START

MICROFILM COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS ON CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

FORMERLY: MICROFILM COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS ON AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
AND
MICROFILM COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS ON THE MIDDLE AMERICAN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Series: XXXIV
No: 185

Photographed by:
Department of Photoduplication - The Joseph Regenstein Library
University of Chicago - Chicago, Ill. 60637

REDUCTION RATIO: 12
Notes on Tenejapa Tzeltal
(including original typescript of "Linguistic Acculturation in a Dialect of Tzeltal Mayan")

by
Overton Brent Berlin
et al.
(1960, 1961, 1962)

MICROFILM COLLECTION
OF MANUSCRIPTS ON CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
No. 185
Series XXXIV

University of Chicago Library
Chicago, Illinois
October 1, 1977
Dear Mac,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th. I appreciate your interpretation of the situation in kulaktik and that you consider it surer to do the socio-cultural aspects apart. I feel that we (Alonzo and I) will be able to work, under the circumstances, fairly effectively. In the adjacent paraje of Cul ha7 we had very good luck in the collection of texts. The respect Alonzo holds in the temperate-hot-land parajes is considerable. And he modestly promises that we should not have much trouble in the cold-land parajes north and east of Tenejapa proper. But again, this is linguistic data we're gathering and the hostilities to the socio-cultural census will be more intense. We are indeed fortunate to have the powerful friends we do in Tenejapa, (i.e., Petul Wakash, his three brothers, all INI maestros, Petul's father and Alonzo himself.) I am depending a great deal on their good will and help to make the survey of Tenejapa successful.

In regards to the -uk modal suffix, I hope to make the following morphophonemic rule stick: $u>o$ if the immediately preceding vowel is $o$.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{?ocok} & \rightarrow \text{?ocuk} & \text{'that he enters'} \\
\text{?opohok} & \rightarrow \text{?opohuk} & \text{'that he talks'} \\
\text{?omok} & \rightarrow \text{?omuk} & \text{'that he repairs it'}
\end{align*}
\]

I have transcribed o not only in Alonzo’s speech, but in the speech of two women from his paraje and one male informant from a paraje near Tenejapa.

I understand your desire to retain all of the first one hundred items on the word list. And again, at the risk of sounding defeatist, I can only say that this will be a big order with monolinguals. Perhaps we can get a chance to make a pilot run together in a paraje to test out the list as is. You may have better luck with the non-Spanish speaker, but I myself find it near impossible to receive ho?on in any other manner than:

\[
\text{do?inti s?il ta ?ask?ok 'ho?on'}\]

You should be interested in the distribution of stress in interrogative quotations not formally marked as such by an interrogation particle, (e.g., sal, wan, etc.) I had given up on difference in stress occurring with 'narration' and 'question' forms after a futile attempt to arrive at any with Petul in the early part of the study last year. However, the case is quite clear now that stress is decisive in interrogation. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ya sp?as} & \text{ 'he makes it'} \\
\text{ya spas} & \text{ 'he makes it?'} \\
\text{ya sp?asben} & \text{ 'he makes it for me?'}
\end{align*}
\]

Rather than send my whole notes to you, I will only say that stress patterns differ for second person inflections, i.e.,

\[
\text{ya 7apasben 'you make it for me'}
\]
Stress differs with two classes of bases (of which I see no phonemic characteristics as of now). Thus class I receives penultimate or anti-penultimate stress always, regardless of number of syllables.

ma ya to kinta ko:pa:stik  'Aren't we going to make fun of it for him?'

Class II bases take strong stress on tense particle ya (or negative ma) if the inflected base has three or less syllables. If upon inflection, more are added, a second 'penultimate' stress is added.

\[ \text{yá ho:lo:te:se} \quad \text{'I'm going to be drunk?'} \]
\[ \text{yá ho:lo:te:se} \quad \text{'I'm going to get drunk for you?'} \]

You'll note this form with occurrence of the particle mak.

\[ \text{le:kal mak má:stun} \quad \text{'Is it good or is it bad'} \]
\[ \text{tul mak wák:ák} \quad \text{'Is it rabbit or bull?'} \]

I shall be most grateful for your help with juncture problems, as this is holding me up on all levels. My tentative analysis suggests three junctures, (close, stress, open), determined by distribution of stress and intonation contours, /./ and /,/. For example, in the utterance:

\[ \text{ya s/ban ta: lum} \quad \text{I'm going to town.'} \]

For me, there is a distinct difference in the juncture after ban and before lum than that between ya/s or between s/ban, although I think that you would analyze this as:

\[ \text{yá s/ban ta: lum} \]

I was never certain, however, if this analysis was phonological or morphological.

As to the la and tikla suffixes, I will wait to talk with you personally on this count.

I have followed your suggestion for morphophonemic writing on the word list. However, note the following changes and retentions:

1) Alonzo and Alonzo Herdandez (maestro in kulaktik), insist on mamal sun rather than tatik sun for 'Don Juan'.
2) Era does take Spanish stress.
3) While you mention in Tzeltal Hablado the h and a masculine and feminine prefixes, you did not include h with the first Oxchuc UWF. h does occur with male names when the individual is not directly addressed, and drops, (as does s with female names) when the person is directly addressed.

\[ \text{hpetul} \]
\[ \text{h?alu:k} \]
\[ \text{htin} \]

Alonzo is now working with the machine and writing stress and intonation contours. This will certainly help if he should continue sending materials to the states after we return. I have been instructed by B. Adams to drive the L.Rover to Mexico and will leave Tuesday, 23. See you the 3rd or so.

