Partial funding for this journal is provided by the Graduate Student Council from the Student Activity Fee.

© Linguistics Graduate Student Association
University of Kansas, 1987
Jill Brody  Particles in Tojolabal Mayan Discourse  1
Willem J. de Reuse  One Hundred Years of Lakota Linguistics (1887-1987)  13
Antonia Y. Foliarin  Lexical and Phrasal Phonology of Yoruba Nouns  43
Noel Rude  Some Klamath-Sahaptian Grammatical Correspondences  67
David Leedom Sheul  A Note on Hopi Consonant Gradation  85
Karen Sundberg  Word Order in Klamath  89
Yuukihiro Yumitani  A Comparative Sketch of Pueblo Languages: Phonology  119
Cumulative Contents of Volumes 1-12  141
PARTICLES IN TOJOLABAL MAYAN DISCOURSE

Jill Brody

Abstract: Modal clitics in Tojolabal Mayan cliticize to the first element of the clause. Evidentiality particles indicate the speaker’s commitment to the truth of the statement, and temporal/aspectual particles indicate expectability, precedence and durativeness. They function not only to place the speaker in relation to the time and truth of what is said, but also aid in discourse cohesion. The reportative particle b’i occurs in foreground clauses in stories.

0. Introduction

Like other Mayan languages (e.g., Mam [England] and Yucutujil [Dayley], and others [DuBois]), Tojolabal has a set of modal particles [Furbee 1976]. In Tojolabal, these optionally cliticize to the first non-fronted element of clauses, usually the verb (1), a temporal marker (2), or an adverbial (3) (see Steele 1977 on sentence-second position).

(1) aj-o kristiano / 0-b’ey-on-0-ojetla ja b’a BE-3a PEOPLE com-DIG-tvm-3a-3epslalready det loc

y-oj

alman ma?itsi.

3e-INTERIOR BIG HOUSE-npt

‘There are people who have already dug inside the big house.’

(2) pes tish’i 0-sa-le?aw-o modo jastal oj well then=rpt com-3e-SEEK-tvm-3a-WAY how fut

s-w’ul-uk-o b’ya-ojcl s-lokum ja ayinci.

je-D0-3a loc 3e-INTERIOR 3e-STOMACH det ALLIGATOR-npt

‘Well then (it is said) he looked for how to do it from inside the alligator.’

(3) pesa jachtz’i 0-y-ul-naw-0--kan ja winik um7 well THU13-npt com-3e-SAY-tvm-3a--STAY det MAN rel

jel x-ok’-o ja yora chaa-0 ja o-che’umsi.

VERY inc-CRY-3a det 3e-TIME DIE-3a det 3e-Wife-npt

‘Well, thus (it is said) is what was told by the man who cried so much when his wife died.’

These particles represent values along various modal, temporal, and aspectual continua, including evidentiality, realis/irrealis, expectability, sequence, durativeness, and perfectivity. The intersection of these continua forms a range of operation for these particles that, among other things, allows orientation of the

speaker's attitudes toward what is being said, permits subtle modifications of orientation in time, and, on the discourse level, also expresses coherence relations between propositions.

1. The Particles

The modal clitic particles of Tojolabal are listed in (4). There are other particles, but they pattern differently, and I will not discuss them here. The modal clitic particles fall into two general categories: evidentiality particles, and temporal/aspectual particles. There is some overlap of modality features between these two categories, but there are several reasons to maintain their distinctiveness, as will be discussed.

(4) Modal Clitic Particles

temporal/aspectual particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>va</th>
<th>now</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td>still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xta</td>
<td>durative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha/cho</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vni | emphatic |

h'i | reportative |

k'a | conditional |

na/ama | dubitative, question |

Modal particles may occur in combinations, with the following restrictions: 1) that there be only two in the sequence, 2) that the two particles be different, and 3) that the second particle be a) one of the particles of evidentiality or b) cha/cho. Thus the temporal/aspectual particles are closer to the verbal complex than are the evidentiality particles. Generally, sequencing involves one temporal and one evidential particle. cha/cho is the only temporal/aspectual particle that can co-occur with the other temporal particles. nizh' is the only combination of evidentiality particles that occurs with any frequency, and it is restricted to particular contexts. The only other combination of evidentiality particles is in the highly emphatic affirmative statement in (5).

