessor. That is to say, the word is intrinsically possessed or relational.

'Oy avantz. You have a lover.

'Antzil no'ox le'e. That's just a woman for you.

Analysis of the suffix *-al* for benefactive possession gives *-antzilal* "wife" (that is to say, "lover for someone").

Mi chbat avantzilal vo'ote? Is your wife going to go?

There are also forms for other uses that we have seen; for example, the word *-antzil(al)* expresses use (d), which expresses the type of quality of something.

Yantzil(al) to much'u xnop ta 'olon 'osil.

Not all women are accustomed to hot country.

nop- "to be accustomed"

The word *tzeb* "woman" appears like *'antz* and has adjectival uses.

Tzebot to. You are still young.

Tzebal-'antzot to. She's still a young woman.

All the expected forms also occur:

(a) *tzeb* woman

(b) *-tzeb* daughter

(b') *tzebil* daughter

(c) *-tzebal* sister

In absolute form, *tzeb* means "girl," a female youth, without explicit relation to anyone.

In the simple possessed forms, *-tzeb* means "daughter": the girl who belongs to someone (namely, to her parents).

'Oy cha' vo' jtzeb. I have two girls.

Ta tzebil ikom li me'on e. The orphan stayed around like a daughter.

The benefactive form, *-tzebal*, means "girl for someone": in other words, "sister."

Mi 'oy atzebal? Do you have a sister?

(There is also another word, *-tzebal*, derived from the adjectival use of *tzeb*, that means "youth (of a girl).") Finally, in order to complete this complex description, I will mention the fact that there is another suffix *-il* that signals plurality.

'Oy jtzebalil. I have (many) sisters.

The same suffix can be seen in the following example:

Kich'akil ilaj 'o. He suffered from my fingernails. (In other words, I scratched him.)

'ich'ak-il, "fingernail, claw"

[1] It is noteworthy that the word *-koj* does not function as an ordinary noun, but only by itself in "benefactive" or instrumental constituents. In order to say "I am at fault, I am guilty," one uses the word *mul-il* "crime, blame, guilt." For example:

7Oy jmul. I am guilty.

On the other hand, the word *kwenta* as an ordinary noun, sometimes possessed, means "debt."

Ilaj li jwenta e. My debt is finished.

[2] The expression *mu jayuk* means "too much, so much that there was no end to it."

Mi ilaj li 7abtel e? Is the work finished yet? *Batz'i mu jayuk.* It's overwhelming. (In other words, it never ends).

[3] It is possible that the restrictions on the possessed forms of some nouns is motivated by the desire to avoid homophonous word. For example, the root

**7ok*, "turtle"

does not occur with possessive prefixes, but only with forms of *7u7un-il*.

Ja7 ku7un li 7ok le7e. That turtle is mine.

Thus, a possessed form of "turtle" is not confused with a form of the inalienably possessed noun *7ok-ol*, "foot."

Ja7 kok le7e. That is my foot.

Chapter 8: Transitive Verbs

8.0 Transitivity

All the sentences we have seen so far are intransitive, and consist of a verb or some other type of predicate (nominal or adjectival) and a subject noun, which generates absolutive affixes on the verb or predicate. (There are often additional constituents, as well.)

<i>'Oy 'ixim.</i>	There is corn.
<i>'Oy jtz'i'.</i>	I have a dog.
<i>Avu'un li na e.</i>	The house is yours.
<i>Teyot ta ch'en.</i>	You are in the cave.
<i>Ik'a' li lobol e.</i>	The fruit is rotten.
<i>I'abtej li Xun e.</i>	John worked.

We have seen a few sentences with explicit agents. (The agent is the person doing the action: Who did it?) But the agent is always introduced by means of the preposition *ta* or the relational particle *'o*.

<i>Ibat ta vinik li tzeb e.</i>	<i>The girl went with (that is, married) the boy.</i>
<i>Vo'on ixi' 'o li 'unen e.</i>	The boy was frightened by me.

There are also transitive sentences, which consist of a transitive verb, an agent (the actor), and a patient or object (which corresponds to the person or thing undergoing the action). The object is specified as a response to questions like, "Who did it happen to? What happened?" In Tzotzil, a transitive verb carries affixes that refer to the agent and the patient (in the same way that intransitive verbs and the intransitive predicates carry "absolutive" affixes that refer to the subject of the sentence).

8.1 Transitive Verb Commands

We have already seen a few imperative sentences with transitive verbs. The imperative form of a transitive verb uses the suffix *-o*. (In the notation that we develop here, transitive verb roots will be written with a word-initial dash to distinguish them from intransitive verb roots, which will be written with a word-final dash).

<i>K'elo li na e!</i>	Look at the house!	-k'el, "look"
<i>Ich'o lavote.</i>	Take your tortilla!	-ich', "take, carry"
<i>Paso perton.</i>	Pardon me. (Literally: Make pardon.)	-pas, "make, do"
<i>'Ak'o perton.</i>	Pardon me. (Literally: Give pardon.)	-ak', "give"

Commands can be made more urgent (and polite) by adding the "desiderative" particle *me*, which signifies desire.

<i>Chapo me lavikatze.</i>	<i>Please get your load ready.</i>	
<i>Tzoyo me lak'ok'e.</i>	<i>Light your fire (quickly).</i>	
<i>'A'yo me k'op.</i>	<i>Listen to the words.</i>	-a'iy, "hear, listen, understand, feel"

In those imperative sentences, the agent (who performs the action) is the addressee: the second person, 'you'. The object of the verb's action is a noun. Imperative verbs can also combine with directionals.

8.2 Transitive Verbs with Auxiliaries

There is a construction that combines a transitive verb (with both a subject and an object) with an intransitive "auxiliary" root, which adds a sense of motion (or lack of motion) and intention to the action denoted by the transitive verb. Consider the following examples with the auxiliary *tal-* "to come."

<i>Tal jk'el li k'in e.</i>	I came to see the party.
<i>Mi tal amil vakax li vo'ot e?</i>	Did you come to kill the cow?
<i>Ma'uk. 'Ali Xun e, ja' tal smil li vakax e.</i>	No. It was John, who came to kill the cow.
<i>Mi tal ava'iy mantal?</i>	Did you come to hear the orders?
<i>Mo'oj. Tal kich' jtak'in.</i>	No, I came to receive my money.
<i>Much'u tal yak' li tak'in e?</i>	Who came to give money?
<i>Ja' ital li Petul e.</i>	Peter did.

In these examples, the subject is marked on the (transitive) verb by means of prefixes that are identical to the possessive prefixes.

Vowel-Initial / Consonant-

Initial

"I" *a- / av-* *s- / y-*

j- / k-

"he, she"

"you"

With those prefixes, verbs can be formed, as shown below:

<i>Tal jk'el.</i>	<i>I came to see it.</i>
<i>Tal kak'.</i>	<i>I came to give it.</i>
<i>Tal ak'el.</i>	<i>You came to see it.</i>
<i>Tal avak'.</i>	<i>You came to give it.</i>
<i>Tal sk'el.</i>	<i>He came to see it.</i>
<i>Tal yak'.</i>	<i>He came to give it.</i>

Verbs with auxiliaries can occur with any aspect or tense: neutral, perfective, imperfective, or stative. The auxiliary verb, and not the main verb, carries the affix that indicates tense/aspect. The forms are the following: *x-* "neutral," *ch-* "imperfective," *-em* "stative," \emptyset - (null) "perfective."

Mi chtal Are you coming to see the party tomorrow?

ak'el k'in

'ok'ob e?

Mu xa bu I am not coming to see it.

xtal jk'el.

Mi 'ay xa Has the child already gone to be baptized?

yich' vo' li

'unen e?

Chba 'ox He was going to yesterday, but never went.

yich' volje,

pero muk'

ibat.

Ja' to chba He is going to go tomorrow.

yich' 'ok'ob.

Note that the temporal particles (e.g., *to*, *xa*, and *'ox*) directly follow the auxiliary. They can also follow the imperfective aspect marker, *ta*, as already seen with intransitive verbs.

<i>Ta 'ox xba jman</i>	I was going to buy	<i>kantela</i> , "candle"	<i>-tojol</i> , "price, wage,
<i>kantela, pero ch'abal</i>	candles, but I didn't		<i>expense</i> "
<i>stojol.</i>	have the money		
	(literally: the price		
	wasn't there, didn't		
	exist).		

The intransitive verbs *bat-* "go" and *'ay* "go and return" have the shortened form *ba* and *'a*, which are used as auxiliaries.

<i>Mi 'a amaj li 'ixim e?</i>	Did you go to beat the corn?	
<i>Muk' xi'ay. 'Ali jkrem e,</i>	I didn't go. My son has gone	
<i>batem xa smaj.</i>	to do it.	
<i>K'usi talem apax li'e?</i>	What have you come here to	
	do?	
<i>Talem jk'an tak'in.</i>	I have come to ask for	<i>-k'an</i> , "to want, need,
	(literally: wanting) money.	request"

8.3 Direct Objects of Transitive Verbs

<i>K'usi tal spas li Xun e?</i>	What did John come to do?
<i>Tal smilot.</i>	<i>He came to kill you.</i>
<i>Bu chba jmalaot?</i>	<i>Where am I going to wait for</i>
	<i>you?</i>
<i>Chba amalaon ta be.</i>	<i>You are going to wait for me -mala, "wait"</i>
	<i>on the road.</i>

If the direct object of a transitive verb is in the first or second person, the verb should carry an absolutive affix corresponding to the direct object. In the presence of an auxiliary verb, the direct objects always engender absolutive suffixes.

<i>Chba s-mil-on.</i>	He is going to kill me.
<i>Chba s-mil-ot.</i>	He is going to kill you.
<i>Chba s-mil-Ø (null).</i>	He is going to kill him.
<i>Chtal a-mil-on.</i>	You're coming to kill me.
<i>Chtal a-mil-Ø (null).</i>	You're coming to kill him.
<i>'A j-mil-ot.</i>	I went to kill you.
<i>'A j-mil-Ø (null).</i>	I went to kill him.

Note that the same absolutive suffixes that are used to indicate the subjects of intransitive verbs (or stative predicates) are used to indicate the objects of transitive

verbs. (Languages that use a single marker for these two functions are called *ergative* languages.) It is worth pointing out that the prefixes marking the subject of a transitive verb are identical to the possessive prefixes--both of which are called "ergative." According to the tradition in Mayan linguistics, the "pronominal" affixes of noun possessors and agents of transitive verbs make up Group A. The absolutive affixes--which indicate the themes of stative sentences, the agents or patients of intransitive verbs, and the patients (objects) of transitive verbs--make up Group B. (In Tzotzil, there are in fact two Group B's: one of prefixes and another of suffixes.)

When a verb's subject and object are indicated by affixes on the verb, there is no possibility of ambiguity as long as either the subject or the object is first or second person. In such cases, it is always clear who is the agent and who (or what) is the patient.

<i>'A amaj li Xun e.</i>	You went to hit John.
<i>'Ali Xun e, 'a amaj.</i>	It was John who you went to
	hit.
<i>Chtal smajon li Xun e.</i>	John is coming to hit me.
<i>'Ali Xun e, chtal smajon (li</i>	It is John who is coming to hit
<i>vo'on e).</i>	me.

Only when the agent and the object are both third person will a transitive verb be ambiguous. In such cases, constituent order (V O S) is of the utmost importance. The subject is either fronted or comes at the end of the sentence.

<i>Ba smaj Xun li 'Antun e.</i>	Anthony went to hit John.
<i>'Ali 'Antun e, ba smaj li Xun e.</i>	It was Anthony who went to
	hit John.

Similarly, interrogative words (which are always fronted) can question the identity of the subject or the object. As long as one of the two is in the first or second person, no ambiguity will arise.

<i>Buch'u 'a smajot?</i>	Who went to hit you?
<i>Buch'u 'a amaj?</i>	Who did you go to hit?
<i>Chopol ti k'usi ba jk'el.</i>	What I went to see was bad.
<i>Chopol ti k'usi ba sk'elon.</i>	What went to see me was bad.

But in cases where the subject and the object are both third person, the verbal affixes do not provide enough information to determine which noun is subject and which is object.

Buch'u ba smaj? *Who went to hit him?* *Or: Who did he go to hit?*

Quite often, the interpretation given to an ambiguous sentence of the kind mentioned above depends upon the meaning of the nouns and verbs involved.

K'usi ba sman li Xun e? *What did John go to buy?*

John, being animate, does the buying of something inanimate (*k'usi*) and is therefore subject.

Much'u ba sman li 'ixim e? *Who went to buy corn?*

Corn, being an inanimate thing, cannot buy a person, and is therefore object, although the grammatical structure of this sentence does not specify whether *'ixim* is subject or object of the verb *-man* "to buy". Later we will examine a few syntactic resources that Tzotzil provides to avoid such ambiguity.

Intransitive verbs also occur with auxiliaries, but with special suffixes.

Chba 'abtej-k-on. *I am going to work.*
Mi 'a xa ve'-ik-ot? *Did you go to eat?*

These forms will be discussed in section [9.4](#).

8.4 The "Quasi-Subjunctive" Use of Transitive Verbs

The simple form of a transitive verb is a complex composed of the verb's stem, an ergative prefix (indicating the subject), and an absolutive suffix (indicating the object). Josh Smith (n.d.) has called this simple form "quasi-subjunctive" due to the fact that this form is not used freely, but only to express a desire, a goal, or an objective. The auxiliary verb construction makes this interpretation clearer.

Chmuy ak'el li mut e. *You climb up to see the bird. mut, "bird"*

The construction *chmuy ak'el* literally means: "you rise to see it"--in other words, "you rise in order for you to see it."

The same subjunctive meaning can be seen in constructions where the verb is subordinated to another sentence, expressing the proposition of the action denoted by the principal verb.

Bu batem lavajnil e? Where has your wife gone?
Ba smeltzan vaj jve'. She went to make tortillas for
me to eat.

-*meltzan*, "make, fix, create"

Li' ch'och jmil mut jti'. I am going to enter here and
kill a bird to eat.
-*ve'*, "eat (tortillas, bread, etc.)"
-*ti'*, "eat (meat, beans, etc.),
bite"

In this example, the verb *jti'* is subordinate to the noun *mut*. The construction suggests that the bird is obtained "in order to be eaten by me." With the relational particle *'o* (which, as we have seen, signals an instrument or agent) more complex subordinate constructions are formed.

'Ali jkrem e, ba ssa' tal te', My son went to look for (and
jmaj 'o li jtz'i' e. bring back) a stick for me to
hit the dog with.

-*sa'*, "seek, look for"

Sa'o tak'in aman 'o bek'et. Look for money to buy meat
with.

(In the speech of many Zinacantecos, the second verb in these constructions requires a temporal prefix, as we will see later.)

Note that the imperative of a transitive verb with an auxiliary is marked twice: first on the intransitive verbs (with the suffix *-an* on the auxiliary) and second by the suffix for transitive imperatives.

'Ochan ava'iy li k'op e. Come in to hear the discussion.
'Och 'a'iy li k'op e. *Come hear the discussion.*

With verbs of perception (for example, *-a'iy* "understand, hear, listen," and *-il* "to see") a construction that combines an imperative verb with a "quasi-subjunctive" verb is frequently used.

<i>K'elo avil (=k'elavil).</i>	Look. (Literally: Look and see.)
<i>Chopol li bek'et e; mano avil.</i>	The meat is bad; (if you don't believe me) buy it and see for yourself.
<i>'A'iyó ava'i li son e.</i>	Listen (so you can hear) the song. son, "song, piece"

(In final position, the y of -a'iy is lost).

The simple form of a transitive verb is also used in more clearly subjunctive constructions. A construction of this type uses the imperative form of -ak' "to give": 'ak'o, literally: "give it," in other words, "would that, let it be that..." Another construction uses the particle *chak* (often pronounced as *chk*, without a vowel), which means: "he wants, would that, he desires..."

<i>Ch'abal jtak'in; 'ak'o sman stuk sbek'et.</i>	I have no money; let him buy his meat himself.
<i>Timi pukuj e, 'ak'o ya'i pus jlikeluk.</i>	If he is so brave, let him feel the sweat bath (i.e., jail).
<i>Chak jti' bek'et.</i>	I want to eat meat.
<i>Chak aman akaro, lek.</i>	You want to buy a car; that would be good.
<i>Chak sjam li sna e, chi'och.</i>	Open your door and I'll come in.

In effect, the construction

'ak'o + simple form of transitive verb

is the imperative of the third person.

<i>'Ak'o smaj.</i>	Would that he would hit it!
<i>'Ak'o smajon.</i>	Would that he would hit me!
<i>'Ak'o smajot.</i>	Would that he would hit you!
<i>'Ak'o me smil ta jmoj.</i>	Kill him once and for all! -moj, numeral classifier: "[golpe]"

ta jmoj, "once, forever"

Imperatives of the first person plural are also formed with the ergative prefix *j-/k-* and the plural suffix *-tik*.

Jmajtik ch'e. Let's hit him! *Jmantik*. Let's buy it!

(There is no form with a second person object, since the imperative of the first person plural includes the listener:

Kich'tik ch'e. *Let's you and me take it!*

See Section [9.1](#).)

8.5 Time and Aspect with Transitive Verbs

Transitive and intransitive verbs occur in the same tense forms. What is important to note is the position of the various person and tense/aspect markers.

Jmanoj jka'. *I have bought my horse.*
Yich'oj xa vo' li 'unen e. *The boy is baptised.*
Jbaik'oj pox. *I have bought medicine.* (More accurately: I am in the state resulting from having taken medicine).

Smakoj yajnil li krem e. *The boy is courting his fiancée. (Literally: He has already covered his fiancée.)*
-bik', "take"
pox, "shot, medicine"
-mak, "close, wrap up, cover"

The stative form of a transitive verb denotes the state that results from performing some action. This is formed with the stative suffix *-oj* which is added to the verb stem.

Pronominal objects engender absolutive suffixes that follow *-oj*.

Kilojot 'onox. *I have always seen you. (In other words: I know your face.)*

Smajojon lek; yech'o i'och ta chukel. He has hit me a lot; that's why he went to jail.
-chuk, "tie up, jail"
chukel, "to be in jail"

With perfective and imperfective aspect there are certain complications. These forms are indicated by means of prefixes that can be represented in the following manner:

Imperfective Aspect:

ta + x-

Perfective Aspect:

l- (before a nominal prefix)

-i (before an isolated verb root)

Neutral Aspect:

-x-

These rules apply to both transitive and intransitive verbs.

<i>Ta xibat.</i>	<i>I'm going.</i>
<i>Ta xabat.</i>	<i>You're going.</i>
<i>Ta xbat.</i>	<i>He's going.</i>
<i>Libat.</i>	<i>I went.</i>
<i>Labat.</i>	<i>You went.</i>
<i>Ibat.</i>	<i>He went.</i>

The forms taken by transitive verbs whose objects are in the third person (and therefore do not engender absolute affixes) are the following:

<i>Ta j-maj</i>	<i>I hit it.</i>
<i>Ta x-k-ich'</i>	<i>I receive it.</i>
<i>Ta x-a-maj.</i>	<i>You hit it.</i>
<i>Ta x-av-ich'.</i>	<i>You receive it.</i>
<i>Ta s-maj.</i>	<i>He hits it.</i>
<i>Ta x-ich'.</i>	<i>He receives it.</i>

(Note that the aspectual prefix *x-* is lost before *j* and *s* for euphonic reasons. Also the prefix of the third person with vowel roots, *y*, disappears after the aspectual *x-*.) There are also shortened forms, which result from the contraction of *ta + x* to *ch-*.

Ta j-maj.
Ch-k-ich'.
Ch-a-maj.
Ch-av-ich'.
Tz-maj.
Ch-ich'.

(The form *tzmaj* is a contraction of *ta smaj*.)

One must keep in mind that the absolute prefixes are vowels: *i-* in the first person, and *a-* in the second person. In Zinacantec Tzotzil, a first or second person object is marked with absolute prefixes (and not with suffixes) in the perfective and imperfective forms, except when the subject of the verb is in the second person. (Since the ergative prefix of the second person is *a-* or *av-*, prefixing another vowel would result in an unacceptable vowel cluster.) These precepts can be clarified with the following examples:

<i>Ta x-a-j-maj.</i>	I hit you.
<i>Ta x-a-k-il.</i>	I see you.
<i>Ta x-a-s-maj.</i>	He hits you.
<i>Ta x-a-y-il.</i>	He sees you.
<i>Ta x-i-s-maj.</i>	He hits me.
<i>Ta x-i-y-il.</i>	He sees me.

In all of these cases, the object of the verb is reflected in absolute prefixes. However, compare the following forms:

<i>Ta x-a-maj-on.</i>	You hit me.
<i>Ta xa-av-il-on.</i>	You see me.

Thus, according to the above-formulated rules, the perfective forms are the following:

<i>I-j-maj.</i>	I hit him.
<i>I-k-il.</i>	I saw him.
<i>L-a-j-maj.</i>	I hit you.
<i>L-a-k-il.</i>	I saw you.
<i>L-i-s-maj.</i>	He hit me.
<i>L-i-y-il.</i>	He saw me.
<i>L-a-s-maj.</i>	He hit you.
<i>L-a-y-il.</i>	He saw you.
<i>A-maj.</i>	You hit him.
<i>Av-il.</i>	You saw him.

A-maj-on. You hit me.
Av-il-on. You saw me.

