

Homework 6

Due on 14 November 2012

Tzotzil Verbs

This problem set will involve the investigation of verbs in the Mayan language Tzotzil (the Zinacantec dialect). This language is the indigenous language of what is Mexican state of Chiapas. In what follows, the data is presented in the traditional romanization used by the Mayanist community. This includes some conventions to take note of: X' for the ejective version of the phoneme X, ʔ = /ʔ/, c = /k/, ch = /tʃ/, j = /x/, x = /ʃ/, tz = /ts/, and y = /j/.

Part I

Each of the following Zinacantec Tzotzil verb forms can stand alone as a complete sentence. However, the person, and sometimes number, of the subjects and objects are expressed within the verb forms themselves.

For the following data (1–34):

1. Identify those affixes that cross reference (i.e., show agreement with) subjects and objects. Describe their distribution.
 2. Identify any affixes that express aspect (tense). Describe their distribution.
 3. Explain the ungrammaticality of the starred forms.
 4. Give a list of verb stems along with their translations.
 5. Explain how yes/no questions are formed.
- (1) smajoj 'he/she/they have hit him/her/them/it'
 - (2) jvula7anoj 'I/we have visited him/her/them/it'
 - (3) sk'oponoxuk 'he/she/they have addressed you (PL)'
 - (4) smajojon 'he/she/they/it has struck/hit me'
 - (5) ak'oponojon 'you have addressed me'
 - (6) svula7anojot 'she/he/they have visited you (SG)'
 - (7) sk'eloxuk 'she/he/they have watched you (PL)'
 - (8) jmajojot 'I/we have struck you (SG)'
 - (9) sk'eloxotik 'he/she/they have watched us (you and me)'
 - (10) sk'oponojon 'he/she/they have addressed me'
 - (11) avula7anojotikotik 'you have visited us' *avula7anojotik
 - (12) svula7anoj 'he/they/she has visited him/her/it/them'
 - (13) jk'elox 'I/we have watched him/it/her/them'
 - (14) sk'eloxot 'he/she/they have watched you (SG)'
 - (15) amajoj 'you have struck him/it/her/them'
 - (16) jk'oponoxuk 'I/we have addressed you (PL)'
 - (17) sk'oponoxotikotik 'he/she/they have addressed us (me and someone ≠ you)'
 - (18) ave7oj 'you have eaten it/them'
 - (19) sk'elox 'he/she/they have watched it/her/him/them'
 - (20) amajoxotikotik 'you have struck us' *amajoxotik

- (21) jmajojoxuk 'I/we have hit you (PL)'
 (22) mi ak'eljon? 'have you watched me?'
 (23) smajojotik 'he/she/they has struck us (me and you)'
 (24) jvula7anojoxuk 'I/we have visited you (PL)'
 (25) smajojotikotik 'he/she/they has struck us (me and someone ≠ you)'
 (26) jtojojot 'I/we have paid you (SG)'
 (27) jve7oj 'I/we have eaten it/them'
 (28) svula7anojotikotik 'he/she/they have visited us (me and someone ≠ you)'
 (29) svula7anojotik 'she/he/they have visited us (me and you)'
 (30) sve7oj 'he/she/it/they have eaten it/them'
 (31) jk'elot 'I/we have watched you (SG)'
 (32) amajojon 'you have struck me'
 (33) mi ak'elotikotik 'have you watched us' *mi ak'elotik?
 (34) sk'eljon 'he/she/they have watched me'

Part II

In this part you will look at some more verbs in Tzotzil and the formation of imperatives.

II.A: Intransitives

The following forms are intransitive and, thus, only cross reference subjects. Looking at these data (35–64):

1. Identify the affixes that cross reference subjects. Describe their distribution. What relationship do they bear to any of the affixes identified in Problem 1?
2. The translations indicate that some of these forms have the same aspect as those in Problem 1. Is this aspect expressed by the same affix? If not, what is the new affix, and how would explain its distribution with respect to the one identified in Problem 1?
3. In English, predicate nominals and adjectives require the copula (e.g., “You *are* a woman”, “I *are* tall”). No copula is needed in the corresponding Tzotzil sentences. How are these forms like and unlike intransitive verbs?
4. Give a list of any new stems along with their translations.