Sincerely yours,
Mr. Norman A. McQuown  
Apdo. 59  
San Cristóbal de las Casas  
Chiapas, Mexico

Dear Mac,

Enclosed is a carbon copy of a short paper dealing with Tenejapa linguistic acculturation. Please pardon the delay in sending it. Should you find it of use to the project, I can have several copies run off. And, if you should think it could be worked into a publishable article somewhere, I would greatly appreciate your criticisms for needed changes or additions.

I am continuing work on the revision of the morphology and hope to have a letter off soon on several points you have raised. The syntax sketch is coming...as are texts.

Kim will be leaving soon and hopes to catch you before you move back to Chicago. It may not be my place to send this information, but Joseph Greenberg has accepted a position in the department of anthropology here beginning next year. Linguistics yet!!

Yours sincerely,

Sue
LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION
IN A DIALECT OF
TZEITAL (Maya)

Brent Berlin
Stanford University
LINGUISTIC ACCULTURATION: IN A DIALECT OF TZELTAL (MAYAN)

0. Introduction
1. Historical sketch of first contact with Spanish
1.1. Phonemic inventories and correspondences
2. Lexical borrowing
2.1. Loan words
2.2. Loan phrases
2.3. Loan blends
3. Meaning extensions
4. Word coining
5. Theoretical considerations

0. The phenomena of linguistic acculturation has received a considerable amount of attention in the last two decades from linguists, (Bright 1952; Garvin 1948; Haugen 1950; Herzog 1941; Salzmann 1951, 1954; Trager 1944; Weinreich 1953) and to some extent from anthropologists, (Cacagrande 1954-55; Dozier 1956; Gross 1951; Johnson 1943; Lee 1943; Spicer 1943; Spencer 1947). Certainly, the majority of students of culture change today take it as axiomatic that it is probable that the processes of acculturation are manifest to some extent in the language of one or both of the cultural groups in contact. Herzog has noted:

Language is a notoriously flexible instrument and registers culture changes perhaps more sensitively than does any other phase of culture. (1941:66)

In practice, however, few anthropologists have considered linguistic acculturation to be so important as to include it as an essential area of investigation in any study of culture change. One of the aims of this short, descriptive paper will be to illustrate that such studies are indeed fruitful and add considerable perspective to the total dynamic change situation.

The languages to be considered here are Tzeltal, a Mayan language of Chiapas, Mexico, and Spanish. (The specific dialect of Tzeltal is that spoken in the municipio of Tenejapa).
While Spanish has undergone some linguistic change due to influence from Tsoltal, the primary focus of this essay will be to delineate those changes in Tsoltal that have been due directly to Spanish contact.

The linguistic data on which this analysis is based has been obtained from a Tonojapa Tsoltal lexicon of some 3600 entries (Berlin and Kaufmann 1962) and has been facilitated by earlier linguistic description of the phonological and morphological structure of the Tonojapa dialect. (Berlin 1962 a, 1962 b)

1. The first available historical records indicate that the pueblos of what is now considered 'central Tsoltal' were "... independent pueblos in encomienda grants held prior to 1549" (Calnek 1961:13) While Tonojapa is not specifically mentioned at this time, Ocotenango, (now Cancuc) is cited. The present pueblo of Cancuc is situated some four hours walk from the nearest parajes of Tenejapa, and there is every reason to assume that the Tenejapanos had contact with Cancuceros as they do at the present time. If it is taken, however, that the earliest contact with the Spanish occurred in 1611, as is indicated by the earliest clerical census (Calnek 1961: appendix 1, 4), the Tseltals of Tonojapa have been in contact for at least three and one half centuries. There is no reason to assume that this contact has been interrupted for extensive periods during that time.

1.2. The Spanish spoken in 1549 was considerably different from that spoken in Chiapas today, especially as regards certain consonant phonemes. A comparison of the consonant phoneme inventory of 16th century Castilian and modern Spanish (Kaufman 1962) allows for an explanation of most consonantal phonemic substitutions in Tseltal lexical items borrowed from Spanish, and offers some evidence as to the relative period of borrowing. This evidence is invaluable in attempting to indicate those domains of Tseltal culture most affected from the early occupation period, and should offer valuable historical perspective to the long process of accul-
A listing of the consonant phonemes of the Spanish of the two periods, and the phonemic substitutions observed in Tenejapa Tseltal follows.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Spanish (OSP)</th>
<th>Tseltal (TS)</th>
<th>New Spanish (NSP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ñ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>r, l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h (?)</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r, l</td>
<td>r, l</td>
<td>r, l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The consonants that are crucial in determining the relative period of introduction are seen to be:

1. Vowel correspondences have not yet been determined.
2. An examination of the lexicon for instances of Spanish influence indicates that all forms so derived can be analyzed as being an instance of one of three of the four basic types of 'lexical innovation' (Salzmann 1954:137) employed by most languages: 

a) lexical borrowing 

b) meaning extension 

c) word coining 

The fourth basic mode of vocabulary extension, loan translation, has not been observed to be operative in this particular dialect.