(5) meran-0nizh'ama.
TRUE-loc=EMP-CON=CLT
'It is definitely really true.'

2. Continuum of Evidentiality

The evidentiality particles form an array along the range of degree of responsibility taken for the veracity of the statement to which they are attached.

The use of vni indicates the speaker's emphatic affirmation of the truthfulness of the assertion, often in response to doubt expressed about the statement. Thus, the question in (6) can be responded to appropriately using vni.
ni is the only modal particle that is obligatorily followed by the clause terminal particle ą, at the end of the clause.1

The use of the reportative particle ńi entails a restriction of the speaker's full commitment to the veracity of the statement. Its use indicates that the speaker has heard what is being stated, but has not personally witnessed it. While this particle occasionally occurs in conversation, the highest frequency context of its use is in the telling of traditional folktales, where related events are marked by the reportative as not having been experienced directly. Many examples of the use of ńi appear in the text segment in the appendix. The story-teller uses ńi to withdraw from claiming the highest degree of identification with the statement, placing that responsibility upon those from whom he has heard the tale, or on the ancestors, or perhaps even upon the community as a whole. The truth of the statement to which the reportative is attached is not doubted; it is simply not directly claimed, and is attributed to another authority.

A much further removal from taking direct responsibility is represented by the use of the conditional ką. The veracity of the statement to which ką is attached is not denied or even questioned, but neither is it claimed. The conditional places the statement in the realm of the hypothetical and irreals. Thus in a quoted conversation between a merchant and a customer in the market we have an example of the conditional.

(7) pero purok'sa tzaelb'als wsa-k-a7--aw-i7-0
BUT ON1f=com CROSSEN pro-inc-1s=GIVE--2e-TAKE-3n

ťi oj kan-uk-0ra
then fut HENAK-hbj-ascoli det loc dis-RIPspowert
'But if I give it to you picked over, then only the little
ripe ones will remain.'

A hypothetical situation is outlined, where the truth of the statement is conditional, dependent upon the circumstances described holding. Ką is typically found in conditional clauses, but see (5) above.

The dubitative particle ma/ama explicitly questions the truth of the statement to which it is climatized. The particle forms yes/no questions; these are answered not with equivalents of 'yes', and 'no', but by affirmed or negated predicates, as in (8); also, see (6) above.
Q: ay-Dga ma kajpe?
BE-3s=dub COFFEE
'Is there (any) coffee?'

A: meyuk (mi-ay-uk-0).
(neg-BE-subj-3s)
'No.'

Q: oj-nya waj-an?
fut-dub EAT-Za
'Will you eat?'

A: oj-ya,
 fut:fyutern
'Yes.'

The four modal clitic particles of evidentiality span the range of responsibility taken for the veracity of the statement from emphatically affirming it (ni), to placing the authority in respected others (b'li), to the conditional with truth dependent on the interpretation of the clause containing (k'a), to questioning the truth (ma/ama). Denial might logically be expected to partici-
pate in this continuum, but negation is not handled through the use of clitic particles in Tojolabal. The continuum of evidentiality is generally divided into two levels of commitment: realis (ni and b'li) vs. irrealis (k'a and ma/ama). It is worthy of note that the nature of the speaker's relationship to the truth forms a part of many (though not all) statements. While the use of b'li characterizes folk tales, the other clitics are not confined to any particular genre. In summary, the use of the modal clitic particles of evidentiality orient the statement in relation to the speaker's commitment to its veracity.

