

PATTERNS OF PRIMARY PERSONAL REFERENCE
IN A TZELTAL COMMUNITY *

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ABSTRACT

A set of speech events is isolated from a set of Tzeltal conversational texts. These speech events share the common characteristic of referring to one or more persons other than the speaker or the listener(s) participating in the conversation.

A partial grammatical description of these speech events is developed, including a syntax stated in terms of a set of rules for the analysis of non-minimal instances of reference.

A semantic analysis phrased in terms of differentiating attributes is offered which relates directly to the morphological and syntactic properties of the units established, as well as to specifiable eliciting procedures regularly used by anthropologists in establishing dimensions of contrasts among socially recognized role categories. In the process there emerges a formal delimitation of Aguacatenango Tzeltal kinship terminology, a delimitation which is prior to and not dependant upon semantic criteria.

Some "performance correlates" are described which can be associated with the differential presence or absence of some of established attributes and hence with referential usage.

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I. *Introduction*

The speakers of Aguacatenango (Chiapas) Tzeltal employ in conversation a variety of modes referential identification of "third persons". Our description of these forms of reference consists of: 1) a statement of attributes of persons associated with and isolable through differences in linguistic forms, together with the specification of certain performances correlated with these attributes. We will show that relations of congruence, contrast, complementation and free alternation may be employed on the several levels of analysis to identify variously related classes and sub-classes of forms, each aiding in the clarification of the other.

Following a brief history of the circumstances leading to the present *formulation*, we will present a formal description of referential usage along with some of the evidence, a "functional" description of these patterns of usage, and finally a discussion of some of the points of intersection of the results of the several procedures employed. An analytic glossary of the forms is presented in Appendix II.

The data from which the present description was constructed was abstracted from a relatively large corpus (about 150,000 running words) of taped, transcribed, and partially analyzed Tzeltal conversation involving about 100 persons living in and native to Aguacatenango. The texts, the greater part of which have as their focus the discussion of recent illnesses in the experience of the speakers, were gathered by Norman A. McQuown and Duane Metzger. A native speaker of Aguacatenango Tzeltal, Mariano Juarez, was trained by McQuown to transcribe the taped records phonemically, and Sr. Juarez subsequently provided a translation into Spanish. Terence Kaufman began the linguistic analysis of Aguacatenango Tzeltal, working both with informants and the taped text. The linguistic analysis reported here was prepared by the authors in consultation with Kaufman's original description, but any shortcomings it has are the present authors' responsibility. The Automatic Language Data Processing group at the Rand Corporation, under the direction of Dr. David G. Hays, undertook to automate some part of the linguistic analysis. Hence some of the texts have been stored in text and glossary formats

for the IBM 7090, and concordances and other analytic reports have been prepared at the request of the authors. The present paper suggested itself during our examination of the texts in conjunction with a study of the cognitive aspects of Tzeltal medical beliefs, headed by A. Kimball Romney.

In our reading of the texts, we observed that individuals were prone to identify persons in reference by means of a construction which, grammatically, consists of a possessed noun plus an unpossessed noun with or without another unpossessed noun. It appeared that the possessed nouns figuring in the construction were limited to two, /-me[?] / and /-tat/, and that the accompanying possessive affix was regularly 'third person singular', thus /s-me[?] / and /s-tat/. Further, it appeared that the second noun in the construction was a 'personal name'. Finally, the third noun potentially occurring in the construction was also a 'personal name'. Our initial description, then, distinguished:

Position 1	Position 2	Position 3 (optional)
/s-me [?] /	/hwan/	/pini/
/s-tat/	/maria/	/hwan/

The construction expresses a genitive relation between the noun items of Positions 1 and 2, i.e., "the 1 of 2". We label this the "teknonymous construction" for present purposes. The filling of Position 3 specifies by name the person referred to in the teknonymous construction, so we label the expanded construction the "specified teknonymous construction". The construction might be glossed, then, as "the 1 of 2, namely 3", and the examples shown, as "the mother of Juan, namely Delfina" and "the father of María, namely Juan".

We were later to learn that use of the teknonymous construction implied the following: 1) status of parent as parent (involving, for males but not females, a certified married relationship); 2) sex of parent; 3) name of first born child of this union who lived long enough to be named; and 4) (optionally) name of the parent, who is the person in reference.

In the course of gathering a sample of this type of construction, we encountered cases which included the teknonymous construction within more complex constructions which

are also identifiable as in reference to persons. This led us to define the limits of the present study as the consideration of all expressions which Tzeltal informants identify as cases of *person in reference* (P in R), within which the teknonymous construction is one subtype.

The transcription employed is a normalized phonemic one. Certain conventions have been employed to discriminate relations among morphemes for the purposes of the present discussion:

- + indicates compounding between the items so separated
- divides possessive prefixes and suffixes from stems, and isolates plural morphemes as well
- . marks other morpheme boundaries relevant to the present study (i.e., not all morpheme boundaries are indicated), such as /h./ 'agentive', /h./ 'name marker', the /.VI/ of 'generics', etc.

2. Grammatical Description of P in R

P in R, as functionally identifiable by Aguacatenango Tzeltal speakers, may consist of an unpossessed noun (U), a possessed noun (P), a personal name (N), or a combination of these. Minimal instances are: U alone, e.g. /presirénte/, "president";¹ P (possessive prefix plus noun) alone, e.g. /s-bankil/, "his/her older brother"; or N (noun occurring in reference with an optional prefixed /h./, the marker of personal names) alone, e.g. /h-maria/, "María".

U, P, and N are sub-classes of Tzeltal nouns. Although many more sub-classes might be distinguished, it is sufficient here to distinguish between nouns actually possessed (i.e., occurring in a given P in R with one of the possessive affixes listed below) and those actually unpossessed, corresponding to our P, and U and N, respectively.

Most noun-stems may occur both possessed and unpossessed. Thus, /-bankil/ in /h-bankil/, "my older brother", /ʔa-bankil/, "your (sing.) older brother", etc., and in /bankil/ "person of the age and status so indicated". Some nouns are distinguished in form other than by the occurrence of a possessive

¹ Glosses used in the formal description are to be understood as labels which are mnemonically useful rather than renderings of the "meaning" of the forms.

affix. Thus, /bankil-al/, "(an) older brother" (unpossessed generic). Among the nouns actually unpossessed, we may further distinguish those (N) which optionally occur with /h-/, the marker of personal names (in reference only), from all others (U).

Minimal P in R, like other nouns, may occur as the heads of simple noun phrase, a general formula for which may be written as follows (\pm indicating optional occurrence):

\pm Demonstrative \pm Numerator \pm Adjective \pm Noun head.

Those portions of the phrase which are not the head, generally modifiers, may be represented by M. In both simple and complex P in R, the phrase is an expanded head such that the whole of the phrase may be represented by the head. Thus $M + X = X$ (X being a U, P, or N), and any X may be expanded by an appropriate M.

2.1 *Modifiers*

The forms which may constitute M when preceding the noun head in the P in R in our corpus are listed in Table 1. Restrictions on the relative order of occurrence of these forms require the establishment of relative position classes. At least three such classes of pre-head modifiers are required, and this number is potentially expandable. Those of positions 1 and 2 precede possessive prefixes if the prefixes occur, and those of position 3 follows them. Forms in groups A and B can be unambiguously assigned to a position before or after the possessive prefixes. For the forms in group B, however, we cannot state with assurance whether they belong in the first or second position. The forms in group C do not co-occur with forms affixed for possession.