2.1. Loan words from Spanish account for nearly eighty percent of all linguistic innovation in Tenejapa Tzeltal. For the anthropologist this particular sub-type of linguistic acculturation may be of considerable importance. Casagrande notes:

'Loan words' are perhaps the most interesting category for the student of acculturation.... From the number of loan words in a language and from a knowledge of their provenience one can often arrive at a rough estimate of the amount of contact a people has had, of the nature of that contact, and ... the contributions made by the donor culture.... (1954:228)

The analysis has led to the recognition of classes or domains into which loan words can be grouped. They are:

- Religious objects
- Transportation
- Education
- Medicine
- Household Goods
- Tools
- Weapons
- Building Materials
- Animals
- Recreation
- Clothing
- Containers
Drink  Fats  Sweet foods
Fruits  Vegetables  Plants and herbs
Mony  Places (of activity) Time
Measurement  Personal names  Surnames
Political personages  Religious personages  People (general)
Religious concepts  "intellectual" culture

The following sections are a listing of the loan words observed in terms of the domain headings. Loans that are analyzed as being derived from OSP are so indicated and are listed last in each domain. Theoretical considerations concerning domains is contained in 5.

Religious objects.

\[\text{kampana}^2 \quad \text{'campana'} \text{ (bell)}; \quad \text{kuruz} \quad \text{'cruz'} \text{ (cross)}; \quad \text{kwenta}s \quad \text{'cuentas'} \text{ (rosary beads)}\]

Transportation.

\[\text{maquina} \quad \text{'máquina'} \text{ (machine, car motor)}; \quad \text{camion} \quad \text{'camión'} \text{ (truck)}; \quad \text{curro} \quad \text{'curro'} \text{ (car)}; \quad \text{gasolina} \quad \text{'gasolina'} \text{ (gasoline)}; \quad \text{tren}^3 \quad \text{'tren'} \text{ (train)}; \quad \text{carretora} \quad \text{'carretora'} \text{ (highway)}; \quad \text{boleta} \quad \text{'boleta'} \text{ (ticket)}\]

Education.

\[\text{escuela} \quad \text{'escuela'} \text{ (school)}; \quad \text{pizarron} \quad \text{'pizarrón'} \text{ (blackboard)}; \quad \text{libro} \quad \text{'libro'} \text{ (book)}; \quad \text{lápiz} \quad \text{'lápiz'} \text{ (pencil)}\]

Medicine.

\[\text{pastilla} \quad \text{'pastilla'} \text{ (pill)}; \quad \text{alkol} \quad \text{'alcohol'} \text{ (alcohol)}; \quad \text{purge} \quad \text{'purga'} \text{ (purge)}; \quad \text{yoro} \quad \text{'yodo'} \text{ (iodine)}\]

Household goods.

2. Stress is ultimate unless indicated otherwise, (cf. Berlin 1962 a)

3. Initial consonant clusters may be broken up by addition of a vowel; usually identical with the first vowel of the stem; or the initial consonant may be lost.
(Household Goods)

- cuero 'embudo' (funnel); yema 'llave' (key); luz 'gas' (kerosene);
- hierba 'jengibre' (ginger); calderero OSP /kaldora/ 'caldera' (kettle);
- candela OSP /kandela/ 'candela' (candle); cuñilo, cuñilo OSP /kuchilo/ 'cuchillo' (knife);
- ?akúa OSP /agusa/ 'aguja' (needle); navaja OSP /nabasa/ 'navaja' (straight razor);
- mesa OSP /nega/ 'mesa' (table);
- ?osa OSP /tisera/ 'tijera' (scissors); ?apon OSP /labon/ 'jabón' (soap);
- ?ila OSP /silva/ 'cilla' (chair); ?salas OSP /eg labon/ 'silla' (chair);
- ?aðelón (flint); ?aðelón OSP /alda/ 'aldata' (door knocker);
- horno OSP /horno/ (?) 'horno' (oven)

Tools.

- riñota, róta 'riata' (lariat); martiyo 'martillo' (hammer);
- mucit 'machete' (machete); lasa 'laso' (lase);
- ?asañona, ?asorno, ?asorno 'asadón' (hoe)

Weapons.

- bala 'bala' (bullet); karawin 'carabina' (carbin); lanza 'lanza' (lance);
- tirerol 'tirador' (slingshot)

Building materials.

- ventana 'ventana' (window); ?arwe 'adobe' (adobe);
- comento 'comieto' (concrete); ?olomo 'plomo' (lead);
- ?awus OSP /klabo/ 'clavo' (nail); ?osa OSP /teja/ 'teja' (roof-tile);
- ?istal OSP /kristal/ 'cristal' (glass)

---

6: Additon of final vowel to a limited number of loans is irregular.
7: Final /?/ is historically OSP plural. However, such forms function presently as singular bases in Tseltal, e.g., /lawus/ 'nail'; /lawuñetik/ 'nails' (<lawus + etik, plural inflectional suffix).
Recreation:
prásko 'refresco' (soft drink); serivo 'cerillo' (wax match);
kanawa, kanawa9 'canoa' (canoe; for making cane beer); pésoro
'fósforo' (wooden match); kanar 'ganar' (winning); payah 'pasear'
(to take a walk) < OSp /pasear/ (?)