3. Continuum of Temporal/Aspectual/Modal Orientation

The modal clitic particles of temporal orientation are arrayed along intersecting aspectual, temporal, and modal continua. The temporal range is defined by precedence, the aspectual by durativeness, and the modal range is defined by the level of expectability that the action in the statement has for the speaker.

Taking the temporal feature first, three of the temporal orientation particles subdivide the tense/aspect range obligatorily indicated on the verb, as shown in (9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>completeive</th>
<th>incompletive</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>sequence (ti)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The particle to roughly translates as 'still', as shown in (10).

(10) ay-0tzn kajpe.
BE-3stILL COFFEE
'There is still coffee.'

Its use indicates a continuation from the past through the present. The particle ta roughly translates as 'already', and indicates an action that has taken place previously, as in (11).

(11) G-waJ-0ta.
coa-D0-3s-already
'He/she already went.'

The particle za means 'now', and is used to underscore the currency of the action, as in (12).

(12) ay-0xm kajpe.
BE-3s-nom COFFEE
'There is coffee now.'

In addition to indicating currency, the use of za entails the sequentiality of the action. za marks what normally, naturally, and consequently fails next in sequence. An example of this use of za appears in sentence #5 in the text in the appendix; the sequence of actions is that 1) the people went into the caves, and then 2) when they came out they had tails. Another example appears in sentence #10 in the appendix; here the sequence of actions is 1) the last creation was killed with water, but 2) the next will be killed with fire. The sequentiality of za is emphasized when it criticizes to the introductory particle ti 'then', as in (13). tiZa commonly introduces sequential events. Another sequential use of za is in the topicalization construction, shown in (14), where it criticized to the determiner ja to indicate change of topic in discourse (Brody in press).

(13) tiZa wa-x-och-s-lr7-0-e?
then=now pro-inc-BEG=3s-SEEK-3a-3ep1
ja tak'inta.
det MONEY=colt
'Then they begin to look for the money.'

(14) haziZa ma7 wa-x-8-chon-ow-0 ti
det=nor rel pro-inc-3e-SELL-tzm-3a then
wa-x-yr-al-aw-0...
pro-inc-3e-SAY-ja
'As for the one who sells, then she says...'
Thus, on a time scale, the temporal orientation particles move from the past (ta) to the next in sequence (xa), to the ongoing (to). By contrast with xa, then, the particles to and ta indicate events that are out of the normal sequence, in that they continued beyond the expected time (to) or began earlier than expected (ta).

As aspectual duratives, the particles cha/cho and xta cross-cut the temporal sequencing. As mentioned above, cha/cho has more freedom of placement than the rest of the particles in the set. In order to distinguish between cha/cho and xta, and to explain the details of the operation of the temporal orientation particles in relation to tense/aspect, it is necessary to understand their modal nature. They also participate in the continuum of speaker's expectation, that is, the degree of expectability that the statement represents for the speaker. The modal continuum of expectability defines a range from action that is expectable or neutral in expectation for the speaker to action that is surprising to the speaker or out of sequence in the normally expected course of events. The feature of expectability hence contributes a modal value to actions occurring in the temporal and aspectual arenas.

To return to the durative particles, cha/cho indicates that the repeated action was either expected or neutral in relation to expectation, as in 118 in the text sequence in the appendix. xta indicates an action that was repeated unexpectedly or one that occurs with an unexpected intensity. In (15), we see xta used forcefully in the course of a quoted bargaining transaction in the market. When asked to sell her commodity for a lower price, the vendor replies that she won't, because the work to grow the crop is very difficult.

(15)

a. 1-s-k'an-aw-0-xta ta mi x-e1-o a-gana.
inc-3s-WANT-tvm-3a-dur if neg im-EXIT-3a ze-WILL
'It really requires that you don't get discouraged.'

b. 1-s-k'an-aw-0-xta mi x-ya3b'-iy-0
inc-3s-WANT-tvm-3a-xta neg inc-HURT-tvm-3a
ja-pat-ik.
Ze-BACK-ndr
'It really requires that one's back not get hurt.'

