NOTE: What was written up in 1995 was at the beginning of the study of positionals in Mije-Sokean. By 2010, when the PDLMA wrapped up its field seasons, large lexical collections (5k to 20k lexemes) had been achieved for 12 M-S languages, and each lexical database has many examples of positional roots, many more than are cited herein:

OLUta
SAYula
GUIchicovi
TOTontepec
SOTeapan
TEXistepec
AYApa
COPaina La*
TECpata*n
colonial TECpata*n
santa MARi*a
san MIGuel
Positionals in Mayan.

When I began working on Tzeltal and Tzotzil in 1960, after extensive lexical elicitation and text analysis, I began to look into derivational morphology. After a time, a derivational pattern emerged that marked out a distinctive root class, which I called positionals. This class was distinct from the classes Noun, Adjective, Intransitive, and Transitive. Semantically, positionals were often like adjectives and perfective participles in Indo-European languages, and morphologically in Tzeltal and Tzotzil they had a certain amount of overlap with Transitives. The kinds of meaning encoded by Tzeltal and Tzotzil positionals include:

- shapes
- tastes
- dispositions of the body
- temporary or resultant states.

The kinds of adjective-like meaning NOT encoded by positionals include:

- colors
- sizes, dimensions, especially those with a positive:negative polarity
- life stages

Eventually all Mayan languages were seen to have a Positional root class. I personally have collected all (or most of) the monosyllabic roots of Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Mocho', Ixil, and Wasteko. Una Canger did it for Lakantun and Teko. Laura Martin did it for Q'anjob'al. Various linguists at the PLFM did it for about ten Mayan languages of Guatemala. And so on. The number of Positional roots in any Mayan language is very large. A typical numerical distribution might be as follows:

- Adjectives 100
- Intransitives 100
- Transitives 600
- Positionals 600
- Nouns 1500

These numbers refer to native or pre-columbian linguistic material.
The most typical derivational devices that Positional roots are subject to are:

**Stative**: an adjective or adjective-like stem is derived from the Positional root. The meaning is that of the root.

**Depositive**: a transitive stem is derived from the Positional root. The meaning is ‘to take an object having the property named by the root and leave it somewhere’.

**Assumptive**: an intransitive stem is derived from the Positional root. The meaning is ‘to get (often but not always actively) into the position, shape, disposition or state named by the root’.

Also, on a more general level, in most Mayan languages many (maybe up to 25% of) Positional roots may occur with no (that is ZERO) derivational suffix (in Mayan all derivational affixes are suffixes) as a transitive stem with the reading ‘to cause to have the position, etc. named by the root’. This may be called the **positional causative** function. Whether there are clear semantic correlations with this subpattern is unclear [I guess Will Norman believes so], but it is a plausible thing to try to characterize and look for. In general, semantic prediction is wobbly, because so many local cultures have special, occasional, or partial overriding quirks.

In Mayan languages generally, except for the positional causative, Positionals are unlike all other roots classes in that they may not themselves occur as lexical stems, but must occur with one or another derivational suffix.

Eventually, in Mam at least, it was seen that positional roots without overt derivation occurred as adverbial modifiers with other (usually/?always verbal) predicates. Since this is otherwise unknown in Mayan, it is not clear if this is a retention in just one or a few languages, or an innovation in Mam and/or some close relatives. Possibly some derivational suffix was originally present that has been zapped through sound change.

Positionals are not a root class that is recognized among well-known languages. Not even all Mayanists are aware of them, or accept them, but most do.
Positionals outside Mayan.

Until recently, I had not identified analogues to Mayan positionals in any other languages or language families, though in the late 80s I identified a root class in Nawa which reminded me of Positionals. More on that later.

In 1993 I and three other linguists began working on Soteapan Gulf Sokean, usually referred to as Sierra Popoluca. In the process of my analysis with two SOT speakers of the derivational morphology embodied in a vocabulary of about 3000 lexical items, I found a derivational pattern that marked off a distinctive root class with strong analogues to Mayan Positionals. In the summer of 1994 root dictionaries were collected for SOTeapan, TEXistepec, SAYula, Santa MARi*a Chimalapa, and San MIGuel Chimalapa, and in the summer of 1995 a root dictionary of OLUta was collected. Root dictionaries for the remaining Mije-Sokean languages - AYApa, COPainala*, TOTontepec and GUIchicovi - will also be collected, in 1996 and 1997. The result of the work so far is that Mije-Sokean languages exhibit a distinctive root class that is defined by being subject to certain derivations that only members of this class are subject to, and that have meanings parallel to the meanings of Mayan Positionals. Naturally, then, I call them Positionals.