Clothing:
kaslon 'calsón' (pants); kotonil9 'cotón' (shirt); waraskil10
'huarache' (thonged sandal); hala OSp /seda/ 'seda' (silk);
¡ha! CSp /seda/ 'seda' (silk covering)

Containers,
kahon 'cajón' (box); tara, tara 'tarro' (clay container); kaha
'caja' (box); moral 'morral' (leather carrying case); keña OSp
/kaha/ 'caja' (coffin); hala OSp /serr/ 'jarro' (jug); keñal
OSp /keñal/ 'costal' (burlap sack); bali OSp /barel/ 'báls' (bucket)

Drinks,
leñ 'leche' (milk); nato 'atole' (corn gruel)

Fats,
tasito 'aceite' (oil); hunto OSp /hunto/ 'unto' (grease); ácar
OSp /sebo/ 'sebo' (fat)

Sweet foods,
lunaro 'dulce' (sweet, candy); tasakal 11 'asúcar' (sugar)

Fruits,
límay 'lima' (limón); pandina, pandina 'mansana' (apple); mandu 'mango'

1. Loss of first syllable and lack of reduction of cluster irregular.
2. Vowel clusters tend to be broken up by consonants.
3. -di suffix lost when form is possessed, i.e., aplikon 'his shirt'.
4. Loss of vowel irregular.
kiny 'gineq' (banana); turegua, tuleguna OSp /durañco/ 'durañco' (peach); melonq OSp /meloneg/ 'melon' (melon); ouna OSp /rabanog/ 'raban' (radish); ouna OSp /naranqeg/ 'naranja' (orange); almoneg OSp /limoneg/'limon' (lime); antia, antiya OSp /sandia/ 'sandia' (watermelon).

Vegetables:
leñuga 'lechuga' (lettuce); kulla OSp /koles/ 'coles' (cabbage)

Plants and herbs:
vena 'buenq' (refers to 'yerba buena', a type of mint); kulantu OSp /kalandro/ 'kulandro' (coriander); sansei12 OSp /'jenqibre/ 'jengibre' (ginger)

Money:
koro 'cobre' (copper coin); santawo 'centavo' (one Mexican cent); tokton 'tostén' (half a peso); reko, peko OSp /paso/ 'peso' (Mexican coin or bill)

Animals:
?azana 'iguana' (large lizard); buro 'burro' (donkey); kawaru 'caballo' (horse); pekoqro 'pescado' (fish); kira 'sigre' (giger); mula 'mula' (female mule); maqu 'macho' (male mule); baka 'vaca' (cow); makar OSp /bakar/ 'vaca, toro' (cow, bull); kervita 'coyte' (coyote); palomeg OSp /palomes/ 'paloma' (pigeon); karkabel OSp /kaskabel/ 'cascabel' (rattle snake)

Animal parts: piko 'pico' (bill of bird, chicken); kaqu 'cacho' (horn of cow, bull)

Places (of activity)
?instituto 'instituto' (Institute, i.e., Instituto Nacional Indigenista)

12. /a/ OSp /e/ irregular
botika 'botica' (drugstore); koral 'corral' (coral); kanyon
'cañon' (canyon); tienda, tienda 'tienda' (store); pinka
'finca' (plantation); paraje 'paraje' (subdivision of a municipio);
wolkan 'volcán' (volcano); pilaltik 'pilares' (place of many
pillars); kawilto 'cabildo' (administrative building); koral
'Sp? 'street' (possible OsP /kiron/ 'long street'?)

Place names (all in Chiapas)
Tokosinko 'Ocosingo'; teneshpa 'Tenejapa'; komtan, komitan 'Comitán';
Chanal 'Chanal'; tušta 'Tuxtla'; sanbartol 'San Bartolo'; soyatitan
'Soyatitlán'; sampawlo 'San Pablo'; salto 'Salto de Agua'; pinola
'Pinola'

Time.
Año 'año' (year); minuto 'minuto' (minute); sekunto OsP
'segundo' (?)(second); hra 'hora' (refers to both
hour and watch); lunes OsP /lunes 'lunes' (Monday); martes
OsP /martes 'martes' (Tuesday); merkure OsP /miercoles 'miércoles'
(Wednesday); webes OsP /viernes 'viernes' (Friday); sawaro OsP /sábado 'sábado'
(Saturday); domingo OsP /domingo 'domingo' (Sunday); semana, semana OsP
'semana' (week); antigo, antigo 'antiguo' (ancient)

Measurement.
Metro 'metro' (meter); kilo 'kilo' (unit of measure, 2.2 lbs.);
Almu OsP /almud 'alma' (measure of grain and \fruit); kwarto
'cuartilla' (about four quarts); litro (liter)

Personal names.
The structural characteristics of loans of personal names in

13. OsP /tie-/, Tzo /tie, tie/
14. pilal + tik, derivational suffix
15. Better /yernae/ (?)
Tenejapa Tzeltal is interesting in that the majority of lexemes are systematically reduced to one or two syllables. The general pattern for syllable reduction is as follows. (/n/ and /a/ preceding each name are agentive nominal derivational prefixes indicating male and female respectively).

If the Spanish form has final /s/ or last consonant of stressed syllable is /s/, the Tzeltal form is comprised of two syllables, having final /a/ or /i/ (except where the Spanish form has vowel final).

htomas OSp /tomas/ 'Tomás'; hpalas OSp /francisco/ 'Francisco'; rubis 'Ruiz'; hantara OSp /andres/ 'Andrés' (second syllable is morphophonemic, cf. footnote 3); hkaros 'Carlos'; hmarkos OSp /markos/ 'Marcos'.

An exception to the above rule is:

hnik 'Nicolas'.

