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REDUCTION RATIO: 12
A Sketch of Tzeltal Syntax
by
Terrence S. Kaufman
(1961 - 1962)

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A Sketch of Taeltal Syntax

**Abbreviations**

**Word level (word type names)**

- vaj: verbal adjective
- ip: inflectible particle
- iv: intransitive verb
- tv: transitive verb
- pv: passive verb
- rv: reflexive verb
- ppr: personal pronoun
- dpr: demonstrative pronoun
- epr: emphatic pronoun
- nc: numeral classifier
- aux: auxiliary
- p-v: postverbal modifier
- vn: verbal noun
- n: noun
- aj: adjective
- a-p: adjective-participle

**Phrase level (phrase type names)**

- N: noun phrase
- ivp: intransitive verb phrase
- tvp: transitive verb phrase
- t: time
- l: location
- m: manner
- e: extent
- p: purpose

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*Proof-read Spring 1962*
Abbreviations, Phrase level (continued)

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+ obligatory

± optional

slot : filler
Bibliography and Literature

Benjamin Elson and Velma B. Pickett, Beginning Morphology-Syntax, SIL, Santa Ana, 1960, 73 pp.


0. Introduction

This paper is an attempt to describe Tzeltal syntax using a general frame of reference based on Pike's tagmeme theory. The description is based on a general knowledge of Tzeltal, and was tested on a limited corpus. The statements made here account for most of the constructions in that corpus, which consists of about 3000 words of text material, 480 sentences, in the Tenejapa dialect. There are 29 texts in all, the subject matter of the corpus being sickness and curing. This description has been further tested on another corpus by Brent Berlin and has been found to be generally adequate.

The structural items to be dealt with here are affix, word, phrase, and clause. This description stops at the clause level; that is, it describes the structure of clauses but does not describe how clauses are put together to make sentences, nor does it describe any higher level (discourse, utterance, etc.). The description begins with syntactic word types, proceeds to phrase types, thence to clauses.

1.0 Syntactic word types.

In Tzeltal there are five stem-classes; nouns (n), transitive verbs (tv), intransitive verbs (iv), adjectives (aj), and particles (p). These five stem-classes on the morphological word level are matched by a good many more on the syntactic word level.

In the discussion of phrase and clause structure to follow, word types that are specified are syntactic word types and not stem-classes although the names are similar.

The following syntactic word types occur.

1.1.1 Independent personal pronouns; /ho?on/ 'I, me', /ha?at/ 'you (sg)', /ha?/ '3d sg', /ho?tik/ 'we, us', /ha?es/ 'you (pl)', /ha?ik/ 'they, them'. These are formally speaking stative verbs formed from the
particle /haʔ/ + stative verb endings (see stative predicates 3.1.3),
and might be translated 'it is I who', 'it is you who', etc. From a
more fruitful point of view, however, since these pronouns function in
precisely the way that all other subjects and objects do, these forms
are called independent personal pronouns. The interrogative-relative
personal pronouns /mač'α/ 'who', /mač'atik/ '(the) ones, people (who)'
are formally particles.

1.1.2 Reflexive pronoun /-ba/ 'oneself, one another', inflected as a
noun, is the direct object complement in a reflexive verb construction.

1.1.3 Emphatic personal pronoun /-tukel/ 'by oneself, oneself alone',
inflected as a noun, fills the subject/object slot on the clause level,
as well as being an expansion to the right of the corresponding (for
person) independent personal pronoun.

1.1.4 Demonstrative pronouns /haʔ/, /haʔ ini/, /haʔ mene/ 'this,
that' with relative-interrogative /binti/, /bin/, /bi/ 'what' and
/bitik/ '(the) things (that)' are partly phrasal in structure and will
be discussed in the phrase-level presentation.

1.2.1 Inflectible particles: /hič/ 'thus', /haʔ/ 'this/that', /ʔay/
'existing', /yakal/ 'currently', and perhaps several others, are that
subclass of all particles which may occur with stative verb endings
on the clause level.

1.2.2. Numeral classifiers are a special subset of particles which
are derived from tv roots and noun stems and occur only as satellites
in the numerational slot of the noun phrase.
1.2.3 The single preposition /ta/ is always followed by an 'object' (noun phrase) and occurs in location phrases, in the numeration slot in noun phrases, and in manner phrases.

1.2.4 The particle /sok/ 'with' is optionally followed by any nominal element, or by another clause.

1.2.5 Some particles have wide distribution across phrase types and have a position specifiable in terms of a whole phrase with themselves as the last expansion.

1.2.6 Other particles have positions definable in terms of the whole clause in which they occur.

1.2.7 Clause introducers functioning on the clause level are /me/, /tame/, /k'ala/, /te/.

1.2.8 All other particles are specified by the types of phrases they occur in, which are the following: time, location, manner, extent, purpose, transitive verb, intransitive verb. They include specific (or absolute) as well as relative-interrogative particles.

1.3.1 Verbal nouns are that subclass of noun stems (and as well syntactic nouns) which are derived from transitive and intransitive verb stems by the addition of the suffix /-el/. (A few intransitive verbs are derived irregularly and with the suffix /-al/). Verbal nouns (at least those derived from tv stems, and perhaps also those derived from iv stems) may function as satellites in verb phrases. Those derived from transitive verbs may govern objects when part of the verb phrase.
1.3.2 Geographical names (gn), which are uninflected on the morphological level are simply nouns on the syntactic level.