Note that the perfective prefix *i-* disappears before the ergative *a-*.¹

Given the multiplicity of forms, students should remember that the subject of a transitive verb is indicated by an ergative prefix (of the same form as a possessive prefix), while the direct object of a transitive verb is indicated by an absolutive affix (whether prefix or suffix). Someone who already knows how to speak Tzotzil should take note of the regular system that underlies the actual forms. A verb alone, whose affixes contain the stamp of its subject and object, can stand alone as an entire sentence.

Chajmaj. I am going to hit you.
Liyil. He saw me.

The word *'oy*, which we already know signals existence, also occurs with verbs of explicit aspect. The word *'oy* in the following examples expresses an occasional or habitual action.

'Oy xbat. He goes once in a while.
'Oy chbat. There's the possibility that he'll
go.
'Oy ibat. 'Oy batem. He has gone. There have been
occasions when he went.
Mi 'oy xaman 'ixim. Do you typically buy corn?
Mi 'oy aman 'ixim. Have you ever bought corn?
'Oy kiloj li mar e. Have you had the opportunity
to see the sea.

8.6 Transitive Verb Roots

Mi chati' bek'et? Will you eat (in other words:
do you want) meat?
Mi chave' vaj? Will you eat tortillas?

There are various Tzotzil verbs that are translated by the English word "eat." The use of a particular form depends on the type of food that is being eaten, particularly according to its consistency. For example, *-ve'* is applied to tortillas, bread, and pastries. The verb *-ti'* is applied to meat, beans, chiles, and tomatos.

Ta jlo' lo'bol. I am going to eat fruit.
Mi chalo' batz'i lo'bol? Do you want to eat bananas?
 -*lo'*, "eat (fruit, etc.)"

The verb *-lo'* is used with smooth foods, such as fruits and vegetables. The derived word, *lo'bol*, is the generic name for fruit. Thus, for example, *batz'i lo'bol* "true fruit" means "banana." In the same way *ti'bol* means "meat."

Chak jk'ux manya chenek'. I want to eat nuts.
manya chenk', "nuts"
chenek', "beans"
 -*k'ux*, "crunch, chew"

The verb *-k'ux* is used with hard foods, that is, with foods that are crunched or chewed. Laughlin (1975: 200) notes that the word *k'uxbol* means either "yeast for fermenting sugar cane liquor" or "someone who, according to common belief, is sacrificed for the construction of bridges or electrical plants."

Lavote, mi chalek' 'o 'atz'am? Do you want to eat (lick) salt
 with your tortillas?
 '*atz'am*, "salt"
Mi chavuch' kajve? Do you want to drink coffee?
Mi 'oy avuch'bol? Do you have something to
 drink?
 -*lek'*, "lick, eat (salt)"
 -*uch'*, "drink, have"
 -'*uch'bol-il*, "drink (alcoholic)"

The root *ve'* is peculiar, considering that it is used as both a transitive verb (with the meaning "to eat tortillas, bread, etc.") and an intransitive verb (with the general meaning "eating").

Mi lave' xa? Have you eaten already?
Live' xa. I ate already.
K'usi alajes? What did you eat?
Ijve' kaxlan vaj. I ate bread (transitive).
kaxlan vaj, "bread (literally:
 honky bread)"
 -*lajes*, "to finish, to consume"

From the general verb *ve'*- one can form the noun *ve'el* "food," which has the possessed forms [a]-[e].

'Oy ve'el skwenta nupunel. There is food for the wedding. *Li'e ja' ave'el t'ul.* Here is your rabbit food. *Ta jk'an jset' ve'lil.* I want some food. *Tzk'an sve'lilal xa li vaj e.* The tortillas lack something.

A verb root frequently produces two verb stems: one transitive and one intransitive. The stem *ve'* is anomalous; with both uses, transitive and intransitive, the subject of the verb remains the same: it is the person or the animal that eats something.

<i>Chve' li Xun e.</i>	John eats.
<i>Tzve' vaj li Xun e.</i>	John eats tortillas.

On the other hand, it is more common for the grammatical subject of an intransitive stem to correspond to the object of a transitive verb root derived from the same stem. Consider the example of *laj*- "to finish" (intransitive) and *-lajes* "to finish" (intransitive). The suffix *-es* produces causative verb roots (transitive) from intransitive verbs.

<i>Ilaj li vaj e.</i>	The tortillas are finished.
<i>Vo'on ijlajes li vaj e.</i>	I finished the tortillas.
<i>Ik'ak' li jna e.</i>	<i>My house burned down.</i>
<i>Isk'ak'es jan li Xun e.</i>	John burned down my house.
<i>Iyul ta jjol k'usi li sbi e.</i>	His name popped into mind.
<i>Ijyules ta jjol k'usi li sbi e.</i>	I remembered his name.

In these examples, the subject of an intransitive verb comes to be the object of a corresponding causative verb, which additionally requires an agent. The situation can be diagrammed as follows:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Many of the intransitive verbs that we have already encountered also function as transitive stems (causative) without any additional suffix.

<i>Ijam li na e.</i>	The door opened.	Intransitive Verb, <i>jam</i> -
<i>Isjam li na e.</i>	He opened the door.	Transitive Verb, <i>-jam</i>
<i>Ichap li 'ikatzil e.</i>	The load is prepared.	Intransitive Verb, <i>chap</i> -

Ijchap li kikatze.

I prepared my load.

Transitive Verb, *-chap*

We can represent verbs of this type without a hyphen, to indicate that they can be either intransitive or transitive with a causative meaning. Of the verbs that we have already encountered, both of the following are of the same type:

mak, "close"

k'as, "break, twist"

There are other verbs that show the same pattern, but which have an additional causative form, with an explicit suffix, *-es*.

Itup' li k'ok' e.

The fire extinguished.

Ijtup' li k'ok' e.

I extinguished the fire.

We can represent these verbs with parentheses:

tup'(es), "to extinguish"

lik(es), "to rise, get up"

ch'ay(es), "to lose, throw out"

toy(es), "to rise, to elevate"

There are also verbs that can be either transitive or intransitive, with different, but related, meanings.

Chinop li' to e.

I'm accustomed to this place.

Ta jnop bu chibat.

I'm thinking of where I'll go.

I'm deciding where I'll go.

nop-, "to be accustomed to"

-nop, "to think, appoint,

decide"

From the intransitive verb *nop-* a causative stem is derived with *-es*.

Chisnopes li' to e.

*He is going to get me used to
being here.*

The following examples are similar:

Iskuch li 'ikatzil e.

He carried the load.

Ikuch li vayel e.

He tolerated dream.

-kuch, "to carry"

kuch-, "to bear or tolerate, to
be bearable or tolerable"

Ispas li yakil vo' e. He brewed the chicha. *Ipas li yakil vo' e.* The chicha is brewing. *-pas*,
"to make, fabricate, do"

pas-, "to ferment, brew"

The use of these roots as intransitive verbs has been called the middle-voice, because the grammatical subject of the verb is the semantic patient, and because there is no specific agent. (In Tzeltal, the intransitive form generally carries a middle *-h-*, and the transitive form does not: Tzeltal *-mak* "to close something" and *mahk-* "to close.")

Here we can note that various compound nouns derive from transitive verbs with their objects. In combination with the agentive prefix *j-*, these compounds denote social entities.

<i>jmakbe</i> , "highwayman, cutthroat"	<i>j- mak -be</i>	"one who closes the road"
<i>j'ak'chamel</i> , "witch"	<i>j- 'ak' -chamel</i>	"one who gives illness"
<i>jk'ux'ak'al</i> , "charcoal-eater"	<i>j- k'ux -'ak'al</i>	"one who eats charcoal"

As shown by the translation for *jk'ux'ak'al*, there are similar compounds in English, for example: *bankrobber*, "one who robs banks," or *homewrecker*, "one who wrecks homes--in other words, an adulteress."

There are other types of systematic relations between transitive and intransitive verbs. For example, pairs of verbs are derived from nominal roots by means of the suffixes *-Vj* /*-Vn*.

<i>Mu jk'an xik'opoj.</i>	I don't want to talk.
<i>Mu jk'an jk'opon li kajnil e.</i>	I don't want to talk to my wife.
<i>Ta jk'an chivula'aj.</i>	I want to go visiting.
<i>Ta jk'an chajvula'an.</i>	I want to visit you.
<i>K'u yu'un tol cha'elk'aj?</i>	Why do you steal so much?
<i>K'u yu'un chavelk'an tak'in?</i>	Why do you steal money?
	<i>'elek'-il</i> , "stolen goods"
	<i>'elk'aj-</i> , "to steal"
	<i>-elk'an</i> , "to steal (something)"
	<i>k'op</i> , "word, talk"

k'opoj-, "to talk, to chat"
-k'opon, "to talk to (someone)"
jvula'al, "visitor"
vula'aj-, "to go visiting"
-vula'an, "to visit (someone)"

In these examples, the relationship between the intransitive and the transitive verb resembles the relationship between ve'- and -ve': the grammatical subject is constant (corresponding to the agent), but the transitive verb requires an explicit object.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Another similar pair is: tz'ibaj-, "to write, to know how to write," and -tz'iba "to write, to inscribe (something)."

Verbs derived from the adjective k'ixin "hot," also have characteristics similar to those already mentioned. However, the relationship between the intransitive and the transitive verb is of the middle-voice/caustive sort.

<i>Mi chak'ixna lavote?</i>	Are you going to warm up your tortillas?
<i>Ik'ixnaj xa.</i>	They're already warm. <i>k'ixnaj-</i> , "to be warm" <i>-k'ixna</i> , "to warm (something)"

Causative and intransitive verbs can also be formed by means of other lexical recourses we have already encountered. "Inchoative" verbs, which denote the beginning of some state, are formed from adjectives with the suffix -ub (or -ib after syllables with u and with a few more roots). Inchoative verbs are of course intransitive.

<i>tzAj(al)</i> , "red"	
<i>tzajub-</i> , "to get red"	
<i>lek(il)</i> , "good"	
<i>lekub-</i> , "to get better"	
<i>k'un(il)</i> , "smooth"	
<i>k'unib-</i> , "to become smooth"	
<i>muk'(ta)</i> , "big"	
<i>muk'ib</i> , "to get bigger"	
<i>Ipon to'ox pero lilekub xa.</i>	I was sick, but I'm better already.
<i>Mi chk'unib to li balamile, toj</i>	Is the land going to get any

tzotz? smoother, because it's pretty rough.

Causative forms (transitive) are formed from these verbs by means of the suffix -tas.

Ta jmuk'ibtas li jna e. I am going to add on to my house.

Chapok, chavach'ubtas li karo e. You are going to wash it, you are going to renovate the car.

'ach', "new"

'ach'ub-, "to rejuvenate"

-'ach'ubtas, "to renovate"

-pok, "wash"

Other adjectives produce inchoative forms with -aj (in some cases -ij), and finally produce causatives with the additional suffix -es.

Ibik'taj xa li 'abtel e. The work has diminished.

Pero ta to xabik'tajes mas. But you are going to reduce it even more.

I'ipaj li 'unen e. The boy has got sick.

Pero te nan much'u iyipajes. But perhaps someone made him sick.

Mu xtakij li jk'u' e. My clothing isn't dry.

Yechuke, chatakijes ta k'ok. You should dry it by the fire.
yechuke, "it should be"

'ip, "sick"

'ipaj-, "to get sick"

-ipajes, "to make (someone)

sick"

takin, "dry"

takij-, "to dry"

-takijes, "to dry (something)"

bik'it(al), "small"

bik'taj-, "to get smaller"

-bik'tajes, "to make

(something) smaller"

(One can see that the word bik'taj- demonstrates the very common pattern: the vowel of a word's second syllable disappears with the addition of a suffix.)

Similarly, the "positional" roots provide intransitive and transitive verbs, which respectively denote "to be in such a position (or some form)" and "to put in such a position (or form)." (In other words, the pairs are of the middle-voice/causative type.) We already know about cases of positional roots playing the role of numeral classifier. For example, the classifier -vo', which is used to count people, derives from the positional root *vA', from which one also forms verb stems.

Chva'i li na e.	The house is going to be raised.
Ta jva'an li na e.	I am going to raise the house. -vo', numeral classifier: "person, biped, standing" va'i-, "to be standing, to stand up" -va'an, "to raise, to make stand up"
Bu xu' xkoti li karo e?	Where can the car be parked?
Kotano te yo' e.	Park it there. -kot, numeral classifier: "four-legged thing, animal, furniture, etc."

Another word that we already know derives from the positional root lak "boiling":

Chlaki xa lakajve e. Your coffee is boiling. Mi ta jlakan to yan? Should I boil more (coffee)?

From positional roots of the form CVC, one forms intransitive verbs of the form CVCi-, which mean: "to be in the position, form, or state of [FILL IN THE BLANK]."

Transitive stems take the form -CVC; they mean: "to put in such a position, etc."

Adjectives take the form CVC-VI (with the suffix -VI repeating the vowel of the root).

Va'alon.	I am standing.
Kotol li karo e.	The car is (parked) in its place.
Lakal xa li vo' e.	The water is boiling.

On the other hand, there are other numeral classifiers that are not derived from positional roots, but, conversely, are derived from verbs. For example, the classifier -p'is "measure, glass" derives from the transitive stem -p'is "to measure."

<i>P'iso cha'-p'is pox.</i>	Measure out two shots of liquor!
<i>Javo li si' e!</i>	Chop the firewood!
<i>Javem xa li si' e. Ikom ta cha'-jov.</i>	The wood is already chopped; it is in two parts. <i>jav</i> , "to chop in half" <i>-jov</i> , numeral classifier: "half, part"

Jav is one of those stems that does double-duty as both an intransitive (jav-) and a transitive stem (-jav). It is often the case that a positional or verbal root with the hypothetical vowel A in middle position will form verb stems with a and numeral classifiers with o.

jAv, "to chop in two"
jav-, "to break in two"
-jav, "to chop (something) in two"
jov, numeral classifier: "part"

vA', "standing, bidepal"
va'i-, "to be standing"
-va'an, "to make (something or someone) stand"
-vo', numeral classifier: "person"

This is an opportune time to consider another class of transitive verbs, derived from a noun root with the suffix -in. These stems, which are called "usitatives," again show the intimate connection between the mechanism for grammatical possession (represented by the system of possessive prefixes) and the ergative system for marking the agent in transitive verbs (by means of the same prefixes).

<i>Ja' jk'u li' e.</i>	That is my clothing.
<i>Ku'un li k'u'ul li' e.</i>	The clothing is mine.
<i>Ijk'u'in (li k'u'ul) le' e.</i>	I wore that (clothing) there. <i>k'u'-ul</i> , "clothing"

	-k'u'in, "to take possession of (something), to use (something) as clothing"
<i>Ja' jkumpareot.</i>	You are my compadre.
<i>Laj jkumpareinot.</i>	I'm done with you as my compadre.
<i>Lajkumparein.</i>	I made you my compadre. <i>kumpare-il</i> , "compadre"

The form lajkumparein can be analyzed in the following way:

l-	a-	j-	kumpare	-in
Perfective	2nd Person Object	1st Person Agent	compadre	Usitative Suffix

Mi ja' avantz li Maruch e? Is Mary your lover? Mi ja' avantzin li Maruch e? Is it Mary that you've taken as a lover?

'antz-il, "lover"

-antzin, "to make a lover of (someone)"

Here we can see that the suffix -in, starting from a possessible noun, creates a transitive stem that has the following meaning: "to cause the object to enter into the state of being possessed by the agent." Or, in the case of the noun N in the verb derived from the form -N-in, it means: "to cause the object to be the agent's N." With the relational noun 'u'un-il one forms a verb with the general meaning: -'u'unin "possessor, to take possession of (something, someone)":

<i>Ku'un li 'osil e.</i>	This land is mine.
<i>Iku'unin li 'osil li' e.</i>	I made this land mine.

The relational noun 'u'un-il can be thought of as a noun without any semantic content, with the expectation of its usage as a syntactic vehicle for some possessive prefix. Equally, the verb -u'unin is a "dummy verb," a pseudo-verb that provides a syntactic hook on which to hang an ergative prefix.

8.7 Word Order: Negative and Interrogative Forms

Previously, I explained that the ordinary constituent order of a transitive sentences was the following:

V(erb)	O(bject)	S(subject)
1	2	3
ismaj	sbankil	li Xune

John hit his brother.

In this case, it is the agentive subject as final constituent which gives the verb its ergative prefix. [2]

We have already seen that only the subject can be fronted in transitive sentences with both object and subject in third person.

<i>Ismaj sbankil li Xun e.</i>	<i>John hit his brother.</i>
<i>'Ali Xun e, ismaj sbankil.</i>	<i>John, he hit his brother.</i>

But we also know that interrogative pronouns are always fronted (and that this fronting occurs before subject fronting). For example, if we want to form a question about the subject of a transitive sentence, we can imagine an underlying form of the sentence like the one in the following diagram:

<i>Ismil</i>	<i>Petul</i>	<i>?</i>
V	O	S

The following form results from this underlying sentence:

<i>Buch'u ismil li Petul e?</i>	<i>Who killed Peter?</i>
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But if we form a question about the object, as in the following diagram:

<i>Ismil</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>Petul</i>
V	O	S

the same sentence results, but with a different meaning.

<i>Buch'u ismil li Petul e?</i>	<i>Who did Peter kill?</i>
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It is possible to front the final noun of both sentences, in which case, the fronted noun would be the object in the first and the subject in the second.

'Ali Petul e, buch'u ismil? Peter, who killed him?
Or: Peter, who did he kill?

The same ambiguity results from emphatic forms with ja', because the scope of ja' can be either of the nouns in the sentence. Consider, for example, the following diagrams:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

[Original had arrow pointing to John in both cases. I assume this was an error.]

Similarly, a negative sentence with ma'uk is formed in the following manner:

Ma'uk Xun ti ismil li 'Antune.

This sentence is ambiguous. It can mean: "It wasn't John who killed Antonio" or "It wasn't John who Antonio killed." But this ambiguity disappears when one of the constituents is a pronoun of the first or second person. In this case, the verbal affixes clarify its meaning.

Mu vo'onikon ijmil li 'Antune. I wasn't the one who killed
Antonio.

Mu vo'onikon lismil li 'Antun. It wasn't me who Antonio
killed.

As we have seen, it is possible to negate (or question) not only the subject or the object, but also other constituents in these sentences.

Mi te ismil sbankil ta na? Was it in the house that he
killed his brother?

Mu teyuk ismil.

Mi ta 'ek'el ismil sbankil? Was it with a hatchet that he
killed his brother?

Mu ta 'ek'eluk. No, it wasn't with a hatchet.

The ordinary negative forms of transitive verbs are equivalent to the negative forms of intransitive verbs. There is a "volitional" negative form with mu + NEUTRAL ASPECT.

<i>Mu jk'an.</i>	I don't want it.
<i>Mu xak' vaj.</i>	Don't give tortillas.
<i>Mu xismaj.</i>	Don't hit me.

There are also forms with muk' (bu).

<i>Muk' bu ta jk'an tak'in.</i>	I won't want (i.e., won't ask for) any money.
<i>Muk' sk'anoj yabtel.</i>	He hasn't asked for work.
<i>Muk' bu lakil.</i>	I didn't see you.
<i>Muk' chisk'opon.</i>	He won't talk to me.

8.8 "Ditransitive" Constructions

There are also verbs that are called "dative" or "ditransitive" because they generally require not only a subject and an object, but also an additional dative noun: an "indirect" object. In Tzotzil, an indirect object can accompany a verb only if the direct object ("the patient") is a third person noun and not a first or second person pronoun. The indirect object, the dative noun, generally denotes a person or an animal (in other words, animate things), and answers the question: "Who received it? Who was it given to?"

A prototypical example of a ditransitive verb is -ak' "to give."

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

To indicate the presence of an indirect object, the suffix -be is added to a verb. It is the indirect object (and not the direct object) which engenders the absolutive affix. In other words, the absolutive affix on the verb is a reflection of the dative constituent. The direct object, a noun, is not marked on the verb whatsoever.

The final e of the suffix -be disappears before the absolutive suffix -on.

<i>Chavak'bon tak'in.</i>	<i>You will give me money.</i>
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INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Only the suffix -be indicates that the absolutive affix corresponds to the dative constituent, the indirect object, and not the patient. I will give other examples.

<i>K'usi layalbe?</i>	<i>What did he tell you?</i>
<i>Mu k'usi liyalbe.</i>	<i>He didn't tell me a thing.</i>
	<i>-al, "say, tell"</i>
<i>Mi chamanbon cha'-p'ej</i>	<i>Will you buy me two fruits?</i>
<i>lo'bol?</i>	
<i>Mu xu' xajmanbe, ch'abal</i>	<i>I can't buy you any, (because) I</i>
<i>stojol.</i>	<i>don't have the money (literally:</i>
	<i>the price).</i>
<i>Chajsa'be jset'uk vo'.</i>	<i>I will find you some water.</i>
<i>Mu pwersauk. 'Ali Xun e,</i>	<i>It isn't necessary. John already</i>
<i>liyak'be xa vo'.</i>	<i>gave me some.</i>

The relationship between a (simple) transitive sentence and its corresponding ditransitive sentence can be represented in the following diagram.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Imperative sentences are also formed with ditransitive constituents. The e of the dative suffix -be disappears before the -o of the imperative.