If ultimate syllable of Spanish form has final /l/ or if stressed syllable has initial /l/ or /r/, the Tzeltal form is comprised of two syllables, final consonant being /l/ (or in one instance /r/).

hana 'Catarina'; hmanel 'Manuel'; hnikal 'Miguél'; hniko Nicolasa'; rahpep 'Rafael'; habertor 'Bartolo'.

Two exceptions noted are:

hkape 'Gabriel, Javier'; hnik 'Nicolas'.

If stressed syllable of Spanish form has final /n/ and is followed by /1(c)2a/, Tzeltal form will be comprised of two syllables having final /n/.

han 'Antonia'; hfanon 'Antonic'; hvelon 'Verónica'.

One three syllable form is considered to be a quite recent loan.

hbeipe 'Felipe', hpetul 'Pedro' and haluf 'Alonzo' are irregular.

/hnik/ 'Diego' is bisyllabic due to morphophonemic rule given in footnote 13.

All other names have been reduced to one syllable.

h?an 'Anna'; hkap 'Gabriel, Javier'; hkaas OSp /Gaspar/ 'Gaspar'; hlok 'Lorenzo'; hlu 'Lucia'; hlok OSp /rosa/ 'Rosa'; hmlal OSp /maria/ 'María'; hmat 'Mateo'; hmol 'Melchora';
While many one syllable names lack the critical phoneme correspondences to allow judgment as to relative date of borrowing, it is probable that their canonical shapes alone are sufficient to designate them derivable from OSp.

Surnames.

hantas 'Santiz'; perež 'Perez'; hkmoes /Gómez'; hloris 'Lópe';
hkuesen /Guzmán'; h?ernandez /Os /ernandes/ (?)'Hernández';
maytines /Os /maytines/ 'Maitines'; ?aria /Os /ariaq/ 'Harías';
Jimenes /Os /Jimenes/ 'Jiménez'; hmesa /Os /mesa/ 'Mesa'; h?ilom
Os /?iron/ 'Girón/}

Political personages.

restiko 'testigo' (witness): hkuñyerol, hkuñerol 17 'governador'
(governor); direktor 'director' (director); lisenziaro 'licenciado'
(lawyer); promotor 'promotor' (promoter, for the National Indian Institute);
kaptan /kapitán' (refers to 'alfereces,' lieutenants of the Tzeltal president);
h?alkal 'alcaldes' (mayor); propesor
'profesor' (professor); loktor 'doctor' (doctor); reral, reherl
'rejidor' (political official); huesa 'juez' (judge); pihkalte
Os /fiKal/ 'fiscal' (Perhaps Os /fiKal/' (?) ministerial officer); solterol 10 Os /soldado/ 'soldado' (soldier)

Religious personages

hanhel /ángel' (angel); pyerol 'fiador' (refers to he who represents Jesus Christ); martome /mayordomo/ 'mayordomo' (Tzeltal religious official); pala Os /padre/ 'padre' (priest)

16. h=
17. h= agentive derivational prefix
-12-

People (general reference).

mučaču 'muchacho' (boy); ɬanío 'indio' (Indian); póre 'pobre' (poor one); kumpáre 'compadre' (Godfather); kumáre 'comadre' (Godmother); ɬapenóka 'Chiapaneca' (resident of Chiapas); mehikáno 'Mexicano' (Mexican); móso 'mozo' (maid); ɬermáno 'hermano' (brother); senyára 'señora' (lady); ɬanima 'ánima' (dead one); koço OSp /koço/ 'cojo' (cripple); hkošilán OSp /hkošilán/ 'castellano' (Castilian); kirsianu, kilsianu, kirsanu OSp /kri[I Otiano/ 'cristiano' (Christian, refers to people in general).

Religious concepts.

ryos 'dios' (God); katesismo 'catecismo' (catechism); ɬastiko 'castigo' (punishment); kompišon OSp /konfegion/ 'confesión' (confession).

Intellectual culture.

prewa 'prueba' (proof); awenta 'cuenta' (story); welta 'vuelta' (return); Tespanyol 'Español' (Spanish); kostümpe 'costumbre' (custom); porsa, pwersa 'fuerza' (strength); senya 'seña' (sign); pawor 'favor' (favor); perton OSp /perdon/ 'perdón' (pardon); tóre 'ahora' (when); mérú 'mero' (pure); bun 'bueno' (good); labio 'la diós' (by God!); ?entónes 'entonces' (then); ?i 'y' (and); puro 'puro' (pure).

2.2. Loan phrases, where at least one member of the phrase is a loan word, are another means of vocabulary extension in Tenejapa Tzeltal. The structure of phrases of this sort is as follows:

a) +noun/transitive verb + particle + loan
b) + adjective + loan + noun
c) + particle + loan + loan