1.3.3 Personal names (pn) are not normally (if ever) possessed or pluralized on the morphological level. They function as nouns on the syntactic level. There are two types of personal names; those having prefix /h-/ and those having prefix /a-. Those having prefix /h-/ are men's Christian names and indigenous and Spanish family names. Those having prefix /a- are women's Christian names. These prefixes, which are present when the names are used referentially, are absent when the words are used in direct address.

1.3.4 All other forms which are nouns on the morphological level are also nouns on the syntactic level.

1.4.1 Verbal adjectives are of two types; those derived from tv stems with the suffix /-bil/, which are perfect passive participles, and those derived from iv stems with the suffix /-em/, which are perfect active participles. These verbal adjectives may have attributive function, and stative function. In the latter function they may be preceded by the verbal particle /'ay/, unlike other adjectives, and like verbs.

Exx:

from tv  /'ak'bil/ 'having been given'
          /manbil/ 'having been bought'
          /paybil/ 'having been boiled'

from iv  /talem/ 'having come'
          /'ahč'em/ 'having gotten wet'
          /lok'em/ 'having gone out'
1.4.2 Adjectival participles are a subclass of adjectives which are derived from TV roots with the suffix \(/-\text{tv} 1/ \) and generally specify something about the condition of something.

Exx:  

a) /payal/ 'boiled'  
b) /tek\'el/ 'standing up', 'upright'  
c) /\'oto/ 'seated', 'sitting'  
d) /hakal/ 'far off'  
e) /tih\'il/ 'near by'  
f) /nakal/ 'situated'  
g) /s\'epel/ 'round and flat'  
h) /\'olol/ 'spherical'

It may be that these words can also occur preceded by /\?ay/, but this is not verified. They are unique, however, in that in stative predications these are the only fillers of that slot that can occur with the suffixes \(/-\text{an}, \text{-anik} \) '2d sg/pl imper'. This suffix cannot occur with all these a-p's. One cannot say 'be boiled!' (a), 'be round!' (g), 'be spherical!' (h); one can say 'stand up!' (b), 'sit down!' (c), 'get lost!' (d). The limitation seems to be a matter of congruity.

1.4.3 All other forms which are adjectives on the morphological level are also adjectives on the syntactic word level.

1.5.1 Passive verbs are derived from TV stems by suffixing \(/-\text{ot}/, or \(/-\text{bet}/ (=/-\text{bey} / 'indirect' + /-\text{ot}/ 'passive'). They have the same syntactic properties as other intransitive verbs, with the exception that on the clause level an agent slot optionally occurs when a passive verb is the head of a predicate.

1.5.2 Auxiliaries are uninflected forms of verbs used in leftward expansions of verb phrases of all types (not stative).
1.5.3 Postverbal modifiers are (historically) verbal nouns used in rightward expansions of verb phrases of all types (not stative).

1.5.4 All other words which are intransitive verbs on the morphological level are also iv's on the syntactic level.

1.5.5 All transitive verbs on the morphological level are also transitive verbs on the syntactic level, with the exception of /stak'/ (q.v. 2.2.9.2, 2.2.9.3).

1.6 Note on relatives: relative particles -- personal pronoun, demonstrative (pronoun), time, location, purpose, manner, extent -- all have double function (see Pickett pp 70-1). They function in the appropriate slot in the dependent clause, and the dependent clause as a whole functions as the subject or object in the independent clause. The various relative particles will be discussed under the various phrase types of which they are members. The optional /te/ which is described for the relative particles usually (but not always or only) occurs when the relative clause is filling the subject slot in the main clause.

2.0 Phrases

Phrases are groups of words or single words which are potentially expandable into more than one word. All words which are not expandable and yet fill slots in levels above the phrase should have been dealt with on the word level.

The following phrase types occur.

Noun phrases (N) head slot

modification slot

numerational slot
demonstrative slot
Intransitive verb phrases (ivp)
Transitive verb phrases (tvp)

auxiliaries
postverbals

Time phrases (t)
Location phrases (l)
Purpose phrases (p)
Manner and Extent phrases (m, e)

2.1 Noun Phrases

2.1.1 The simple noun phrase consists of an optional demonstrative slot (discontinuous), an optional enumerational slot, an optional modification slot, and an obligatory head slot.

The head slot is filled by a single noun

Exx: /h'antun/ 'Antonio'
     /hobel/ 'San Cristóbal'
     /can/   'snake'
     /baza/  'attic'

Any polymorphemic (stem+stem) head is probably to be considered a compound.

2.1.2 The slot occurring immediately to the left of the head slot is the optional modification slot, which may be filled either by a noun or by an adjective, the latter of which is expandable.

Exx: Mod : n + H : n
     /'an¿ hohmut/ (woman crow) 'female crow'
     /pukuh ²'i?/ (evil-one dog) 'mean dog'
Adjectives are of two types, those which suffix /-VI/ when the adjective occurs in attributive function and those which do not. Adjectives may be expanded to the left with either /lom/ or /bwen/, both meaning 'very'.

Exx: Mod: aj + H : n
     /lekil ʔand destroyer VI woman) 'good woman'
     /c’in kerem/ (little boy) 'little boy'
Mod: A [lom, bwen + aj] + H : n
     /lorn k’isin haʔ/ (very hot water)
     /bwen lekil pošil/ (very good-VI medicine)

No examples of more than one adjective filling the modification slot has been noted heretofore, and none are present in the data I am testing; so it is not possible to say what the ultimate expansion of this slot might be. (NB: As of 1962, probably 2 to 3 adjectives can fill the modification slot.)