- (35) batemon 'I have gone'
 (36) jelavem 'he/she/they/it have passed by'
 (37) k'otemot 'you (SG) have arrived'
 (38) jelavemotik 'we (you and I) have passed by'
 (39) batem 'he/she/it/they have gone'
 (40) jelavemot 'you (SG) have passed by'
 (41) 7antzotikotik 'we (me and someone ≠ you) are women'
 (42) k'otemoxuk 'you (PL) have arrived'
 (43) ve7emotikotik 'we (me and someone ≠ you) have eaten'
 (44) vayemon 'I have fallen asleep (I am asleep)'
 (45) vinikon 'I am a man'
 (46) 7antzot 'you are a woman'
 (47) jelavemon 'I have passed by'
 (48) k'otem 'he/she/it/they have arrived'

- (49) vayemoxuk 'you (PL) are asleep'
 (50) vinik 'he's a man/they're men'
 (51) tzotz 'he/she/it/they are strong'
 (52) vinikoxuk 'you (PL) are men'
 (53) ve7em 'he/she/it/they have eaten'
 (54) mi talemot? 'have you (SG) come?'
 (55) mi 7antz? 'is she a woman?/are they women?'
 (56) talemotikotik 'we (me and someone ≠ you) have come'
 (57) talemotik 'we (me and you) have come'
 (58) vayem 'he/she/it/they are asleep'
 (59) natotikotik 'we (me and someone ≠ you) are tall'
 (60) bik'itotik 'we (you and I) are small'
 (61) bik'it 'it/he/she/they is/are little'
 (62) mi batemoxuk? 'have you (PL) gone?'
 (63) ve7emon 'I have eaten'
 (64) bik'itoxuk 'you (PL) are small'

II.B: Infinitives

For the following infinitives (65–95):

1. Identify any new affixes; describe their distribution. To what class(es) of stems do they attach?
2. Explain the parenthesized starred forms.
3. Explain any other starred forms.
4. State any necessary morphophonological rules.
5. List any new stems with their translations.
6. Give example derivations for a few forms.

- (65) batanik 'go!' (said to more than one (2+) person) (*bato)
 (66) tojo 'pay for it!' (*tojan)
 (67) jelavan 'pass by!' (*jelavo)
 (68) majotikotik 'hit us!' (me and someone ≠ you)
 (69) *majotik
 (70) 7ochan 'enter!' (*7ocho)
 (71) vula7anon 'visit me!'
 (72) *vula7anoxuk
 (73) k'elik 'look at it!' (to 2+ people)
 (74) nak'on 'hide me!'
 (75) *k'elot
 (76) majonik 'hit me!' (to 2+ people)
 (77) 7antzan 'be a woman!' (*7antz)
 (78) majik 'hit it/them/him/her!' (to 2+ people)
 (79) 7elk'ano 'steal it/her/them/him!' (*7elk'anan)
 (80) ve7o 'eat it!'
 (81) k'oponik 'address him/her/it/them!' (to 2+ people)
 (82) ve7an 'eat!'

- (83) majo 'hit it/him/her/them!'
 (84) 7abtejan 'work!' (*7abtejo)
 (85) vayanik 'sleep!' (to 2+ people) (*vayik)
 (86) ve7ik 'eat it!' (to 2+ people)
 (87) vinikan 'be a man!' (*viniko)
 (88) ve7anik 'eat!'(to 2+ people)
 (89) tzotzan 'be brave!'
 (90) 7ik'on 'call me!'
 (91) *7ik'otik
 (92) k'opono 'address him/her/it/them!' (*k'oponan)
 (93) *7ik'oxuk
 (94) 7elk'ajan 'steal!' (*7elk'ajo)
 (95) 7uch'o 'drink it!'

Part III

This problem introduces a new set of affixes. Note: 'you' = singular or plural throughout. 'me' = 1st person singular, unless coupled with '/us'. Use of any third person pronoun implies the possibility of any other (*i.e.*, 'she' implies 'he' and 'it', *etc.*). In this language, context plays a large role in determining reference and plurality.