Examples of type a) are:
ɬehk'ol, ɬanhel 'obsidian' (i.e. 'fingernail angel'); ɬehk'ol 'fingernail' + ɬanhel 'angel' (angel).
kréna 'type of sickness' (i.e., 'holy chain') [kréna 'cadena' (chain)]
cenal ?anima 'sepultura' (i.e., 'cave dead one') [c'en 'cave' + al 18 + ?anima 'deadone' (cf. above)]
nail káro 'gasoline station' (i.e., 'house car') [na 'house' + il 18 + káro 'car' (cf. above)]
seóé senyóra 'stem of flower' (i.e., 'its hand lady') [19 + seóé 'hair' + senyóra 'lady' (cf. above)]
ste'el tirarol 'forked branch' (i.e., 'its tree slingshot') [te'el 'tree' + al 18 + tirarol 'slingshot' (cf. above)]
te'el file 'rubber stick' (i.e., 'tree rubber') [te'el 'tree' + al 18 + file 'hule' (rubber)]
waké 'milk' (i.e., 'teat cow') [waké 'teat' + waké 'cow' (cf. above)]
sm'anima 'chapel in graveyard' (i.e., 'its house dead one') [e 19 + sm'ated 'house' + ?anima 'dead one' (cf. above)]
sm' mianío 'headquarters of the Instituto Nacional Indigenista' (i.e., his house the Indian) [19 + sm' mianío 'Indian' (cf. above)]
sm' maystro 'school' (i.e., his house schoolteacher) [19 + maystro 'maestro' (schoolteacher)]
htih káro 'car driver' (i.e., 'mover of car') [htih 'move it' + káro 'car' (cf. above)]
htih marimpa 'marimba player' (i.e., mover of marimba') [htih 'move it' + marimpa 'marimba' (marimba)]
htoh to pérsa 'payer of taxes' (?) (i.e., 'payer in strength') [17 + to 'pay it' + ta 'in' + pérsa 'strength' (cf. above)]
htérik mártin 'honorabale martyr father' [htérik 'father' + mártin 'martyr' (martyr)]
ku'il yxon 'the sun; God' (i.e., 'living God') [ku'il 'live' + yxon 'God' (cf. above)]
poko káha 'old box' [poko 'old' + káha 'box' (cf. above)]

18. nominal suffix, attributizing
19. third person possessive prefix
20. honorific suffix
epa sob'11 ôra 'watch shop' (i.e., place of making watches')
[ê19 + na' to make it' + ob'21 + il'22 + ôra 'watch'
(Cf. above)]
a'tel wakas 'ox' (i.e., 'work cow') [a'tel 'work' + wakas 'cow, bull (cf. above)]

There are a limited number of forms of this class where the
first member of the phrase is a transitive verb. They are:
-x'unb'e amantar 'to obey him' (i.e., 'to obey it for him his order')
[=e'un 'to obey it' + b'23 + il'19 + mantar 'mandar' (order)]
-sentënsia 'to sentence it, him' (i.e., 'to give it, him
sentence') [sentënsia 'to give it' + sentënsia 'sentënsia' (sentence)]
-k'anb'e perton 'to ask him pardon' (i.e., to ask it of him pardon)
[-k'an 'to ask it' + b'23 + perton 'pardon' (cf. above)]

Examples of type b) are:
ka'slan wah 'sweet bread' (i.e., 'sweet Castilian bread')
[êk' 'sweet' + il'18 + ka'slan 'Castilian' (cf. above) + wah
'corn tortilla']
wôla ?âk 'type of chili pepper' (i.e., 'ball type chili') [wôla
'bola' (ball) + ?âk 'chili']
bwen lek 'very good' [bwen 'bueno' (very) + lek 'good' (but lit.
'good god')]
ka'slan tapal 'numbers' (i.e., Castilian numbers)
[ka'slan 'Castilian'
+ tapal 'numbers']
ka'slan pak 'rain covering' (i.e., 'Castilian material')
[ka'slan
+ pak 'clothing material']
ka'slan xene 'peanut' (i.e., Castilian bean)
[ka'slan + xene 'bean']
ka'slan tikin 'wheat' (i.e., Castilian corn)
[ka'slan + tikin 'corn']
ka'slan wah 'bread' (i.e., 'Castilian tortilla')
[ka'slan + wah 'tortilla']
tesal na 'tile roofed house' ['tesan 'teja' + il'18 + na 'house']

21. -ob' derivational suffix indicating place or object.
22. -il' derivational suffix in conjunction with inanimate possessor.
23. -b' indirective suffix.
Examples of type c) are:

- **skarétail káro 'tire' (i.e., its cart wheel car') [s + karéta 'careta' (ox cart) + káro 'car']**
- **ta bun fáre 'quickly' (i.e., 'in good time, hour') [ta 'in' + bun 'good' (cf. above) + fáre 'hour' (cf. above)]**
- **lusil káro 'car lights' (i.e., lights car) [lus 'light' (light) + káro 'car']**

2.3. I have knowledge of one example of a loan blend, /sik'ol/ 'cigarette' [sik'ol 'tobacco' + cigaro]

3. Meaning extensions comprise that small category of terms in Tzeltal that are made up solely of Tzeltal morphemes, but whose referents are cultural elements introduced by Spanish contact. The problem of determining whether a term or terms is a meaning extension or indeed a new term rests, unfortunately, on historical evidence. Thus, while the term for church, c'ulna, refers only to the Mexican 'iglesia' at the present time, it has not been possible to determine conclusively that the Tzeltals of the 16th century did or did not frequent places of worship which they referred to as c'ulna. Only when adequate historical evidence exists has a form been designated as word coining, the remainder being considered at present as examples of meaning extensions.
The analysis recognizes two distinct structural classes of meaning extensions.