Table 1. *Relative Position Classes of Modifiers**Group A*

Position 1	Position 2	Position 3
1.1 te ("demonstrative")	2.1 čam "dead"	3.1 ma "old"
1.2 hate „	2.2 ʔan (i) ma "dead"	3.2 meʔl "old"
1.3 haʔ „	2.3 mero/a "legitimate"	

Group B

Positions 1-2

1-2.1 htul ² ("numerator")
1-2.2 htul šan „
1-2.3 čaʔtul „
1-2.4 hnuš „
1-2.5 hal ("demonstrative")
1-2.6 hal ʔil „
1-2.7 ʔil „
1-2.8 pura "entirely; simply"

Group C

Positions 1-3

1-3.1 č'ul "holy"
1-3.2 senyor "mister"
1-3.3 yan "other"
1-3.4 soltera "unmarried"
1-3.5 nek "big"
1-3.6 don (ya) "mister (mrs.)"
1-3.7 ninya "miss"
1-3.8 mamal "old (male referent)"

In Table 2, the members of the position classes of M (represented by the number given them in Table 1) are displayed in the combinations in which they actually occur in the corpus. This is an approximation, accurate insofar as the corpus allows, to a detailed distributional statement of the relative occurrence of a number of minor form classes.

Table 2. *Actual Occurrence of Relative Position Classes of M.*

(Group A)		
Position 1	Position 2	Position 3
1.1	2.2	
1.1	2.1	3.1
1.2	2.2	3.2
1.3	2.3	
	2.3	3.1

² These items, as "numerators" (see the formula above) should occupy a position after demonstratives such as /te/, /hate/, etc., but as yet, the conjunction of demonstrative and numerator has not been encountered.

All of the forms listed in Table 1 also occur as M by themselves. When they occur in sequence, $M + M + (\dots M) = M$.

In addition to the pre-head modifiers shown in Tables 1 and 2, there exists another class of modifiers which are derived by class cleavage from the class U. These are discussed in section 2.2.2.

Another set of forms, here termed "post-modifiers", occur after the noun head, such as the uninflected form: /naštak/ "only" and the stem /-tukel/, ('reflexive') inflected in the manner of nouns and intransitive verbs.

Regardless of whether modifiers accompanying a head are pre- or post-modifiers, or both, the formula of equivalence $M + X (= X + M) = X$ holds, as does $M + M + (\dots M) = M$. Moreover, modifiers, whether pre- or post-modifiers, do not themselves constitute P in R, a functional restriction which, in otherwise doubtful cases, enables their identification.

Besides these classes of modifiers, there occur a number of forms which enter into what we shall call "modifier-compounds" with the head. Among those of such forms as occur in pre-head position are /kučbil/, "carried", which with /ʔalal/, "child", distinguishes "infant (babe-in-arms)" from "small child"; and /muk'ul/, "big", which with /meʔ/, "mother", distinguishes "grandmother". The most common of this pre-head group is /č'in/, "little", occurring alone, or with a series of forms indicating order of birth, to form compounds with noun heads /ʔalal/, /ʔuntik/ "child", /kerem/, "boy", /ʔač'iš/ "girl", as in:

/č'in + ʔač'iš/, "little girl",

/č'in + patil + ʔuntik/, "little last child"

Compounds in /č'in/ and others of the same class, e.g., in /muk'ul/, bear a unique relation to the possessive prefixes in that they may occur after the prefixes when the head is a possessed noun. The prefix may freely re-occur with, or be absent from, the noun head. In the case of the plural possessive affixes, the suffix portions always occur after the noun head and may freely occur or fail to occur after /č'in/.

These characteristics of /č'in/ (and accompanying /ba/ etc.,) and /muk'ul/ distinguish them from /ma/ and /meʔl/ of position 3. The latter, when co-occurring with the possessive prefixes, lie inside the prefix, and the prefix is not repeated with the head. Thus:

/h-ma . . . /,
 /ʔa-ma . . . /,
 etc.

In certain instances, however, it is also necessary to distinguish a compounding rather than modifying function for /ma/ and /meʔl/. Cf. the following pairs:

/neal/ "son-in-law" /ma + neal/ "father-in-law (m.c.i.)³"
 /ʔalib/ "daughter-in-law" /ma / ʔalib/ "fa-in-law (f.c.i.)"

While formally of the same major form class as the simple forms, the compounds are distinct lexical items, comparable for example to:

/meʔ/ "mother" /muk'ul + meʔ/ "grandmother"

A second group of compounding modifiers occurs in post-head position. These forms combine with U, and apparently only with U, as follows:

/presidēnte + munisipal/ "municipal president"
 /hwes + munisipal/ "municipal judge"
 /ʔawktoridad + salyénte/ "the retiring authorities"
 /doktor + h-kašlan/ "ladino doctor"
 etc.

Modifier-compounds may be either U or P. Their consideration as syntactic units eliminates ambiguities in the analysis of the combinatorial possibilities in complex P in R. It would be preferable were these compounds defined in phonological terms, but this data is not available.

One further group of modifiers must be distinguished both in that they may be constituted of internally complex phrases, but also since they may stand as modifiers to a whole complex P in R, rather than as modifiers to a single head. They do not in themselves constitute P in R.

These will be termed locative modifiers (M_L) and consist (optionally) of the forms (L_1):

/nun/ "there"
 /liʔ/ "here"

These occur with or without a succeeding phrase (L_2) composed of /ta/ 'locative' plus a noun head, the noun head being

³ The reasons for the use of (m.c.i.), "male coordinating individual" and (f.c.i.) "female coordinating individual" rather than the more usual "male-speaking" and "female-speaking" will become clear in 3.2.1.

one of a class of nouns which cannot themselves constitute P in R. Thus:

/nun ta hehč/	“there on the other side”
/liʔ ta ʔalan/	“here below”

L₂ phrases are indefinitely expandable, e. g.,

L ₁ <u>liʔ ta baʔy ʔili</u>	L ₂ <u>s-na s-meʔ porpilyo</u>
----------------------------------------	-------------------------------------------

“here near the house of the mother of Porfirio.”

Though more or less arbitrarily excluded from our main consideration, examples such as these demonstrate the integration of the P in R patterns in the general structure of the language. (e.g., /s-meʔ porpilyo/ above is a P in R, of the class T, and as a unit stands in the same, but higher level, relation to the preceding /s-na/ “his/her house (of)”, the whole of which would constitute another more complex T if /na/ had reference to a person, e.g., /s-bankil s-meʔ porpilyo/ “the older brother of the mother of Porfirio”).

L₂ phrases as M_L must however be distinguished from a similar construction involving /ta/, namely a class of compounding modifiers occurring in the class P_{noy}. (See 3.2.4.)

2.2 Noun Heads.

2.2.1 *Kinds of N.* Aside from expansion of M, N may also be expanded to a sequence Nn, where N represents a “Christian” name, and *n* a surname. Nn does not occur as an expansion of either of the N in the “specified teknonymous ‘construction’”. Otherwise, Nn = N.