2.1.2.1 Possessive inflexion of nouns occurs on the phrase level and includes the optional modification slot and the obligatory head slot. (Possessive affixes are underlined in the following examples).

Exx: + H : n
     /šol/ 'his head'
     + Mod : n + H : n
     /spukuh ʔiʔik/ (their-evil-one dog-their) 'their mean dog(s)'
     + Mod : aj + H : n
     /lekil ʔandzik/ (our-good-VI woman-our) 'our good women'

Examples of the possessive affixes including the manner particles /lom/, /bwen/ have ever been observed.

2.1.2.2 There are certain complex noun expressions which should be described here. (Do not confuse with complex noun phrases which are quite a different thing; see 2.1.5). They consist of one noun in a given
state followed by another in the same state (i.e., possessed or unpossessed), except that only the second shows plural inflexion. The relation between the two items may be thought of as apposition on the phrase level. The structure is analogous to that of complex intransitive verbs and reflexive verbs (q.v. 2.2.3, 2.2.1).

Exx: /pat ŋuhk/ 'a neighbor'
/pat ŋhuk/ 'my neighbor'
/apat ašuhk/ 'y'all's neighbors'
/kal hašuč'an/ 'my sons and daughters'
/ŋeŋ ṣayat/ 'his father and mother' > 'his ancestors'

2.1.3 The next slot to the left of the modification slot is the optional numeral slot. It may be filled either by a numeral phrase (described in detail in a paper written for another course) or a numeral expression such as /ŋòšèb tũg/ 'three spoons (of)', which is an included ± Num : num + H : n phrase.

Exx: ± Num : num ± Mod : aj + H : n
/čaʔtul lekil winik/ (two-person good-Vl man) 'two good men'

± Num : num [± H : n] ± Mod : aj + H : n
/ŋòšèb tũg k'isin tolhaʔ/ (three spoons hot water)

2.1.3.1 If not followed by a noun functioning as head of a noun phrase, the numeral slot functions as the head of a noun phrase and can only be expanded by the demonstrative slot, discussed next.

2/1/4 The last slot to the left is the optional demonstrative slot. It is discontinuous, so that the ± Num ± Mod + H is included within the demonstrative expression. Demonstrative expressions are the following:

/te + H ± e/ 'the' (when noun phrase is single, or last in a complex noun phrase string)
The interrogative demonstrative is /binti, bin, bi/ 'what?' The /H at the end is suffixed with /-il/ when this, or the relative demonstrative occurs. The relative demonstrative is /te binti, bin, bi/ 'what, that which'.

Ex: /bi ʔaʔtelil/ (ʔaʔtel = work) 'what (kind of) work?'

2.1.5 Complex noun phrases or strings. Also on the phrase level occur sequences of more than one noun phrase strung together by the mechanism of having all but the last phrase of the string possessed in the third person singular (all but the demonstrative part) which represents the possessive or genitive relation obtaining between the phrases. Noun phrases entering into the complex noun string construction may occur only with /te/, of all the demonstratives.

Exx: + H poss + H

/shol hi' sun/ (hi's-head John)
i.e. John, his head > John's head
or his head (of) John > the head of John

The longest string occurring in the texts mentioned in the introduction is --

/spukuhil  te  yaʔtel  stiʔ  te  cane/

+ N poss + N poss [ te + H:n ] + N poss + N [ te + H :n ]

'i its evil (of) its liquid (of) its mouth (of) the snake'
i.e. 'the evil of the saliva of the snake' (the power of the snake's venom). If /te/ occurred before /stiʔ/, the symmetry would be perfect.
As it is, /ya?lel sti?/ probably are in immediate constituency with one another.

2.2 Verb phrases (simple) consist of an optional negation slot, an obligatory tense particle slot, an optional auxiliary slot, an obligatory head slot, and an optional postverbal modification slot. There are two main types of head, transitive and intransitive.

2.2.1 All simple transitive verbs have two aspects, imperfective and perfective. In the imperfective aspect they are preceded by tense markers /ya/ 'present' or /la/ 'past'; in the perfective aspect they are preceded by nothing. Reflexive verbs are a special subset of simple transitive verbs in that they take as direct object the reflexive pronoun /-ba/ (1.1.2) which is always inflected for the same person as the subject of the verb; plural is always indicated on the pronoun where relevant, never on the verb. The reflexive pronoun is considered as being included in the main verb expression.

Exx: /ya hmah hba/ 'I hit myself'
    /ya humah hbahtik/ 'we hit each other'

The structure of reflexive verb heads is analogous to that of complex noun expressions (2.1.2.2) and complex intransitive verbs (2.2.3).

2.2.2 Simple intransitive verbs have only one aspect, imperfective. They may be preceded by tense markers /?a/ 'non-past', /ya + ?a/ 'present progressive', /?a/ 'past', or nothing 'past'. Intransitive verbs are both active and passive.