For the temporal/aspectual particles xa, ta, and to, the features of expectability and sequencing distinguish xa as indicative of normal current action or action proceeding in sequence from ta and to, which both mark the action as out of sequence and unexpected. The chart in (16) distinguishes all the modal clitic particles according to the tense-aspect-modality features discussed.
16. Tense-aspect-modality features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cha</th>
<th>xta</th>
<th>xa</th>
<th>ta</th>
<th>to</th>
<th>ni</th>
<th>b'i</th>
<th>k'a</th>
<th>ma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realis</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expectability</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sequentiality)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>precedence</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(perfectivity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>durativeness</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the evidentiality particles for the most part map different features than do the temporal/aspektual particles, it would seem that there are two separate sets of particles. There is also, however, some overlap of features. The emphatic affirmative evidential ni has a counter-to-expectation element to it. This is especially seen in one context where ni is commonly found: the emphatic assertion of a statement in response to its having been questioned, as in (5), (6) and (8) above. It should be noted, however, that ma/mn does not imply question with the expectation of either a negative or a positive answer. The counter-to-expec-
tation feature of ni is what allows it to co-occur with the reportative b\'i in contexts like sentence #6 in the text in the appendix, where the clause that follows the one beginning with s\'alina even though contains both the reportative and the emphatic ni, marking the surprising nature of the outcome. Sentences #5 and #18 in the text in the appendix shows a similar example.

4. Discourse: foreground and background

In addition to coding tense-aspect and modality, both sets of particles also participate in coding the discourse coherence relations of propositions in sequence. In narrative, the particles are associated with foreground clauses, which relate the main points and events of the story. Background clauses, by contrast, contain asides and other information the speaker is offering that is not central to the story. This pattern is clearest in the most stylized form of Tojolabal narrative, the folk tale. The reportative particle b\'i carries the heaviest foreground load, though the other particles appear as well. In the segment from a Tojolabal version of the creation in the appendix, the particles are underlined, and the foregrounded clauses they are associated with are indicated. Background information may be repeated background, as in sentences #4, #5, #11, or asides as in #8, #13, #14.

5. Conclusion

It is not contrary to general linguistic expectation that the features of tense, aspect, and modality be interactive, or that the same particles code discourse cohesiveness as well. Additionally, on a purely speculative note, it seems to me to be fitting that in the historical Mayan context of obsession with time on the level of the calendar, and the Mayan subjectivization of time through the
APPENDIX Test Segment from Creation Story

1. ja wego wa-x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja kristiyano jumasa ja
   det now pro-inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det PEOPLE ALL det
   b’alame itti ke ja chante7 jumasa b’a witz
   det GENERATION THIS:npt rel det ANIMAL ALL loc FOREST
   ja wego puro-0-b’l kristiyano ja naje7e7.
   det now ALL-3s:rg:PT PEOPLE det LONG AGO
   'Now all the people in this generation say that all the animals in
   the forest now (it is said) were people long ago.'

2. wa-x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja kristiyano jumasa ja wego ke
   pro-inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det PEOPLE ALL det now rel
   ja ma7-tik b’ajtan winik ja s-b’aj najate?
   det rel-pl FIRST MAN det 3e-SELF LONG AGO
   0-ch’ak=b’l--och-uk-e7
   k’e7en ja y-ora 0-ch’ak-o
   com-FINISH:rgpt--ENTER-sbj-3epl CAVE det 3e-TIME com-FINISH-3a
   ja satk’insli.
   det WORLD:npt
   'All the people now say that those who were the first men long ago
   all went into caves when the world was destroyed.'

3. ja7h’i y-uj ja yajni 0-waj--el-uk-e7z1
   cl-rgpt 3e-rel1N det when com-GO--EXIT-sbj-3epl-npt
   ay-0-xa=b’l s-nej-e7 0-el-iy-e7--k’e7en
   BE-3a-nom:rgpt 3e-TAIL-3pl com-EXIT-tvm-3a-1--UPWARD
   ja b’a y-oj
   k’e7ensi.
   det loc 3e-INTERIOR CAVE:npt
   'It is said) that it is for this reason when they went out (it is
   said) they now had tails (when) they came up out of the inside of
   the cave.'