Surnames, *n*, are formally distinguishable from N in that, given sequences of forms of the major class, a sub-class is distinguishable which always occurs second in the sequence and never occurs first. (It is further observable that, unlike N, the sub-class is not further divisible on the basis of the congruence sets “male-female”. See 3.2.1 below.)

2.2.2 *Kinds of U.* Beside the most general class of U, which co-occurs with and is modified by M, there must be distinguished a class of U which exhibits class cleavage and functions as do M under specific conditions. These we distinguish by the class symbol M/U, and we may then state that M/U = M before U, P, T (see 2.2.3), or N, but M/U = U elsewhere. The

M/U form /tatik/ occurs in /tatik presidente/ “(el) señor presidente” as M, and as U in /ma tatik/ “el señor”.

The distinction between U and M/U is made between sub-classes, both of which may constitute adequate P in R. A further sub-class of U may be distinguished which do not alone constitute P in R, but which appear as unpossessed nouns in larger constructions which do. These are labeled “defective” (for purposes of the present discussion) and referred to hereafter as U_a . This sub-class includes such items as /pan/ in /s-winklel pan/, “the master of bread (i.e., the baker or seller of bread)”, and /tehkum/ in /s-tat tehklum/, “the father of the town” (in reference to a respected member of the town government). Since the construction in which they take part is a normal noun-noun construction in Tzeltal (see 2.2.3), there is no reason to believe that the list of U_a could not be indefinitely extended.

Among U there must also be distinguished a small number of noun-noun compounds, such as

/suplente + ʔahente/ “vice-president”
 /suplente + presidente/ “vice-president” = /ba + rehimála/
 /suplente + hwes/, /š.čebal + hwes/ “2nd judge”

These have unique status in that /suplente/ is itself an adequate P in R of the class U, identifying the “vice-president” of the *pueblo*. In such noun-noun compounds the second noun is arbitrarily selected as the head.

The majority of noun stems, simple or compound, which occur as U also occur possessed, i.e., as P.

2.2.3 *Kinds of P, Definition of T.* Possessed nouns (P) are recognizable by the occurrence of the following set of (possessive) affixes. (A formally equivalent syntactic alternative is described below.)

h- ~ k- - (tik)	1st person sg. (pl.)
ʔa- ~ ʔaw- - (ik)	2nd person sg. (pl.)
(s- ~ š) ~ y- - (ik)	3rd person sg. (pl.)

The second prefix allomorphs are those occurring before (and replacing) /ʔ/, and the first allomorphs are those occurring before all other consonants. /s/ further alternates with /š/ before stems containing /š č č'/.

P may be simple or compound. Several types of compound P must be distinguished. The first is the modifier-compound discussed above (2.2). A second type of compound is one in which the first and second elements are of the same syntactic class, i.e., nouns. Both elements occur prefixed for possession, the plural suffix apparently occurring freely after the second element or after both. One such compound, combining the elements /h-me[?]/, "my mother", and /h-tat/, "my father", is /h-me[?] + h-tat/, "my parents". The plural, "our parents", may be either /h-me[?]tik + h-tatik/ or /h-me[?] + h-tatik/. Other formally similar compounds are discussed in the attribute analysis.

P, whether simple or compound, fall into subclasses depending upon the co-occurring possessive affix: those marked as possessed by the third person *singular*, (P3), as opposed to all others, (P). This sub-classification is required because P3 may enter into a construction unavailable to others, namely the "teknonymous construction".

Where a noun occurs after the P3, generally N, it stands in a genitive relation to the possessed noun of the P3. Thus P3N:

/s-tat hwan/ "the father of Juan".

Where P3N is succeeded by an additional N,

/s-tat peyro lutéryo/ "the father of Pedro, namely Luterio"

two patterns are evident: one identifying the P in R as the father of a child, Pedro, and the other specifying him as the person named Luterio. The two patterns and their intersection may be shown formulaically as:

/s-tat peyro luteryo/	P3 N N = T N
/s-tat peyro/	P3 N = T

We label the teknonymous construction 'T' and add it to our set of minimal P in R (U, P, N).

A syntactic alternative to the process of affixing is observed in other instances of P. The unaffixed noun is succeeded by one of the forms:

/k-ʔuʔn/	“1st person sing. poss.”
/ʔaw-ʔuʔn/	“2nd person sing. poss.”
/y-ʔuʔn/	“3rd person sing. poss.”
/k-ʔuʔn-tik/	“1st person plural poss.”
/ʔaw-ʔuʔn-ik/	“2nd person plural poss.”
/y-ʔuʔn-ik/	“3rd person plural poss.”

The result is a P or P3 which may stand alone or enter into larger constructions in the same way as the affixed possessed nouns. Thus:

/č'in + kerem y-ʔuʔn ʔa č'iš k-ʔuʔn/ “my daughter's little boy”.
 .P3 P = T (see analytic rules 2.3)

Where distinctive finite and generic forms of a noun-stem exist (see 2.2.3.1 below) it is the generic form which occurs possessed with the syntactic alternative. Thus:

/ʔuntik ʔaw-ʔuʔn/ “your child (ren)”.

2.2.3.1 *Morphophonemics of P and U*. As pointed out earlier, many nouns occurring possessed occur unpossessed as well, and in some cases show different shapes under the two circumstances. Selecting the possessed stem as descriptively prior, the alternative form generally occurs with an additional post-posed -Vl syllable, but in some instances the -Vl is subtractive.

Thus	h-bankil	“my older brother”
	bankil.al	“an/the older brother (generic)”
	k-ihč'in	“my younger brother”
	ʔihč'in.al	“a/the younger sibling (generic)”
but	k-untik.il	“my child (ren)”
	ʔuntik	“child (ren) (generic)”

To distinguish the unpossessed forms with accretion or subtraction of -Vl from the formally and functionally different unpossessed stems (see M/U_a section 3.3) we will term the former *generics*, the latter *finite*. The distinction is present for most Tzeltal nouns, but does not figure heavily in our sample

of P in R. Where it has bearing the distinction will be noted, and where necessary the difference pointed out, as in the instance of certain plurals, which within the limited set of forms with which we are dealing show a formal difference in plural formation, e.g.

k-ihɛ'in-ab	"my younger siblings"
but ʔihɛ'in.al-etik	"younger siblings (as a class)"

In general, generics, where distinct, form plurals with /-etik/. We will note in the checklist of forms cited (Appendix II) the particular form of distinct finite forms where the plural is formed in some other way.

2.3 *An Analytic Syntax of Complex P in R.*

The units defined above occur in a restricted number of combinations which are reducible by a set of analytic rules to show their equivalence to minimal P in R. The set of rules has an internal ordering, making some rules prior to others in application. The ordering of the rules constitutes a general statement of the manner of identifying immediate constituents. The rules are applicable repeatedly, but in the order indicated. Having reached the highest numbered rule, the search for applicable rules returns to the first, and continues until the formulaic representation of the text fragment is reduced to a single symbol. A reading of the symbols from the ultimate reduction back to the full formula explicates the internal organization of the utterance.