There is moderately extensive lexical material available on some Mije-Sokean languages: OLUta, SAYula, COPainala', MAGdalena [Francisco Leo'n], COAtlans, TOTontepec. But Positionals are sporadically attested, their derivational patterns are not clear, and you can’t ask questions of these little dictionaries. Thus field work which aims at establishing derivational patterns and is aware of relevant issues is crucial to the work.

Not all of the data collected in 1993-1995 has been completely collated and sifted. I will therefore focus mainly on data from SOT, MAG, MAR, and SAY. A fair amount of data will be accounted for from each of these languages, but by no means all of the available data will be accounted for, though the data dealt with are claimed to be typical of all the data.
Results.

Positionals in M-S are fewer in proportion to the whole set of roots than in Mayan. Possibly a fairly large set of P roots in M-S languages can be used (without derivation) as causative transitive stems. This is mainly known from MAR, where it has been most closely studied, though hardly completely. The existence of clear semantic correlates in M-S positionals does NOT mean that the membership of this class can be predicted, and that it need not be marked lexically.

I refer to the work of John Haviland, who for some time has found the existence of Positionals in Tzotzil something that he would rather not have to acknowledge as something like a grammatical "primitive", and would like to find that positional morphosyntax is accounted for by other primitives. A big part of the problem for Haviland has been that "linguistic theory" does not recognize any major lexical-functional class that would correspond to Mayan positionals. In three recent articles (Haviland 1992, 1994a, 1994b) Haviland has dealt with Zinacantan Tzotzil derivational morphology, especially that surrounding positional roots. He has in these articles recognized the existence of particular morphological phenomena particular to positional roots. Since Haviland approached positionals as something he would rather not have to deal with, and since he (I won’t say "in the end", since there may be more to come) synthesized some aspects of Tzotzil semantics taking positionals as a background phenomenon, I take the positional hypothesis (that is, that there is such a class of roots) as being hard to disprove.
Other uses of positional-deriving suffixes.

The descendants of the pM-S suffix *.na:y7 can be used not only to form ASSUMptives from Positional roots, but can be used with other roots when they are reduplicated. The formations have repetitive meaning. Three types of roots can be used in this format: transitives, intransitives, and symbolic = affect roots. It is not here my design to characterize this last root class fully: that it a separate task. Affect/symbolic roots are a sizeable set of roots that encode sensory effects, not only hearing/sound, but also sight and touch/feeling. Such roots are numerous in Mayan, Nawa, and Mije-Sokean languages, though for certain speakers they are hard to elicit.

The use of pM-S *.na:y7 with reduplicated symbolic roots and verb roots to form intransitive "reduplicated iteratives" is found in all surviving MijeSokean languages. A corresponding transitive form using a reflex of pM-S *.w@y is known so far from Chiapas Soke and Soteapan; it has an active causative meaning.

In SOT, and possibly TEX, {-ne7} can be added to both transitive and intransitive stems to encode "perfect" (resultative, stative) meaning without affecting the valency of the verb: that is, in this function, it is not (or no longer is here) a lexical intransitivizer, but a morphosyntactic marker of aspect. When this suffix occurs with transitive verbs, both an active and a passive reading are found. The active form is just like all other transitive forms, marking both Ergative and Absolutive person categories, while the form with passive reading marks only Absolutive person as passive subject. In this "perfect" function, {-ne7} occurs followed by the AM marker {-w@} 'completive'. I suspect that some of the MAR roots identified here as Positionals may also show this pattern, that is, the single-argument one with Absolutive subject. This implies that further tests need to be constructed for identifying and subclassifying P roots in MAR. It therefore needs to be investigated whether the use of *.na:y7 to form a "perfect" non-active completive form might be a common Sokean device. This problem needs to be looked at in a wider context: the formation of "perfect passive participle" equivalents. In pM-S, a passive nominalization can be made from most transitive verb (root)s by means of the suffix shapes /.e/, /.i/, /.e7/, and /.i7/. These can be used both as nouns and participles. However, some transitive verbs do not occur with these nominalizations. Instead, a "pseudo-participle" is formed by means of the CoMPletive suffix {-w@}. This form has a passive completive
meaning, but does not have an INCompleteive counterpart. It can also be used as a preposed noun modifier, like any adjective or nominalization. All Sokean languages have a fair number of transitive verbs that form pseudo-participles but not passive nominalizations. How this plays out in detail has yet to be worked out. What corresponds to this in Mijean I have not yet learned.