III.A: First Set of Data

For the data in (96–103):

1. Identify the new affixes and describe their distribution. What is the relation between these affixes and other previously identified affixes?
 2. What determines the use of these affixes?
 3. State any necessary morphophonological rules.
- (96) ta xibat 'I'm/we're going' (*also*: chibat)
 (97) ta xak'opoj 'you are talking' (*also*: chak'opoj)
 (98) lik'opoj 'I/we spoke'
 (99) li7och 'I/we entered'
 (100) mi la7ech'? 'did you pass by?'
 (101) ta xi7och 'I'm/we're entering' (*also*: chi7och)
 (102) mi labat? 'did you go?'
 (103) mi ta xavay? 'are you sleeping?' (*also*: mi chavay)

III.B: Second Set of Data

For this second set (104–128):

1. If necessary, revise your answer to (2) in Part 1 to account for the following data.
2. Under what conditions can a transitive verb form overtly express the number of its object?

- (104) ta xakil 'I/we see you' (*also*: chakil)
 (105) ak'elon 'you watched me'
 (106) ta xajchabi 'I/we care for you' (*also*: chajchabi)
 (107) lakil 'I/we saw you'
 (108) ta xaxchabi 'he cares for you' (*also*: chaxchabi)
 (109) mi ta xak'elon? 'are you watching me?' (*also*: mi chak'elon)
 (110) lajchabi 'I/we cared for you'
 (111) mi ta xavik'on? 'will you marry me?' (*also*: mi chavik'on)
 (112) achabion 'you cared for me'
 (113) ta xask'el 'she's watching you' (*also*: chask'el)
 (114) avilon 'you saw me'
 (115) ta xisk'el 'she's watching me/us' (*also*: chisk'el)
 (116) ta xayil 'he sees you' (*also*: chayil)
 (117) lixchabi 'she cared for me/us'
 (118) ta xachabion 'you care for me' (*also*: chachabion)
 (119) ta xixchabi 'she cares for me/us' (*also*: chixchabi)
 (120) lask'el 'she watched you'
 (121) layil 'he saw you'
 (122) lisk'el 'she watched me/us'
 (123) ta xavilon 'you see me' (*also*: chavilon)
 (124) laxchabi 'he cared for you'
 (125) liyil 'she saw me/us'
 (126) ta xiyil 'she sees me/us' (*also*: chiyil)
 (127) mi ta xak'elotikotik? 'Are you watching us?' (me and someone ≠ you)
 (128) *mi ta xak'elotik? 'Are you watching us?' (me and you)

Part IV

This part will have you look at something strange that happens in Tzotzil agreement. The data below introduce ditransitive verb forms, that is, verb forms whose translations express subjects, direct objects, and indirect objects. We have seen that transitive verbs agree with their subjects and direct objects. The question you should pursue here is the following:

(Q1) What do verbs agree with in ditransitive clauses?

The data may not lead to a single hypothesis, but one may seem more plausible than others. Make sure you consider both. Finally, assume that the translations have the same implications as they did in P3.

IV.A: Antipenultimate Data

Answer these two questions with respect to (129–132):

1. Identify any new affixes; describe their distribution.
2. Can you formulate any hypotheses regarding verb agreement based on these data?

- (129) yak'ojbe 'he's given it to him'
 (130) xchonojbe 'she's sold it to them'
 (131) jk'elanojbe 'I've presented it to him'
 (132) mi amanojbe? 'did you buy it from/for her?'

IV.B: Second-to-Last Dataset

For (133–136), answer the following questions:

1. Are any new affixes involved in these forms (if so, what are they)?
2. State any necessary morphophonological rules.
3. What hypothesis(es) regarding verb agreement would be consistent with these data?

- (133) yak'ojbon 'he's given it to me'
 (134) mi xchonojbot? 'has he sold it to you?'
 (135) jk'elanojboxuk 'I've presented it to you (PL)'
 (136) mi smanojbotik? 'has he bought it from/for us?'

IV.C: One More Set

Finally, with respect to all the data in this section including (137–142), answer these last two questions:

1. What is your analysis of *-be*? How does your analysis explain the the meaning of these sentences?
2. What is your most plausible hypothesis concerning verb agreement?

- (137) chakak'be chitom 'I/we'll give you pigs'
 (138) liyak'be vaj 'she gave me/us tortillas'
 (139) lask'elanbe chitom 'he presented pig(s) to you'
 (140) chismanbe 'he'll buy it from/for me/us'
 (141) mi avak'be? 'did you give it to him?'
 (142) mi chavak'bon? 'are you going to give me it?'