<i>'Ak'bo te' un.</i>	<i>Give him wood! (In other words: Smack him with a stick!)</i>
<i>Chonbon lapixol che'e.</i>	<i>Sell me your hat!</i>
	<i>-chon, "to sell"</i>
<i>'Albon jp'eluk rason.</i>	<i>Give me a word of "reason" (that is, advice).</i>
<i>'Albon k'usi xi.</i>	<i>Tell me what he said.</i>
	<i>chi-, "to say"</i>

There are three Tzotzil verbs that can be translated as "to say" and each has different syntactic and semantic characteristics. The verb -al is used to report indirect conversations. With the dative suffix -be, it includes the listener of the conversation as an indirect object of the verb. Thus, there are two stems: -al "to say," -albe "tell." The intransitive verb chi- is used to identify the speaker when a direct conversation is reported verbatim. The transitive verb -ut is used to report direct conversations; however, it requires a direct object as a noun to denote the listener. Consider the following hypothetical conversation.

Xun: *Chibat ta jna. Bu chabat?*

Chep: *Vo'one chikom. K'u chba apas ta ana e?*

Xun: *Chba jve' kot.*

In the context of this conversation, I will present some sentences in which the different Tzotzil verbs that mean "to say" are used:

'Ali Xun e, iyalbe li Chepe ti ja' chbat ta sna. John told Joseph that he was going to return to his house.

'Ali Xune, isjak'be li Chep e bu chbat li stuk e. John asked Joseph where he was going.
-jak', "to ask, request"

'Antun: Xun, k'usi layalbe li Chep e? John, what did Chep tell you?

Xun: "Chikom," xi. "I'm staying," he said.

'Antun: K'usi avalbe? And what did you tell him?

Xun: "Chba jve' kot," xkut komel. "K'usi chba apas," xiyut. "I am going to eat tortillas," I told him. "What are you going to do?" he said to me.

*The verb chi- is somewhat irregular: it also occurs with neutral aspect. Also, the third person form is xi (and not the expected ***xchi).*

Xichi. I say (often: I say to myself).

Xachi. You say.

Xi. He says.

An indirect conversation is sometimes reported by means of the particle la, which signifies that the information came from someone else (that is, hearsay).

Jayib 'ora chtal? When is he coming?

Ta la xtal ta chib 'ora. He is coming at two (so they say).

Mi jk'u lej mi ch'abal stak'in. Is he rich, or does he have no money?

Jk'u lej la. (They say) he's rich.

Mi lek li k'in e? Was the party good?

Ji' la. Muk' xi'ay. So they say; I wasn't there.

Mi ch'abtej li Xun e? Will John work?

"Chi'abtej," xi. Yu'un la "I'm going to work," he said.

ch'abtej. Because he is going to work
(they say).

The majority of Tzotzil-speakers carefully distinguish between those propositions that are hearsay and those that are not.

Zinacantecos use the word xi in order to give verbal instructions, on etiquette and proper speech.

Kolaval, xi. You should say: "Thank you."
Timi ijnup ta be, k'usi If I see him on the street, what
chkalbe? do I say to him?
"Chibat," xi. Say to him: "I'm going."

The verb -ut means: "to say, to tell, to scold." It is also used to say "to be in a relationship with someone."

K'usi chavut li Xun e? What do you say to John? (In
other words: what is your
relationship with John?)
Ja' skrem yitz'in jtot; ja' He is the son of my father's
jbankil ya'el. little brother; he seems like my
older brother.
ya'el, "it seems, it looks like"
Mu xavuton! Don't scold me!

Negative imperatives are formed with the negative particle mu plus the neutral aspect of the second person. Often, one adds the desiderative particle me, which expresses desire.

Mu me xabat! Don't go please!
Mu me xamil! Don't kill him!
Mu xavak'be! Don't give it to him!
Mu me xavalbon k'usi xi! Don't tell me what he said!

K'usi xi is equivalent to k'uxi, a compound that also means "what, how?" This also serves as a greeting.

Mi chabat? Are you going?
Ja' ti k'uxi li yan e. It depends what the others say.

<i>K'uxi.</i>	What's up?
<i>Mu k'uxi.</i>	Nothing. (Informal Greeting)
<i>K'uxi ibat 'o li k'op e?</i>	How did things go?

In "quasi-subjunctive" constructions, the verb -ak' "to give" with the dative suffix -be also plays a role related to the usage of the imperative 'ak'o.

<i>'Ak'o sk'el k'in!</i>	Let him see the party!
<i>'Ak'bo sk'el k'in!</i>	Show him the party!

The same construction occurs with non-imperative sentences.

<i>Liyak'be kil li sna e.</i>	<i>He showed me his house.</i> <i>(Literally: He gave me that I would see his house.)</i>
<i>Batz'i lek li jchob e; chakak'be avil.</i>	My cornfield is good; I will show it to you.
<i>Kiloj xa. 'Avak'bon kil volje.</i>	I saw it already. You showed it to me yesterday.

The following construction is very similar.

<i>'Albo ya'i k'uxi li moletik e.</i>	Tell him what the elders said.
<i>Mu to bu avalbon ka'i.</i>	You still haven't told me.
<i>Chakalbe ava'i tana.</i>	I will tell you later.

It is very important to note that the indirect object of the first verb corresponds to the subject of the second verb, that is to say, the verb that is in the "quasi-subjunctive" form. These constructions will receive more detailed consideration in section 9.5.

Due to its very general meaning, the dative form -ak'be "give (to someone)" appears in many common expressions. If the name of a weapon functions as the object, this verb means "attack (with a weapon)." If the instrument is not specified -ak'be means "to have sexual relations with someone."

<i>Ikak' machita.</i>	I attacked with my machete. <i>(Literally: I gave my machete.)</i>
<i>Ikak'be machita li chon e.</i>	I attacked (literally: gave it to) the snake with my machete.
<i>Lek ikak'be.</i>	I gave it to her good (for

example, a beating, rape, etc.).

8.9 Passive, "Antipassive," Middle-Voice, and Pseudo-Passive

We have already seen that many transitive verbs also appear as intransitive verbs without undergoing any sort of stem change.

Ta jmak li na e. I will close the door.
Chmak li na e. The door will close.

The intransitive use here is called middle-voice, in order to indicate that the grammatical subject of the verb is the semantic "patient" of the action (the person or the thing that undergoes the action) and that there is no active agent. Like other intransitive verbs, the middle-voice can occur with phrases with *ta* or *'o* , which indicates instrument.

'Ali nae, imak ta 'ik'. The door closed from the
wind.
'Ali nae, imak 'o li Xun e. The door was closed by John.

(With "was closed by John" we do not mean that John actively closed the door, but rather that in some way the door closed because of him: if, for example, he fell against the door or his body was blocking it.) Thus, there is no middle-voice usage of verbs that semantically need an agent. For example, the same transitive verb *-mak* can have the meaning "to be engaged."

'Ali Xun e, ismak xa yajnil. John is already engaged.
Buch'u ismak? Who is he engaged to?
Ismak stzeb li mol Petul e. He proposed to the daughter of
old man Peter.

But one cannot say:

****Imak stzeb li mol Petul e.*

Or, at least, this sentence doesn't mean "Old man Peter's daughter got engaged" but rather "Old man Peter's daughter is constipated." The middle-voice strictly lacks an agent.

Tzotzil has a true passive voice, with both a semantic and syntactic function. We have already seen the conversational need for a passive form. Here we will again consider a transitive sentence whose subject and object are both in the third person.

Ismil Xun li Petul e. Peter killed John.

In conversation, nouns are often omitted. As a result, a sentence like the following is possible:

Ismil li 'Antun e.

But what would this sentence mean? There are two possibilities: either "Antun killed him (someone specific)" or "He (another person) killed Antun." To clarify the situation, we need a passive form ("Who was killed?") or an "anti-passive" form ("Who did the killing?"). Tzotzil has both.

The passive form is a transformation of the transitive sentence. We will begin with a sentence of the following form:

Verb	Object	Subject
1	2	3

>From this sentence, we form the following sequence:

Verb + <i>-e/-at</i>	<i>ta/-u'un</i> + Subject (Optional)	Object
1	3	2

In other words, the verb unites with a passive suffix (*-e* or *-at*) and the agent of the original sentence combines with a phrase with *ta* or *-u'un*. The resulting sentence is, superficially, intransitive. The object of the transitive sentence is now the subject of the passive sentence; consequently, the object engenders the absolutive affix with the passive verb.

Ismil Xun li Petul e. Peter killed John.
Imile (yu'un Petul) li Xun e. John was killed (by Peter).

<i>Lismaj jyakubel.</i>	A drunk hit me.
<i>Limaje ta/ya'un jyakubel.</i>	I was hit by a drunk.
<i>Achuk ta te' li ka' e.</i>	You tie the horse up to the tree.
<i>Ichuke (avu'un) ta te' li ka' e.</i>	The horse was tied up to the tree (by you).
<i>Chajk'el tana.</i>	I will see you later.
<i>Chak'ele (ku'un) tana.</i>	You'll be seen (by me) later.

In the passive sentences, the constituent with *-u'un* (which denotes the agent) is optional.

<i>Chi'ik'e ta chib 'ora tana.</i>	I will be carried at two.
<i>Bu lak'oponat?</i>	Where will you be spoken to?
<i>Imuk'ibtasat li na e.</i>	The house was enlarged.
<i>Ik'ak'esat li chobtik e. Muk' ik'ak' stuk.</i>	The cornfield was burned by someone. It didn't burn by itself.

In general, the difference between the two passive suffixes is due to dialectal differences, although the suffix *-at* is used more with multisyllabic and derived stems while the suffix *-e* is used with monosyllabic stems.

Passive ditransitive verbs are also formed. The process is the same, except that only the suffix *-at* is used after the dative suffix *-be*, which reduces to *-b-*.

<i>Chayalbe bu chbat.</i>	He will tell you where he's going.
<i>Cha'albat bu chbat.</i>	You will be told where he's going.
<i>Mu k'usi liyak'be.</i>	He didn't give me anything.
<i>Mu k'usi li'ak'bat.</i>	I wasn't given anything.
<i>Ijmanbe lo'bol li Xun e.</i>	I bought fruits for John.
<i>Imanbat lo'bol (ku'un) li Xun e.</i>	John was bought fruits (by me).

Dative and passive sentences are formed with all their verbal aspects and tenses. I will give examples of the forms in what follows.

Imperfective:

<i>Ta jmanbe 'ixim li jme' e.</i>	I will buy corn for my mother.
<i>Chismanbe 'ixim.</i>	She will buy me corn.
<i>Chmane li 'ixim e.</i>	The corn will be bought.
<i>Chimanbat 'ixim.</i>	I will be bought corn.

Perfective:

<i>Ijmanbe 'ixim li jme' e.</i>	I bought corn for my mother.
<i>Lismanbe 'ixim.</i>	He bought me corn.
<i>Imane li 'ixim e.</i>	The corn was bought (i.e., was sold).
<i>Limanbat 'ixim.</i>	I was bought corn.

Neutral:

Mu xajmanbe 'ixim. I won't buy you corn. *Mu xismanbe 'ixim.* He won't buy me corn.
Mu xmane li 'ixim e. The corn won't be bought. *Mu xamanbat 'ixim.* You won't be bought corn.

Note that the sentence

Chasmanbe 'ixim.

has two interpretations, according to the meaning of the dative. It can mean:

He is going to buy corn for you.

or:

He is going to buy your corn. He is going to buy corn from you.

Stative:

<i>Jmanojbe 'ixim li jme' e.</i>	I have bought corn for my mother.
<i>Smanojbon 'ixim.</i>	He has bought corn for me.
<i>Manbil li 'ixim e.</i>	The corn was bought.
<i>Manbilon 'ixim.</i>	The corn was bought for me.
	(In other words: I am in the state of having received corn

that they bought me.)

One can see that the stative passive forms use a special suffix: *-bil*. This suffix transforms a transitive verb into a word that bears a resemblance to the passive participle in English.

manbil, "purchased"
'ak'bil, "given"
k'oponbil, "spoken"
makbil, "closed"

Words with *-bil* are truly verbs. Furthermore, they are passive forms. In other words, they have a semantic patient as their grammatical subject. They also suppose the idea of an agent, who caused or realized the action. Thus, there is a contrast between the following sentences:

<i>Makbil li na e.</i>	The door was closed (and some unspecified person did it).
<i>Makem li na e.</i>	The door closed (and it closed by itself, or by an inactive event, by something inactive).
<i>Makal li na e.</i>	The door is closed (in this condition, without reference to the action that caused the state).

The sentence with *-bil* is passive. The sentence with *-em* uses the stative form of the intransitive verb (middle-voice) *mak-*. The last sentence uses the derived adjective *makal* "closed."

Also note that the suffix *-bil* is used to give stative aspect in the passive voice to transitive as well as ditransitive (dative) verbs.

<i>Yak'oj tak'in li Xun e.</i>	John has donated money.	
<i>'Ak'bil li tak'in e.</i>	The money was donated.	
<i>yak'oj</i>	<i>tak'in</i>	<i>li Xun e</i>
Verb	Object	Agent
<i>'ak'-bil</i>	<i>li tak'in e</i>	

Passive Suffix

<i>Kak'ojbe tak'in li Xun e.</i>			I have given money to John.
<i>'Ak'bil tak'in li Xun e.</i>			John was given money.
<i>kak'oj-be</i>	<i>tak'in</i>	<i>Xun</i>	(<i>vo'on</i>)
Verb	Object	Dative	Agent
<i>'ak'-bil</i>	<i>tak'in</i>	<i>li Xun e</i>	

(Passive and Dative Suffix)

It is noteworthy that when a ditransitive sentence is passivized, the grammatical subject of the passive sentence corresponds to the dative constituent. (The object of the ditransitive verb, which should be a noun, appears to be incorporated into the verb, or remains syntactically inactive.)

<i>Yak'ojbon cha'-kot kaxlan li Xun e.</i>	John gave me two chickens.
<i>'Ak'bilon cha'-kot kaxlan (yu'un li Xun e).</i>	Two chickens were given to me (by John).
<i>Chayak'be jtob pexu.</i>	He is going to give you twenty pesos.
<i>Cha'ak'bat jtob pexu li vo'ot e.</i>	You were given twenty pesos.

In these passive sentences, the subject of the verb--the noun that engenders absolutive affixes--is the indirect object (dative noun) of the active sentence.

I already explained that the function of the passive is to resolve the ambiguity of transitive sentences whose subject and object are both in the third person. Note that a ditransitive sentence can show the same ambiguity (between agent and patient) as a transitive sentence. The word order is the following:

<i>Iyak'be</i>	<i>tak'in</i>	<i>Xun</i>	<i>li 'Antun e.</i>
Verb	Object	Dative	Subject

>From this sentence only the subject can be fronted.

<i>'Ali Antun e, iyak'be tak'in li Xun e.</i>	As for Anthony, he gave money to John.
---	--

But when a constituent is omitted (when it is implicit in the discourse), the sentence that results is ambiguous.

Iyak'be tak'in li Xun e. John gave the money to him.
Or: He (another person) gave
the money to John.

Similarly, the question:

Buch'u iyak'be tak'in?

means either "Who did he give money?" or "Who gave him money?" A passive form of these sentence does not suffer from the same ambiguity.

Buch'u i'ak'bat tak'in? Who was given money?
Iakbat tak'in li Xun e. John was given the money.

The syntactic function of the passive is derived from word order in the transitive sentence: the object precedes the subject, and cannot be fronted freely. In that case, if it is necessary to speak of the object as the *focus* of the sentence, one must change the structure of the sentence to allow for the object to be fronted.

K'usi ispas li Xun e? What did John do?
'Ali Xun e, ismaj li Petul e. As for John, he hit Peter.
'Ali Antun e, che'e? And what about Antun?
'Ali 'Antun e, imaje 'uk. He was hit too.

In the last example, not using the passive form would produce a sentence with a different meaning.

'Ali Antun e, ismaj 'uk. As for Anthony, he hit him
(Peter) too.

In other contexts, it is also necessary to focus attention on the subject of a transitive sentence. For example, in constructions that are called *topic chains*, only one noun plays the central part in a sequence of clauses, in which the noun can be either agent *or* object.

'Ali Xun e, imuy ta te' ismil li mut e. John climbed up a tree and
killed the bird.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Timi ch'abtej li Xun e, chich' If John works, he will receive

'ep tak'in. lots of money.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

But if the topic of a chain functions as the object of some constituent clause, one must transform that clause so that the theme remains as the grammatical subject. Imagine a topic chain composed of the following sentences:

Ibat ta Jobel li Petul e. Peter went to San Cristóbal.
Ismaj Petul li Xun e. John hit Peter.

These sentence cannot be combined in the following way:

'Ali Petul e, ibat ta Jobel,
ismaj li Xun e.

The last sentence means "Peter went to San Cristóbal and hit John." In contrast, one must passivize the transitive sentence, in order to produce a chain adequate for the Tzotzil structure.

'Ali Petul e, ibat ta Jobel, Peter went to San Cristóbal
imaje yu'un li Xun e. and was hit by John.

Also compare the following examples:

Timi ch'abtej li Petul e, chich' If Peter works, he is going to
'ep tak'in. receive a lot of money.
Timi ch'abtej li Petul e, If Peter works, he is going to
ch'ak'bat 'ep tak'in yu'un li be given a lot of money by
Xun e. John.
Timi ch'abtej li Petul e, If Peter works, he is going to
chak'be 'ep tak'in li Xun e. give a lot of money to John.

The need for these construction is less obvious when there are objects or subjects of the first or second person, because affixes together with the verb clarifies the meaning. Thus, for examples, the two following sentences are possible and equivalent.

Timi chikom ta na, chi'ak'bat
'utel yu'un jtot.

Timi chikom ta na, chiyak'be If I remain in the house, my
'utel li jtot e. father will scold me.

Also compare the following sentences:

Timi chkom ta na li Xun e,
chmaje ku'un.

Timi chkom ta na li Xun e, ta If Johns stays home, I will hit
jmaj. him.

The theme of a such a topic chain can function as the agent of one clause and the patient of another.

'Ali Xun e, iyak'be vaj li 'antze, As for John, he gave tortillas
i'ak'bat lo'bol stuk. to the woman and was given
fruits.

Vo'ot e, amaj li 'unen e, lamaje As for you, you hit the child
atuk. and you yourself were hit.

There are still more specialized passive forms. A middle-voice construction uses a verb stem (often a simple root), without any affixation, and a form of *chi-* "to say" in order to say "immediately, at once something happened...." The construction takes both transitive and intransitive verbs.

Bat xi ta 'ora. He went right away.
Solel 'och xi ta yav. He went into his place right
away.

Tik' xi ta vorxa. It went into the bag.
tik', "to insert, put in"

Va' xichi ta 'ora. Immediately I stood up.

(Laughlin 1975: 116)

**vA'*, positional root:

"standing"

Tzak xi k'alal yut. They nabbed him immediately
to stick him in (jail, that is).

With auxiliary verbs, there is a special passive form that uses the suffix *-el*. The forms with auxiliaries are somewhat semantically peculiar. Consider the following examples:

	<i>Kom smil kaxlan li Xun e.</i>
<i>'Ali Xun e, kom smil li kaxlan</i>	John remained to kill his
<i>e.</i>	chicken.
<i>Ikom smilel (yu'un Xun) li</i>	The chicken remained to be
<i>kaxlan e.</i>	killed (by John).

In the last example it is clear that the chicken and John both stay, but only the subject is necessary in the construction. The agent can be implicit. Consider the following chains:

<i>'Ali Xun e, muk'ijatav, ikom</i>	As for John, he didn't flee; he
<i>smil li kaxlan e.</i>	remained to kill the chicken.
<i>'Ali kaxlan e, muk'ijatav, ikom</i>	As for the chicken, he didn't
<i>smilel (yu'un li Xun e).</i>	flee; it remained and was
	killed (by John).

In these examples, the sequence of clauses maintains only one noun as the central theme, and the syntactic form of each clause reflects it.

These passive forms are constructed in two ways. First, the grammatical subject can be marked in the verb (which requires the suffix *-el*) with "possessive" prefixes, or with absolutive suffixes. Second, the verb also receives the prefix *s-*.

<i>Ikom smilel.</i>	He remained to be killed.
<i>Ikom jmilel.</i>	
<i>Ikom smilelon.</i>	I remained to be killed.
<i>Ikom amilel.</i>	
<i>Ikom smilelot.</i>	You remained to be killed.

To translate these forms adequately is fairly difficult. They correspond to indefinite forms in English.

<i>I'ay smilelon.</i>	Someone went to kill me.
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It is evident that the logical suffix of the auxiliary verbs in these constructions is the agent, and not the patient (the grammatical subject of the complex verb), although the agent does not explicitly appear in the sentence.

<i>Ch'ech' yik'elot.</i>	Someone will pass by to pick
	you up.

This construction is a mechanism for emphasizing the verb's object (which becomes the grammatical subject of the passive sentence) while at the same time de-emphasizing the agent, which is represented indirectly. But in the last example it is obvious that the grammatical subject (second person, the person who will be picked up) cannot be the same person who will do the picking up. In other words: the logical subject of the verb *ech'* is not identical to the grammatical subject (in this passive construction, the logical object) of the verb *-ik'el*. Consider the following sentence:

Ch'ech' avich' 'ik'el. Someone will pass by to pick
you up.