Therefore, in Sokean, there are two classes of transitives in terms of whether they form passive nominalizations or pseudo-participles. There may be a Sokean inflexional category "perfect", expressed by *na:y7, that can be used with transitives in a perfect passive meaning, and may or may not interact with the subdivision of transitives into those that take passive nominalizations and those that form pseudo-passives. The fine tuning of the tests for Positional-boost must in the end depend on solving these problems as well.

What does this mean?

What does this mean descriptively?

Each M-S language has a recognizable root type that we can reasonably call Positional, on the analogy with a semantically similar class of roots in Mayan.

What does this mean genetic/historically?

Positionals are clearly indigenous in Mayan (though Wasteko was initially problematic). They are indigenous in Mije-Sokean. If Mayan and Mije-Sokean are related, an issue that I do not want to deal with here, then the Mayan and Mije-Sokean structures should be compared in detail.

What does this mean areally?

Nawa has what I think are analogs of Mayan and Mije-Sokean positionals, but I do not know of their existence in other Yuta-Nawan languages. But I have only looked in Hopi. If positionals came into existence in Nawa as an innovation, then it should be determined whether this is part of the Mesoamericanization that Nawa underwent after entering Central Mexico. Whether positionals are to be found in other Mesoamerican languages needs to be found out.
Orthography.

p  t  ty  ch  tz  k  7
[b]  [d]       [g]
[f]  x  s  j
[l]
[r]
[rr]
m  n  ny  nh
    y  w

i  @  u
e  o
a

Conventions.

%ABC  root
X−,−X  inflexional (rather morphosyntactic) affix
X..,X  derivational (rather lexical) affix
X>,>X  class shifter
X=,=X  prepound, postpon
X+,+X  proclitic, enclitic
P    positional root
F    affective = symbolic root
T    transitive verb root
I    intransitive verb root
S    noun root
A    adjective root
Positional and related morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABBR</th>
<th>MAR</th>
<th>MIG</th>
<th>ESok</th>
<th>SOT</th>
<th>TEX</th>
<th>SAY</th>
<th>OLU</th>
<th>COA</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SUFFIXES ON POSITIONALS</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>DEPOS</td>
<td>-7@y</td>
<td>-w@y</td>
<td>-w@7y</td>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>+ASSUM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSUM2</td>
<td>-w@y</td>
<td>-w@y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSUM</td>
<td>-nay</td>
<td>-ney</td>
<td>-nAy</td>
<td>-ne7</td>
<td>-de7</td>
<td>-nay7</td>
<td>-na:y7</td>
<td>-na:y7</td>
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<tr>
<td>STAT</td>
<td>-na7</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>REDUPLICATED ITERATIVES</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>ITERi</td>
<td>R-nay</td>
<td>R-ney</td>
<td>R-nay</td>
<td>R-ne7</td>
<td>R-de7</td>
<td>R-nay7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ITERt</td>
<td>R-w@y</td>
<td>R-w@y</td>
<td>R-w@7y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WSok = Western Soke
MAR = Santa Maria Chimalapa
MIG = San Miguel Chimalapa
ESok = Eastern Soke or Soke proper
COPaina
MAGdalena = Francisco Leo*n
SOTeapan
TEXistepec
SAYula
OLUta
COAtla*n

Kaufman: Positionals in Mije-Sokean  10
Reconstructible Mije-Sokean positional morphology: affixes and derivational patterns

pM-S *P.na:y7 assumptive
pSokean *P.na7 stative
pSokean *P.w@y depositive
pMijean *yak+P.na:y7 depositive
pSokean *P.ZERO positional-causative

Reconstructible Mije-Sokean positional roots

pM-S *tz@:<n>.na:y7 ‘to sit’ (SAY,MIG)
pM-S *te<n>.na:y7 ‘to stand’ (general)
  SOT /teeny/ ‘standing’
  COP /te<n>.nay/ ‘parado’
  SAY /tena/ ‘to stand’
  COA /te<n>.na:y7/ ‘estar parado’

pM-S *kap
  SAY ‘lying face up or sprawled on back’
  MAR ‘lying down’

pMije *ku(7)x-
  COA /ku7x/ ‘sentado en cuclillas’
  SAY /kux/ ‘hunched, huddled’

pSokean:

*7i7tz
  SOT ‘wrinkled’
  MAR ‘winking’

*7o(7)tz
  SOT /7o7tz/ ‘squatting’
  MAR /7otz/ ‘with bowed neck’

*jap
  SOT, MAR ‘face down’
  MAG ‘boca abierta’
  COP ‘acostado boca abajo’
*kanh
    MAG ‘abiertos los pies’
    MAR ‘squatting with feet apart’

*konh
    MAG ‘asentado (una cosa grande),’ ‘cuerpo entero’
    MAR ‘crouching; on all fours’

*muks
    COP ‘agachada de cabeza’
    MAR ‘bent; shrunken’

*m@m
    SOT ‘sick’
    MAR ‘so fat she can hardly walk’

*ne(7)j
    SOT /nej/ ‘sideways’
    MAR /ne7j/ ‘sideways’

*to7k
    SOT, MAR ‘spread out’

*tze7nh
    MAR,COP ‘de lado’

*Canhga
    SOT /tanhga/ ‘lying face up’
    MAG /sanhga/ ‘boca arriba’
    COP /wanhga/ ‘acostado boca arriba’

*******************************************************************************

Appendixes

SOTEapan positionals
COPainala positionals
MAGdalena positionals and reduplicated iteratives
MARia positionals
COAtlan positionals
SAYula positionals
Nawa W-adjectives (31 or 32)
Nawa O-adjectives
    HANDOUT TO HERE ONLY
SOT: POSITIONALS.

[unmarked] suffix .w@7y on positional root yielding depositive transitive stem.
[B] suffix .ne7 on positional root yielding assumptive intransitive stem.

SOT: 24-34 positional roots

%7aatz  lying with legs open (woman)
%7eety  propped up
B %7i7ch  wrinkled
%7o7tz  squatting
B %j@7m  empty, unused
%j@7m  hanging
%jap  face down
%je7ks  being carried like a baby
B %ji7ny  tangled
B %kaj  stacked
%ko7m  with back bent/bowed
%koony  sitting
%ko7p  loaded?
B %k@j  wounded
B %k@nh  ripe
B %ko7tz  bruised
B %much  with branches
%m@m  sick
%nej  sideways
B %nyi7ch  wrinkled
B %poj  home alone
%p@nh  lying on ground (stick)
%punh  open
%so7tz  around neck (cloth)
%tu7y  outstretched
%to7ks  carried in the bosom face down
%to7k  spread out
%t@@  motionless, standing quietly
%teeny  standing
%tanhga  lying face up
%tzii7t  crouching/squatting for shitting
%woo  lying down
%wonh  bent over
%wo7t  bent (rod)
COP: a quick look for semantic equivalences in Harrison & García’s dictionary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mije</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pinh=chinh.nay</td>
<td>acurrucarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wi7m.nay</td>
<td>acostarse (animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jap.nay</td>
<td>acostarse boca abajo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanga.nay</td>
<td>acostarse boca arriba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mujlunh.nay</td>
<td>colgarse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukuk.nay</td>
<td>agacharse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muks.nay</td>
<td>agacharse la cabeza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenay</td>
<td>pararse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tze7nh.na</td>
<td>de lado</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

MAG: POSITIONALS
Engel & Engel 1987 (Items found in more than one Engel & Engel list are **bolded**)

6.2.1 adverbios de situación (p361-362)
6.3 adverbios incorporados a la raíz verbal (p364)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mije</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanhanh.na</td>
<td>abiertos los pies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7i7nhwoj.na</td>
<td>de cabeza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>jap.na</strong></td>
<td>boca abierta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juks.na</td>
<td>encorvado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="mailto:j@s.na">j@s.na</a></td>
<td>(vuelto) hacia atrás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po7ks.na</td>
<td>sentado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sanhga.na</strong></td>
<td>boca arriba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="mailto:7@nh.na">7@nh.na</a></td>
<td>boca arriba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metej.na</td>
<td>inclinado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tekek.na</strong></td>
<td>inclinado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wotzotz.na</td>
<td>agachado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si7m.na si7m.na</td>
<td>botado por dondequiera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tze7nh.na</td>
<td>de lado</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.2 adverbios de clasificación (p362-364)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mije</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>potz.na</strong></td>
<td>redondo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="mailto:p@nh.na">p@nh.na</a></td>
<td>grande</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
wi7m.na           grande
yom.na            redondo y largo
**konh.na**       cuerpo entero
jenh.na           hoja (de papel)
jotz.na           manjo, monto*n
tzatz.na          racimo
**naks.na**       seccio*n, pedazo (de cable, hilo, o reata)

