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INFLECTION OF THE INTRANSITIVE TOJOLABAL VERB

Celia Douglass

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INTRODUCTION

Tojolabal, one of the dialects of Maya, is spoken by a group of Indians numbering around 8,000 who live in the southeastern part of the state of Chiapas.

The following paper covers a section of the grammar under morphology which deals with the inflection of the intransitive verb and will be included in the entire grammar at a later date.

The information was gathered over a period of months spent in the villages of Saltillo and Jotaná, Chiapas. Dolores Tovar Álvarez, a young woman in Jotaná, was the main informant.

INFLECTION OF THE INTRANSITIVE TOJOLABAL VERB

A. Inflection (outer layer of formation) of intransitive verb.

The inflection of intransitive verbs is of four types; indicative, perfective, stative and other modes. These are differentiated on basis of the inflectional suffixes which may occur with each.

1. Indicative

a. Prefixation: $\begin{matrix} \text{la-}/ \\ \text{š-}/\#- \end{matrix}$, obligatory tense-aspect prefixes.

(1) la- , indicating incomplete aspect with first and second person singular and plural.

š- , indicating same with third person.

$\text{/la}\check{\text{jul-}}/$	<u>I return</u>
$\text{/la}\check{\text{caan-}}/$	<u>You dance</u>
$\text{/so}\check{\text{c-}}/$	<u>He enters</u>

(2) $\#-$, indicating completive aspect

$\text{/caan-}/$	<u>I danced</u>
/k'e?-/	<u>You went up</u>
$\text{/cam-}/$	<u>He died</u>

b. Suffixation: Three orders of suffixes occur in the inflection of intransitive verbs in the indicative.

(1) Suffix of Order I: $-y$, formative, occurring as $-iy$ with the inflection of derived stems; and as $-i$ with formation of second and third person singular morpheme and derived stems. When occurring as $-i$, often dropped in context.

$\text{/o}\check{\text{cyon-}}/$	<u>I enter</u>	$\text{/moky}\check{\text{es-}}/$	<u>You fell pl.</u>
$\text{/kani-}/$	<u>You remain</u>	$\text{/jakyotik-}/$	<u>We came</u>
$\text{/jalp'ani-}/$	<u>He weaves</u>	$\text{/jisp'aniyon-}/$	<u>I comb my hair</u>

- (2) Suffixes of Order II: pronominal suffixes indicating subject of the verb, singular and plural. Occurring in the same form with incomplete and completive aspect with the exception of the second person singular suffix which is -# in the incomplete and -a in the completive.

/-c'ak/	<u>You finish it</u>	1-on// -otik
/-nosyeš/	<u>You swim pl.</u>	2-#/ -a// -eš
/-ç'eeep'aninyotik/	<u>We sing</u>	3-#/ -e
/k'otyon/	<u>I arrived</u>	
/c'akya/	<u>You finished it</u>	
/k'okye/	<u>They broke</u>	

- (3) Suffix of Order III: -on, pronominal suffix occurring with first person plural subject pronoun, indicating exclusion of the person spoken to.

/-ajniyotik/	<u>We run (inclusive)</u>
/-ç'ijp'aninyotikon/	<u>We write (exclusive)</u>

2. Perfective

There are two first order suffixes with the inflection of the intransitive perfective; -el, perfect aspect suffix and -up'al indicating perfect passive aspect. They are both followed by the same three orders of pronominal suffixes.

a. Suffixation

- (1) Suffixes of Order I:

-el, indicating perfective aspect. Action has taken place and the subject is still in state of being expressed by the verb.

/jakelon/	<u>I came or I have come</u>
/tajkel/	<u>He has become angry</u>
/k'okel/	<u>It has broken</u>
/camel/	<u>It is dead</u>
/kojlela/	<u>You are fat</u>
/jomel/	<u>It is out of order</u>

-up'al, indicating perfect passive aspect, with emphasis on agent.

/jamup'al/	<u>It has been opened by someone</u>
/e'isup'al/	<u>It has been sewed</u>
/k'ep'up'al/	<u>It has been given</u>
/lokop'al/	<u>It has been pulled up (vowel harmony)</u>

(2) Suffixes of Order II: pronominal suffixes indicating subject of the verb, both singular and plural.

/yokelon/	<u>I am thin</u>	1-on/-otik
/nupela/	<u>You are married</u>	2-a /-eš
/k'otel/	<u>He has arrived</u>	3-# /-#
/k'ajyelotik/	<u>We have become accustomed</u>	
/očeleš/	<u>You have entered pl.</u>	
/kucup'alon/	<u>I have been carried</u>	
/telup'ala	<u>You have been held</u>	
/mak'up'alotik/	<u>We have been hit</u>	
/nak'up'aleš/	<u>You have been hidden pl.</u>	

(3) Suffix of Order III: -on, pronominal suffix, occurring as with the indicative.

3. Stative: No prefixation occurs with inflection of stative verbs.

They inflect with body position verb stems and with many adjectives and nouns.

a. Suffixation

(1) Suffixes of Order I: pronominal subject suffixes both singular and plural.

/išukon/	<u>I am a woman</u>	1-on/-otik
/k'isina/	<u>You are warm</u>	2-a /-eš
/kulan/	<u>He is seated</u>	3-# /-e
/ašwelotikon/	<u>We are bored</u>	
/nušeš/	<u>You are small pl.</u>	

- (2) Suffix of Order II: -on, pronominal suffix occurring as with the indicative.

4. Other Modes: The main verb in this class only occurs in this form with the modes imperative, desiderative or future, conditional and subjunctive. The mode itself is expressed with auxiliary verbs or particles. Stative or perfective verbs may also take these suffixes to indicate the negative.

e. g.

/mi k'ajyeluk/	<u>He isn't accustomed</u>
/mi k'isimukon/	<u>I'm not warm</u>

a. Suffixation

- (1) Suffix of Order I: -(u)k, purposive, occurring with all but the second person singular and plural. When it occurs with the first person it must be followed by first person singular subject pronoun of Order II, or first person plural of Order III. The full suffix -uk occurs with derived stems in the first person, but when suffixed to morpheme stems the u drops out.

/-julkon/	<u>I'm going to return</u>
/ajnukon/	<u>That I run</u>
/waykotik/	<u>Let's sleep</u>

(2) Suffixes of Order II: pronominal subject suffixes.

First person singular -on is mutually exclusive
with -otik plural of Order III.

/-eluk/	That he leave	1-on
/-alp'ukon/	<u>I want to loiter</u>	2-an
/-wayan/	<u>Sleep!</u>	3-#

(3) Suffixes of Order III: subject pluralizers. First
person plural -otik is mutually exclusive with -on
of Order II.

/-k'e?uke/	That they get up	1p -otik
/-c'ee?anukotik/	<u>We want to sing</u>	2p -ik
/jakanik/	<u>Come (you pl.)</u>	3p -e

(4) Suffix of Order: -on, pronominal suffix, occurring
as with the indicative.