2.2.3 A complex intransitive verb expression may also function as a head. As in complex noun expressions and reflexive verb expressions, plural is marked only on the second member of the expression. The fact that /?a/, above (2.2.2) identified as a particle, can occur with
both elements of such an expression is evidence in favor of its being considered an inflexion (prefixual) rather than a particle.

\[ /ya \, \text{š} \text{?} \text{alah šnič'nah}/ \text{ (give-birth beget) 'they are having children')} \]
\[ /\text{?} \text{alah nič'nahik}/ \text{ 'they had children')} \]

2.2.4 Imperative verbs are never preceded by tense particles. The negative imperative (see 2.2.6) for both transitive and intransitive verbs is \( - \, \mp \text{Neg}: \text{ma} \, \pm \text{me} \, \mp \text{Tense}: \text{š} \, + \text{H} : \text{tv/iv} \)

i.e. \text{ma} (me) \( \text{š} \, + \text{verb (in optative-subjunctive-imperative form)} \)

2.2.5 A simple transitive or intransitive verb head may be expanded to the left with one of several auxiliary verbs, which formally are uninflected (usually intransitive) verb stems. The tense markers that precede the auxiliaries and that specify the whole phrase are those that occur with transitive verbs. \( \mp \text{Aux} + \text{Head} \) may be thought of as a complex verb phrase rather than an expansion of a simple verb phrase, i.e. main verb + main verb rather than satellite + nucleus, as it is treated here. The total number of auxiliaries is about 10.

Exx: /k'an/ (<tv -k'an 'want') 'to almost'
/lishk/ (iv 'get up') 'to start to'
/ba~baht/ (iv 'go') a) 'to be going to' (future)
   b) 'to go and'
/tal/ (iv 'came') 'to come and'
/k'an čamuk/ (almost he-dies-may) 'he almost died'
/lihk spas/ (beginning he-does-it) 'he began to do it'
/tal kil/ (coming I-see-it) 'I came to see it'

The imperative of auxiliary + head is the main evidence for the complex verb phrase idea, because the formula is \text{auximper} + \text{headimper}

Exx: /ban pasa/ (go! do-it!) 'go and do it'
/\text{?očan} \, \text{?a?tehan}/ (begin! work!) 'start to work!'
2.2.6 Post-verbal modifiers. The simple verb phrase may be expanded to the right with certain elements (some of which are still formally identical with verbal nouns, and some of which have an altered shape) which directly follow the head and which specify something about the manner of the action. There are about 10 of these.

Exx: \(/\)bel/ \((<ba\ iv\ 'go' + el)\) 'going'

\(/\)tal/ \((xtal\ iv\ 'come' + el)\) 'coming'

\(/\lo\?el/\ (\Lok\ iv\ 'leave' + el)\) 'leaving' \((Auca\catenanguo)\)

\(/\koel/\ (ko\ iv\ 'descend')\) 'going down'

\(/\moel/\ (mo\ iv\ 'ascend')\) 'going up'

\(/\?an\ lo\?el/\ (he\ fled,\ leaving)\) 'he\ took\ off' \((Auca\catenanguo)\)

\(/\?o\can\ tal/\ (enter!\ coming)\) 'came in'

If the simple verb is reflexive, the post-verbal particle may occur between the verb and the reflexive pronoun, or it may follow the reflexive pronoun.

2.2.7 Any verb phrase (simple or complex) may be preceded by /\?ay/ as the next-last expansion to the left. This too may be thought of as a complex construction; since /\?ay/ in other contexts means 'existing', /\?ay/ + verb phrase may be translated as 'it is the case that ...'. The construction is here regarded as a simple expansion.

2.2.8 Negative expressions occur first in the verb phrase. They are /\ma + ba/, and /\ma/. The general distribution is that /\ma/ occurs when verbs have past tense markers and /\ma ba/ precedes verbs having present tense markers. But this is not always the case. In addition, when negatives are (operationally) added to a verb phrase, the tense markers may disappear. The negative of a verb phrase beginning with /\?ay/ is to replace /\?ay/ by /\ma?yuk ba/.

[This statement is modified and expanded by B. Berlin, in his paper, "Additonal Notes on Tengapa Syntax".]
2.2.9 Complex verb expressions. There are several types of predicates which consist of a simple verb phrase plus additional matter which it is convenient to consider as part of the verb phrase and not part of the clause structure. There are two main types of complex verb expressions, verb + verb, and verb + verbal noun. Each main type has two subtypes.

2.2.9.1 1A. The transitive verbs /-ak'/ 'put, give', /-pas/ 'do, make' may occur in construction with a following verb (perhaps only a head) with no intervening tense particles. The meaning is 'he causes that he do it' or 'he makes/has him do it'.

Exx: with /-ak'/
/ya yak'ik stuhta/ (they give, he spits) 'they have him spit'
/ya yak'beik ya?lelin/ (they give to him, he dissolves it) 'they have him dissolve it!
/ya kak'bet awuc'f/ (he give to you, you drink it) 'I have you drink it'
/ya yak' k'isnahuk/ (he gives it, it heats up) 'he makes it heat up'
Exx: with /-pas/
/ya spas yil/ (he makes, he see) 'he makes him see it'

The transformation of transitive active verbs is intransitive passive verbs; therefore, the transform of /ya yak'be yuc'/ (he causes it, that he drink) 'he makes him drink' becomes /ya s'ak'bet yuc' (yu'un)/ (it is caused, that he drink by him) 'he is made to drink (by him)'.