Type a)

- **'c'ahan tak'in 'wire'** (i.e., 'cord metal')
- **b'ad'il tak'in 'silver'** (i.e., 'true metal')
- **'af'isob'ill ku'il 'sewing shop'** (i.e., place of sewing clothes)
- **ns'ol 'pharmacy'** (i.e., its house (medicine))
- **h't'en tak'in 'tin-smith'** (i.e., 'one who hits metal')
- **c'ul 'church'** (i.e., his house (God))
- **k'atim b'ak 'Hell'** (i.e., 'eating bone')
- **kahmaneltik 'Jesus Christ'** (i.e., our honorable redeemer)

Type b)

This class of meaning extensions is composed of Tenejapa Tzeltal names for animals that have been restricted in meaning to designating domesticated, (i.e., introduced) varieties. The wild varieties to which the aboriginal terms were first applied are now proceeded by attributives. The pattern is rare as a means of vocabulary extension in this dialect and the following examples include all that have been observed:

- **x'ih 'sheep'**
- **t'itik'il x'ih 'deer'** (i.e., 'forest sheep')
- **mitam 'pig'**
- **manal mitam 'wild pig'** (i.e., 'brush pig')
- **mut 'chicken'**
- **t'itik'il mut 'bird'** (i.e., forest chicken)

One might expect that an earlier period distinguished the borrowed varieties of animals from the aboriginal forms by use of word coining. This is indicated to be the case by **tunum x'ih 'sheep'** (i.e., cotton deer), although **x'ih** is the more general term for sheep today.
4. Word coing as a type of lexical innovation in Tenejapa Tzeltal is quite rare. Examples observed are:
- alem tak'in 'airplane' (i.e., vulture metal); tak'in k'ahk' 'oven' (i.e., metal fire); tunim 'sheep' (cf. above)

5. The sections thus far have been given to indicate those instances of Spanish influence that are apparent in the lexicon of a dialect of Tzeltal. The remainder of the paper will be devoted to indicating how this evidence can be useful in providing an index to various areas of acculturation of the Tenejapa Tzeltal.

Casagrande's observations concerning the result of his analysis of Comanche lexical materials are equally applicable here. He notes:

...it is quite evident that the preponderance of new terms are those for material aspects of White culture. While it cannot be assumed that Comanche knowledge of White culture is restricted to those traits for which the language provides unitary terms, this fact bespeaks greater familiarity with the tangibles of Western culture than with the non-material traits. Nor is this surprising, as the things of daily use tend to be the first part of one culture to be both presented to and accepted by another culture. Moreover, material culture does not necessarily require spoken introduction to a borrowing people. Non-material or intellectual culture on the other hand, is essentially transmitted through the medium of language, and such knowledge, unless it is sheer mimicry, must necessarily be translated from one language into another through the good offices of one, a few, or many bilingual speakers. It is probably unrealistic to expect that any significant corpus of alien intellectual culture, especially that of an esoteric nature, will be incorporated into a borrowing culture or accommodated by its language unless it is espoused by some special class of persons such as scholars, priests, rulers, or artisans who occupy positions of some prestige or power. (1955:20)

In fact, little more than seven percent of the total vocabulary can be classified as indicating non-material culture.

Likewise, loans referring to either religious objects or concepts are rare. This contrast sharply with terms related to political and semi-governmental domains, which comprise approximately a fifth of the lexicon. This discrepancy is verified to a great extent by modern ethnographic data from Tenejapa.
While nominally Catholic, the majority of the population in Tenejapa adheres strongly to traditional religious tonots, in general little modified by teachings of the Catholic Church. Items that may have been introduced at the conquest, (such as the cross, etc.) have been modified and incorporated into a pre-existing religious belief system. Analysis of Tzeltal myths and tales reveal a hostility to the clergy specifically and to the church in general. Discussion of the discrepancy of the ideal and actual behavior patterns of the priesthood is filled with satirical humor and a general disrespect is apparent in conversations with several Tzeltal informants. Personal discussions with the mission priests suggest that the clergy is aware of this continued 'paganism' of the Tenejapa Tzeltals, even after the 400 year occupation period. Medina, working in Tenejapa at the same time the linguistic data for this paper was collected, states.

Por lo que he visto hasta ahora en Tenejapa la iglesia sólo es el lugar en donde habitan los santos. Los indígenas no se preocupan más del cuidado del templo, sólo atienden a los santos que visten con ropas de indígena. (1961:9)

In contrast, the socio-political vocabulary does to a great extent reflect the impact of Spanish governmental control. Tenejapans generally reflect a continual interest in the goings on of the governing officials in the cabecera, especially as it concerns their relations with Ladinos. Tzeltal myths are filled by accounts of relations with a wide range of governmental administrators, soldiers, etc. Domains of political person, place names, places of activity and weapons all serve to indicate the salient characteristics of this particular aspect of Spanish influence.

Observations concerning the domain of transportation indicate that all loans included are of fairly recent origin. Each refers to some form of mechanized transport, or to a by-product of such transport.

No loans in the domains of education or medicine suggest any antiquity. This observation is verified by ethnographic observations of only relatively recent attempts at large educational and medical programs in Tenejapa.
Loans added to the domains of household goods, tools, building materials and containers are fairly numerous and comprise thirteen percent of the vocabulary. Half of the forms are derived from Old Spanish and point out "...aspects of the donor culture which have been most eagerly seized upon, most salient...indicating conditions peculiar to the time of contact". (Casagrande 1955:25)

The paucity of loans referring to clothing specifically points out a lack of concern on the part of the Tenejapa Tzeltal to adopt Ladino dress. Today less than a dozen Tenejapa Indians (of a population near eight thousand) are 'revestidos' or 'those who have changed clothes'. Those who have are in general 'promotores' of the National Indian Institute, individuals who are serving as school teachers in the various parajes of the municipio and a few individuals who have spent several years on plantations near the coast. For the rest of the group, however, the rule is strict adherence to Tenejapa traditional dress.