The grammatical subject of the complex verb *ch'ech' avich'* is obviously second person: it corresponds to the person who will be picked up. But it should be equally obvious that this person cannot be the same person who is going to pass by.

Related to these observations is the fact that these forms are only possible when the agent of the underlying transitive sentence is in the third person (in other words, a noun).

Ba smajon li Xun e. John went to hit me.
Ba smajelon. Someone went to hit me.

If the agent of the action is explicit, and, more importantly, if it is a pronoun of the first or second person, this type of passive construction is not possible.

'Ali kaxlan e, muk' ijatav, The chicken didn't escape; it
ikom, ijmil. stayed; I killed it.

A sentence such as:

Ikom smilel ku'un.

means "it remained to be killed on account of me, due to me--but I was not the one who killed it." In other words: "I arranged for someone to stay in order to be killed."

Some Zinacantecos use passive forms with auxiliaries of this type, which we will look at later in Section 9.5. These have the following form:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

There are nominal uses of these verb forms with *-el* which preserve their passive meaning. With the expression *laj- ta X-*which means, "suffer from...", "be injured by...", or "end from..."--we have seen nouns that denote concrete things.

<i>Ilaj ta vo'.</i>	He got soaked with water.
<i>Ilaj ta machita.</i>	He got cut with the machete.
<i>Chilaj ta ton.</i>	I'm going to get hit with a rock.

In these expressions, passive verbal nouns with *-el* also can occur with *ta* as their object.

<i>Ilaj ta 'utel.</i>	He was scolded.
<i>Lilaj ta majel.</i>	I suffer from a beating.
<i>Timi chibate, chilaj ta milel.</i>	If I go, I will suffer from a beating.
<i>Lajem ta ti'el li chij e.</i>	The sheep suffered from a bite.

In the following examples, verbal nouns with *-el* function as objects of the preposition *ta*.

<i>Lek ta pasel li vaj e.</i>	Tortillas are easy to make.
<i>Vokol ta 'ch'el li pox e.</i>	Liquor is hard to drink. <i>vokol</i> , "hard"
<i>Jal ta k'elel li k'in e.</i>	It's hard to see all of the party.

In the following examples, however, nouns with *-el* function as direct objects of transitive verbs.

<i>Ijta majel, ja' iyak' majel li kajnil e.</i>	I received a thrashing; my wife gave it to me. <i>-ta</i> , "to find"
<i>Chich' k'elel li jchamel e.</i>	The sick one is going to receive a look.
<i>Mu sk'an k'oponel li mol e.</i>	The old man doesn't want to be spoken to.

With *-el*, verbal nouns can be produced from ditransitive verbs. The resulting nouns retain the dative suffix *-b-* before the suffix *-el*.

<i>Ikak'be tak'in li krem e.</i>	I gave the money to the boy.
<i>I'ak'bat tak'in li krem e.</i>	The boy was given money (by people unspecified).
<i>Ikom yak'bel tak'in li krem e.</i>	They (some unspecified people) remained in order to give money to the boy.
<i>Tzk'an 'ak'bel tak'in li krem e.</i>	The boy wants his money returned. (In other words: He still has not been given the money.)

There is another construction in which verbal nouns with *-el* function as the object of *ta*, with some verb or intransitive predicate. Here the grammatical subject of the sentence's main verb corresponds to the logical object of the underlying verb from which the noun is derived.

<i>Ilaj li Xun e.</i>	John was hurt.
<i>Imaje li Xun e.</i>	John was hit. (Or: They hit John.)
<i>Ilaj ta majel li Xun e.</i>	John was hurt by the blows.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

<i>Tzotz li vob e.</i>	Music is difficult.
<i>Chtij li vobe.</i>	Music is playing. <i>tij</i> , "to play (middle-voice or transitive)"
<i>Tzotz ta tijel li vob e.</i>	>Music is difficult to play.

A different structure appears to underly these complex sentences whose main verbs are transitive and whose objects are verbal nouns with *-el*.

<i>Chamalaat li mol e.</i>	The old man is awaited. <i>-mala</i> , "to wait"
<i>Ali mole, tzk'an malael.</i>	As for the old man, he wants to be waited for.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

The last sentence, as well as the following, appears to come from a single underlying structure:

Tzk'an ti chmalaat li mol e. It's wanted that the old man is
awaited.

In this form, it is apparent that the object of the verb *tzk'an* is an entire sentence, introduced by the particle *ti*.

Verbal nouns with *-el* also receive "possessive" prefixes. Just as nouns with *-el* have a passive meaning, their grammatical "possessors" correspond to the logical object (or the indirect object, if the verb carries the dative suffix *-b-*).

Ilaj jmaj li 'ixim e. I finished beating the corn.
Ilaj smajel li 'ixim e. The beating of the corn
finished.

(In this example one can see the connection between the use of a deverbal form with *-el* as a passive form of the verb with an auxiliary and its use as a verbal noun.) For example, compare the following forms:

Ilaj smajel li Xun e. John's beating is finished.
Ilaj ta majel li Xun e. John died from a beating.

The verbal noun with possessive prefixes occurs with an object (in other words, with a grammatical possessor) in the third person.

Mu jna' smajel 'ixim. I don't know how to beat the
Mu jna' jmaj 'ixim. corn.
Mi xana' stijel 'arpa?
Mi xana' xatij 'arpa? Do you know how to play the
['arpa]?

The underlying form of the last sentence appears to be the following:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

This structure is transformed into the following:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

There are no possessed forms of these verbal nouns with *-el* that also incorporate the dative suffix *-b-*. One can say, for example,

Mu xana' xavak'be tak'in You don't know how to give
lakrem e. money to your son.

But the following sentence does not exist:

****Mu xana' yak'bel tak'in lakrem e.*

Similarly, there does not seem to be deverbal nouns with *-el* whose possessors are in the first or second person (although very similar forms occur with auxiliary verbs).

Lek yo'on li maestro e; mu The teacher has a good heart;
sna' smajel 'unen. he doesn't know how to hit
 children.

Lek yo'on li mol e, mu sna' The old man is good; he
xasmaj. doesn't know how to hit you.

However, it is not possible to say the following:

****Mu sna' amajel.* You don't know your hitting.

There is also a structural and semantic contrast between the following sentences:

Vokol ta milel li chitom e. Pigs are difficult to kill.
Vokol smilel li chitom e. Killing pigs is difficult.
Vokol chmile li chitom e. Pigs are killed only with
 difficulty.

As a final example of deverbal nouns with *-el*, I will give the following examples:

Ijta majel li vo'on e. I found myself being hit.
Ijta ta majel li tz'i' e. I managed to hit the dog.
Mi avich' k'oponel? Did they talk to you?
 (Literally: Did you receive
 speech?)
Muk' lista ta k'oponel. They never found me.

The use of deverbals in *-el* is well developed in Tzotzil. The constructions with these forms show a "quasi-passive" quality. In other words, they are active forms (in that they contain active transitive verbs) but their grammatical subjects are the logical objects of the deverbals.

Sentence of the form

Ijta ta majel.

are not passive but rather examples of a construction with "double verb."

<i>Ijta li tz'i' e.</i>	I found the dog.
<i>Ijmaj li tz'i' e.</i>	I hit the dog.
<i>Ijta ta majel li tz'i' e.</i>	I managed to hit the dog.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Compare the following sentences:

<i>Ikak' ta meltzanel li kora e.</i>	I left my watch to be fixed.
<i>Ikak' li kora e.</i>	I left my watch.
<i>Ismeltzan li kora e.</i>	Someone fixed my watch.

In these examples, the two verbs (the main verb and the nominalized verb) have the same object: *kora*, "my watch," or *tz'i'* "dog." By combining the two clauses, the construction with the deverbals expresses a causal connection between the two events.

A passive sentence can clarify the meaning of an ambiguous transitive sentence by identifying the patient of the action.

<i>Buch'u ismil li Xun e?</i>	Who killed John? Or: Who did John kill?
<i>Buch'u imile (yu'un li Xun e)?</i>	Who was killed by John?

When the subject and the object are both in the third person, a sentence in Tzotzil can also be transformed into an "anti-passive." (The term "anti-passive" was first introduced by Michael Silverstein (????).) A passive sentence is intransitive and has as its surface subject the object of its transitive counterpart. The so-called "anti-passive" is also an

intransitive verb, but it does not contain an object as its main constituent and it has the same agent as its transitive counterpart. (I repeat that the anti-passive form is only possible in Tzotzil when both the subject and the object are in the third person (in other words, when they are both nouns). Only in such circumstances will the transitive sentence be ambiguous.) A few examples will make these precepts clear.

Transitive

Ismil Xun li Petul e. Peter killed John.

Passive

Imile (yu'un Petul) li Xun e. John was killed (by Peter).

Syntactic Anti-Passive

Petul imilon (li Xun e). It was Peter who killed (John).

Lexical Anti-Passive

Imilvan li Petul e. Peter did the killing.

Another anti-passive form is derived from a transitive stem and the suffix *-van*. The result of this derivation is an intransitive stem with the general meaning and use of the syntactic anti-passive.

Chimilvan. I am going to kill (someone).
Ichukvan li Xun e. John locked (someone) up.

If a transitive stem *-X* combines with the suffix *-van*, it forms an intransitive stem, *X-van-*, which means "*X* to people (or to animals)." Thus, verbs derived with *-van* are not general antipassives; because the omitted object must pertain to people, the meaning of the verb is limited.

-mil, "kill"

milvan-, "to murder, kill (people)"

-chuk, "to tie up"

chukvan-, "to jail, to tie up (people)"

-chon, "sell"

chonvan-, "to bewitch people, to sell people's souls"

-jim, "to turn"

jimvan-, "to make people dizzy"

Transitive verbs whose objects are not human generally do not have forms with the suffix *-van*. Sentences containing antipassive verbs with *-van* are also very useful for resolving the potential ambiguity of transitive sentences.

<i>Iyut li Xun e.</i>	John scolded him. Or: Someone scolded John.
<i>Much'u i'utvan?</i>	Who did he scold?
<i>Mi ja' i'utvan li Xun e, mi ja' iyich' utel?</i>	Was it John who did the scolding or was it John who was scolded?
<i>Ja' i'utvan li Xun e; ja' i'utat li skrem e.</i>	It was John who did the scolding; his son was scolded.

There are also *-van* verbs based on transitive verbs whose ordinary meaning does not involve human objects. The meaning of the derived verb depends upon special customs or beliefs.

<i>Solel i'ich'van tajmek li 'abtel e.</i>	The work (a religious duty) just finished (someone's) resources. <i>-'ich'</i> , "to receive"
--	--

(A religious cargo requires extraordinary expenses for a Zinacanteco.)

<i>Ch'uch'van ta mukul li krem'une.</i>	The boy promised in secret (to give his sister's hand in marriage). <i>-'uch'</i> , "to drink, to take"
---	--

The verb *'uch'van-* means "to promise one's hand in marriage (to someone)" by accepting and drinking a gift of liquor--literally: "to drink to someone."

So far we have seen various kind of verbs (or sentences):

1. Intransitive (Neutral: Subject = Patient)

Icham li mut e. The bird died.
Ik'ot li 'ikatzil e. The load arrived.

2. Intransitive (Active: Subject = Agent)

I'abtej li Xun e. John worked.
Chanav (= ta + x + xanav) li ka' e. The horse walks.

3. Transitive

Ijmaj li 'ixim e. I husked the corn.
Chisk'opon li Xun e. John spoke to me.

4. Middle-voice (Subject = Patient, no Agent)

Imak li na e. The door closed.
Ivok' li nen e. The window *nen*, "glass" *vok'*, "to break,
broke. to bust"

5. Dative

Liyalbe k'usi sbi. He gave me his name. *Chakak'be vo'.* I will give you water.

The different passive, antipassive, etc. constructions come from transitive sentences by means of various processes of derivation and transformation. Below we will analyze transitive constructions (with objects and agentive subjects) based on intransitive sentences.

Imeltzaj li karo e. The car was fixed.
Ijmeltzan li karo e. I fixed the car.
meltzaj- "to be fixed"
-meltzan, "to fix"
Imeltzaj ku'un li karo e. I managed to fix the car.
Chacham. You are going to die.
Chasmil li Xun e. John is going to kill you.
Chacham yu'un li Xun e. John is capable of killing you.
Mu xlanj li 'ul e. The atole will not run out.
Mu xalajes li 'ul e. You aren't going to finish off
the atole.
Mu xlanj avu'un li 'ul e. You can't finish the atole.

A verb that is neutral or in middle-voice, combined with an agent represented by *-u'un* plus a "possessive" prefix, denotes possibility or capacity. The logical object remains as the grammatical subject of the verb (which is superficially intransitive). The entire construction is related to other causative constructions. The agent can be questioned or fronted.

Mi chk'ot yu'un Maruch li si'e? Is Mary capable of carrying
Toj 'ol. the firewood? It's pretty heavy.
Buch'u chk'ot yu'un li si' e? Who is capable of carrying the
firewood?
'Ali Maruch e, chk'ot yu'un li Mary, she can carry the
si' e. firewood.

Transitive verbs that carry causative suffixes (for example, the suffix *-es*) lose them in this construction with *-u'un*.

Mu xa bu jmuk'ibtas li jna e. I am not going to add on to my
house.
Mu xa xmuk'ib ku'un li jna e. I can't add on to my house.
Mi ch'ach'ubtas skaro? Is he going to fix up his car?
Mi ch'ach'ub yu'un li skaro e? Is he capable of fixing up his
car?
Isva'an na li jva'anejna. The mason built his house.
'Ali na e, iva'i yu'un li The mason managed to build
jva'anejna e. his house.
j-va'an-ej-na, "mason (house-
builder)"

Many expressions use this construction.

Mu xkuch ku'un li 'abtel e. I can't bear the work.
(Literally: I can't carry the
work.)
Mi xu' avu'un xanbal? Can you walk? Can you
endure the trip?
yu'-, "be able to, to be held"

This construction is not used with verbs of the second type--that is, with (active) intransitive verbs. These verbs do not have a causative form, because the subject of an

(The suffix *-otik* is the absolutive form of the first person plural inclusive. The form *ch-i-man-otik* is superficially intransitive; the prefix *-i-* plus the suffix *-otik* means that the grammatical subject of the expression is the pronoun *vo'otik* "all of us." See Section 9.1.) The last example represents a complete inversion of the ordinary situation, to achieve a change of perspective, focusing on the characteristics of the beans and the resulting incapacity imposed on the people who want to buy beans.

8.10 The "Favored" Tzotzil Construction

We have seen that Tzotzil makes good use of grammatical possession. Possessive prefixes can indicate a wide variety of relations between the "possessed" noun and the "possessor," but the syntactic form remains the same.

Possessive Prefix + Noun	Possessor
1	2

We can review a few uses of this possessive construction:

1) Ordinary Possession:

<i>sna li Xun e</i>	John's house
<i>jka'</i>	my horse

2) Inalienable Possession

ak'ob your hand *sjol li na e* the "head" of the house (in other words: the roof)

3) Benefactive Possession

yalak'il chobtik the chickens that eat the corn *yichil li kalto* the chile that is in the broth
'ich, "chile"

4) "Attributive" Possession

<i>yach'il jpixol</i>	the newness of my hat
<i>yepal vinik</i>	the group of men

5) Verbal Possession

<i>ayulel</i>	your arrival
<i>slikel li k'op e</i>	the beginning of the dispute
<i>smajel li 'ixim e</i>	the husking of the corn
<i>smanbel pox li 'unen e</i>	the purchase of medicine for the child

In each example, the relationship between possessor and possessed is different.

Tzotzil appears to prefer sentences and constructions which permit a possessed noun to be followed by its grammatical possessor, and also exploit the relationship between the two. Such a pattern or "preference" is called an objective in other linguistic realms, in other words, a pattern that a language's grammar tries to follow. This pattern is made obvious in what I call the "favored" construction of Tzotzil.

<i>Ta xkik' li tzeb e.</i>	I am going to marry the girl. -ik', "to take, to carry (people), to call"
<i>Ta xkik'be stzeb li mol Xun e.</i>	I am going to marry the daughter of Big John.
<i>Chakik'be latzeb e.</i>	I am going to marry your daughter.
<i>Ta jman li 'ixim e.</i>	I am going to buy corn.
<i>Ta jmanbe yixim li krem e.</i>	I am going to buy the boy's corn.
<i>Chajmanbe avixim.</i>	I am going to buy your corn (that is, for or from you.)

These dative sentences, with the suffix *-be*, treat possessors of the direct object as indirect objects (as dative constituents). Note that the word order is correct from two points of view: the structure of dative sentences and the structure of possessive phrases.

<i>Chkak'be</i>	<i>'ixim</i>	<i>li mol Xun e</i>
1	2	3
Verb	Object	Dative
I will give corn to Big John.		

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

The English translation of this type of sentence does not adequately convey the complete meaning in Tzotzil.

Ta jsa'be yav li karo e. I am going to find a place for
my car.

Lisk'anbe jtak'in. He wanted me my money.

The grammar suggests that what happens to my possessions also happens to me.

I have called this construction "the favored construction" because Tzotziles seem to use dative sentences of this type every time that the object of a transitive verb is possessed, and also when the indirect object (dative) cannot be interpreted as the possessor of a direct object. Thus, it is preferable to say:

Lixch'aybe jtak'in li Xun e. John lost me my money.

and not simply:

Ixch'ay jtak'in li Xun e. John lost my money.

Also it is common for people to say:

Ijmanbe yixim li Xun e. I bought John his corn.

rather than:

Ijmanbe 'ixim li Xun e. I bought John corn.

A sentence such as *Ijmanbe yixim* means something like: "I bought him corn so that it would be his." Or better said: "I bought him his corn." In any case, Zinacantecos show a notable preference for the indirect object to be the possessor of the direct object in dative sentences.

If the direct object of a transitive verb is a complex possessed noun, in other words, a sequence of possessors, then the last possessor is available as the dative constituent.

st'ul li krem e the boy's rabbit
st'ul akrem (li vo'ot e) your boy's rabbit

Ta jmil li t'ul e. I am going to kill the rabbit. *Ta jmilbe st'ul li krem e.* I am going to kill the boy's rabbit.

Ta jmilbe st'ul lakrem e.

Chajmilbe st'ul lakrem e. I am going to kill your boy's rabbit.

(It is possible, but uncommon, for someone to say:

Ta jmil st'ul lakrem e. I am going to kill your boy's rabbit.

These examples suggest a structure of the following form:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

'Ali Xun e, ismil st'ul li jkrem e. John killed my son's rabbit.

One of these possessors is elevated to the position of indirect object, generating the dative suffix *-be* and an absolutive affix on the verb. Thus, the favored construction comes from the following form:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

or from the form:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Note that these sentences contrast with another sentence that is truly ditransitive, with a legitimate indirect object. Thus, it is possible to say:

'Ali Xun e, iyak'be jto b pexu li jkrem e. John gave twenty pesos to my son.

But it is not possible to say:

****'Ali Xun e, liyak'be jto b pexu li jkrem e.* The sentence above has the following form:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

Since there is already a dative constituent in this structure, it is not possible to elevate the possessor to the dative position.

The "favored" construction manages to maintain the possessed noun in its correct order (Noun + Possessor). At the same time, this construction fills all the constituents of the sentence, dividing the possessed noun and the possessor between two different functions. In a sentence like the following:

Ismilbe st'ul li krem e. He killed the boy's rabbit.

the phrase *st'ul li krem* has the form of a possessed noun, which means "the boy's rabbit." But *st'ul* is the direct object of the verb, and *li krem* is the superficial indirect object.

The use of the verb *-ak'* "to give" with an object together with an entire sentence illustrates a similar process.

'Ali Xun e, liyak'be kil li ch'ivit John showed me the market.
e. (Literally: John gave me that I see the market.)

This sentence appears to have the following logical structure:

John gave: I saw the market.

with two constituent sentences:

'Ali Xune, iyak': ikil li ch'ivit e (vo'on)

This is shown diagrammatically below:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

>From this structure the subject of the subordinate sentence (*vo'on*, "I") is elevated to the position of dative constituent in the superordinate sentence, resulting in the marking of the dative suffix *-be* and the absolutive prefix *-i-* on the verb.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

A similar analysis explains sentences like the following:

Chakalbe ava'i. I am going to tell you (so that

you understand).

The ditransitive forms of these sentences are other symptoms of Tzotzil's syntactic objective. They are instances of the "favored" construction, forms that are preferred, though not obligatory.

Chkal ava'i.

Chakalbe ava'i.

I am going to say it to you.

Chkak' avil.

Chakak'be avil.

I am going to show it to you.

There are also sentences with quasi-subjunctive objects that show the same pattern.

Chajmanbe bek'et ati'.

I am going to buy you meat so
you can eat it.

Manbon junuk kilo jti' che'e.

Buy me a kilo for me to eat.

In these examples there are two constituents: a sentence of the form

Ta jman bek'et.

I will buy meat.

and another sentence, which modifies the noun *bek'et* "meat," of the form:

Chati' li bek'et e.

You eat the meat..

Thus, we have:

Ta jman bek'et (so that) chati' bek'et.

which produces the form:

Ta jman bek'et (---) (ch)ati' (---).

omitting the second *bek'et*. In diagram form, this sentence would be represented as follows:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

The subordinate sentence contracts, omitting the object *bek'et* since it is identical to the object of the superordinate sentence. Thus, the following form is obtained:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

In this situation it is possible to form the "favored" construction by elevating the subject of the subordinate sentence to dative position in the superordinate sentence.