9.1.5b.  el sufijo -ney (p370)
14.1.2. verbo de situacio*n, cambio de postura (p397-398)

**potz.ney**      echarse, tirarse (cosa redonda)
kinh.ney          echarse, tirarse (cosa chiquita)
kitz.ney          ponerse en fila
panh.ney          pararse
pampinh.ney       ponerse de cabeza
pojlhonh.ney       colgarse
ka7nhkinh.ney     echarse boca arriba
**konh.ney**      asentarse (una cosa grande)
woks.ney          sentarse en cuclillas
tzanhanh.ney       estar con los brazos abiertos
wotzotz.ney       sentarse (en una cosa baja)
kuj.ney           arrodillarse
kon honh.ney       agacharse
7atz.ney          inclinarse
le7k.ney          ponerse en forma de bola

14.1.2b. "El sufijo **-k@piti** (en vez de **-ney**) lo convierte en un adverbio e implica que hay una cantidad de objetos en dicha posicio*n."

**naks.k@piti**   tirado largo

*****************************************************************************

**MAG: NOT POSITIONALS**

9.1.5b. **-ney** with reduplication, forms vi p370

**pet.pet.ney**   soplando ligeramente
**peye.peye.ney** ondeando
**poks.poks.ney** sonando (como tambor)
wos.wos.ney       respirando fuerte (%wos vi silbar, sisear)
tzam.tzam.ney  platicando  (%tzam vt decirlo)
taks.taks.ney  sonando  (%taks vt golpearlo)

14.1.2b.
p397
7e7nh.7e7nh.ney  movie*ndose
7ich.7ich.ney  dando una luz de*bil y vacilante
ko7nh.ko7nh.ney  andando (como insecto)

9.1.6. -w@y with reduplication, forms vt
p370
taks.taks.w@y  hacerlo sonar
ji7p@.ji7p@.w@y  hacerlo ra*pido
mu7ch.mu7ch.w@y  hacerlo crujir
naks.naks.w@y  colear (el perro)
teck=witu7.witu7.w@y  vaciarlo (de un recipiente a otro)
tuk=p07.p07.w@y  quitarle mucho
jetz=ti7nh.ti7nh.w@y  regarlo por dondequiera
juj=pak.pak.w@y  jalarlo para apretarlo
ton=put.put.w@y  empujarlos por todos lados
manh=pak.pak.w@y  pisotearlo

****************************************************************
MAR positional roots (87)
Data collected by TK (1994) and Loretta O’Connor (1995)