The domain of food, including drinks, fats, fruits, sweets, vegetables and herbs comprise nearly ten percent of the total vocabulary and provide an interesting index of influences in agricultural practices. A most interesting observation concerns the relative date of introduction of food items. Of all the lexemes or phrases referring to food, fourteen or roughly 47% are analyzed as derivable from Old Spanish. This suggests not only an early interest on the part of the occupation forces to introduce the elements, but also an early desire on the part of the Tenejapa Tzeltals to acquire them.

The sparse listing of vegetables (two items) also reflects modern dietary preferences in Tenejapa. Fresh vegetables of any variety are almost non-existent, even as supplementary items. No Tzeltals of this municipio, to my knowledge, cultivate lettuce, cabbage, etc.

In the domain of 'time' the area most radically affected is seen to be names for days of the week, most of the terms being of early derivation. /rominko/, 'Domingo' (Sunday), however,
must be considered as a later loan in comparison with the other day names. One rather speculative hypothesis is that as more Tzeltалs became bilingual, the reproduction of the name of this day (a day of the weekly market when nearly every Tzeltal in the municipio has opportunity to associate with Ladinos in some fashion or another), more closely approximated Spanish phonetics and replaced a hypothetical /htum/ (cf. the personal name, 'Domingo')

The domains containing the greatest number of loans are those of personal names and surnames. The derivation of the large majority of names, especially the first names, are from Old Spanish and indicate quite early acceptance of Spanish naming practices. Tzeltals of Tenejapa have rejected, however, the Spanish practice of indicating the surname of the father and the surname of the mother, in sequence. Today the case is to utilize two surnames, one Spanish, the second Tzeltal, and only highly acculturated bilinguals replace their Tzeltal name with the mother's surname. This pattern is indicative of Tenejapa conservatism in comparison with a number of other highland towns where naming practices are completely Spanish.

The preponderance of loan words as compared to extensions of meaning and word coining has already been noted. No theoretical positions are available, to my knowledge, as to this differential usage of modes of vocabulary extention, however. It is one area where research is most sorely lacking. A second structural feature is that the vocabulary is comprised of nouns almost exclusively, with a much fewer number of adjectives and particles. Verbal constructions are quite rare.

The general characteristics of Tenejapa linguistic acculturation thus allows for these general concluding remarks. The low number of loans in itself bespeaks a cultural conservatism that is ethnographically verified. However, the few forms that have been isolated allow the linguistic anthropologist to augment his ethnographic data with linguistic evidence that adds historical perspective.
perhaps otherwise unavailable. Areas that have been fundamentally affected by Spanish influence are immediately apparent, (as foods and personal names) and areas of culture that have been little influenced can be inferred by the paucity of lexical innovation in those domains. The numerous cues to cultural dynamics available in the lexicon of a language should make it a legitimate area of study for the student of culture change.
References Cited

Berlin, Brent. 1962a "Esebozo de la Fonología del Tzeltal de Tenejapa, Chiapas" Estudios de Cultura Maya, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, México, D. F. (in press)


Kaufman, Torrence. 1962. Personal communication.


1. Hechizma
2. el pastor
3. Ke serri Keesta
4. lo Kere
5. Kuwarisa
6. Kompi
7. los pul. mone
8. nortengo, es la casa blanca
9. pero nortengo pa re se
10. El museo.
11. mastru perso
12. Kae to
13. a Kae to
14. Kwawto son, dos mas Kwadro
TENESPA

# CVC.CVC #

# CVC.CVC #

3 / 1

\( \frac{2}{3} \)

NKMA

31

# CVC.CVC #

Ya, spas

Sappas


guestion figure

Ya, spasben

Ya, spasben
CV(h)C

*CV(h)C

* Bit [il]

bin 2 t

simpler base

complex base

root stem
TENÉJAPA

Recordings of Text [4 hrs. of stories]

(1) Cuentos de Tenéjapa (Baroco) [ok, ok]

(2) TZELTAL TEXTS (Alonso) (free composition) [non] — ok

(3) TZELTAL TEXTS (taped) (Kubelik) — Alonso [14] OK OK

(4) TZELTAL TEXTS (taped) (Kubelik's notes) [12 hrs]

(5) TZELTAL PHONOLOGY (taped) (2)

(6) TZELTAL WORD LIST (taped) (1)

Grammar and Dictionary

(1) Grammar File

(2) Lexicon File (alphabetized) [ppt, t, x, y, z, w, l, r]
1. **VERB**
   (present in strict structure/order) (everything bound + free in verbal phrase)

   40 modal positions

   - The core-position involves complex derivation
     
     \[
     V > V
     \]

     \[
     N > V
     \]

     \[
     P > V
     \]

   - The peripheral-position (bounded) involve inflection

   - The peripheral-position (free) involve adverbial particle syntax

   etc.
**Syntax**

**Positions**:

I. (1) core
(2) periphery

II. 1) head
2) modifier

III. 1) relation
2) axis

**Constructions**
MORPHONEMICS

20
21
41

50

25-day

5 weeks

36