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

If the object of a transitive verb is a "possession" of the verb's subject, a transitive sentence that adjust to the ordinary structure manages to accomplish the "objective" of the linguistic structure. It maintains the possessed noun and the possessor in the correct order.

<i>Ismaj sbankil li Xun e.</i>	John his his (own) brother.
<i>Ijchon jna (li vo'on e).</i>	I sold my (own) house.
<i>Tzk'opon sbol li krem e.</i>	The boy is talking to his brother-in-law.
<i>sbankil li Xun e</i>	John's brother
<i>jna (vo'on)</i>	my house
<i>sbol li krem e</i>	the boy's brother-in-law

However, if the agent of the verb is possessed by the object of the same verb, the ordinary structure of the sentence contradicts the structure of (that is, the word order in) the possessed phrase. For example, in order to say "John killed his wife," we can use the regular word order.

<i>yajnil li Xun e</i>	John's wife
<i>Ismil yajnil li Xun e.</i>	John killed his wife.

But, in order to say "John's wife killed him," we cannot use a sentence of the following form:

****Ismil Xun li yajnil e.*

This sentence is, at the very least, confusing: it appears to confuse the relation between John and his wife. Also, it obscure who does the killing and who is killed.[3]

After reorganizing this sentence to maintain the correct order for the possessed noun in relation to its possessor, it is necessary to use a passive form.

yajnil li Xun e John's wife
Imile yu'un yajnil li Xun e. John was killed by his (own)
wife. (Or: Someone was killed
by John's wife.)

Also, in order to say "John's wife killed John's son" we have to fix the word order in order to establish the possessive relation, as well as the the relation between agent and patient.

Imilbat skrem li Xun e. John's son was killed.
'Ali Xun e, imilbat skrem yu'un yamiko. John was killed by his friend.

Here we find the "favored" construction in a passive form. The fronting of *li Xun e* and the ordinary presumption of grammatical structure suggest the interpretation that John is the "possessor" of the dead son as well as the friend who is the killer.

The "anti-passive" with the suffix *-on* is also used in constructions of this type. Remember that the transitive sentence is the perfect vehicle for a proposition like the following:

Ismil yajnil li Xun e. John killed his wife.[4]

In this sentence, the object is the "possession" of the subject. To express the converse situation requires a change of the verb in order to specify an action done by the one possessed to the possessor.

Imile yu'un yajnil li Xun e. John was killed by his wife.

The following sentences (all anti-passive) have the same meaning: a. *Imilon yajnil li Xun e.* John's wife killed him. b. *Yajnil imilon li Xun e.* It was his wife that killed John. c. *'Ali Xun e, imilon yajnil.* John's wife killed him.

In these sentences it is the verb's form (i.e., antipassive with *-on*) and not word order that determines meaning. The possessive prefix combined with *-ajnil* shows that it is being treated as a possessed noun: *yajnil li Xun e*. And it is this noun that acts as subject of the anti-passive verb. (Note that example (c) is a variation upon sentence (a), the only difference being that it has the last constituent fronted.) Sentence (b) is the anti-passive

form with the subject in initial position, without a pause, and with an object after the verb. These are complexities I still do not understand very well.

8.11 Pseudo-Verbs

We already know about the word *-chi'uk* "with" in sentences like the following:

Libat ta Jobel jchi'uk kamiko. I went to San Cristóbal with
my friend.
Much'u cha'abtej achi'uk? Who are you going to work
with?

One can see that the word *-chi'uk* (which is obviously related to the verb *-chi'un* "to accompany") has a grammatical possessor. It also appears to have an "object" (the person or thing that accompanies the possessor of *-chi'uk*). This is why *-chi'uk*, which does not combine with verbal prefixes of tense and aspect, nevertheless has certain verbal characteristics, which can be seen in the following sentences:

Ja' jchi'uk li Xun e. I am with John.
Ja' jchi'ukot. I am with you.
Ja' achi'ukon tal. You were with me (when you
came).

The word *-chi'uk* combines with "agent" and "patient" and also with a directional verb. It is also possible to add the dative suffix *-be* to *-chi'uk*, with the expected meaning.

Ja' jchi'ukbe sbol li Xun e. I was with John's brother-in-
law.
Ja' jchi'uk-b-ot lakreme. I am with your son.

The word *-chi'uk* in the sense of "with" is similar to a transitive verb that does not take verbal affixes of tense or aspect. *-Chi'uk* is also used (as a type of preposition) to indicate the object or logical agent of an intransitive verb. In this usage, *-chi'uk* does not accept absolute affixes, only possessive prefixes.

Vo'ot ta xi' 'o li 'unen e.
Ta xi' xchi'uk vo'ot li 'unen e. The boy is afraid of you.
Chaxi' ta bolom li vo'ot e.
Chaxi' achi'uk bolom li vo'ot e. You were scared of the tiger.

Chinupun jchi'uk stzeb li mol Xun e. I am going to get married to the son of old man John.
nupun- "to get married"
(intransitive)

Issa' k'op xchi'uk li slak'-na e. He looked for dispute with his neighbor.
-lak'-na, "neighbor"

The last example illustrates the use of *-chi'uk* to introduce a nominal constituent (which is not an indirect or dative object) to a sentence that already has a grammatical object.

The relational noun *-u'un* also has verbal characteristics. Laughlin (1975:71) gives the following example:

Ilok' ku'unbe komel yot. I managed to make his tortillas.

Here the construction with *-u'un*, which expresses possibility, combines with a directional verb (*komel*, "remaining") and with the dative suffix *-be*. One can also say:

Imeltzaj yu'unbot ana li j'alvanil. The mason managed to make your house.

In these examples, we can see dative sentences that have been transformed into the middle-voice form by means of *-u'un*. But the dative suffix is retained, although it is impossible for them to combine with the verb, which is intransitive.

Ijlok'esbe yot. I took (in other words: made) his tortillas.

Ilok' ku'un li yot e. I managed to make his tortillas.

[Original missing something here.] With the favored construction, this sentence acquires the following form:

Ilok' ku'unbe yot.

The other example has a similar origin:

'Ali j'alvanil e, ismeltzan lana The mason made your house.

e.

Lasmeltzanbe lana e. (favored He made you your house.

transitive construction)

'A lana e, imeltzaj yu'un The mason managed to make

j'alvanil. (middle-voice form) your house.

Imeltzaj yu'unbot lana e.

The same relation holds between the two following sentences:

Chakuchbon kikatx. You carry my load.

Chkuch avu'unbon kikatx. You can carry my load.

The suffix *-bil* creates from a transitive verb (with or without the dative suffix *-be*) the "stative" passive form:

Sk'elolon sjunul k'ak'al. They have watched me all day.

K'elbilon sjunul k'ak'al. I have been watch at all day.

Smajojbon jkrem. They have hit my child.

Majbilon jkrem. My child has been hit.

The suffix *-bil* also appears with other words that are not transitive verbs. An example, somewhat rare, is the intransitive verb *xi'* - "to be afraid." We have already seen how an instrument or agent is expressed with this verb.

Lixi' ta vo'. I was frightened by the water.

Mu xixi' 'o li vo'ot e. I'm not frightened by you.

But the verb also has a very specialized transitive use with the suffix *-be*, which can be seen in the following examples:

K'u yu'un chixi'? Mu k'usi Why would I be afraid? You
chajxi'be. don't have anything I should be

afraid of?

Ijatav li jmakbe 'une; ja' The cutthroat fled, because
laxi'be lamachita e. your machete scared him.

(Here the form *chaxi'be* can be analyzed as *ch-a-x-xi'-be*.)

Mi chaxi'bon li jpistola li'e? Are you afraid of this pistol

here?

There is also the form *xi'bil* "frighening," an anomalous form with an intransitive verb.

Xi'bilon tajmek. Solel xi'em I am frightening. Everyone is
ku'un skotol krixchano. afraid of me.

We will end this complex section with a pseudo-verbal expression that utilizes the word *'o'on-il* "heart" as the basis for a variety of idiomatic expressions.

Lek yo'on.
Jun yo'on. He is happy.
Bik'it yo'on. He is think-skinned. (Or: He is
cowardly.)
K'un yo'on. He is cowardly.
Tzotz yo'on. He is stoic.
Ilaj yo'on. He forgave. (Literally: His
heart finished.)
Ich'ay yo'on. He is distracted.

There is also the expression *k'ak'al 'o'on-il* "anger, envy" (literally: "heat of the heart"). The compound functions as a complex possessed noun, with possessive prefixes.

Iyak' sk'ak'al ko'on. It angered me. (Literally: It
gave me a hot heart.)
Ta stz'ik sk'ak'al yo'on. He endured his anger.

The first element of the combine also combines with absolute suffixes in order to form stative sentences.

Sk'ak'alon avo'on tajmek, pero (literally: I am the heat of your
k'usi jmul? heart), but what fault of mine
is that?
Yu'nan sk'ak'alot yo'on, ja' mu Perhaps he is angry with you,
xask'opon. because he isn't talking to you.

But there appears to be a verbal form with the suffix *-bil*, which means "to be envied, to be the object of anger."

K'ak'al-'o'onbilon tajmek, muk' People are angry with me,
much'u chisk'opon. because no one will talk to me.
K'ak'al-'o'onbil ti jk'ulej e. He is envied because he is
rich.

It seems likely to me that this form with *-bil* derives from a verb *-k'ak'al-'o'onin* (*-in* being the usitative suffix) with the hypothetical meaning such as: "to consider to be the cause of anger, to be angry because of, to envy." One also says:

K'ak'al-'o'oninbilon, They envy me; they are angry
kapanbilon. withme.
kap-, "to be angry"
-kapan, "to anger"

Chapter Nine: Complex Forms

We have already seen all the basic word classes in Tzotzil. Every sentence has a predicate (which is either stative or verbal) with absolutive affixes that cross-index a noun: the subject. Transitive and ditransitive sentences also have nouns that engender ergative prefixes on the verb, as well as other optional constituents: of time, place, manner, mode, etc. In this chapter we will consider a few more specialized forms of Tzotzil predicates.

9.1 The Plural

Tzotzil is not especially fussy when it comes to plurality. Many phrases without any sign of plurality can communicate a plural meaning.

Chtal `ep vinik. Many people are coming.

Chib pexu ijtoj.	I paid two pesos.
`Ali mol e, `oy ska`.	The old man has a horse/horses.

Tzotzil avoids the use of plural forms if the plural meaning can be derived from context. Also, even when the plural suffix appears, it is quite common for it to appear only once in a sentence.

Chbat ta snaik.	They are going to their houses.
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Mi chaman alo`bolik? Are you going to buy fruits?

Here the plural suffix -ik only appears with the possessed nouns: s-na-ik "their houses" and a-lo`bol-ik "your fruits." But the verbs, regardless of their transitivity or intransitivity, do not have plural suffixes, although they clearly have plural meanings. This is the most common pattern: the plural suffix combines with the possessed noun in order to indicate the plurality of the possessor and to avoid having a plural suffix on the verb.

Mi chabatik?	Are you going?
Mi chabat ta anaik?	Are you guys going to your houses?

It is important to note that in these examples that it is the plurality of the verb's subject (and of the noun's possessor), and not the plurality of the noun itself, that is being expressed.

They are going	to their houses.
PLURAL	PLURAL
Chbat	ta snaik.
PLURAL	

Here, the noun's possessor "house" is plural: thus, the word snaik can mean "their house" or "their houses." According to context, the meaning can be fairly ambiguous.

Mi ta karo ital?	Did they go by car?
Ital ta yokik.	They went by foot.
Batz'i jk'ulej li mol Xun	John and his son are very rich.
xchi`uk skrem.	
Ja` `oy ska`ik.	They have a horse/horses.

In the last example, the noun ska`ik "their horse (or: horses)" determines the plural form of the verb's English translation: They have a horse. (Literally: Their horse exists.)

The plural forms of the second and third person, with transitive verbs and with possessed nouns, employ the suffix -ik.

Chbat ta anaik.	You are going to your house(s).
Chbat ta snaik.	They are going to his/their house(s).
Chamanik bek'et.	You guys are going to buy meat.
Ta smanik bek'et.	They are going to buy meat.
Mi latal ta avokik?	Did you guys come by foot?
Mi ital ta yokik?	Did they come by foot?

Tzotzil distinguishes between two forms of the first person plural: the "inclusive," which includes both the person who is speaking and the person who is listening ("you and I") and the "exclusive," which includes the speaker and another person, but excludes the listener.

Inclusive:

Mi `oy jtak'intik?	Do we have money?
Ch'abal jtak'intik.	We have none.
Pero `oy jka`tik.	But we have a horse/horses.
Mi ta jmantik bek'et.	Will we buy meat?
Mu xu` jmantik bek'et, yu`un ch'abal jtak'intik.	We can't buy meat because we don't have money.

The ergative and possessive suffix of the inclusive plural form is -tik. The exclusive plural form is reduplicated: -tik^htik. (Note the accent.)

Exclusive:

Mi `oy atak'inik?	You you guys have money?
Ch'abal jtak'inti ^h tik.	We have none.
Mi chavak'bon atak'in vo`ot.	You don't want to give me your money?
Mi chamanik bek'et?	Are you guys going to buy

meat?
 Muk' bu jmantikÛtik bek'et; We are not gonig to buy mean;
 mano vo`ot. you buy it.
 Mi avuch'ik pox? Did you guys drink sugarcane
 liquor?
 Ikuch'tikÛtik che`e. Well, yes we did.
 Ikuch'tik ta jkoltik. Let's drink (you included).

The plural forms of kotal "all" are more common than the singular forms.

jkotoltik all of us (with you)
 jkotoltikÛtik all of us (without you)
 akotolik all of you
 skotolik all of them

We can list the ergative and possessive affixes in a tabular form, as below.

Speaker	Hearer	Plural	Prefix	Suffix	Translation
yes	no	no	j- / k-	I	
yes	no	yes	j- / k-	-tikÛtik	someone else and I (but not you)
yes	yes	yes	j- / k-	-tik	you and I (and perhaps others)
no	yes	no	a- / av-	you	
no	yes	yes	a- / av-	-ik	you guys
no	no	no	s- / y-	he / she	
no	no	yes	s- / y-	-ik	they

Other dialects of Tzotzil show the same distinctions, although each dialect has various variations, primarily in the "exclusive" first person plural. For example, someone from Zinacantan might say:

jnatik "our house" (inclusive)
 jnatikÛtik "our house (not yours)"
 (exclusive)

whereas someone from Chamula would say:

jnatik "our house" (inclusive)
 jnakutik "our house" (exclusive)

The absolutive affixes maintain the same person and number distinctions nevertheless.

ʼAli Xune xchi`uk yajnil, mi ʼipik?	Are John and his wife sick?
ʼIpik che`e.	Yes, they are.
ʼIp skotolik.	They are all sick.
Mi tzotz avo`onik, mi xi`emoxuk?	Are your hearts strong or are you afraid?
Mi li`ot e?	Are you here?
Li`on e.	I am here.
Mi li`oxuk e?	Are you guys here?
Li`otikŪtik e.	We (excl.) are here.
Ch'abal jtak'intik, ch'abal kosiltik, solel pobreotik, me`onotik ta jkoltotik.	We don't have money, we don't have land. We are poor, we are all orphans (inclusive).
Mi `antzotik mi vinikotik?	Are we men or women?

Intransitive verbs require nominal prefixes and suffixes in order to indicate plurality.

ʼAli Xun e, xchi`uk yajnil, mi chtalik xa?	Are John and his wife coming?
Jayib `ora chikok'otik `ok'ob?	At what time are we leaving tomorrow?
Chilok'otik ta chib `ora xchi`uk `ol`ol.	We are leaving at two thirty.
Bu la`ayik volje?	We were you guys yesterday?
Li`aytikotik ta k'in.	We went to a party (exclusive).
K'usi apasik ta k'in?	What did you guys do at the party?
Li`ak'otajotikotik.	We (excl.) danced. `ak'otaj, "dance"

We can summarize the absolutive affixes in the following tabular form:

Speaker	Hearer	Plural	Suffix	Prefix-Suffix	Translation
yes	no	no	-on	i-	I
yes	no	yes	-otikŪtik	i- -otikŪtik	someone else and I (but not you)
yes	yes	yes	-otik	i- -otik	you and I (and perhaps others)
no	yes	no	-ot	a-	you
no	yes	yes	-oxuk	a- -oxuk	you guys
no	no	no	-ỹ	ỹ-	

no	no	yes	-ik	ÿ- -ik	they
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Combing ergative plural affixes with absolutive plural affixes produces very complex forms. Surface constraints restrict the occurrence of plural suffixes. For example, the sequence ikik is impossible, resulting in ambiguous verbs.

Chakilik.	I am going to see you guys.
Chavilikon.	You guys are going to see me.
Chavilik.	You guys are going to see them. Or: You guys are going to see them.
Lismajik.	They hit me.
Ijmaj(ik).	I hit them.
Ijmajtikotik.	We (excl.) hit them.
Chajmajtikotik.	We are going to hit you (sing. or pl.)
Chasmajik.	They are going to hit you. He is going to hit you guys. They are going to hit you guys.
Chtal sk'eloxuk.	He/she/they is/are coming to see you guys.
A sk'oportunotik.	He/she came to talk with us.
Tal yak'boxuk atak'inik.	He/she came to give you guys your money. They came to give you guys your money.
Liyalbotikotik jp'eluk k'op.	He/they told us (excl.) a word.

The previous forms, as well as many others, do exist and do occur in everyday speech. But in general it is possible to avoid the explicit use of so many plural affixes, that is, if the context prevents ambiguity or confusion.

Mi xu` xibatotikotik ta sna li	Can we (excl.) go to John's
Xun e?	house?
Xu` xabatik li vo`oxuk a`a,	Indeed, you can go, but he will
pero chasmajik.	hit you (pl.).
Timi chabat ta k'in li vo`ot e,	If you go to the party, you may
`ep nan chanup jyakubel.	run into many drunks. Perhaps
Chasmajik nan.	they will hit you.

The verb chasmajik, in these examples, has two meanings, according to the subjects and complements.

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

The form with two explicit plural suffixes, ***chasmajikik, does not exist. One sees that personal "pronouns" are strictly related to the absolutive suffixes. The forms are:

vo`on	I
vo`ot	you
vo`otik	we (you and I)
vo`otikÚtik	we (not you)
vo`oxuk	you guys

(Third person forms do not exist.) The following diagram describes the pronominal system.

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

The only distinction that is not expressed in the pronominal system is the weak contrast between the singular and the plural of the third person: that is to say, between singular and plural nouns.

Jayib `ora chabatik li vo`oxuk	At what time are you guys
e?	going?
Vo`on chibat ta jun `ora.	I'm going at one.
Ja` nan chbat ta chib `ora li	Perhaps John and Pedro are
Xun e, li Petul e.	going at two.
Ta chib `ora chbatik.	At two they are going.

krem, "boy"
kremotik, "boys"1

Nouns with plural possessive affixes can be either plural or singular, according to context.

Chbat ta snaik.

This sentence means "They are going to his house" or "They are going to their houses," according to the group referred to by "they," the subject of the sentence. The plural meaning, in this construction, is distributive: every person has his own house.

Mi `o amachitaik, mi `o atuk'ik?	Do you guys have machetes, do you have rifles? tuk', "rifle"
----------------------------------	--

In this sentence, the meaning is again distributive: "Every one of you has his own machete, his own rifle?" In order to express a plurality of possessed objects, there is a suffix, -tak, with a collective meaning.

Ik'ak' snatak.	His houses burned down.
`Ip xch'amaltak.	His children are sick.

The suffix -tak, together with a possessive prefix, indicates that a few things are all possessed by the same possessor.

Bulavit'z'intak e?	Where are your children?
Ch'abal kitz'in. K'ajomal `oy	I don't have a little brother. I
ch`a-vo` jbankil.	only have two >older brothers.

(Note that in the last sentence the noun jbankil does not carry an explicit plural suffix.)

It is possible to combine the collective suffix -tak with plural possessive affixes. Thus, one hears the following expression:

jchi`iltaktik	companions
---------------	------------

which can be analyzed in the following manner:

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

The results is the expression: "our companions (which we share in common)."

With the words tot "father" and me` "mother" there are derived forms that serve as terms of respect.

Totik Xun.	Mister John.
Me`tik Xunka`.	Mrs. [Xunka]

These words appear to be derived from j-tot-tik "our father" and from j-me`-tik "our mother"; the forms with prefixes denote definite people, as kinship terms.

Ip li jtetik e.	Our father (for example, our grandfather) is sick.
Ja`ti k'u xi li jme`tik e.	It depends on what our (grand)mother says.

There is also an archaic suffix of collective plurality, -ab, which in the speech of Zinacantecos only shows up in ritual phrases.

yalab, snich'nab	his sons (in other words: [la novia y el novio])
	-Al, "son (of a woman)"
	-nich'(o)n, "son (of a man)"

(These nouns have more ordinarily forms based on the following radicals: `ol-ol, and nich'on-il.)

Predicate adjectives have plural forms with the remaining stative verbs.

Ep jtz'unoj nichim. Batz'i	I have seeded many flowers.
lekik.	They are very good.
Mi `ipoxuk to?	Are you guys still sick?
Mu xibatotikÛtik,	We're not going to go
bik'itotikÛtik to.	(because) we're still little.