%7e7s  nailed in
%7i7tz  winking
%7o7s  wrapped
%7o7t  extracted
%7otz  with bowed neck
%jap  face down
%jek  coiled on ground
%jep  large-bellied close to ground (male)
%jet  large-bellied close to the ground
%jup  dragging
%k@y  closed
%kanh  squatting with feet apart
%kap  lying down
%ket  wrapped
%konh  crouching; on all fours
%kunh  hanging
%kut   kneeling
%m@m   so fat she can hardly walk
%manh  standing on two feet
%me7ks  embraced
%me7m   scissored
%mu7s   covered and protected
%mu7y   with water held in mouth
%muks   bent; shrunken
%n07ks  ?fenced
%nanh   scattered on the ground
%ne7j   sideways
%ne7ks  sticky
%ne7nh  rippled
%nek    stacked
%nes    enfolded in cloth
%nuk    caught
%p@7    put
%paj    nailed in
%paks   stacked neatly
%patz   thrown out
%pe7t   braided
%pi7s   pierced
%pinh   picked up
%pit    wrapped, rolled up
%pu7m   "faldeado"
%pu7y   bow-shaped; kneeling
%pup    scattered (dry things)
%s@7m   absorbent
%saks   inside-out, upside-down
%sek    sprinkled
%si7p   big-bellied (female)
%si7t   tied, throttled with a rope
%sotz   closed (door)
%su7n   hanging
%t@7ks  squashed between fingernails (bug)
%t@nh  cut with metal
%ta7j   big-bellied (child)
%ta7tz  nicked, blazed
%te7n   on tiptoe
%tik    motionless
%to7k   spread out
%to7y   bulging
%toj    harvested (corn)
%tu7tz at the top/summit
%tu7y stretched out stiffly
%tz@m loaded
%tzaj stuck
%tzenh sideways
%tzi7t kneeling, squatting
%tzu7ks quiet
%tzus green
%tzut squatting
%w@7ks hooked
%w@ks crouching (child)
%wa7k sliced
%wa7ks bundled (cylindrical objects)
%wat tied
%we7ks interlaced
%weks lopped off
%wi7j lying outstretched
%wik hanging, draped
%wo7j big and fat
%woy wrapped, rolled up
%y@tz smashed
%ya7k large and well-developed
%ya7tz large and well-developed
%ye7p spread out
%yen with tongue stuck/sticking out
%yom with wide closed mouth
%yop covered with warm cloth
%yu7m swarming underground
%yu7tz in fistfuls
COAtlan Mije positionals

15.1.4.1 (p393)

nu:k-na:y7          estar puestos en montones
mujtz-na:y7          estar boca abajo
xijt-na:y7          estar regados (p.ej., semillas)
t@y-na:y7           estar colgado
ku7x-na:y7          estar sentado en cuclillas
x@ke(j)t-na:y7      estar enroscado
ko<n>-na:y          estar puesto
te<n>-na:y7         estar parado

This suffix occurs often in Hoogshagen’s dictionary, but the data has not yet been extracted. Some examples are:

w@joj-na:y7          agacharse
ko7k-na:y7           acostarse
tunun-na:y7          colgarse
w@no-na:y7           colgarse

The depository of these uses the causative prefix {yaj-}

****************************************************************************

SAY positional roots (20)
found in the lexical collections of Clark and Holt

%tz@*[:.na         sentado
%7u*:m             callado
%jax                acostado boca abajo
%kap                lying face up sprawled on back
%ko7w               bent over
%te[-na             parado
%kux                hunched, huddled
%k@m                lying on back
%k@y                puddled
%nay                leaning
%n07w                with bent head
%pum                lying down
%tenkej             tipped sideways
%tojolok  seated with skirt raised (woman)
%tox     sitting with legs open
%tuj     with head down and butt up
%tzap    spread out (cloth shape)
%wej     sitting/lying.on.back with legs open
%wom     squatting
%w@7w    upstanding without branches

The deposited is formed with {7ak+} ‘causative’ added to the assumptive.
Nawa Roots (Huasteca Nawa)
W-Adjectives (adjW) and Old Adjectives (adjO),

(data collected 1969, 1984-1990)
(Note how meanings of W-Adjectives are similar to those of Mije-Sokean positionals, and how those of O-Adjectives are not)

W-Adjectives

This is a class of roots that take a characteristic suffix {.wA}. No other root class uses this suffix. The roots are considered to be adjective-like. They are cited with the suffix sequence {.wa .kE}, which forms an adjective or participial. Most (but not all) adjW roots have the shape CVCa.

- a:la-:wa-k [HNw], ala-:wa-k [HNs] adjW ‘slippery, smooth’
- chama-:wa-k adjW ‘bristly, etc’
- chika-:wa-k adjW (1) ‘hard, difficult’; (1a) ‘ready to pick/harvest’; (2) ‘strong, healthy’
- chipa-:wa-k adjW ‘white, clear to the sight’
- chiya-:wa-k adjW ‘greasy’

i(:)xtla-:wa-k [HN], ixtla:wa-tl [Oriz] s ‘plan parejo de tierra pelona sin yerbas; llano’
- ixtla:wi [HNw] viB ‘to be paid’
- ixtla:wA [HNs], i:xtla:wA [HNs] vtB ‘to pay’

i(:)xtla:wa-k could be taken as a nominalized adjective and all the meanings united under ‘even(ed out)’, but the shape %i(:)xtla would be unusual for this root class.