2.3.1 Some of the rules have already been discussed in order to deal with larger, more general units. Thus, for example, $M + X = X$, modifier plus head is syntactically equivalent to head, first appeared in 2.1 and here is found as Rule 9. The complete list of rules in the order of application to any P in R, with examples showing the application of each rule, is as follows:

	1. $M/U + X = MX$; $M/U + \emptyset = U$ (see 2.2.2.)
	/tatik ʔalkal/ "señor alcalde"
	M/U U
Rule 1	M U
<hr/> Rule 9	U

2. M + M (+ M) = M (see 2.1)	“the late (old) señor Jose”
	/čam ma tatik hose/ M M M/U N
Rule 1	M M M N
Rule 2	M N
<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: 0;"/> Rule 9	N
3. M + n = N (see 2.2.1)	“the child of Juan Jiménez”
	/š-nič’an hwan himenes/ P3 N n
Rule 3	P3 N (cf. Rule 5 below)
<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: 0;"/> Rule 4	T
4. P3 + N = T (see 2.2.3)	“the father of Juan”
	/s-tat hwan/ P3 N
Rule 4	T
5. T + N = T _N (see 2.2.3) i.e., T specified as N	“the father of Miguel, namely Daniel”
	/s-tat migel danyel/ P3 N N
Rule 4	T N
<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: 0;"/> Rule 5	T _N

If the expression has not been reduced to a single symbol by rules 1-5, there is a branching of the search at rules 6 and 7 if both prove applicable.

This reflects potential ambiguity within the system as will be seen in the examples discussed below. Rules (6 & 7) are:

6. P3 + X = T (where X is U, T, P3 or P)

7. P + X = P_X (where X is N, T, U)

The following examples are unambiguous in that only Rule 6 is applicable:

	/s-tat kerem/	“the father of the boy”
	P3 U	
Rule 6	T	
<hr style="width: 100px; margin-left: 0;"/>	(/č’in kerem y-?u?n	?ač’iš k-?u?n/ “the little boy of my daughter”
	 	
	P3 P	

Rule 6	T				
/y- ² inam	tat	stat	peyro	luteryo/	“the wife of the father of Pedro, Eluterio”
Rule 1	P ₃	M/U	P ₃	N	N
Rule 4	P ₃	M	P ₃	N	N
Rule 5	P ₃	M	T		N
Rule 9	P ₃		T _N	T _N	
Rule 6		T			

The following are unambiguous since only Rule 7 applies:

/h-kumpre	s-tat	mari/	“my compadre the father of María”		
	P	P ₃	N		
Rule 4	P		T		
Rule 7		P _T			
	/h-kumpre	presidente/	“my compadre the presi- dent”		
	P		U		
Rule 7		P _U			

The unambiguous application of Rule 6, and the reduction of expressions to T, reflects not teknonymy as it is usually understood, but the more general case of identification being made through one or more other persons linked in some set of determinate role relations. This process might be called *coordination*.

The unambiguous applicability of Rule 7, on the other hand, displays a different process, namely *specification*. That is, the person in reference is identified two or more different ways, each specifying the other, though, as will be clear from an examination of the rules, there are restrictions on the ordering of different ways of specifying, leading us to describe the last example above as an instance of P specified as U (since the alternative */presidente h-kumpre/ is not possible).

Ambiguity arises when instances are open to interpretation as either of these two general processes, i.e., when either rule 6 or 7 may be applied.

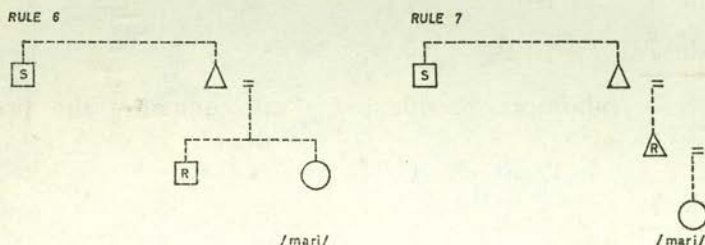
Compare:

/š-nič'an h-kumpre s-tat mari/ "lit.: his/her child
 - my compadre - his/her
 father - Maria"

Rule 4	P3	P	P3	N
	P3	P		T

It is at this point that ambiguity arises since either Rule 6 may be applied to the pair P3 P to yield another T, or Rule 7 to the pair P T to yield P_T. Or, in terms of content, Rules 6 and 7 present the mutually exclusive interpretations of Table 3.⁴

Table 3a: *Systemic ambiguity in application of rules 6-7*



- a. S: speaker; R: person in reference; — : links compadres;
 □: person of unspecified sex; other symbols have usual values.

To proceed with the reduction from point of branching:

		/š-nič'an h-kumpre s-tat mari/		
		P3	P	T
Rule 6		T		T
Rule 8			T _T	
		/š-nič'an h-kumpre s-tat mari/		
		P3	P	T
Rule 7		P3		P _T
Rule 6			T	

⁴ This table anticipates some of the conclusions of Section 3 below.

The ultimate difference rest on the possibility of more than one decision at some point in the hierarchy of constituency relations, i.e., whether the most immediate relation at some point is that of coordination or specification.

8. $T + T = T_T$

Rule 8 is illustrated in the discussion of the preceding example, where specification of one instance of coordination by another is exhibited.

Here is a comparable example:

	/y-al h-kumre s-tat linti/ "my comadre's son, the father of Ermelindo"			
	P3	P	P3	N
Rule 4	P3	P		T
Rule 6 ⁵		T		T
Rule 8			T_T	
Rule 9	$M + X$ (or $X + M$) = X, where X is P,N,T or U (see 2.1)			

	/ma gonsal/ " (old) Gonzalo"	
	M	N
Rule 9	N	

From the above statements of equivalence, it will be clear that not all possible combinations of two units occur. Among sequences not mentioned above are some which, while they occur, do not constitute most immediate constituents, one *vis a vis* the other. Thus, while N N occurs, it does so only in the larger sequence P3 N N which by rule 4 is T N, and by rule 5 T_N . By implication, then, those sequences not mentioned either do not occur or do not constitute immediate constituents *vis a vis* each other.

2.3.2 The following examples illustrate the application of the rules in more complex combinations:

⁵ Again we anticipate some of the conclusions of section 3, below, in excluding the possible application of Rule 7. That is, interpreting the T: /s-tat linti/ "the father of Ermelindo", as a specification of the P /h-kumre/ "my comadre" is ruled out since a comadre cannot be a father. *Sex congruity* in P in R is discussed in 3.2.1.

/s-me[?] + s-tat te ʔanç/ "the parents of the woman"
 if rewritten to show the compound /me[?] + tat/ "mother-father", i.e.,
 "parents":

/s-(me[?] + tat) te ʔanç/
 P3 M U
 Rule 9 P3 U (only applicable rule at this point)
 Rule 6 T (continuing search from head of rule list).