4. i tuktukil=bl’i chante7 0-el iy=ej--k’e7ensi
   and DIFFERENT:rgpt ANIMAL com-EXIT-tvm-3epl: UPWARD:npt
   ja ora jawa1.
   det TIME THAT:npt
   'And (it is said) that they were different animals when they came
   up out that time.'

5. ja7-0 y-uj ja wego wa-x-y-al-aw-0-e7 ja yajni
   cl-3a 3e-rel1N det now pro-inc-3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det when
The people now say that all the people long ago, according to their ways, thus they all became like the ways of the animals,' 12. ja pagre ja s-b'aj najate7 komo leksh'ij det PRIEST det 3e-SELF LONG AGO since GOOD
wa-x-s-je7-aw-0 s-b'aj pero malo ja jas pro-inc-3e-SHOW-tvm-3a 3e-SELF but BAD det what
wa-x-s-k'ulan-0 ja7-0 y-uj pa7aysh'ij 0-pax-iy-0. pro-inc-3e-DD-3a cl-3a 3e-relN FOX=rpt come-BECOME-1vm-3a
' The priests long ago, since they showed themselves as good but what they did was bad, for this reason they became foxes.' 13. jasa m7 jel manyoso tan chichzh'ij 0-pax-iy-0 detnow rel VERY TRICKY DAMN RABBIT=rpt come-BECOME-1vm-3a porke ja chich=i jel manyoso. because det RABBIT=rpt VERY TRICKY 'And as for he who was very tricky, (it is said) he became a damn rabbit, because rabbits are very tricky.' 14. ai x-yam-j-iy-0 wego y-uj ja tz'iz1. neg inc-GRAB-pax-1vm-3a QUICKLY 3e-relN det DOG=rpt 'He isn't caught easily by the dog.' ...
18. pmes wa-xchaxa7-al-aw-0-e7 ja wego ja yajni well pro-inc=rep3e-SAY-tvm-3a-3epl det now det when x-ch'ak-0 ja lame kristiyano itzi ta ay-0k'a inc-FINISH-3a det GENERATION PEOPLE THIS=rpt if B5=ja-con ma7 wa-x-och-0 l'e7en ojnjish'ij ch'ak-uk-0sa rel pro-inc-ENTER-3e CAVE fut=rep=rpt FINISH=abl-Ja=clt porke marsh'ij jel yaj jun tiro oj jak-uk-0 because MORE=rpt VERY PAIN ONE LOTS fut ARRIVE=ajv-3a ja kastigu ja wego. det PUNISHMENT det NOW Well they also say now that when this creation is destroyed, if there are any who enter in caves, they'll be really destroyed, because (it is said) that the punishment will arrive with a lot of suffering this time.
ABBREVIATIONS

1  lst person
2  2nd person
3  3rd person
a  absolutive
clt  clause terminal
com  completive aspect
det  determiner
dim  diminutive
dub  dubitative
emp  emphatic
e  ergative
fut  future
in  inclusive
inc  intransitive aspect
ivm  intransitive verb marker
loc  locative
npt  noun phrase terminal
pas  passive
pl  plural
pro  progressive
relN  relational noun
rel  relative
rep  repetitive
rpt  reportative
subj  subjunctive
tvm  transitive verb marker
/  fronted clause boundary
-  morpheme boundary
z  clitic boundary
--  compound

NOTES

1. The orthography used is a practical transcription, where
i represents /i/, o represents /o/, j represents /j/, ts
represents /ts/, and T represents glottal stop. ay-o kristiano in
this example is a fronted clause, as indicated by the /.

2. The clause terminal za also marks the end of clauses of
temporal sequence beginning with ti 'then'. See (13) for an
eexample.
REFERENCES