2.2.9.2 1B. The transitive verb /stak'/ (stem -tak'; only occurs with 3d sg. prefix) 'it is possible/permitted that' may occur in construction with a following verb (perhaps only a head) and the second verb may have tense particles as well. A possible way to analyze it is as a main verb followed by a dependent verb, the whole construction functioning as a predicate of the type specified by the dependent verb. /stak'/ only occurs with the particles /ya/ or /ma/. The second verb occurs with its normal complement of tense particles, which are all replaced by /ā/ when the construction is negatived. /stak'/ is not necessarily followed by another verb.
Exx: /ya stak' ya bbik'tik/ (possible, we-swallow-it) 'we can swallow it'

/ya stak' snihkesiš/ (possible, he-moves-it-already) 'he can already move it'

(neg) /ma stak' ū yurč/ (not possible, he drinks it) 'he must not drink it'

/ma stak' ū ben/ (not possible, he walks) 'he cannot walk'

/ma stak' / 'it isn't possible'

2.2.9.3 2A. Certain verbs (perhaps only the two found in the examples listed here) may be followed directly by verbal nouns. These verbal nouns then govern the objects which optionally follow in the clause. Since nouns cannot precede other nouns and be in construction with them without being possessed 3d sg, these unmarked verbal nouns must be functioning as transitive verbs.

Exx: with/-ič'/ 'take'

/ya yič' poštacel/ 'he takes up the curing of (it)'

/ya yič' lok'esel/ 'he takes up the removal of (it)'

/ya hič' hulel/ 'he takes up the piercing of (it)'

The verbal noun part may be expanded by the demonstrative /te ".

Thus, /la yič' te hulele = la yič' hulel/.

with /stak'/ 'possible/permitted'

/ma stak' tuntesel/ 'one cannot eat (it)'

/ya stak' ?uč'el/ 'one can drink (it)'

Since the verb /stak'/ is impersonal there is no personal subject in /stak'/ + vn phrases. /stak'/ is never followed by an object. If followed by anything it must be a simple verb phrase or a verbal noun. It is not known whether it may occur alone, as a one word predicate, preceded by /ma/ or /ya/.

2.2.9.4 2B. Other constructions occur in which certain verbs are followed in close construction by /tal/ + verbal nouns (also derived from transitive verbs). The objects of these verb phrases are governed by the verbal noun, not the main verb.
Ex.: with /-ak/ 'give, put'

/yak' ta manel/ 'he causes him to buy (it)' i.e.
(pres he-gives to buying) 'he has (him) buy (it)'

/yak' ta bak'utssel/ 'he has (him) fry (it)'

/yak' ta p'uyel/ 'he has (him) pulverize (it)'

/yak' ta uč'el/ 'he has (him) drink (it)'

with /-tikun/ 'send'

/yak' ta leel/ 'he sends (him) to look for (it)'

/yak' ta manel/ 'he sends (him) to buy (it)'

with /-ta/ 'find, meet'

/la ta tuhtael/ 'he comes to the point of spitting'

/la ta poštael/ 'he comes to the point of curing (it)'

/la stabe ta ?ahtael/ 'he comes to the point of counting (it)'

with /-le/ 'look for'

/yak' ta ?ahtael/ 'he seeks to count it'

Postverbal particle may occur between the main verb and the verbal noun.

E.g. /la stabe lok'el tal ta nuk'el/
he meets leaving coming to sucking (it)

he comes to the point of sucking it'

This type of construction contrasts with one of the following type.

Ex. /ya shun ta wayel (yinam)/ 'he accompanies (his wife) in sleep' = 'he sleeps with (his wife)'. /yinam/ is the object of /shun/ not of /wayel/ which is derived from an intransitive verb /way/ 'sleep'.

2.3 Time phrases may be simple, expanded, or complex. They are of three types, absolute, interrogative, and relative.

a) absolute: simple

/yat/ 'nowadays'

/ora/ 'now'

(continued next page)
- 20 -

/wohey/    'yesterday'
/ñaʃ/      'today'
/çaʔweh/   'day after tomorrow'
    : expanded (particle + particle)
/ʔóra yaʔtik/  'today'
/ hàsta ʔóra/ 'until now'
/ʔóra naʃ/   'today'
    : complex
/yuʔun/ + N (indicating point of time)
    e.g. /yuʔun romínko/  'on Sunday'
/yuʔun skʔin sáñto/  'on All Saints'

b) interrogative (complex): /bi ʔóra/  'when?';
/bi/  =  interrogative demonstrative (pronoun).
Ex: /bi ʔóra ya ʔtal/ (what time he-comes) 'when is he coming?'

c) relative /t te + bi ʔóra/  'when'
Ex: /ma hnaʔ bi ʔóra ya ʔtal/ 'I don't know when he's coming'

2.4 Location phrases are simple, expanded, and complex; absolute, interrogative, and relative.

a) absolute
(A) simple
/liʔ/    'here'
/tey/    'there'
/lum/    'yonder'

(B) expanded
/liʔ ... i/    'here'
/liʔ to/    'here'
/liʔ naʃ ... i/  'right here'
/teyʔa/    'there'
/tey ... e/  'there'

(continued next page)
/te\ha... e/ 'right there'
/lum to/ 'yonder'
/lum ... e/ 'yonder'
/lum ine/ 'over yonder'

(C) complex

1. /ta/ + noun phrase. /ta/ and demonstratives are mutually exclusive so that any noun phrase beginning in /te/ or /ha?/ loses it (operationally speaking) when preceded by /ta/

Exx: /ya alok' ta sti? sna?/.

(pres he-leaves from its-mouth his-home)

'He's going out his door'

/yas tal ta hobel/ 'He's coming from S. Cristóbal'

2. (A) or (B) + (C)

e.g. /li? to ta yut hna i/ 'here inside my house'

/li? ta hna i/ 'here in my house'

/tey 'a ta sna/ 'there in his house'

/lum to ta wi$/ 'over there on the hill'

b) interrogative: /banti, ban, ba/ 'where?'

