

P O S I T I O N A L S I N M I J E - S O K E A N

T e r r e n c e K a u f m a n

University of Pittsburgh

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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
COPainala*
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], COAtlan, 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 derivaton) 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 is 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 Sotepan; 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 Mije 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-hood 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.

HANDOUT for

P O S I T I O N A L S I N M I J E - S O K E A N
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Orthography.

p	t	ty	ch	tz	k	ʔ
[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, postpound
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

ABBR MAR MIG ESok SOT TEX SAY OLU COA

SUFFIXES ON POSITIONALS

DEPOS	-7@y		-w@y	-w@7y		CAUS		
						+ASSUM		
ASSUM2	-w@y	-w@y						
ASSUM	-nay	-ney	-nAy	-ne7	-de7	-nay7	-na:y7	-na:y7
STAT	-na7	-na	-na					

REDUPLICATED ITERATIVES

ITERi	R-nay	R-ney	R-nay	R-ne7	R-de7	R-nay7
ITERt		R-w@y	R-w@y	R-w@7y		

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

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.

Data collected by TK (1993, 1994) and Valerie Himes (1994, 1995)

[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 %janh	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
%tziit	crouching/squatting for shitting
%woo	lying down
%wonh	bent over
%wo7t	bent (rod)

COP: a quick look for semantic equivalences in Harrison & Garcia's dictionary

pinh=chinh.nay	acurrucarse
wi7m.nay	acostarse (animal)
jap.nay	acostarse boca abajo
wanga.nay	acostarse boca arriba
mujlunh.nay	colgarse
mukuk.nay	agacharse
muks.nay	agacharse la cabeza
tenay	pararse

tze7nh.na	de lado
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MAG: POSITIONALS

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

6.2.1 adverbios de situacio*n (p361-362)

6.3 adverbios incorporados a la rai*z verbal (p364)

kanhnh.na	abiertos los pies
7i7nhwoj.na	de cabeza
jap.na	boca abierta
juks.na	encorvado
j@s.na	(vuelto) hacia atra*s
po7ks.na	sentado
sanhga.na	boca arriba
7@nh.na	boca arriba
metej.na	inclinado
tekek.na	inclinado
wotzotz.na	agachado
si7m.na si7m.na	botado por dondequiera
tze7nh.na	de lado

6.2.2 adverbios de clasificacio*n (p362-364)

potz.na	redondo
p@nh.na	grande

wi7m.na	grande
yom.na	redondo y largo
konh.na	cuerpo entero
jenh.na	hoja (de papel)
jotz.na	manejo, 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
pojlonh.ney	colgarse
ka7nhkinh.ney	echarse boca arriba
konh.ney	asentarse (una cosa grande)
woks.ney	sentarse en cuclillas
tzananh.ney	estar con los brazos abiertos
wotzotz.ney	sentarse (en una cosa baja)
kuj.ney	arrodillarse
konhoh.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*vido
mu7ch.mu7ch.w@y	hacerlo crujir
naks.naks.w@y	colear (el perro)

tek=witu7.witu7.w@y	vaciarlo (de un recipiente a otro)
tuk=p@7.p@7.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
%n@7ks	?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
%tzej	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

Hoogshagen Noordsy, Searle, & Hilda Halloran de Hoogshagen. 1993. Diccionario mije de Coatla'n, Oaxaca. Mexico DF: Instituto Linguistico de Verano. xx + 459pp.

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 depositive 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
%no7w	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 depositive 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 [HN_W], ala-:wa-k [HN_E] 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 [HN_W] viB 'to be paid'

ixtla:wA [HN_W], i:xtla:wA [HN_E] 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 'rootled'

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 [HN_W] adjW `swollen, puffed up'
 poya-:wa-k adjW (1) `open (flower), carded (cotton)';
 (2) `dizzy'; (3) `dark'
 sama-:wa-k adjW `swollen' [HN_W], `disintegrated' [HN_E]
 siya-:wa-k adjW `damp'
 sotla-:wa-k [HN_W], tzotla-:wa-k [HN_E] adjW `dazed, unconscious'
 tetza-:wa-k [HN_W] adjW `thick (liquids)'
 tila-:wa-k adjW `thick two-dimensionally'
 toma-:wa-k adjW `thick three-dimensionally'
 toxa-:wa-k [HN_W] adjW `flabby'
 tlakwa-:wa-k adjW `tough'
 tlatla-:wa-k adjW `healthy-looking'
 tzotla-:wa-k [HN_E], sotla-:wa-k [HN_W] adjW `dazed, unconscious'
 wapa-:wa-k [HN_W] 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 adj0 'salty'
poye:-yA vers

se]se:-k adj0 'cold'. [{{&.}}]
sese:-yA vers
se-tl s 'ice, frost'
se:wI viB:VERS 'to get cold, go our (of fire)'
se:wA ~ se:wihA vtB:CAUS 'to make cold, chill'

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

pi]pi:ni-k [HN_w] adj0 'gummy'. [{{&.}}]
pipi:ni-yA vers

sa]sa:li-k adj0 'sticky'. [{{&.}}]
sasa:li-yA vers
sa:l-iwI vers
sa:l-ohA caus 'to fit together' ('anadir, juntar, tejer,
pegar, formar, armar')

selI-k adj0 'immature, underripe'
selI-yA vers

toto:nI-k adj0 'hot'. [{{&.}}]
toto:nI-yA vers
cf. to:na vi 'to shine (sun, moon, stars); be hot (sun)'
cf. to:na-ti-h s 'sun'
cf. to:na-l-li s 'day; spirit'.
-I is thus a derivational suffix on /toto:nI-k/

tzope:li-k adj0 'sweet'
tzope:l= adj:prepound
tzope:li-yA vers

xoko-k adj0 'sour'
xoko-yA vers
xoko-tl s "plum"
cf. xoko=pa:ch-ohA vt 'to mash with a stone'

xo]xowI-k adj0 'green; raw'. [{{&.}}]
xoxowI-yA vers
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-tl s 'black/blue corn'
yayak-ti-k adj 'blackish'

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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
7anh+7i7ch.nye7	to get wrinkled
7o7tz.w@7y	hacer encuclillar
7o7tz.ne7	to squat
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
kaj.ne7	for one stick to lie on top of another
ko7m.w@7y	doblar el espinazo
ko7m.ne7	agacharse
koony.w@7y	sentar
ko7p.w@7y	probar si aguanta para llevar
k@j.ne7	to get wounded
k@nh.ne7	to get ripe

ko7tz.ne7	to get bruised
much.nye7	to get many branches
m@m.w@7y	
m@m.ne7	to get sick
nej.w@7y	cantear de un lado
nej.ne7	to get sideways
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)