- kama-:wa-k adjW ‘damp’
- kana-:wa-k adjW ‘thin two-dimensionally’
- koya-:wa-k adjW ‘wide -- of an opening’
- kwacha-:wa-k adjW ‘moist, damp -- with water thinly on surface’
- mela-:wa-k adjW ‘clear (path, etc.), straight, true, good’
- mole-:wa-k adjW ‘rooted’
moya-:wa-k  adjW  ‘roiled, scattered’
patla-:wa-k  adjW  ‘broad, wide, spread out, outspread’
petla-:wa-k  adjW  ‘with covering (cloth, leaf) {moved/lifted} out of place’
peya-:wa-k  adjW  ‘with a part {knocked/fallen} off’
pitza-:wa-k  adjW  ‘thin, narrow, tiny’
posa-:wa-k [HNw]  adjW  ‘swollen, puffed up’
poya-:wa-k  adjW  (1) ‘open (flower), carded (cotton)’; (2) ‘dizzy’; (3) ‘dark’
sama-:wa-k  adjW  ‘swollen’ [HNw], ‘disintegrated’ [HNb]
siya-:wa-k  adjW  ‘damp’
sotla-:wa-k [HNw], tzotla-:wa-k [HNb]  adjW  ‘dazed, unconscious’
tetza-:wa-k [HNb]  adjW  ‘thick (liquids)’
tila-:wa-k  adjW  ‘thick two-dimensionally’
toma-:wa-k  adjW  ‘thick three-dimensionally’
toxa-:wa-k [HNw]  adjW  ‘flabby’
tlakwa-:wa-k  adjW  ‘tough’
tlatla-:wa-k  adjW  ‘healthy-looking’
tzotla-:wa-k [HNb], sotla-:wa-k [HNw]  adjW  ‘dazed, unconscious’
wapa-:wa-k [HNw]  adjW  ‘stiff’
xitla-:wa-k  adjW  ‘straight, lined up’
xoya-:wa-k  adjW  ‘scattered, spilt’
Old Adjectives (adjO)

These roots take {.kE} to form a participial adjective and {.yA} to form a versive. This class is not very large, but includes quite a few old UA etyma. The suffix -k ‘participializer’ is {.kE}

stems ending in long vowel

[in many cases the vowel length can be shown to be a derivational suffix: e.g., the roots are %ihya, %ista, %ko, %se, etc.]

ahwiya:-k adjO ‘sabroso’
   ahwiya:-yA vers
   ahwiya:-ltihA caus

chi]chi:-k adjO ‘amargo’. [{&.}]. pUA *ci:pu..
   chichi:-yA vers
   chi:-l-li s ‘chilli pepper’
   chi:]chi:l-ti-k adj ‘red’

eti:-k adjO ‘heavy’
   eti:-yA vers

ihya:-k adjO ‘strong-smelling’
   ihya:-yA vers
   cf. ihya-yA vi ‘to fart’
   cf. ihya-l-li s ‘fart’
   pipi=hya:-k adjO ‘smelling like animal/soap’
   ista=ihya:-k-tli s:HERB ‘estafiate’
   tzo=hya:-k adjO ‘smelling burnt’
   xo:ki=hya:-k adjO ‘smelling like fish’
   xokoma=hya:-k adjO ‘smelling spoiled’

ista:-k adjO ‘white’
   istal-ti-k adj ‘pale, wan’
   ista-tl s ‘salt’
   ista:ya:-tl ~ istahya-tl ~ ista=ihya:-k-tli s:HERB
   ‘estafiate’

ko]ko:-k adjO ‘painful; spicy hot’. [{&.}]
   koko:-yA vers
   cf. koko-yA vers ‘to get sick’
   cf. koko-hA caus ‘to hurt something’
   cf. koko-tl s ‘grano’
poye:-k  adjO  'salty'
poye:-yA  vers

se]se:-k  adjO  'cold'.  [{&.}]
  sese:-yA  vers
  se-tl  s  'ice, frost'
  se:wI  viB:VERS  'to get cold, go our (of fire)'
  se:wA ~ se:wiA  vtB:CAUS  'to make cold, chill'

  stems ending in short vowel (/i/ in all cases but one)

pi]pi:ni-k  [HNw]  adjO  'gummy'.  [{&.}]
  pipi:ni-yA  vers

sa]sa:li-k  adjO  'sticky'.  [{&.}]
  sasa:li-yA  vers
  sa:li-wI  vers
  sa:li-ohA  caus  'to fit together'  ('anadir, juntar, tejer, pegar, formar, armar')