Ex: /banti 'ay te winike/ 'where is the man?'

c) relative: /t te + banti, ban, ba/ 'where'

Ex: /ma škiltik te ba 'a baht/ 'I didn't see where he went'.

2.5 Purpose phrases are perhaps not aptly named, but their structure can be described. It is /yu?un/ (or /-u?un/) 'of, to, with respect to, for' + N.

Exx: a) /te čeb wakaš yu?un šun/

(the 2 cattle of-him John)

'the two cattle of John'

b) /ya šnel yu?un/

'it is passing for him' (his time of trouble)
The stem /-uʔun/ is a noun and the translation is 'of me, you, him, us, you, them'. If /-uʔun/ is 3d person it can govern an object which is a noun phrase. If it is not 3d person, the object is expressed in the inflexion and it governs no other object.

/kəʔun/  'for me'
/awuʔun/  'for you'
/kuʔuntik/  'for us'

Perhaps the usage in Ex a) (/yuʔun ʔun/) should be described as part of the noun phrase expansion since /te ceb wakaʔ yuʔun ʔun/ is a perfect candidate for filler of the subject/object slot on the clause level.

The second usage (b), however, is different and is paralleled by the corresponding relative and interrogative constructions.

Interrogative: /bi yuʔun/ 'what for?' i.e. 'why?' (complex)
Ex: /bi yuʔun ya apas/  'why are you doing it?'

Relative: /te + bi yuʔun/  'why', 'for what reason', 'to what end'
Ex: /ma hna?  bi yuʔun hic ya ayakub/
  (neg 1-know why thus he-gets-drunk)
  'I don’t know why he gets drunk that way'.

2.6 Manner and extent phrases. These answer the questions 'in what way?' /bit'il/, 'to what extent?' /tu yipal/ (Aguacatenango). All but the relative and interrogative are merged in usage and even these are distinct only in the Aguacatenango dialect, not in Tenejapa; so there seems no point in separating these formally identical particles into two groups.

a) absolute: simple

/hic/  'thus'
/ʔek/  'also'
/naʔ/  'only'

2.7 There are certain particles which may be thought of as being plugged into phrases but in some sense not part of the structure of that phrase. They can also occur in more than one phrase type, which is why there are described separately here.

2.7.1 The particle /ʔa/ may occur last in any phrase. It may also occur between the first and second elements of a complex noun phrase, e.g. /ta spasel ʔa te snae/ 'in the making of his house'. The meaning is vague, perhaps something like 'past, away'.

2.7.2 The particle /san/ 'additional(ly)' may occur after the main verb in a verb phrase either before or after postverbal modifiers and reflexive pronouns. It may occur after the numerational element in a noun phrase. Exx: /hčiš ʔan yakan/ (one additional his foot) 'another of his feet'
/yaf ʔan hposil/ (other additional curer) 'a different curer'
/tal ʔan/ 'he came again'.
Possibly /san/ can also fill the manner-extent slot in clauses.
2.7.3 The numeral expression /htebuk/ 'a little bit' may function as a marker of extent and occur in verb phrases immediately after the verb. It takes precedence over /'a/

Exx: (without translation)

a) /yip ?a kë$hah htebk /'a/  
   + ext  + ivp  + ext  =aspect

b) /yip k'an uqubuk htebk/
   + ext  + aux-ivp  + ext

c) /ya stak' aniqanesi̱ htebk 4'in
   + compl-tvp  + ext  + ---

3.0 Clauses

Clauses in general are made up of phrases and individual words. In general they have the following slots: optional introducer (I), optional subject/object (S/O), optional manner-extent (M), optional time (T), optional location (L), optional purpose (P), obligatory predicate (TP, IP, SP). Clauses may be typed both on the basis of the introducers and of the predicates.

3.0.1 In terms of introducers there are two main clause types, independent and dependent. Independent clauses may be divided into those that have the introducer slot filled and those that do not. Dependent clauses may be divided into those that have relative introducers and those that have non-relative introducers.

3.0.2 In terms of predicates, clauses may be typed as transitive, intransitive, and stative. The first two have two subtypes each and the last has four.
3.1 The nucleus of a clause is an obligatory predicate. There are three predicate types, with subtypes.

3.1.1 a) Intransitive predicate slot filled by intransitive verb phrase.

Subtype 1) active. General clause formula:
$$\pm I + IP : ivp_{\text{act}} \pm S \pm T \pm L \pm M \pm P$$

Subtype 2) passive. General clause formula:
$$\pm I + IP : ivp_{\text{pass}} \pm S \pm Agent \pm T \pm L \pm M \pm P$$

The Agent slot, which is peculiar to this type of clause may be filled by a noun phrase (N), a noun phrase preceded by /ta/ (ta + N), or a noun phrase preceded by /yu?un/ (yu?un + N).

3.1.2 b) Transitive predicate slot filled by transitive verb phrase.

Subtype 1) active.

A. general. General clause formula:
$$\pm I \pm S \pm TP : tvp \pm O \pm T \pm L \pm M \pm P$$

B. indirect (predicate slot filled by transitive verb with indirect object suffix). General formula:
$$\pm I \pm S \pm TP : tvp_{\text{indir}} \pm dO \pm iO \pm T \pm L \pm M \pm P$$

Subtype 2) reflexive (predicate slot filled by reflexive verb phrase)

A. general. General clause formula:
$$\pm I \pm S \pm TP : tvp_{\text{refl}} \pm T \pm L \pm M \pm P$$

B. indirect. General clause formula:
$$\pm I \pm S \pm TP : tvp_{\text{refl}} \pm iO \pm T \pm L \pm M \pm P$$

3.1.3 c) Stative predicate slot filled by Noun phrase, Adjective phrase, Verbal Adjective phrase, or Inflectible particle.