The adjectives formed from a positional root plus the suffix -VI alternates between the plural forms with -VI-ik (in other words: with the plural suffix -ik) and a special form with -ajtik.

Va`alotik.	We are standing.
Va`alik li jsa`k'opetik.	The litigants are standing
Va`ajtik li `oyetik e.	The [postes] are standing.
Mi chapaloxuk xa?	Are you guys ready yet?
`Ali ka`etik e, chapalik xa.	The horses are already ready?
Ja` no`ox li nichimetik e, mu to bu chapajtik.	Only the flowers are still not yet ready.

Forms with -VI-ik are predicated of animate things and things that due to their powerful properties achieve the position of being indicated by a positional root. On the other hand, the use of the forms with -ajtik suggests that something is in a passive position as a result of some external action. (A similar relationship appears to be hold between singular adjectives, based on positional roots, which have the form CVCVI and the form CVC-CVC (reduplicated).

In attributive position, adjectives do not generally carry plural affixes.

K'elo li sakil naetik e.	Look at the white houses.
Ich'ay kik'al pixoltak.	My black hats were lost.

But some adjectives have quasi-plural forms based on the suffix -ik, in attributive position.

`Oy muk'tik ton.	There are huge rocks.
Maka bik'itik te` taj to e.	There are only little trees over there.

Furthermore, reduplicated adjectives, with the suffix -tik, are not plural, but rather diminutive.

Muk'muk'tik li ton e.	The rock is somewhat large.
Leklektik no`ox li kabtel e.	My work is only a little good.

The plural forms of -koto "all" in the second or third person very often omit explicit plural affixes in the sentence's verb.

Mi chabat akotolik?	Are all of you going?
Batik jkoltik ch`e.	Let's go (all of us).
Ilok' `ech`el skotolik.	All of them left.
Mi ilok'ik xa.	Did they leave already?

In those contexts, the verb without a plural suffix can be considered a shortened form, indeterminate with respect to the plurality of the subject. On the other hand, verbs with subjects in the first person should be more explicit.

Chisut xa li vo`on e.	I am returning already.
Chajchi`in. Mi chisutotik	I will accompany you. Will we
jcha`-va`altik?	return together?
Batik jkotoltik.	Let's go (all of us).
Vo`ot chakom. ChisutotikÚtik	You stay. We (excl.) we will
ta jkotoltikÚtik.	return.

Also, take note of the fact that plural affixes are used with numeral classifier expressions.

Ikom xcha`-va`alik.	Those two remained.
Mi cha`abtej avox-	All three (of you) are
va`alik?	going to work?
Li`ipajotik jayva`altik e.	Us, as many as we are,
	are sick.
[= j-jay-va`al-tik]	
Ta `ox jmil chan-kot	
kalak', pero ijatav xchan-	
kotolik.	
	I was going to kill my
	four chickens, but they
	all ran away.

9.3 Reflexive and Reciprocal Verbs

`Ali Xun e, ismaj	John hit his friend.
yamiko.	
`Ali Xun e, ismaj sba.	John hit himself.
K'elo l avajnil e yu`un	Look after your wife,
`ip.	because she's sick.
	Look after yourself,
K'elo aba, yu`un `ipot.	because you're sick.
Jutuk mu jmil ta pox	[Por poco] I didn't kill
li jbol e.	my brother-in-law for
Jutuk mu jmil jba ta	[Por poco] I didn't kill
pox.	myself with [el trago].
	[darle] the sugarcane
	liquor.

	implication here is, "Let them take care of themselves. It's no business of ours.")
Ta jtzob jbatik ta jun `ora.	We are going to meet at one.
	-tzob, "to gather"
Avak' abaik ta k'exlal.	[Se expusieron (ustedes) a la verg, enza.] (In other words: [se expusieron] yourself, [o unos a otros].)
	-ak, "give"
	k'exlal, "shame"
<p>In the last example, the reflexive verb with -ba as its object combines with other nouns introduced by ta. It is evident that a reflexive verb is essentially intransitive, because the position of the object is occupied by the appropriate form of -ba. Some other logical or underlying object should be expressed by means of a relational phrase with ta or -chi`uk.</p>	
Isten sba ta yakubel.	He took to drinking.
	-ten, "to throw"
	yakubel, "drunkenness"
Mu xavikta aba ta xanbal.	Don't leave the road.
	-ikta, "abandon, renounce"
	xanbal, "journey, trip"
<p>R. M. Laughlin (1975: 255, 264) gives other illustrative examples.</p>	
Yech isnochan sba ta jun tzeb.	He wanted to have had sexual relations with a girl.
	-nochan, "to follow closely"
	He denounced himself with respect to his guilt with the girl, although she
Ispak'an sba ta mulil xchi`uk jun tzeb,	didn't want it. (In other words, he
`ak'o mi mu xk'an e.	falsely confessed his guilt for the girl's pregnancy, although she didn't want it/him.)
	-pak'an, "to denounce falsely"
	mul-il, "crime, guilt"

Many expressions, which have the literal form of a reflexive verb whose subject is a possessed noun, function as intransitive verbs, whose logical subject is indicated by means of "possessive" affixes joined to the grammatical subject

Ismak sba ko`on.	I was [sofocado]. (Literally: My heart [se tapû].)
Ixchuk sba yok.	He stumbled. (Literally: His foot [se amarrû].)
Stzob sba jch'ich'eltik ya`el.	It seems that our blood (in other words: our pulse) [se junta] (in other words: [disminuya]). (In other words: We are very weak.) (Laughlin 1975:94)

Here Tzotzil sentences of the form:

Reflexive Verb + Body Part (+ Possessor)

is translated by Spanish sentences of the form:

Intransitive Verb	+	Subject
-------------------	---	---------

The subject of the translation corresponds to the possessor of the Tzotzil sentences.

There are also expressions that are reflexive in form but lack a reflexive meaning. In many cases, these reflexive forms provide intransitive uses of transitive verb stems.

Ta jkolta jba.	I am going to help. -kolta, "to liberate, help (someone)"
Iyikta sba.	He renounced (something), [se desanimû], [se retirû].
Te chamala aba.	Wait there. (In other words: Wait!)

In other cases, sentences with reflexive verbs can contain explicit objects, although the reflexive pronoun -ba appears to occupy the position of grammatical object.

Ben tz'i` cha`i sba.	He feels good about himself, he feels very ferocious. (Literally: He feels like
----------------------	---

Chkal jba vokol. a dog.)
 -a`i, "to feel, to hear"
 I will have a curing ceremony for
 myself. (Literally: I will say something
 difficult to myself.)
 Lek vinik xcha`le sba, pero pukuj. He pretends to be good, but he is very
 bad.
 -cha`le, "to be able to do, to act as if,
 to pretend to be"

The explicit object can be an entire sentence.

Isjam sba ti `oy smul. He admitted that he was guilty.
 -jam, "to open"
 Mu svaxan sba xch'un mantal. [No consiste en obedecer.]
 -vaxan, "[calmar]"
 -ch'un mantal, "to obey"
 Mu sk'an xal sba ti ja` yak'oj
 stak'in. He doesn't want to admit that he
 has given the money.

This type of reflexive verb also
 accepts objects in a passive
 form, with a subjunctive suffix.

Iyak' sba `iluk. He showed himself. (Literally:
 He gave (in order) to be seen.)
 He left message that he was
 Iyal sba `a`yuk komel ti chbat ta going far away. (Literally: He
 nom. said, so as to be understood,
 that he was going far away.)

In these sentences, as in the previous example, mu svaxan sba xch'un mantal, there is a
 relationship of consequence between the two constituent clauses.

We will find more examples of this structure later in section 9.5.

Both transitive and intransitive verb stems are formed from different types of roots. For example, from the positional root *chot* "seated," the transitive stem *-chotan* "to seat" and the intransitive stem *choti-* "to be seated" are formed.

	I am going to put a large
Ta jchotan jun lona ta jna.	burlap bag (say, of corn) in my
	house.
Chichoti ta jna.	I am seated in my house.

Also, there is a reflexive form, based on *-chotan*, that has a somewhat more active meaning than the intransitive form.

	I am going to seat myself in
Ta jchotan jba ta jna.	my house (and not move an
	inch from there).

Similarly, it is possible to say:

Chvaxi li ka` e.	The horse is calming down.
Tzvaxan sba li ka` e.	The horse is obeying / is
	becoming docile.

The root *vax* means "calm, gentle, tame, docile." The intransitive verb with the suffix *-i* denotes the state of calmness. The reflexive verb with *-an* denotes the result of the action of calming oneself: an action that presupposes the animacy and active participation of the subject.

There are also some transitive roots, such as *ch'ay* "to lose," that produce intransitive and reflexive forms. For example,

Ixch'ay stak'in.	He gave pardon.
Ich'ay.	[Se extraviŨ, se malogrŨ].
Ixch'ay sba.	[Se fugŨ], he hid himself; he
	failed; he lost hope.

Similarly, the root *-suj* "to hurry" exhibits transitive, intransitive, and reflexive forms, each of which has the simple root as its verb stem.

Isuj (= i-s-suj) ska` .	He hurried his horse.
-------------------------	-----------------------

	(Transitive)
Isuj tal.	It returned in a hurry.
Sujem tal.	(Intransitive)
	He made haste in returning.
Isuj sba tal.	(Reflexive = Active)

A common imperative form uses the reflexive (and not the intransitive).

Suj(o) aba! Hurry up!

Compare the following forms:

-chap (transitive)	to prepare
chap- (intransitive)	to be prepared
-chab -ba (reflexive)	to prepare oneself
Ijchap li kikatze e.	I prepared my load.
Ichap li `ikatzil e.	The load is prepared.
Ijchap jba.	I prepared myself.
Ichap li ch'ojon e.	The rope is rolled up.
Ixchap sba li chon e.	The viper coiled up.

The transitive form of a root is often used to express an intransitive idea when there is no intransitive verb stem derived from that root. For example, the transitive verb -kap "to mix" is homophonyous with the intransitive verb root kap- "to get angry." The reflexive form, -kap -ba expresses the intransitive meaning of "to get mixed up, to be mixed" and not just the strictly reflexive meaning.

Iskap sba li `ixim e.	The corn is mixed up.
	The tree is mixed up with the
Ta skap sba ta chobtik li te`	cornfield. (In other words: It
`une.	can't be seen through the
	cornfield.)

Finally, with verb roots that have both transitive and intransitive forms, the reflexive form often has an extended or specialized meaning, and not simply a literal reflexive meaning.

Ta jk'opon li Xun e.	I talking to John.
Chik'opoj jchi`uk li Xun e.	I'm chatting with John.
Ta jk'opon jba jchi`uk li Xun e.	John and I, we're talking.

	Or: I agree with John.
	Or: I'm going to discuss something with John.
Ta jtoy li `ixim e.	I lifted the corn. Or: I raised the price of corn.
Itoy li `ixim e.	The corn raised. Or: The price of corn went up.
Istoy sba.	He grew rebellious, proud, disobedient.
Istik' stak'in ta banko.	He deposited his money in the bank.
Istik' sba ta k'op.	He stuck his nose in the argument.
	-tik', "to insert, to put in"

There is a limited number of expressions with a quasi-reflexive or reciprocal form that come from adjectives or possessed nouns. These expressions serve as the predicates of sentences with the following form:

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

but the subject is marked not with an absolutive affix on the predicate, but rather with a possessive prefix on the word -ba, which forms part of the complex predicate.

Tol `abol aba.	You suffer so much.
Solel `abol jba, mu k'usi xive` `o.	I'm suffering terribly, because I have nothing to eat.
Leklek sba li tzeb e.	The girl is pretty.
Yu`van leklek aba xana`?	Do you think you're pretty?-because you're not. (scold)
Yan sba ko`on yu`un `ip li jch'amal e.	I am upset (literally: my heart is bad) because my daughter is sick.
Yan sba chka`i ti tol chislaban krixchano.	I feel bad because they make fun of me a lot.

(The expression yan sba appears to be fixed, with the general meaning "bad.") Plural possessors, like adjectives, can modify the word -ba.

`Abol sbaik.	They are suffering.
Leklek avunen ba, `utz`utz avunen ba.	You are pretty. (Literally: Your little person is pretty, good).

With relational nouns, such as kinship terms, a construction with -ba expresses a reciprocal relationship between the subjects of the sentences.

ʼAli Xun e, ja` yitz'in li Petul e.	John is Peter's younger brother.
ʼAli Petul e, ja` sbankil li Xun e.	Peter is John's older brother.
ʼAli Xun e, li Petul e, sbankil yitz'in sbaik.	John and Peter are brothers.
Batz'i lek yamiko sbaik.	They are good friends.
Lek yamiko sba xchi`uk taj e.	He's very friendly with that one.

This construction shows the intimate relationship between possessive prefixes and ergative prefixes of transitive verbs: possessed nouns and transitive verbs occur with -ba in structures with a reflexive/reciprocal meaning.

Reflexive verbs give rise to reflexive nouns, of the following form:

Verb (+ Suffix) + bail

For example, one says:

Iyut sbaik.	They fought.
Mu jk'an naka `ut-bail.	I don't want a dispute.
Tzmaj sbaik li jyakubeletik.	The drunks are going to fight.
ʼOy maj-bail.	There is a fight.

Also, compound nouns are formed with the suffix -ob, with the meaning: "place, time, or instrument forā". For example,

ʼiktaob-bail	the end of the fight -ikta, "to give up, to renounce"
bojob-bail	weapon for stabbing -boj, "to stab"
tzobob-bail	meeting place -tzob, "to gather, to meet"

These nouns are obviously related to the reflexive or reciprocal verbs from which they derive.

There are also agentive nouns, of the following form:

j-koltaob-ba(il)	helper
j-toy-bail	arrogant or rebellious person

The reciprocal construction also occurs with objects or dative constituents. In other words, reflexive sentences are formed from verbs which contains the dative suffix -be.

ʼAli Xun e, iyak'be matanal li Petu` e.	John gave a gift to [Petrona].
ʼAli Xun e, li Petu` e, iyak'be sbaik matanal.	John and [Petrona] gave gifts to each other.
ʼAli jkaxlan e, ixchik'be sna li jchabajom e.	The ladino burned the [milpero]'s house.
Skronta sbaik, yech'o ixchik'be sbaik snaik.	They are enemies, and for that reasons they burned each other's houses.
Istz'otbe sbaik sk'obik.	[El uno al otro se torcieron los brazos.]

Note that the order of the constituents alters in the reciprocal construction: the possessed form of -ba directly follows the verb, although in the non-reciprocal sentences, the indirect object (the dative constituent) follows the direct object.

Unlike the reciprocal construction, the use of the reflexive constructions appears to be impossible with an indirect object. For example, one cannot say:

***Isbojbe sba yok.

but instead should say:

Isboj sba ta yok.	Or: Isboj yok stuk.	He stabbed himself in the foot. ²
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9.4 The Imperative and the Subjunctive

Lok'an tz'i`!	Beat it, dog!
Muyan ta jol-na!	Climb up on the roof!
Ve`anik me!	Please, eat!
ʼOchan tale!	Come in!
ʼAbtejan vo`ot!	You, work!

The imperative for intransitive verbs, in the second person ("You, do something!, You guys, do something!") is formed by means of the suffix -an, with a verb stem, plus the suffix -ik in the case of a plural imperative. The particle me sometimes combines with

the imperative in order to give a more informal meaning: "pleaseä" etc. The particle me also functions in the formation of negative imperative (which use the negative particle mu and neutral aspect of the second person).

Mu me xabat!	Don't go, please!
Mu xa`abtej!	Don't work!

The imperative form of an intransitive verb is derived from an underlying sentence of the following form:

Verb	Object	Subject (vo`ot, "you")
------	--------	------------------------

For example, from the sentence:

Chaman li `ixim e.	You are going to buy corn.
--------------------	----------------------------

the imperative is formed:

Man-o li `ixim e!	Buy the corn!
-------------------	---------------

The imperative of a transitive verb has an object, that is to say, the thing that receive or undergoes the action designated by the verb. If the object of the imperative is in the third person (as, for example, an inanimate thing), the imperative is formed with the suffix -o on the verb.

Mano li `ixim e!	Buy the corn!
Milo li vakax e!	Kill the cow!
K'opono li Xun e!	Talk to John!

In general, the plurality of a subject or object is indicated by plural affixes on other constituents, and not on the verb.

Meltzano achobtik!	[Hagan] your cornfields!
K'elo l ach'amaltak e!	Take care of your kids!

If the object of the imperative is in the first person ("Do something to me, to us.") the imperative is formed with the verb plural an absolute suffix that corresponds to the object:

-on; -otikÛtik	
Milon, timi chamilon e.	Kill me, if you're going to kill

me.

Negative imperatives of transitive verbs also are formed by means of neutral aspect (often with the particle me).

Mu me xak'elon!	Don't look at me!
Mu xavat avo'on!	Don't worry! (Literally: Don't count your heart!) -at, "to count, to calculate"
Mu xavak'!	Don't give it!

There are also imperative forms of ditransitive sentences:

ʼAk'bo stak'in!	Give him his money! Do me the favor of buying me
Manbon me tal jun kilo bek'et!	(and bringing back) a kilo of meat!

Here the imperative is of the form: Verb + b + o. The e of the dative suffix -be is omitted before the imperative suffix -o. Imperative forms also occur with auxiliary verbs.

Ba ve`anik che`e!	Go eat!
Ba k'elo l ana e!	Go see your house!
Lok' k'oponol!	Leave and talk with him! (Literally: Enter and give him your hand!) Enter and greet
ʼOch nupbo sk'ob!	him (in other words, bow before an elder)!

Also, there are reflexive and reciprocal imperatives.

K'elo me aba!	Take care of yourself!
ʼAk'bo abaik matanal!	Give each other gifts!
K'opono abaik!	Talk to yourselves!

To form an imperative to express a reflexive action requires a construction that is not reflexive. For example, one says:

Milbon kuch'!	Kill me my [piojo]!
---------------	---------------------

But one cannot say:

***Milbot avuch'! ***Milbo aba avuch'!

Instead, one says:

Milo atuk l avuch' e! Kill your [piojo] yourself!

The following expressions also have a negative form:

Mu me xak'opon abaik!	Don't talk to yourselves!
Mu me xasokbon kora!	Don't ruin my watch!
	-sok, "to ruin, break"
	`ora, "watch, hour, luck"

In order to summarize the general form of imperatives, consider first an intransitive sentence.

Verb Subject (= vo`ot, "you")

From this sentence, one forms an imperative of the form:

Verb + -an

where the suffix -an cannot be considered a modified form of the second person absolutive suffix. With a transitive sentence of the following form:

Verb [+ -be]	Object [Dative]	Subject (= vo`ot, "you")
--------------	-----------------	--------------------------

the object (or the dative constituent) engenders an absolutive affix in the imperative. On the other hand, the subject is signalled with the suffix -o only if there is no absolutive suffix. the negative imperative, whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, is formed without any change in the form of the verb, using the negative particle mu and neutral tense/aspect.

There are also imperative in other person categories: first person plural ("Let's do something!") and the third person ("Would that he do something!"). These forms in Tzotzil follow a similar pattern. Imperative of intransitive verbs are formed with a special affix, that we can call "subjunctive," plus an ordinary absolutive affix. And

imperative of transitive verbs are formed by omitting the aspectual markers, while maintaining the ergative and absolutive affixes.

Lok'-(i)k-otik che`e.	Let's go, then.
Ve`-(i)k-otik che`e.	Let's go eat already.
Kich'tik `ech'el aj.	Let's bring the tortillas.
Jmajtik xa li `ixim e.	[Trillemos] the corn.

Here the word ve`ikotik can be analyzed as:

Stem	+	Subjunctive Infix	+	Absolutive Suffix
ve`, "to eat"	-ik-	-otik, "us"		

Often the i of the infix -ik- is omitted: ve`kotik, lek'kotik, etc. There is an irregular imperative with the verb bat- "to go": batik "let's go!"

Batik xa ta ch'ivit, ba ve`kotik!	Let's go to the market, let's go eat!
`Och `abtejkotik che`e.	Let's get to work, then.

It is possible to combine the imperative form of an intransitive verb with an auxiliary verb, without a tense/aspect affix, as in the previous examples. (As we will see shortly, an intransitive verb with an auxiliary always has subjunctive inflection.)

Ba `abtejan!	Go work!
Kom vayikotik che`e!	Let's stay and sleep!

The imperative of the first person plural, with transitive verbs, has an ergative prefix and an absolutive affix, but omits the aspectual prefix.

Ta jmantik `ixim.	We're going to buy corn. (declarative)
Jmantik `ixim.	Let's buy corn! (imperative, subjunctive)
Ta jsa`betik yav xchob.	We're going to look for a place for his cornfield.
Jsa`betik yav xchob.	Let's look for a place for his cornfield.

The so-called imperative of the third person follows the same pattern. These forms occur with or without the word `ak'o (literally: "(you) give thatā") in a construction that is similar to the construction in English that goes: "let it happen thatā, let him/herā"

(`Ak'o) ve`uk.	Let him/her eat.
Lok'uk ta `ora.	Let him go.
`Ak'o smaj.	Let him hit it.
`Ak'o yak'be `arsyal.	Let him whip him.
	`arsyal, "whip"

This construction is also possible with passive forms:

`Ak'o majeuk.	Let him be hit.
`Ak'o `ak'batuk.	Let him be given it.