/š-č'in + kerem⁶ bankil s-tat peyro luteryo/ "the little boy of Brother Eleuterio, the father of Pedro"

	P3	M/U	P3	N	N
Rule 1	P3	M	P3	N	N
Rule 4	P3	M		T	N
Rule 5	P3	M			T _N
Rule 9	P3		T		
Rule 6		T ⁷			

/s-ma + bankil-ik li[?] ta ʔalan s-tat čiko peyro/ "their older brother, here below, the father of Francisco, namely Pedro"

	M	P ⁸	M _L	M _L	P3	N	N
Rule 2	M	P		M	P3	N	N
	└──────────┘						
Rule 2 ⁹		M	P		P3	N	N
Rule 4		M	P			T	N
Rule 5		M	P				T _N
Rule 7		M		P _T			
Rule 9			P _T				

⁶ For the modifier compound /č'in + kerem/ see 2.1.

⁷ Note that the referent is the brother, necessarily younger, of the named Pedro.

⁸ Note the restrictive definition of P3 as noun with the 3rd person singular affix. This instance is, of course, 3rd plural. Thus the decision between rules 6 and 7 in the reduction is not problematic.

⁹ The reduction of modifiers is done here in two stages, though it is essentially a single operation of gathering all M modifying a single head into a single complex M.

2.3.3. We have distinguished three types of grammatical complexity which operate to expand minimal P in R. The first, which we have called *modification*, involves the combination of a head plus modifiers drawn from one or more of the position classes of Table 1 (2.1 above).

The second type, *specification*, operates to expand the minimal P in R by combining it with one or more other grammatically equivalent heads. The third, exemplified in the "teknonymous construction (T)", involves the *coordination* of one head by means of another such that they constitute the grammatical equivalent of a single head, then capable of entering into relations of specification, or equally another, higher order, coordination.

Through the recognition of these three types of relations among the forms entering into P in R, the rules of 2.3.1 allow the reduction of complex P in R to the equivalent of a simple head.

We now propose to explore these processes of expansion and the limits of mutual co-occurrence, as a means of isolating personal and social attributes associated with the occurrence of specific P in R expressions.

3. *The Criterial Attributes of the Personal Reference Set*

3.1 To this point, we have established morphological and syntactic classes and shown something of the distribution of these classes by means of formulae. Before proceeding to more detailed examination of the membership and distribution of these classes, it must be made clear that, however extensive, we dealt initially with a sample, with all the limitations inherent therein. The possibilities of known procedures for the completion of emerging contrast sets involve either the further expansion of the sample of conversations in order to locate further P in R as they 'naturally' occur, or, using certain more-or-less well formulated eliciting procedures (used generally by linguists in the study of grammatical structure) so as to extend and complete our sample of P in R by eliciting them in relatively short utterances. The latter procedure has drawbacks that are well-known and indeed will ultimately require checking against records of real conversations.

The eliciting of lexemes within already discovered contrast

sets involves inference from known non-linguistic contrasts, as well as the extrapolation from known linguistic contrasts, to their occurrence under conditions as yet unattested. Specifically, we can recommend four modes which may not be standard procedures for all social anthropologists.

The first presupposes a classification of inter-relatedness of the forms in a contrast set: that as well as contrasting features, they possess at least one feature in common that leads to their contrast in the same or similar environments. It is often the case that a form may be elicited which as B in the frame,

“A is a kind of B”

will provide a suitable environment for the A's which constitute the contrast set. Such B's we will call head-words, and they may contrast on more than a single level of inclusiveness. Thus certain U's of our sample fit such a frame where the head word is /ʔaʔteletik/ “holders of office”. The next more specific contrasting members of the class are /ʔaʔteletik ta kabilto/ “office holders in the *cabildo*” /ʔaʔteletik ta martomil/ “office holders in the *mayordomía*”. These are mutually exclusive; they neither formally co-occur, nor, now considering the roles that an individual may occupy, may the same person occupy both types of position in the same year.

These are head words in turn, the first subsuming the contrasts /hwesetik/ “judges”, /mayoetik/ “police”, and all other member terms of the civil hierarchy; the second provides the same for /martomil halameʔtik/ “mayordomo of the Virgin of the Nativity” and other specific titles of the same form within the religious hierarchy.

Insofar as head words can be described as members of a hierarchical system, it would appear that our description bears some demonstrated relationship to the Tzeltal modes of classification.¹⁰

The second procedure, an extension of the first, involves an assumption, empirically well supported in the analysis of kinship systems, that P in R terms most often imply the existence

¹⁰ Specifically, the P in R set appears to be accommodated under the highest order head word /kristyanoetik/~/winiketik/~/personetik/ “human beings,” these alternate forms in turn excluding the classes /čambalmetik/ “animals” and /tututik/ “things.” Many of the modifiers in the P in R set, however, range in co-occurrence over these three contrasting classes.

of reciprocal P in R. Thus, if A refers to B as /h-bankil/, the latter will refer to A as /k-ihé'in/, and in fact the subset of forms which constitute P, whether kin-terms or not, do have such reciprocals, in some cases attested in the corpus, in some cases obtained by eliciting.

The eliciting of reciprocals seems to us to stand in a special relation to the first procedure mentioned. If we may assume that classificatory systems do involve levels of contrast, then the relation of reciprocity appears to be an instance of direct same-level contrast. This, we might suppose, lies behind the relatively important role which the isolation of reciprocals has played in the analysis of kinship terminologies. Not only does one term of a reciprocal pair exclude all others of the set—which is what we mean by same-level contrast—but it also implies another dimension of relationship, the implication of its reciprocal within the larger set. It thus appears that contrast sets may not only be distinguished by the limited formal linguistic criteria employed, but also by means of different types of relations, equally linguistic in a sense, among members of same-level contrast sets.

The third procedure involves the presentation to the informant of pairs of forms, whose comparability is attested by distributional similarity, in order to obtain his estimation of the characters of the distinctions. Thus, by asking the difference between /kerem/, "boy", and /é'in + kerem/ "little boy", one elicits an unambiguous difference in age that is not reflected in the glosses. Such distinctions as these are made explicit in the glossary. It will be noted that by limiting questions of this kind to pairs of forms of comparable form and distribution, we do not involve the informant in speculation about the difference between pairs of forms which it would not occur to him to compare.

One further procedure involves the correlation of sets of contrasting performances with the overt sets of distinctions linguistically attested. Thus, for example, the well-ordered seating arrangements of the /ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/ indicated a linguistic contrast set which was under-differentiated in the sample. Direct questioning based upon the observation of the seating order indicated further P in R contrasts not originally included in the corpus.

These four procedures provide hypotheses for the expansion

of the initially isolated contrast sets which can be checked against further conversational material. We will employ these procedures, at the same time developing the linguistic analysis, to elucidate Tzeltal distinctions in the identification of persons and to illustrate the interaction of linguistic and non-linguistic analysis in the process.

3.2.1 The construction which we have labeled T may serve as a convenient point of departure. If we examine instances in which T has the constituents P3 and N, the number of forms potentially occurring as P3 is limited to those which are labeled P_{kin} in the checklist of Appendix II, e.g.

- /s-tat N/, "the father of _____"
- /s-meʔ N/, "the mother of _____"
- /y-inam N/, "the wife of _____"
- /s-neal N/, "the son-in-law of _____"
- /š-č'in + kerem N/, "the little boy of _____"
- /č'in/ + ʔač'iš y-ʔuʔn N/, "the little girl of _____"
- /ʔač'iš y-ʔuʔn N/, "the girl of _____"

etc. Examining the set of P3, it appears that these forms constitute, at least under some circumstances, a contrast set. A study of the further distributional characteristics of these forms as they occur in T and of the extended environment of the T construction itself leads to the distinction of distributional types *within* the set and allows the identification of some of the dimensions in terms of which they contrast.