Subtype 1) filled by noun phrase (N). Plural of a possessed object is never marked, being specified by the stative endings which occur in these clause types.

Ex: /winikon/ (man-I am) 'I am a man'
Subtype 2) Filled by adjective phrase. Adjective phrases are similar to the modification slot in the noun phrase, except that here -\(W\) does not occur with that subclass of adjectives with which it occurs in the modification slot. The expansion is also slightly different.

Formula: \(\pm \text{Mod} : \text{adj/}l\text{om/bwen} + H : \text{Aj static}\

In the modification slot in the adjective phrase, adjectives, as well as the particles /lom/, /bwen/ may occur, limiting or modifying the meaning of the head adjective.

Exx: 
/naht tuahtik/  
(long extended) 'it is extended lengthwise'

/t\'\text{i\text{ntat}}/
(little-you are) 'you are small'

Subtype 3) Filled by verbal adjective.

Formula: \(\pm ?\text{ay} + H : \text{aj static}\

Exx: /talem/ (having come-he is) 'he has come'

/\?ay talem/

Subtype 4) Filled by inflectible particle

Formula: \(+ H : \text{ip static}\

The most frequently occurring particles of the type are /hi\text{c}/ 'thus', /\?ay/ 'existing', /yakal/ 'being in the act/process of'.

3.1.3.1 The general formula for a stative clause is  
\(\pm I + \text{SP} \pm S \text{ (if SP is ha?)} \pm T \pm L \pm M \pm P\)

A location slot does not occur in a stative clause unless the particle /\?ay/ is the predicate. If the demonstrative particle /ha?/ occurs in a stative clause, it is axiomatically defined as being the predicate.

3.1.3.2 Stative predicates are suffixed (at the end) with affixes in two
positions. In the first position (mood) occur /-an/ 'isswa\text{t}e 2d person',
3.1.3.3 Stative predicates are negated in two ways. a) /ma ba/ + stative predicate ('indicative'); b) /ma/ + stative predicate in subjunctive/imperative mood.

Exx: a) ma ba lek 'it's not good'
b) ma lekuk 'it's not good'

3.1.4 In addition to the predicate types discussed above (and the clause types that are their expansions) there is a clause type of which the nucleus or predicate is an intransitive verb or particle, and the complement of the verb is a phrase of the type /ta/ + vn. In clauses of this type all verbal nouns derived from transitive verbs are possessed 3d sg, and all the verbal nouns derived from transitive verbs are unpossessed. The general formula of this clause type is

\[ \pm I + S + P + ta + vn + L + T + M + P \]

If vn is from tv then vn can be expanded as + vn poss 'N (poss 'N ....)

Exx: iv /?oč ta ẓpoštel/ 'he enters into the curing of (it)'
     iv /lihk ta yahtaetl/ 'he begins the counting of (it)'
     p /yakal ta sbohel (sk'al) 'he is in the act of the cutting of (his cornfield)'
     p /yakal ta ?a?tel 'he is in the act of working'

3.2 The subject/object slot is divided into subject of intransitive verb (si), subject of transitive verb (Sitv), direct object of transitive verb (DOtv), indirect object of transitive verb (IOtv). All have identical structures. This slot may be filled by a noun phrase (N), a personal
pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, or a dependent clause.

Subtype a) Filled by a noun phrase.

Subtype b) Filled by a personal pronoun. There are several types of personal pronouns.

1) independent personal pronouns (1.1.1)
   \[/\text{ho}^\circ\text{on}/ 'I, me', /\text{ha}^\circ\text{at}/ 'you (sg)', /\text{ha}^\circ/ '3d person sg',
   /\text{ho}^\circ\text{tik}/ 'we, us', /\text{ha}^\circ\text{e}u/ 'you (pl)', /\text{ha}^\circ\text{ik}/ 'they, them'.\]
   Exx: /\text{ho}^\circ\text{on ya hpo\text{-}st}ayat/ (I pres 1-cure-you) 'I will cure you'
   /\?ak'ben ho?on/ (give-me-it me) 'give it to me'

2) emphatic personal pronoun is /-tuke?/ inflected as a noun (1.1.3). Meaning '(by)\text{-}oneself', 'oneself alone'.
   Ex: /la hpa\text{-}s htuke?/ 'I did it myself'

2a) independent personal pronoun + emphatic personal pronoun may occur together as a complex slot filler.
   Ex: /ho?on htuke? la hpa\text{-}s wohey/ 'I myself did it yesterday'

3) interrogative personal pronoun /ma\c'a/ 'who?'
   Ex: /ma\c'a ?ayat/ (who existing-you are) 'who are you?'

4) relative personal pronoun /± te + ma\c'a/ 'who', 'one who'
   Ex: /ya hle hpo\text{-}sil, te ma\c'a ya sna? po\text{-}stael/ (I-seek curer who he-knows curing)
   'I'm looking for a curer who knows how to cure'

Subtype c) Filled by demonstrative pronoun; 3 types.