The suffix -uk in these words represents the form of the subjunctive marker that occurs in final position, in other words, when there is no absolutive suffix. Thus, the last example can be analyzed as follows:

Chavak'be tak'in li Xun e.	You give money to John.
`Ak'bo tak'in li Xun e.	Give money to John.
	The money is given to John.
Ch`ak'bat tak'in li Xun e.	(In other words: John has received the money.)
`Ak'o `ak'batuk tak'in li Xun e.	Let's John receive the money.

This construction engenders the omission of the aspectual prefix in transitive verbs. In other words, the verb combines only with the ergative prefix, which represents the subject, and an absolutive suffix, which represents the object. (In that context, the absolutive prefixes are not used.)

`Ak'o smajon, mu xixi` `o.	Let him hit me; I'm not afraid of him.
`Ak'o yut sbaik, k'u jkwenta `o.	Let them scold him. What business of mine is it?
`Ak'o yalbot.	Let him tell you.

The same form can express an "imperative" of the first person singular.

One can distinguish between two different meanings of a sentence with chak.

Chak yuluk. He wants to arrive (here).

Or:

Chak yuluk (e), lek. If he arrives, it will be good.
Chak yuluk e, xu` xibatik. Let him arrive, so that we can
go.

The verbal complement carries the subjunctive affix (-ik- or -uk) if it is intransitive, or occurs without an aspectual or tense prefix if it is transitive. Often, a form of the transitive verb -a`iy "to feel" occurs as an additional object.

Chak jti` ka`i bek'et. I feel the desire to eat meat.
Chak batan ava`i. You feel the desire to go.

The desire to do something can be expressed with chak, with the appropriate form of -a`iy, or with both constructions.

Chak batikon ta Jobel. I want to go to San Cristóbal.
Chibat ka`i ta Jobel.
Chak batikon ka`i ta Jobel.
Chak jlo` lo`bol.
Ta jlo` ka`i lo`bol.
Chak jlo` ka`i lo`bol. I want to eat fruit.

There are other expressions that also require subjunctive complements. In general, these signify some type of desire or positive anticipation.

Kiluk ko`on `abtejkon ta be. I would like to work in the road.
(Literally: My heart sees that I work in
the road.)
Kiluk ko`on jsa` kaj`ilol. I would like to look for a curer (for
me).
Yiluk avo`on k'otan ta xmal You would like to arrive in the
k'ak'al. evening (literally: when [se pone] the
sun).
Ta jmala yuluk.
Ta jmala chul. I await his arrival.

The last sentence denotes a more neutral sense of waiting: "I await his arrival." The use of the subjunctive suggests the following meaning: "I await his arrive, and I hope that he arrives (soon), (but I don't know if he's going to arrive)." Also note that the expression kiluk ko`on contains the subjunctive suffix -uk with the verb k-il "I see," which gives the expression the meaning "I [viera] my heartā" this use is related to the use of the subjunctive inflection in conditional sentences that we will see later. There are also expressions of the following form:

	He wants to go. (Literally:
Yo`onuk chbat.	Would that his heart had the
	desire to go.)

The better known context in which these subjunctive forms occur we have already described in Chapter 8, when speaking of the "quasi-subjunctive" and of its use in constructions with auxiliary verbs. We have already seen that the prefix of aspect/tense combines directly with the auxiliary, thereby leaving in evidence the transitive verb without an aspectual prefix.

Chaman kantela.	You are buying candles.
Chba aman kantela.	You are going to buy candles.

But intransitive verbs also occur with auxiliaries; and in that context, the aspectual prefix combines with the auxiliary, and the intransitive stem requires a subjunctive affix, followed by the absolute suffix.

Cha`abtej.	You work.
Chba `abtejan.	You are going to work.
Chive`.	I eat.
Ch`och ve`ikon.	He goes in to eat.
Ivay.	He went to sleep.
Iyul vayuk.	He arrived to sleep.

The meaning of this construction is understood as "quasi-subjunctive," expressing the end of object of the movement denoted by the auxiliary verb: "enter to do something, go with the [fin] ofā" etc. Again, this demonstrates the functional correlation between transitive verbs without aspectual marking and intransitive verbs with a subjunctive formative together with the absolute affix.

In other contexts, which we have already seen, the subjunctive inflection occurs with verbs of perception: -il "to see," and -a`iy "to feel, hear." These verbs function as the complements of other verbs, meaning the end or the intentional result of an action.

K'elo avil li chon e.	Look (in order to see) the snake.
`A`iyo ava`i k'u xal.	Listen (in order to hear) what he's saying.

In its reduced form, these constructions function as conventional commands: k'elavi "Look!" and `a`iyava`i, "Listen!" The first verb of the compound can be imperative or declarative.

Pukuj le`e, k'opono ava`iy.	He is very bad; talk to him and see.
Chkak' avil li jchob e.	I am going to show you (literally: give that you see) my cornfield.
Chkak'be yil k'u x`elan li `abtel e.	I am going to show him what work is like.

Also, the roots -il and -a`iy can function as intransitives; in that construction, with subjunctive suffixes, these verbs have a "passive" meaning.

Chkak' `iluk li ton e.	I am going to show the rock. (Literally: I am going to give the rock to be seen.) He went to reveal his crime.
Ba yal `a`yuk k'u smul.	(Literally: He went to speak in order that his crime be understood.)

These sentences have the following structure:

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

In other words, the subordinate sentence, if it is in isolated position, will produce the following passive sentence:

abtej-an	a-maj+ABS	2a pers.
abtej-uk	s-maj+ABS	3a pers.
abtej-k-otik	j-maj-tik+ABS	vo`otik
abtej-?-otikÛtik	j-maj-tikÛtik+ABS	vo`otikÛtik
abtej-an-ik		
abtej-k-oxuk	a-maj-ik+ABS	vo`oxuk
abtej-ik-uk	s-maj-ik+ABS	they, etc.

Note that in the speech of Zinacantecos the exclusive form does not include the subjunctive infix. Verbs like the following are formed in the following way:

Ch`och `abtejikuk.	They entered work.
Ch`och smajikon.	They entered to hit me.
Ilok' sk'elot.	He left to see you.
Ilok' `abtejuk.	He left to work.
Laj xa `abtejotikÛtik.	We (exclusive) will finish working.

We have seen that Tzotzil imperatives are, in reality, subjunctive forms of the second person (or the first person plural, etc.). There are two irregular imperatives.

Batik!	Let's go!
La` me.	Come here!

The regular imperative of tal- "to come" would be ***talan. This imperative form is non-existent and has been supplanted by the word la`. In imperative contexts, la` also appears in place of the auxiliary tal.

Chtal ak'el li ch'ivit e.	You are coming to see the market.
La` k'elo li ch'ivit e.	Come see the market.

But la` only functions as an imperative; in other subjunctive contexts, the form talan is used.

Chak talan ta `anil.	Come soon!
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There are also imperatives with a very formal tone (possibly archaic), which are formed with the intransitive root laj- "to finish."

Bat-laj-an che`e.	Go, then.
Lok'lajan.	Leave.
Meltzajuk-lajan.	Let it be fixed.
Ich'-lajan.	Receive it.

I do not know if this pattern is productive.

Note that the courteous way to make the toast is:

Kich'ban.	I receive it for you.
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with the response:

Ich'o.	Receive it.
--------	-------------

(In the speech of Chamulans, the formula is:

Ta me xkich'.	I receive it.
---------------	---------------

with the desiderative particle me.)

The word kich'ban may be analyzable as a subjunctive form of the following construction:

Chakich'be.	I take it from/for you.
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Earlier (in Chapter 5), we saw that the particle mu occurs with the suffix -uk or an infix -ik- that we know recognize.

Mu `antikón.	I am not a woman.
Mu tzebikot.	You are not a girl.
Mu lekuk le`e.	That is not good.

The form of negative predicates obviously is related to that of the subjunctive. The negative formative is identical to the subjunctive formative: -ik-/-uk. Note that it is possible to negate a stative verb with the particle mu (and it is not necessary to use muk'bu) if the negative affix [se ha juntado].

Muk'bu jmajojot.	I haven't hit you (and I know it).
Mu la bu jmajojot.	I haven't hit you (they tell me).
Mu jmajojikot.	If someone has hit you, it wasn't me. Or: If I hit someone, it wasn't you.

Mu vo`onikon jmajojot.	I wasn't the one who hit you.
Muk' bu batemon.	I have gone (in other words: I'm still here).
Mu batemikon.	I'm not the one who went (it was someone else).

Also note the relationship between imperatives and verbs with mu + neutral aspect.

Batan me.	Go.
Mu me xabat.	Don't go.
(`Ak'o) batuk.	Let him go.
Mu me xbat.	Don't let him go.
Chibat/chak batikon.	I'm going. I want to go.
Mu xibat.	I'm not going. I don't want to go.

The relationship between the subjunctive and the negative, which [se expone] in the coincidence of forms, can be seen more clearly in conditional sentences, that is, in sentences of the form:

(a) If something happens, another things happens.

or:

(b) If something had happened, something else would have happened.

Sentences of the first type are formed, in Tzotzil, with the conjunction timi "if". (Note that the particle mi signals, at once, [interrogaciŭn y alternaciŭn].)

Timi `ipot to e, xu` xakom.	If you are still sick, you can stay.
Timi cha`ipaj ta be e, chacham.	If you get sick on the road, you will die.
Timi avich' li tak'in e, mas lek chanak'.	If you receive money, it's best to hide it.

(The clause introduced by timi ends with the enclitic -e.) In these sentences, one imagines a possible or probable situation: you're probably still sick; its possible that you'll get sick on the road; one hopes that you'll receive money, etc. The second clause in each sentence designates the consequence of the situation denoted by the first conditional clause.

There is another construction [ligada] with this one, formed with `ak'o miä "although."

`Ak'o mi chajata ^v e, chasmaj (onox) li	Although you're fleeing, John will hit
Xun e.	you.
`Ak'o mi yal sk'op li `ajvalil e,	Although the owner gave you his
chaslo`lo.	word, he will deceive you.
	-lo`lo, "to deceive, defraud"

On the other hand, sentences of type (b), which are formed with the conjunction `ati "if such-and-such had happenedä" express the result of a hypothetical situation that, in actuality, did not occur or has not occurred.

`Ati `ipikot / `ipan to e, teyot ta	If you were still sick, you would still
ana.	be in your house.
`Ati `ipajikot / `ipajan ta be e,	If you had gotten sick on the road, you
lacham xa.	would have died.
`Ati avich'uk li tak'in e, anak'	If you had received the money, you
xa.	would have hidden it already.

In these sentences the hypothetical, but not realized, situation requires a subjunctive/negative formative that expresses its irreality. There is considerable variation among Zinacantecos with respect to the appropriate forms, but in general they follow the following pattern:

`ati ä Intransitive Verb + Subjunctive + Absolutive ä e,

Or:

`atiä Ergative Prefix + Transitive Verb + Subject + Absolutive ä e,

Consider the following examples:

Intransitive:

Libat volje.	I went yesterday.
`Ati batikon volje, chik'ot xa	If I had gone yesterday, I
lavi e.	would have arrived today.
Lamile.	He has died. (passive form)
`Ati milean e, ch'abalot.	If you had died, today you

would not exist.

(Note: mil-e-an-e = kill + passive + subjunctive second person + enclitic.)

Ch`akbat jun tzeb.	A girl was given to him.
`Ati `ak'batuk jun tzeb e, ta xik'.	If he had been given a girl, he would have married her.

Transitive:

Chajmil.	I will kill you.
`Ati jmilikot e, ch'abalot xa.	If I had killed you, you would not exist.
Ijmil li Xun e.	I killed John.
`Ati jmiluk li Xun e, ch'abal xa.	If I had killed John, he would not exist.
Alajes avabtel volje.	You finished your work yesterday.
`Ati alajesuk avabtel volje e, chabat xa lavi e.	If you had finished your work yesterday, you would go today.
Lislaban li Xun e.	John made fun of me.
`Ati slabanikon li Xun e, ijchuk xa.	If John had mocked me, I would have put him in jail.

The variation between the possible forms is illustrated by the following pair:

`Ati kilikot / lakiluk volje e, lajk'opon `ox.	If I had seen you yesterday, I would have spoken with you.
---	---

In review: these forms require a subjunctive formative after the verbal stem: before the absolute suffix, or in the final position if there is no absolute suffix.

The word yechuk, formed from yech "thus, in this way," plus the subjunctive suffix, can substitute for a conditional clause (with `ati). In this usage, yechuk means: "if it were the case that, if things were as they should be"

(`Ati) yechuk e, vo`ot chabat.	You should go (but you're not going to).
Mu sk'anbe slok' yosil ti yechuk e.	If it were as it should be, I would not ask rent for his land. -lok' "rent" (noun)

Other nouns and adjectives combine with -uk with similar meanings.

	All you lack is money. (Literally: It
ʼOyuk no`ox atak'in sk'an.	wants your money to exist, nothing
	more.)
Mas lek ti ch'abaluk ye.	It would be better if he would hush up.
	(Literally: ä if he didn't have a mouth.)
ʼOyuk `onox xavalbon e, lital	If you had told me, I would have come
mas vo`ne.	a while ago.

The subjunctive suffix -uk also combines with interrogative and demonstrative words in order to give an indefinite meaning.

Bu ta jchepan li `ixim e?	Where should I put the corn?
Buyuk.	Wherever.
K'usi chalajes?	What do you want to eat?
K'usuk no`ox.	Whatever.
Lavi `ipot e, much'u chtal	Since you're sick, who should
xchabiot?	come to care for you?
Much'uk.	Whoever.
Mi chibatik `ok'ob?	Are we going tomorrow?
Teyuk.	Whenever.

These indefinite words provide another context for the use of subjunctive verbs, [a finite] expressing possibility or indefinite desire.

Mi `oy atak'in, buyuk batan.	If you have money, you can go
	wherever you want.
ʼOyuk atak'in, buyuk batan.	If you had money, you could go
	wherever you want.
Much'uk taluk/much'uk xu` xtal.	Any person can come.
ʼIpuk no`ox luban/`ak'o mi xalub-	Although you're tired, finish your
lajeso l avabtel e.	work!
	`ip, "grave, hard"
Much'u junukal ta jk'oapon? Mi ja` li	Who should I talk to? John?
Xun e?	
Ja`uk.	Let it be him.
ʼAk'o mi junuk no`ox `ora, mu xu`	Although it's only an hour, he can't
yu`un abtel.	work.

Finally, there is a word *manchuk* which appears to contain the subjunctive suffix *-uk*, although its origin remains obscure. The meaning of *manchuk* appears to be related to that of other subjunctive/negative constructions.

Manchuk li vo` e, lek.	It would be good if it weren't raining.
Manchjuk mi chavuton e, manchuk mi chalabanon e, chibat.	If it weren't for your teasing me, your mocking me, I would go. Or: Although you scold me, although you mock me, I am going to go.
Manchuk lubemon, chibat.	It doesn't matter that I'm tired, I always go. Or: I would go if I weren't tired. (Laughlin, 1975:229)

The complexity of the use of the *-ik/-uk* affix includes the imperatives, the "quasi-subjunctive" indefinites, negatives, and unreal conditions. The meaning common among these uses appears to implicate an uncertain, unknown, unreal, or indefinite character: what the linguist A. Wierzbicka calls the "ignorative." [Reference?

9.5 Complex Structures

Ika`i ti labat e.	I heard that you left.
Ika`i ti chabat e.	I heard that you were going to go.
Mu jna` mi tzk'an.	I don't know if he wants to.
Jamal iyal ti `oy smul.	He said frankly that he was to blame.
Mi muk' avil mi tey?	You didn't see if he was there?
Isnop ta sjol ti xu` xbat.	He decided that he could go.
Chixi` `o ti chibat ta nom.	I am afraid of going far away.

Some Tzotzil verbs, which express actions such as saying, hearing, understanding, knowing, asking, etc., accept entire clauses as complements. In general, these complements begin with the particle *ti*, which corresponds to the English complementizer *that*.

Mi ava`i ti ijatav li `antz e? Did you hear that the woman

ran away?

We can represent this sentence in the following way:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

This complex structure also occurs with the particle *mi* (which we recognize as the interrogative particle) in place of *ti*.

Mi ava`i mi ijatav li `antz e?	Did you hear whether the woman fled?
Muk' ika`i mi ijatav e.	I never heard whether she fled.

The use of *ti* in these constructions implies certainty about what is denoted by the subordinate clause, while the use of *mi* indicates uncertainty.

(a)	Jamal chal ti `oy smul.	He will say honestly that he is guilty.
(b)	Jamal chal mi `oy smul.	He will say honestly whether he is guilty.

In sentence (a), the subject will admit that he has committed a crime. In sentence (b), we do not assume that he is guilty, but we do expect the subject to admit whether or not he has committed the crime.

Note that certain verbs, due to their meaning, require *mi* or *ti* to introduce a complement clause, and the two particles cannot be freely substituted. For example, the verb *-ch'un* "to believe" (which can also mean "to obey") requires complements with *ti*, while the verb *-jak'* "to ask" requires complements with *mi*.

Mu jch'un ti chabat e.	I don't believe that you'll go.
Ba sjak' mi `oy `ixim.	He went to ask whether there was corn.

Here we see the particle *ti* introducing an assertion (although the sentence negates it) and the particle *mi* introducing a question: a proposition which can be questioned.

Mu sna` ti ilaj ta vakax li xchob e.	He doesn't know that some cows damaged his cornfield.
--------------------------------------	---

(But the cornfield really was damaged, although he doesn't know it.)

Mu sna mi ilaj ta vakax li xchob e.

He doesn't know ifä

In the second sentence, there are two possible interpretations, illustrated by the following examples: (a) We have heard that a cow destroyed various cornfields near his, but he does not know if his has also been damaged. (b) We know that a cow has damaged his cornfield, but he doesn't know. In reality, he does not have any idea [whether] his cornfield has been ruined.

In these sentences, the transitive verb requires a direct object that can be a subordinate clause, introduced by ti or mi. Complements of these verbs can be ordinary nouns.

Ika`i lo`il.

I heard a rumor.

Mu jna` kastiya.

He doesn't know Spanish.

Chal mantal.

He gave the orders.

Also, the object of a verb such as -al or -a`i can be a complex combination of noun and subordinate clause.

Ika`i lo`il ti icham li `ajvalil e.

I heard a rumor that the owner had died.

Chal mantal ti bu xu`

He tells us where we can work.

xi`abtejotik.

There are also verbs or constructions that do not accept ordinary object (nouns), but nevertheless take complement clauses.

He felt that he would soon die.

Iya`i sba ti xcham xa e.

(Literally: He felt himself that he would die.)

Ijam ye ta vokol ti ja` stamoj li tak'in e.

He confessed under duress that he was the one who had taken the money. (Literally: He opened his mouth with difficulty, he who had taken

the money.)

There are also many occasions when the particle *ti* or *mi* does not appear, or seems to be optional.

Chkal vo`on e, mu xtal.	I say (in other words: it seems to me) (that) he isn't coming.
(X)ka`uk labat xa e.	I thought (wrongly) that you had already heard.
	-a`uk, "to think wrongly

The use here of *-al* "to say" plus a complement without the introducing particle differs slightly from the use of the very same verb with *ti* complements.

Iyal ti chbat e.	He said that you were going.
Chal li stuk e, chbat.	According to what he says, he is going.
Chkal vo`on e, mu xbat.	But I think that he won't to go.

The use of the word *chkal* "I say" constitutes a "performative" act of speech, with the effect of announcing an opinion: "What I say isä

Entire clauses, introduced by *ti* or without any such particle, can also serve as the grammatical subject of some verbs.

Mu xatun.	You're no good.
Mu xtun ti chabat e.	It's no good that you're going.
Tztak' chalok'be yosil.	It's good/possible that you're renting him the land.
Mu stak' (ti) chajatav (e).	It's not good that you're fleeing.

In these cases, there is apparently a structure of the following form:

The subordinate clause in this construction can be transitive.

Mu stak' chajk'opon.	It's not possible for me to talk to you.
----------------------	--

If the clause that functions as grammatical subject is in the passive form, however, the structure changes as a result.

Mu xatak' k'oponel. It isn't possible to talk to you.

We can represent these two sentences by means of a diagram. The first appears to have the following structure:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

The verb -tak' is formally transitive, and means "to answer." A sentence like the one above thus means something like "[No sirve (contesta)] that X," where X represents the subordinate clause. In the second example, the grammatical subject is a passive sentence of the following sort:

Chak'oponat. You are being spoken to.

A hypothetical structure of the form:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

produces another structure of the following form:

INSERT DIAGRAM HERE

where the logical object of the subordinate clause produces the ergative prefix of the verb -tak' (in other words, it acts as the verb's grammatical subject).

Clauses introduced by ti also express the cause of or the motive for an action. We have seen the word yu`un "because" used to express the cause of something.

Chopol yo`on yu`un chabat. He is sad (literally: his heart is
bad) because you're going.

The causal relation also can be expressed in the following manner (with ti or li):

Chopol yo`on, ja ti/li chabat e. He is sad; it's that (in other
words: because) you're going.

Or, with the relational particle `o, one can say:

Chopol `l yo`on ti chabat e. He is sad as a result of your leaving.

One can see the contrast between these two construction-that is, the one using an explanation and the other expressing a cause-in the following context:

Ta xi` ta be, ja` ti/li bik`it to e. In the road he was afraid, because he's still young.
Ta xi` `o ti ch'abal xchi`il e. He was afraid that he he didn't have a companion.
[Find translation that better captures contrast!]