Among the T (=P3N) displayed above, only a small subset occurs with succeeding N (i.e., P3NN, e.g. /s-tat peyro luteryo/). These are /s-tat N/ and /s-meʔ N/. Among the N which occur after T, only two, /natabida/ or /nati/, "Natividad", and /čus/, "Jesus (a)", occur after both /s-tat N/ and /s-me N/; all the rest occur with one or the other. Thus we find /s-tat N luteryo/ but not */s-meʔ N luteryo/, /s-meʔ N maria/ but not */s-tat N maria/, etc.

The TN construction is often preceded by the modifiers /ma/ and /meʔl/. The occurrence of /ma/ in such constructions is limited to those in which P3 is /s-tat/, and that of /meʔl/ to those in which P3 is /s-meʔ/. Another set of modifiers occurring before TN is the M/U /bankil/ and /tat/, preceding /s-tat/, and the M/U /nan/ and /meʔ/, preceding /s-meʔ/. The positions of these modifiers are shown in Table 4:

Table 4. Positions of Modifiers of TN

	M	M/U	P3
Class I	ma	tat bankil	s-tat
Class II	meʔl	meʔ nan	s-meʔ

From the above table, in which the horizontal line indicates mutual exclusion, it is clear that the forms discussed fall into two groups which we may term *congruence classes*. Comparing sequences in which TN is preceded by M or M/U, it becomes clear that the two sub-classes found in the set of N are congruent with those based on modifiers. These sub-classes are further borne out, in the absence of T, by sequences of MN and M/UN in which the same privileges of and restrictions on co-occurrence are exhibited.

The contrast of the two congruence classes corresponds to the informants' responses /winik/, "man", and /ʔanç/, "woman", when asked to specify the difference between such pairs of forms as /tat/ and /meʔ/. It appears that /natabida/ and /čus/, the exceptions to the sub-classes of N mentioned above, are names appropriate to both men and women, while the other N of our list are regularly associated with one and not the other.

Taking the entire corpus into consideration, excluding only forms which occur only as minimal P in R (because such isolated forms have no environments on which we can base a classification), we may by examination of "congruence chains" establish the presence of the attribute "sex" in all the forms in the corpus. In the tables of criterial attributes below, forms will be distinguished as M(ale), F(emale) or Ø(neither or both).

Another sub-set of T is that in which P3 is expressed by /y-ʔuʔn/ rather than by the prefixes /s/~/š/~/y/. Confronting informants with this sub-set, responses indicate that they

share the attributes of /ʔuntik/, "children", "relatives of first descending generation". The "sex" attribute previously established may be applied to this sub-set. In addition, two contrasting members of the sub-set share the head /ʔač'iš/. Informants' responses regarding the distinction between the forms involve a measure of absolute age of the referent: when appearing with /č'in/, the absolute age of the referent of the form is lower. Table 5 displays the three attributes so far established:

Table 5. P_{kin}, -1 Generation, :/ʔuntik/

	M	F
Older	kerem ¹¹	ʔač'iš
Younger	č'in + kerem	č'in + ʔač'iš

Application of the minimal-pair and reciprocal eliciting procedures displays the same and some other relations between the remaining members of the set. Aside from those of sex, generation, and absolute age already established, it was found that the pair of forms /-ʔal/ and /-nič'an/ contrast in some further dimension. Focusing on the pair, both being glossed as "child", it was discovered that in P in R of more than one head /-ʔal/ occurs with another head of the congruence class *female*, while /-nič'an/ occurs with a second head of the congruence class *male*. The distinction rests then, not on sex of referent (the terms are both \emptyset in this respect) but upon the sex of some other person, whom we shall call the co-ordinating individual.

Indication of the co-ordinating relationship is always present in the possessive affix (or syntactic alternative) while the co-ordinating person may be specifically identified by the presence of another head.

Thus:	/š-nič'an/	"his child"
	/y-al/	"her child"
or:	/š-nič'an hwan/	"Juan's child"
	/y-al hwana/	"Juana's child"

¹¹ Not attested in direct contrast in the criterial construction under discussion.

Where the possessive affix is first or second person, the coordinating individual is identical with speaker or addressee respectively.

/k-al/	“my child (f.c.i.)” ¹²
/h-nič’an/	“my child (m.c.i.)”
/ʔaw-ʔal/	“your child (f.c.i.)”
/ʔa-nič’an/	“your child (m.c.i.)”

Coordinating persons of both sexes are brought together in the “collective” compound /-ʔal + nič’an/, e.g. /ʔaw-ʔal + ʔa-nič’an/ “your (pl. of both sexes) child(ren)”.

Coordinating persons, of course, occur aside from the dimension of sex of coordinating person, in so far as possession (affixed or syntactic) occurs in P in R.

It was further noted that /ʔal/ and /-nič’an/ did not occur unpossessed, i.e., without indication of coordinating individual, as do other members of the set. We anticipate the discussion at the end of this section and indicate this further distinction as involving specific lineal relatedness to coordinating individual.

The sum of contrasting dimension of the sub-set P (kin-1 generation) are indicated in Table 6. These and other “attributes” will figure in the discussion of other contrast sets to follow.

Table 6. /ʔuntik/ “P_{kin 1 generation}”
‘Criterial Attributes’

	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Absolute Age	Relationship specified in head
/-ʔuntikil/	∅	∅	∅	∅
/-ʔal/	∅	F	∅	L
/nič’an/	∅	M	∅	L
/-kerem/	M	∅	A ₁	∅
/-ʔač’iš/	F	∅	A ₁	∅
/-ʔalal/	∅	∅	A ₂	∅

¹² See footnote 3.

The absolute age indicated for /-ʔalal/ is from birth to about three years; that for /kerem/ and /-ʔač'iš/ is from three to about sixteen years, except that the modifier /č'in/ depresses the age of either to less than twelve.

The heads listed above enter into modifier compounds with the modifiers (with the restrictions noted), of Table 7.

Table 7. Modifiers Forming Compounds with "P_{kin-1 generation}"
'Criterial Attributes'

	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Absolute Age	Other
<i>Position 1</i>				
č'in	∅	∅	depresses absolute age	
<i>Position 2</i>				
ba	∅	∅	∅	specify order of birth among referent's own siblings
čebal				
<i>etc.</i>				
ʔanč (il)	F	∅	∅	occurs only with heads showing sex of coordinating individual, (i.e. /-al/, /-nič'an/)
∅	M	∅	∅	
patil-k'oš	∅	∅	expresses recent vs. relative remoteness of birth	
∅				
kučbil	∅	∅	distinguishes "babe-in-arms" from "walking child" (with /-ʔalal/)	

So far as we know to date, no more than a single form from those labelled *position 2* can occur.

The reciprocals of -1 Generation terms are labelled +1 Generation and shown in Table 8.