1) absolute
   \[/\text{ha}^\circ\text{? ini}/ 'this one, these',
   /\text{ha}^\circ\text{? mene}/ 'that one, those'.\]
   Exx: /\text{ha}^\circ\text{? ini lom naht}/ 'that one is very long'
   /ya hk'antik ha? mene/ 'we want that one'

2) interrogative
   /binti, bin, bi/ 'what?'
   Ex: /binti ya apas/ 'what are you doing?'
3) relative

/þ te + binti, bin, bi/ 'what', 'that which'

/te bi ya sk'an, ha? te poše/ 'what he wants is liquor'
(that which he wants, that-s liquor)

Subtype d) Filled by a dependent clause.

Any dependent clause (except those introduced by k'alaal, yu'un) will function either as the subject or the object of the independent to which it is adjacent.

3.3 The time slot may be filled by
   a) a time phrase (2.3)
   b) a noun phrase of the following type:
      /hun ?alak'ubal/ 'for the space of) one night'
      /?oše k'ala/ 'for) three days'
   c) a dependent clause introduced by /k'alaal/ 'while, when'

3.4 The location slot is filled by a location phrase (2.4)

3.5 The purpose slot is filled by
   a) a purpose phrase (2.5)
   b) a dependent clause introduced by /yu'un/ 'because'

3.6 The manner slot is filled by
   a) a manner or extent phrase (2.6)
   b) an adjective (uninflected)
      e.g. /lek/ 'in a good way, well'
            /tulan/ 'hard, difficult'
            /k'unk'un/ 'little by little'

3.7 Introducer slot. There are two main types of introducers, independent and dependent, each of which has two subtypes.
3.8 Coordinators can join any two or more structurally parallel items, i.e. word and word, phrase and phrase, clause and clause.

```
/me/  'or'
/me/  ....  /me/  a) 'either ... or'
/?o/  'or'
/sok/  'and'
/?i/  'and'
/péro/  'but'
```

Examples:

```
/me sik me k'isin/  'Is it cold or is it hot?'

/me ya ak'an wah me kaślan wah/  'Do you want tortillas or bread?'

/yaa ḫk'an ḫiśim sok ḫaskal sok wah sok tomtut/  
'I want corn and brown sugar and tortillas and eggs'
```
3.9 Just as on the phrase level there are particles whose position can best be defined with respect to a whole phrase, so on the clause level there are several particles whose position can be described in an analogous manner.

3.9.1 The particle /lah/ 'so they say' occurs second in a clause if /te/ (demonstrative, relative) is not counted as filling a space. It may also occur in the verb phrase (if this is not first in the clause) if it also occurs in the preceding subject, or if the subject is set off from the verb by 'commas'.

3.9.2 The particles /me/ 'imperative', /to/ 'still, yet', and /wan/ 'perhaps' occur in predicates and their position is second no matter what the first word is. If more than one of these is present, /me/ precedes all others, and /to/ precedes /wan/.

Exx: iv /ma me šawunat/ 'don't yell!'
    tv /ma me šawuton/ 'don't tell me that!'
    sp /ći na to/ 'you're still small'

3.9.3 The enclitic particle /-iš/ 'already' may occur with any predicate -- transitive, intransitive, or stative. With a transitive or intransitive predicate it is attached to the main verb. With a stative predicate it follows directly on the subject affixes.

3.9.4 The particle /ći/ (meaning vague) may begin a clause, follow the last member of a phrase, or follow the first part of a complex noun phrase. If both /lah/ and /ći/ occur, /lah/ takes precedence.

3.10 It might be expected that there would be certain order properties assignable to the various slots in a clause. I can only make the most general observations at this time about Introducers, Subjects, Objects, and Predicates.
a) Introducers always come first.
b) The subject of an intransitive clause usually follows the predicate.
c) The subject of a transitive clause may either precede or follow it.
d) The object of a transitive clause usually follows the predicate; if the subject also follows the predicate, it usually follows the object as well.
e) In stative clauses demonstratives, when they occur, come first (except for introducers), and are the predicate.

The relative positions of the Time, Manner, Purpose, and Location slots cannot be described yet. It is probably generally true that subjects and objects are closest to the predicate and that these remaining slots occur to the left and right of subjects and objects when the latter are present.

There can never be more than one introducer or one predicate in a clause. However the subject/object slot may be filled by two noun phrases in apposition. e.g. /h?antun h?ernantes hsantis, te h?amele/ 'Antonio Hernández Sántis, the sick man'. The number of times the Time, Location, Manner, and Purpose slots may each be represented in a clause is probably not limited to one and probably not exceeded by three.

Te /k'an-ta/- N
Ag /hun-ta/- N

26.6 amb Amacatenango and Tapesa have a frame which I have not yet been able to analyze. It is a predicate of clause type.

Te /k'an/ might be compared with /k'am/ aux 'almost', but not very convincingly. Ag /hun/ has two homophones, /hun/ 'one', and /hun/ 'paper', neither of which is a good candidate for identity.

This may be listed either as a special clause type or /k'an, hun/ may be called particles with stative inflexion followed by a locative phrase with /ta/. I don't know whether I look like a, you look like a can be fit into this frame.
3.11 Both Aguacatenango and Tenejapa have a complex clause type whose structure was not analyzed until this paper had been written. It is a clause type

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Te} & \quad \text{N-stative} \\
\text{1'Kahun tal} & \quad + \quad \text{aj-stative} \\
\text{Ag/1hun tal} & \quad \text{IP-stative} \\
\end{align*}
\]

meaning: 'it looks like/ seems to be that'
END
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