selI-k  adjO  'immature, underripe'
  selI-yA  vers

toto:nI-k  adjO  'hot'.  [{&.}]
  toto:nI-yA  vers
  cf. to:na  vi  'to shine (sun, moon, stars); be hot (sun)'
  cf. to:na-ri-h  s  'sun'
  cf. to:na-ri-li  s  'day; spirit'.
-I is thus a derivational suffix on /toto:nI-k/

tzope:li-k  adjO  'sweet'
  tzope:li-adj:prepound
  tzope:li-yA  vers

xoko-k  adjO  'sour'
  xoko-yA  vers
  xoko-tl  s  'plum'
  cf. xoko=pa:ch-ohA  vt  'to mash with a stone'

xo]xoxoI-k  adjO  'green; raw'.  [{&.}]
  xo]xoxoI-yA  vers
  xo]xoxok-ti-k  adj  'greenish'
yama:nI-k adjO ‘soft’
yama:nI-yA vers

ya:nkwi-k adjO ‘new’
ya:nkwi-yA vers

ya]ya:wI-k adjO ‘black’. [{&.}]
ya:wi-tI s ‘black/blue corn’
yayak-ti-k adj ‘blackish’

END OF HANDOUT
References.


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SOT

7eety.w@7y apoyar
7aatz.w@7y abrirle las piernas a una mujer
7o7tz.w@7y hacer encuclillar
j@7m.w@7y guindar, colgar
jap.w@7y trambocar, embrocar
je7ks.w@7y llevar cargando (bebe*)
ko7m.w@7y doblar el espinazo
koony.w@7y sentar
ko7p.w@7y probar si aguanta para llevar
nej.w@7y cantear de un lado
p@nh.w@7y poner palo acostado en suelo
punh.w@7y abrir
so7tz.w@7y poner pan*uelo en la nuca
tu7y.w@7y estirar
to7ks.w@7y llevar en el pecho
to7ks.w@7y poner boca abajo [CK-GL]
to7k.w@7y tender
t@@.w@7y no dejar mover (persona)
teeny.w@7y dejar parado
tanhga.w@7y acostar boca arriba
tziit.w@7y encuclillar a chiquillo para orinar o ensuciar
wonh.w@7y poner agachado
wo7t.w@7y doblar (una varilla)
woo.w@7y

7aatz.w@7y abrirle las piernas a una mujer
    7aatz.ne7 to lie with legs open
7eety.w@7y apoyar
    7eety.ne7 to get wrinkled
7anh+7i7ch.nye7 hacer encuclillar
    7o7tz.ne7 to squat
7o7tz.w@7y

janh.ne7 to get empty
j@7m.w@7y guindar, colgar
jap.w@7y trambocar, embrocar
je7ks.w@7y llevar cargando (bebe*)
ji7ny.nye7 to get tangled
    7o7tz.ne7 for one stick to lie on top of another
kaj.ne7 doblar el espinazo
    ko7m.w@7y agacharse
    ko7m.ne7
koony.w@7y sentar
    koony.ne7 probar si aguanta para llevar
ko7p.w@7y
    ko7p.ne7
k@j.ne7 to get wounded
    k@jh.ne7
to get ripe
ko7tz.ne7 to get bruised
much.nye7 to get many branches
m@m.w@7y to get sick
   m@m.ne7 cantear de un lado
ej.w@7y to get sideways
   nej.ne7
nyi7ch.nye7 to get wrinkled
poj.ne7 to be home alone
   p@nh.w@7y poner palo acostado en suelo
   punh.w@7y abrir
so7tz.w@7y poner pan*uelo en la nuca
   tu7y.w@7y estirar
to7ks.w@7y llevar en el pecho
   to7ks.w@7y poner boca abajo [CK-GL]
to7k.w@7y tender
t@@.w@7y no dejar mover (persona)
   t@@.ne7 to stand quietly
teeny.w@7y dejar parado
tanhga.w@7y acostar boca arriba
   tanhga.ne7 to lie face up
tziit.w@7y encuclillar a chiquillo para orinar o ensuciar
tziit.ne7 to crouch, squat
woo.w@7y
   woo.ne7 to lie down
wonh.w@7y poner agachado
   wonh.ne7 agacharse
wo7t.w@7y doblar (una varilla)