It would be strange to say:

***Ta xi` `o ti bik`it to e. He was afraid that he was still young.

One can see that the following sentences are directly related:

Mi chtal vo`? Will it rain? (Literally: Is water coming?)
Ta sjak' mi chtal vo`. He is asking whether it will rain.

In a similar way, other types of questions seem to serve as the objects of certain verbs.

Much'u chbat ta Jobel? Who is going to San Cristóbal?
Mu jna` much'u chbat. I don't know who is going.
K'usi iyal li preserente e? What did the president say?
Mi ava`i k'usi iyal? Did you hear what he said?
Bu ta jtzob jbatik? Where will we meet.
Ta jnoptik bu ta jtzob jbatik. Let's think about where we'll meet.

Complements of this sort, introduced by the particle ti, mean something definite, as in the following examples:

Ispas mantal ti much'u xu` xbat. He gave the order saying who can go.

Isnop ta sjol ti bu ta spas xchob.	He decided (literally: he thought in his head) where he was going to make his cornfield.
Mu xch'un ti k'u yepal chk'anbat multa.	He doesn't believe how much of a fine they want.
[Structures that often appear to be interrogative sentences also appear in relative clauses.]	
Ital li vinik e.	The man came.
Much'u vinik?	Which (literally: who) man?
Ital li much'u i`ipaj ta be e.	The man who got sick on the road came.
Mi ja` li `oy ska` e?	Is he the one who has a horse?3
In relative clauses, the article li (or ti) precedes an entire clause, optionally using the interrogative (= relative) pronoun to form a complex noun that denotes: "the person whoä" The same possibility exists with k'usi "what, whichä":	
K'elo k'usi ijta.	See what I found.
K'usi ata?	What did you find?
Ijta li k'usi ach'ay volje e.	I found what you lost yesterday.
Mi ja` li ijch'ay ta ch'ivit e?	Was it what I lost in the market?
With the particle bu "where" it is necessary to add the special particle yo` to a relative clause.	
Bu la`ay?	Where were you?
Te li`ay yo` (bu) ta xchon lo`bol.	I was there where they sell fruits.
Mi ja` li yo` (bu) (`oy) ch'ivit e?	Was it where there's the market?
A similar structure with relative clauses expresses the tense of an action or the period during which an action occurs. In the speech of Zinacantecos, there are two particles that introduce such temporal clauses: k'al(al) and yok'al.	

K'usi `ora icham li Xun e?	When did John die?
Ja` `o icham k'alal / yok'al i`ayan xch'amal.	He died when his child was born.
Mi ja` `o k'alal i`ayan li k'ox Petul e?	Was it when little Peter was born?

This kind of relative clauses can also combine directly with the nouns that they modify, sometimes without any kind of pronoun or conjunction.

	There's a man; he went to Zinacant-n.
`Oy jun vinik, ibat ta Jteklum.	(In other words: There was a man who went to Zinacant-n.)
Mu xkojtikin li vinik (ti much'u) ibat ta Jteklum.	I don't know the man who went to Zinacant-n.
`Oy jun `ulo`, batem ta pinka, ja` imilvan.	There was a Chamulan who went to the farm; he was the one who killed someone.
Ja` imilvan li `ulo` (ti) batem ta pinka.	It was the Chamulan who went to the farm that killed someone.
`Ali `ulo` (ti) batem ta pinka e, ja` ismil li `ajvalil e.	The Chamulan who went to the farm, he killed the mason.

But, in general, the relative clause begins with ti or with a relative pronoun.

Ijch'ay tak'in volje.	I lost money yesterday.
Bu ikom li tak'in ti ijch'ay volje e?	Where is the money that I lost yesterday?
`Ali Xun e, ista li tak'in ti ijch'ay volje e.	John found the money that I lost yesterday.
Isnak' sba ta na li j`elek' e. Bu junukal?	The thief hid in a house. Which?
Te isnak' sba ta na yo` (bu) avak' avixim e.	He hid there in the house where you put the corn.
Ichuk li mol Xap e. Much'u mol Xap?	Old man Sebastian has been jailed. Which old man Sebastian?
Ja` ichuk li mol Xap ti (much'u) ichik'bat sna e.	The old man Sebastian whose house burned down.

A complex noun that has a relative clause has the form

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

where the subordinate clause contains the noun X. It is also necessary for the constituent X in the relative clause to occupy a position from which it can be fronted.

Isman `ixim li krem e.	The boy bought corn.
`Ali krem e, isman li `ixim e.	As for the boy, he bought corn.
Ikil li krem ti isman li `ixim e.	I saw the boy who bought corn.
Amaj li krem e.	You hit the boy.
`Ali krem e, amaj.	The boy, you hit him.
Ikil li krem ti amaj e.	I saw the boy you hit.
Ijatav skrem li mol e.	The son of the old man fled.
`Ali mol e, ijatav skrem.	The old man-his son fled.
Ikil li mol ti ijatav skrem e.	I saw the old man whose son fled.

But it is not possible to say:

***Ikil li `izim ti isman li krem e.

to express the idea that: "I saw the corn that the boy bought." From the sentence

Isman `ixim li krem e.	The boy bought corn.
------------------------	----------------------

only the constituent li krem e can be fronted. The object, `ixim, can be fronted only if the sentence has a passive form.

Imane (yu`un krem) li `ixim e.	The corn was bought (by the boy).
--------------------------------	-----------------------------------

`Ali `ixim e, imane (yu`un li

krem e).

Ijlajes li `ixim ti imane yu`un li I finished off the corn (that was)

krem e.	bought by the boy.
---------	--------------------

Here one sees the strict relationship between the formulation of a relative clause and the position in the clause of the noun that forms the base of the complex noun phrase.

The information transmitted by a relative clause can also be expressed by a sequence of sentences or clauses.

`Ataj Xap e, ichik'bat sna e, ja` [A ese viejito Sebasti·n le

ichuk. quemÛ su casa; fue Èl quien se
 encarcelÛ.]
 `Ali na yo` avak' avixim e, te The house where you put your
 isnak' sba li j`elek' e. corn-the thief hid himself
 there.

In the last section we saw constructions that used `ak'o plus a subjunctive verb to express a desire or intention. We will now consider this type of complement in more detail.

Ta jk'an vo`. I want water.
 Ta jk'an chkuch' vo`. I want to drink water.
 Ta jk'an (ti) chavuch' vo`.
 Ta jk'an `ak'o avuch' vo`. I want you to drink water.

Complex sentences of this type reduce ambiguity, using verbal affixes that clarify who wants someone else to do something.

Ta jk'an (ti) chap'olik.
 Ta jk'an `ak'o p'olan. I want you guys to multiply.
 Ta jk'an (ti) p'ijon / chip'ijub. I want to be ready.
 p'ij, "ready, intelligent"
 p'ijub-, "get ready"
 Ta jk'an (ti) chbat li krem e.
 Ta jk'an `ak'o batuk li krem e. I want the boy to go.

Note that, if the subject of the verb -k'an "to want" is identical to the subject of the complement clause's verb (that is, if the two nouns are co-referential), then the construction with `ak'o is impossible.

Chak'an chachan li kastiya e. You want to learn Spanish.
 Chak'an (ti) ta jchan li kastiya
 e.
 Chak'an `ak'o jchan li kastiya You want me to learn Spanish.
 e.

When the protagonists of the two clauses of a complex sentence are nouns, the difference between the two constructions becomes very important.

(a) `Ali Xun e, tzk'an chchan li John wants to learn Spanish.

kastiya e.	(b)
`Ali Xun e, tzk'an `ak'o xchan	John wants Pedro to learn
kastiya (li Petul e).	Spanish. (c)
`Ali Xun e, tzk'an ti ja' chchan	John wants it to be Pedro who
kastiya (li Petul e).	learns Spanish.

In example (a), John wants to learn Spanish himself, while in examples (b) and (c), John wants someone else (for example, Pedro) to learn Spanish.

The same structural restriction applies to sentences with intransitive complements.

Tznop yo`on ch`abtej.	He wants to work (literally: his heart thinks that it works).
Isnopilan chpaj.	He wanted to remain. (Laughlin 1975: 257)

In these sentences, the subject of the first verb (transitive) is identical to the subject of the second verb (intransitive). Here the complement clause directly follows the first verb, without the particle *ti*, and without the construction with *`ak'o* + subjunctive.

On the other hand, if the two subjects are different, a more complex structure is used. The difference presents itself in the following examples, in negative forms:

Mu jk'an jman chenek'.	I don't want to buy beans.
Mu jk'an ti chaman chenek'.	I don't want you to buy beans.
Mu sk'an xbat.	I don't want to go.
Mu sk'an ti chbat.	He doesn't want him to go.

The construction with *-ak'* + complement clause does not permit the identification of the subject of *-ak'* and the complement subject.

Mu xak' lok'ikon.	He won't let me leave.
Mu xak' lok'uk.	He won't let him leave.
Mu xlok'.	He won't leave, he doesn't want to leave, he won't let himself leave.

We can conclude this section with a few final notes on those structures that express the motive or intention of something, as well as the result or consequence of an action. We have already seen the particle *`o*, through which two related sentences are connected.

Motive:

Isman `asaluna li Xun e, John bought a hoe, with which he is
chak'inta `o xchob. going to clean his cornfield.

Consequence:

`Ali Pavlu e, i`atin ta `uk'um ta Pablo bathed in the river in Hot
`olon `osil, ja` i`ipaj `o ta sik- Country, and that's why he got sick
k'ok. with malaria.

The particle yo` plus `o introduces clauses that represent explicit motive or intention.

`Ali me`el e, iyak'be te` li yalib The old woman hit her daughter-in-
e, yo` ch`batej `o mas. law with a stick, so that the daughter-
in-law would work more.

`Ali Xun e, isa` yajnil yo` `o
tzmeltzanbat yot.

The word tzmeltzanbat can be analyzed in the following manner:

tz-meltzan-b-at

Imperfect-make-Dative-Passive

The subject of this verb, John, is identical to the subject of the verb isa` of the first clause.

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

The meaning of the sentence is best expressed through the following translation: "John looks for a wife, in order that she'll make his tortillas." In this sentence, John is the topic of two clauses, and it is inferred that his wife is the one who is going to make the tortillas.

The particle yo` combines with to in order to introduce clauses with the meaning "now that" or "while."

Ta jchon kixim yo` to toyol I am going to sell my corn while the
stojol. price is high.

Ba sk'opon stojbalal yo` to mu Now that he still hasn't gone to the

xbat ta pinka. farm, he went to talk with his worker.
[bad!]

Note the sequence of clauses in the last example:

[INSERT DIAGRAM HERE]

The object of the higher clause is identical to the subject (or the principal theme) of the lower clause. In Tzotzil, as in Spanish, a chain of sentences often takes a single theme or a single person as its topic.

ʼAli Xun e, isut ta ʼolon ʼosil, John returned to Hot Country, entered
iʼoch ta sna , mi laj veʼuk e, his house, and, after he had eaten,
ivay to ʼora. slept.

Since Tzotzil permits the omission or ellipsis of implicit nouns (and of "pronouns" of the first and second person), it is necessary to know the structural implications of these chains of clauses.

Kʼusi spas li Xun e? What is John doing?
Chvay. He's sleeping.

In general, when there is a pronoun of the first or second person, marked by affixes adjoined to the verb of the sentence, there is no ambiguity as to who does what to whom. However, the order of constituents and the form of the verb can vary somewhat.

ʼAli Xun e, ilokʼ ta sna. Jaʼ ʼo As for John, he left his house, and (at
ijmaj. that moment) I hit him.
Ilokʼ ta sna li Xun e, jaʼ ʼo John left his house, and (at that
ijmaj. moment) I hit him.
Ilokʼ ta sna li Xun e, jaʼ ʼo John left his house and hit me.
lismaj.
Lismaj li Xun e, jaʼ ʼo liʼanilaj John hit me and I ran.
ʼechʼel.
Ijmaj li Xun e, jaʼ ʼo liʼanilaj I hit John and (I) ran.
ʼechʼel.
Ijmaj li Xun e, jaʼ ʼo iʼanilaj I hit John and he ran.
ʼechʼel.
Lismaj li Xun e, jaʼ ʼo iʼanilaj John hit me and (he) ran.

ech'el.

On the other hand, if the protagonists are all in the third person (if they are nouns) the verbal affixes cannot definitively clarify the grammatical relations. In such cases, Tzotzil uses various devices to identify the principal theme of a sentence.

Ismaj ska` li Xun e. John hit his horse.
Ismaj Petul li Xun e. John hit Peter.

One device brings the theme, which should be the agent of the action, to the initial position of the sentence.

Ali Xun e, ismaj li Petul e. As for John, he hit Peter.

Once identified, a noun remains as the theme until another theme is established.

Ali Xun e, ismaj li Petul e, ja` As for John, he hit Peter and later ran
o ijatav. off.

To say that Peter fled after being hit by John, one must change the focus of the sentence.

Ali Petule, imaje yu`un li As for Peter, he was hit by John, and
Xune, ja` `o ijatav. later fled.

It is not necessary to front the theme of the sequence of sentences in every case. For example, one must interpret the following sentence as a description of John's death, and not his horse's.

Ismaj ska` li Xun e, ja` `o John hit his horse, and later
icham. (he, John) died.

In order to say that the horse died, there are various alternatives.

Ismaj ska` li Xun e, ja` `o icham li ka`
une.

Ataj ska` li Xun e, imaje yu`un

yajval, ja` `o icham.

ajval-il, "owner"

Similarly, note the contrast between the following sentences:

Ilok' ta sna, ja` `o isk'opon li	He left his house, and later spoke to
Xun e.	John (speaking of another person).
Ilok' ta sna, ja` `o ik'oponat li	John left his house, and later someone
Xun e.	spoke to him.

It is also possible to say:

`Ali Xun e, ilok' ta sna, ja` `o	John left his house, and later spoke to
isk'opon.	me.
`Ali Xun e, ilok' ta sna, ja` `o	John left his house, and later I spoke to
ijk'opon.	him.

However, it appears impossible, or at least strange, to say:

***`Ali Xun e, ilok' ta sna, ja` `o isk'opon.

because the object of -k'opon does not appear, and the sentence remains incomplete. We can provide the theme of the thematic chain, Xun "John," as the subject of -k'opon. But the object, the person John spoke to, is unknown.

INSERT DIAGRAMS HERE

The theme of a sentence is introduced in those positions which are available, although it is not a basic constituent. For example, in the following examples, the theme is understood as the possessor of a possessed noun that functions as the subject of the principal verb, or as the object of a locative phrase with ta.

`Ali Xun e, ichik'bat sna,	As for John, they burned his house and
icham ska`.	his horse died.
`Ali Xun e, i`och vakax ta	As for John, a cow entered his
xchob.	cornfield.

But if the other constituents of a sentence are possible candidates for being the sentence's theme, the situation becomes complicated.

`Ali Xun e, i`och vakax ta	As for John, a cow entered his
xchob, ja` i`ilin `o.	cornfield, and as a result John got
	mad.
`Ali Petul e, i`och ta sna.	Peter entered his (own) house.

ʔAli Petul e, i`och ta sna li Xun e. As for Peter, he entered John's house.

ʔAli Petul e, i`och ta sna li Xun e, ja` i`ilin `o. As for Peter, he entered John's house, and as a result, Peter (and not John) got mad.

Once introduced into a sequence of clauses, the theme remains the focus until another theme is explicitly introduced.

ʔAli Petul e, i`och ta sna li Xun e, ja` i`ilin `o li Xun e. As for Peter, he entered John's house, and as a result John got angry.

The same change of focus can be created by a more radical transformation of the sentence structure.

ʔAli Xun e, te ta sna i`och li Petul e, ja` i`ilin `o. [???

The pragmatic structure of Tzotzil discourse deserves more in-depth discussion.

Footnotes

Chapter 3

1 In other dialects of Tzotzil personal names carry gender prefixes: *j-* for men and *x-* for women.

Thus, in the Chamulan dialect:

- *li jPetul e* "Peter"
- *li xMal e* "Maria"

2 Phrases that indicate existence with locative complements with *ta* can have an indefinite, or, better said, general sense. For example,

`Oy chon ta te`tik.

can have two meanings: either "There are animals in the forest (some particular forest)" or "There are animals in the forest (generally-speaking)." The general sense is, obviously, less common in speech.

Chapter 4

1 Other Tzotzil-speakers maintain the possibility of all these sentences, as equivalents of one another:

Te kajnil ta Nabenchauk.

Te ta Nabenchauk li kajnil e.

Te li kajnil ta Nabenchauk. My wife is in Nabenchauk.

But only the second sentence seems completely normal or correct in Zinacantec Tzotzil.

Chapter 5

1 In the speech of certain Zinacantecos, one hears locative sentences without the element *te*, with predicates of the form *ta X*:

Ta Jobel li k'in e. The party is in San Cristobal. *Ta be li Xun e.* John is on the road (i.e., John is travelling).

The maximal form--that is, the one with *te*--appears to be the preferred form.

2 I am not sure if there is some difference between the second question and the following, which is explicitly existential, and contains the attributive form of the adjective *tzotz* (*tzatzal*):

Mi `oy xa tzatzal vo` ta `olon `osil? Is there already strong rain in the lowlands?

Both sentences are possible.

3 The following sentence is possible, but indicates existence and not a specific quality:

J7ilol 7onox 7oy bu lek e. There are always good curers.

4 On occasion one hears sentences like

Ja7 vo7on. Ja7 li vo7on e. It's me.

These appear to be extensions of the pattern with nouns, which use the pronouns in an analagous fashion, without reference to their historical roots.

5 One also hears sentences like

7Ali vo7on e, kremon to. As for me, I am still a boy.

with the enclitic and the pause, but without the article.

Chapter 7

1 It is noteworthy that the word *-koj* does not function as an ordinary noun, but only by itself in "benefactive" or instrumental constituents. In order to say "I am at fault, I am guilty," one uses the word *mul-il* "crime, blame, guilt." For example:

7Oy jmul. I am guilty.

On the other hand, the word *kwenta* as an ordinary noun, sometimes possessed, means "debt."

Ilaj li jwenta e. My debt is finished.

2 The expression *mu jayuk* means "too much, so much that there was no end to it."

Mi ilaj li 7abtel e? Is the work finished yet?

Batz'i mu jayuk. It's overwhelming. (In other words, it never ends).

3 It is possible that the restrictions on the possessed forms of some nouns is motivated by the desire to avoid homophonous word. For example, the root *€7ok*, "turtle" does not occur with possessive prefixes, but only with forms of *7u7un-il*.

Ja7 ku7un li 7ok le7e. That turtle is mine.

Thus, a possessed form of "turtle" is not confused with a form of the inalienably possessed noun *ʔok-ol*, "foot."

Jaʔ kok leʔe. That is my foot.

Chapter 8

1 In other dialects of Tzotzil, the absolutive suffixes are used to mark the objects of transitive verbs, while the absolutive prefixes are reserved to indicate the subjects of intransitive verbs. It is also very common to form perfective aspect by means of the verb *laj-* "to finish, to end," using it as an auxiliary. Thus, the perfective forms in Chamulan Tzotzil are the following:

lajmaj I hit him. *lajkil* I saw him. *lajmajot* I hit you. *lajkilot* I saw you. *lasmajon* He hit me. *lajyilon* He saw me. *lasmajot* He hit you. *lajyilot* He saw you. *lamajon* You hit me. *lavilon* You saw me. *lamaj* You hit him. *lavil* You saw him.

One can see that these forms vary only slightly from the forms with auxiliaries: for example, the final *j* of *laj* disappears in a few cases. Similar forms occur in Zinacantec Tzotzil:

laj jmaj I finished hitting him. *laj jmajot* I finished hitting you. *laj smajon* He finished hitting me. *laj smajot* He finished hitting you. *laj amajon* You finished hitting me. *laj amaj* You finished hitting him.

The meaning of the perfective forms in the Chamulan dialect may be clearer in light of these equivalent forms.

2 Note that in a nominal sentence in which the predicate is a possessed noun, the constituent order is different.

Noun Possessor Subject 1 2 3 *sbankil ʔAntun li Xune*. John is Andrew's older brother.

Here, it is the second constituent--that is, the possessor--which engenders the possessive prefix.

3 One can say:

Ismil Xun yajnil li Petul e. Peter's wife killed John.

because the agent is Peter's wife and not John's.

4 This sentence is, after all, ambiguous. It can also mean: "John's wife killed someone" or "Someone killed John's wife."

Chapter 9

1 The form *kremotik* can also mean "we are boys."

Ital li kremotik e. The boys arrived.

Tzeboxuk pero kremotik. You are girls, but we are boys.

2 The reflexive/reciprocal construction with *-ba* should not be confused with the use of the word *-ba*, with the possessive prefix *s-*, meaning "the first."

sba yajnil his first wife

sba jch'amal my first child

There is possibility for some confusion, engendered by this construction.

Ismaj li sba yajnil e. He hit his first wife.

Ismaj sba li yajnil e. His wife hit herself.

Ismilbe sba xch'amal. Hei killed hisj first son.

Ismil xch'amal stuk. He ikilled his own son.

3 Take note of the following sentence:

Mi vo `ot ti `ip atot e? Are you the one whose father is sick? (Literally: Are you, who your father is sick?)

It is possible to formulate a relative clause based on a noun that functions as possessor.