Table 8. /meʔ + tat/ "P_{kin + 1 generation}"

	Sex of Referent	Relationship specified in head
-tat	M	∅
-tataʔ	M	∅
-meʔ	F	∅
-nanaʔ	F	∅

Not shown in the table is the higher order head-word /meʔtik + tatik/ "elders, ancestors" which overlaps so extensively with several other contrast sets that its discussion is deferred to 3.3.

Subtracting -1 and +1 Generation terms from the set *kin*, there remain three sub-sets, one of which we label O Generation. Applying the reciprocal eliciting procedure, we arrive at the terms displayed in Table 9. In order to account for the at first unexplained contrast among the terms for older O Generation kin, we apply the minimal-pair procedure (on the basis of distributional similarities) to elicit "sex of coordinating individual" distinctions.

Table 9. "P_{kin 0 generation}"

	Age relative to coordinating individual	Sex of referent	Sex Coordinating individual	Relationship specified in Head
-bankil	O	M	M	∅
-šipʔlel	O	M	F	∅
-wiš	O	F	M/F	∅
-ihʔ'in	Y	M/F	M/F	∅

One form /nan/ is omitted from Tables 8 and 9 though formally it is part of the set P_{kin} . The peculiarities of its distribution are discussed in 3.3.

The compounding modifiers /č'in/ and /muk'ul/ operate as well in the 0 and the +1 generations to depress or augment age. Thus, /š-č'in + šiʔlelal/, "her little big-brother", is used in reference to a boy, older than his sister (who is represented by /š-/) but younger than the speaker. (Another example, /h-č'in + tataʔ/, "my older brother (of the age of /tataʔ/)" brings together a number of factors better discussed below.)

The form /wuk'ul/ combines with /tat/ and /meʔ/, however, not merely to augment age, but to set apart the +2 lineal generation. The compounds and their reciprocals (the -2 generation lineals) are as follows:

Table 10. $P_{kin} \pm 2$ generations

	Generation	Sex of referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Relationship specified in head
-muk'ul + tat	+2	M	M/F	L
-muk'ul + meʔ	+2	F	M/F	L
-ʔil + nič'an	-2	M/F	M	L
-ʔil + ʔal	-2	M/F	F	L

The absence of a lineal-collateral distinction in the 0 and +1 generations of P_{kin} is indicative of the fact (confirmed by informants) that most of these expressions may be used to specify genealogically related individuals of either type and sometimes also affinal kin and non-kin. In the ± 2 generations, the terms are applied exclusively to lineals of the coordinating individual (and this restriction is reflected in the failure of the forms to occur as U). In the +1 generation, /tat/ and /me / are applied nearly exclusively to own parents of the coordinating individual; /tataʔ/ and /-nanaʔ/, while they may refer to parents, are used primarily to specify a class of persons (including collaterals, affinals, and non-kin) of the approximate age of parents. (With /č'in/, /tataʔ/ can refer to an older brother of this general age range, as we have mentioned above.) In the 0 generation, while there is a tendency for the terms to be

applied to lineals and collaterals, they may refer to non-kin as well. In the -1 generation, /-ʔal/ and /-nič'an/ are applied only to own children of the coordinating individual, but the other terms may be used to refer to the child of any parent, kin or non-kin, the parent always being specified by a P in R or indicated by a possessive affix.

Among items in the set *kin*, only /-ʔihč'in/ "younger sibling" may be specified by N. Thus

/k-ihč'in ʔalhantri/ "my younger sibling Alejandro". It may be observed as well that this same term is the only one from generations O and +1 which does not show an unpossessed parallel in the "age-status" respect set discussed in 3.3.

Lineality-collaterality and kin-non-kin distinctions can be made in Tzeltal by using an appropriate complex P in R; thus, if we ask, /me mač't tataʔ/, "who is the /tataʔ/?", the informant can respond, /š.š'iʔlel h-meʔ/, "my mother's older brother." Lineal kin of O generation can be further specified as /mero bankil/~ /ʔermano/ "true brother", or /hun meʔ hun tat/, "of one mother, one father." /mero ʔermano-etik/ occurs in the corpus only once; and while complex P in R of the type mentioned occur frequently, there is no instance in which one is used to resolve ambiguity about the relationship of a previously mentioned /tataʔ/. We are led to hypothesize that the precise genealogical relations are not crucial in the use of P in R of the set P_{kin}. (See discussion of the unpossessed parallels of these forms in 3.3 and 3.4)

3.2.2. Among the forms of the set *kin*, there exists a sub-set of forms which, while occurring as P and as P₃ in T, have unpossessed parallels neither in U nor in M/U.¹³ These forms corres-

Table 11. P_{affinal kin} (spouses)

M	F
-mamil.al	-ʔinam
~	~
-winik.ul (-winik.il)	-ʔanč (.el.al)
~	~
-marido	-č'in + ʔač'iš } ¹⁴
	-č'in + ʔanz }

¹³ Neither did the U of M/U parallels occur in the texts nor could they be unambiguously elicited by the procedures specified.

¹⁴ These forms are used only for a very young wife, /-ʔač'iš/ in this case taking possessive affixes rather than the syntactic alternative of -1 generation "daughter".

pond to *affinal* kin. The set of alternative reciprocals used to refer to spouses is as follows: (Tabla 11)

The remaining terms in the set are the following:

Table 12. $P_{\text{affinal kin}}$

Criteria Attributes of Heads

	Sex of Referent	Sex of Coordinating individual	Generation
ma + neal	M	M	+1
meʔl + neal	F	M	+1
ma + ʔalib'	M	F	+1
meʔl + ʔalib'	F	F	+1
bal	M	M	O
hawan	F	F	O
muʔ	F	M	O
muʔ	M	F	O
neal	M	M/F	-1
ʔalib'	F	M/F	-1

Given affinal kin as a class, then the three dimensions of contrast shown in the above table account for all the distinctions which are manifest linguistically. However, the applicability of the terms is limited to 'spouses' lineals and the respective reciprocals, lineals here defined as siblings, parents, and children. Relations through some marriage tie other than these (e.g., "brother's wife's brother", etc.) are encompassed by the term of *compadrazgo*.

3.2.3 A small sub-class among the P's is distinguished by the failure of the forms to occur as P3 in T. Also, with first or second person possessive prefixes they precede, and are specified as, N, a distribution not shared by P_{kin} generally, but only apparently by /-ʔihʔin/ "younger sibling". These forms are as follows:

Table 13. $P_{\text{compadrazgo}}$
 Criterial Attributes

	Sex of Referent	Sex of coordinating individual	Generation
-kumpre	M	∅	0
-kumre	F	∅	0
-nič'an snaryos or -ʔihada	∅ ∅	M ∅	-1 -1
-ʔal snaryos or -ʔihada	∅ ∅	F ∅	-1 -1
-tat snaryos or -pagrino	M	∅	+1
-meʔ snaryos or -magrina	F	∅	+1

Congruence sets allow the establishment of the dimension of sex throughout the subset; the occurrence of /tat/, /meʔ/, /ʔal/, and /nič'an/, paralleling the set of kin, indicate the (subsequently confirmed) dimensions of sex of speaker and generation in the forms so marked. For the remaining forms, /-kumpre/ and /-kumre/, the procedure of eliciting reciprocals produced the same forms; the terms as they appear in isolation are self-reciprocal except for sex of referent, and thus generation is not one of their characteristics. However, the occurrence of the form /h-muk'ul + kumpre/ suggest a distinction which, by eliciting through minimal pairs, turns out to express a difference in age relative to that of the speaker. The reciprocal, /č'in + kumpre/, can be elicited. Thus /-kumpre/ and /-kumre/ enter into compounds with the modifiers /muk'ul/ and /č'in/, these modifiers serving, as in the P_{kin} , -1 generation, to augment or to depress age relative to the coordinating individual.

The employment of /-kumpre/ and /-kumre/ in reference to known siblings of speakers in the corpus led to an inquiry regarding the limits of eligibility for *compadrazgo* relations. Informants state that a person may establish the /-kumpre/ relationship with any person except his spouse, his own father, his spouse's father, and the spouses of these persons. Where the person already stands in a specified kin relation (e.g., /bankil/) to the speaker, the established *compadrazgo* relationship assumes priority over the kin-terms in reference (as well as in address). These two sets of terms, then, are mutually exclusive; a single P in R does not include both /h-kumpre/ and /h-bankil/, although /h-bankil/ may occasionally occur as an alternative P in R succeeding /h-kumpre/, in an interchange in which the first P in R was unclear to the listener. In contrast, /-kumpre/ does occur in complex P in R which include U, N, and T, as in /h-kumpre presidente/ "my *compadre* the president", /h-kumpre bisenti/, "my *compadre* Vicente", and /h-kumpre s-tat migel danyel/ "my *compadre* the father of Miguel, namely Daniel."

Applying the classification procedure specifically asking for kinds of /-kumpre/ and /-kumre/, the relationships can be further specified as:

- 1) /h-kumpre y-ʔuʔn ʔiç haʔ/, "my *compadre* of baptism"
- 2) /h-kumpre y-ʔuʔn nuhpun el/, "my *compadre* of marriage"
- 3) /h-kumpre y-ʔuʔn kompremasyon/, "my *compadre* of confirmation"
- 4) /h-kumpre y-ʔuʔn šʔan ninyo/, "my *compadre* of the fiesta of Noche Buena"

In the case of the class /-kumpre y-ʔuʔn nuhpunel/, numerous people are linked by this relation through a single wedding. Thus the parents and married siblings of the spouses become /-kumpre/ or /-kumre/ to each other, as may even the grandparents and parents' siblings of the married pair. The newlyweds alone do not enter into this relationship with anyone present. The terms of reference to persons so related are the stated /-kumpre/ or /-kumre/, sometimes modified by /muk'ul/ or /ç'in/ as previously shown. When, in addition

to the exchange of gifts which constitutes the traditional wedding, the couple is married in the church, a pair of *padrinos* (male and female) is chosen from outside the set of relatives who become *compadres* in the ceremony just mentioned. These people are referred to as /-tat + snaryos/ ~/-pagrino/ and /-meʔ + snaryos/ ~/-magrina/ by the married couple (who are called by them, respectively, /-ničan + snaryos/ ~/-ʔihada/ and /-ʔal + snaryos/ ~/ʔihada/) and as /-kumpre/ and /-kumre/ (self-reciprocally) by the parents of the married partners.

3.2.4 A number of the remaining P's constitute a class which, like the *compadrazgo* set, do not occur as P3 in T, but which unlike that set are paralleled by U forms.

- 1) /hoy/, "companion" (in reference to spouses; one who lives in the same house, including specific *kin*; and all of the specified kinds of "companion" below)
- 2) /hoy ta yakbel/, "drinking companion"
- 3) /hoy ta ʔaʔtel/, "working companion"
- 4) /hoy + yašben/, "traveling companion"
- 5) /ʔamigo/, "friend"
- 6) /besino/ ~ /nahpal nočol/, "neighbor"

The fact that such forms occur as P indicates that, at least in some cases, identification is made through some coordinating person. Though the same person may not be both spouse of ego and a grandchild of ego living in the same house, the focus in instances of /hoy/ is not upon these (elsewhere) contrasting relationships but upon one more general, involving some unspecified association. It must be recognized that /hoy/ functions on more than one level of specificity, such that as a general class label it is not co-terminous with, but instead inclusive of, its use in specific instances. This may be shown diagrammatically as follows: (Table 14)

/ta ʔaʔtel/, /ta yakbel/ are compounding post-modifiers, rather than locatives, (cf. /ta ʔalan/, etc., 2.1) distinguishable grammatically, in that the heads are nouns derived by a normal

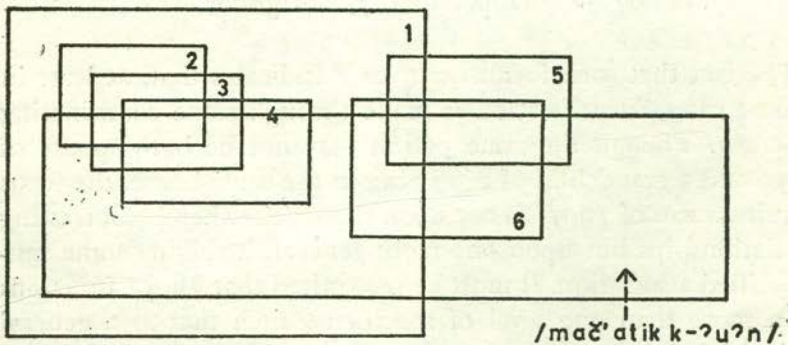
Table 14. The Class /hoy/

hoy	
hoy ta ʔaʔtel	hoy
etc.	

process from underlying (intransitive) verbs. /ya.š.ben/, however, is a verb, entering into a direct compounding relation with the preceding /hoy/.

Examination of genealogical data, data as to residence, and *compadrazgo* relations reveals (as might be inferred from the apparent meaning of /hoy/) that the same referent may occupy more than a single one of these associative roles at the same time as well as be kin and/or *compadre* to the coordinating individual, though in any given P in R only one such identification will be employed. Though formally mutually exclusive (as in the less general case of *kin* and *compadrazgo* terms), all of these may intersect in the same individual.

TABLE 15



(numbers refer to the list on page 369)

Table 15 displays the intersection of /mač'atik k-ʔuʔn/, "mis familiares" (which includes kin, affinal kin, and *compadrazgo*) and the other "association modes" of identification listed ear-

lier. The intersection of 5 and 6 with 1 implies intersection as well with the lower order 2, 3, and 4.

Of the remaining P, some are limited in occurrence to simple P in R, not entering into more complex constructions, either through modification or specification. They are further distinguished by their showing in possessed form the agentive prefix /h./, which after possessive prefixes has the form /-ah./. These P which parallel members of the major class U, are discussed in 3.4 ff.

A last group of P, which we shall label P (Td), are characterized by occurrence as P₃ in T where the other component of the T construction is a Ud. Thus

s-winklel pan
y-ahwal tyénda

3.3 Turning to the morphologically and syntactically defined class M/U, it is found that the forms largely overlap (in the absence of possessive affixes) in form with the P class *kin*. They occur before U, N (a privilege of occurrence not shared by possessed *kin* terms), P (3), and T. The subset of M/U's which are of the same shape as *kin* terms may refer to *kin*, without overt indication of the coordinating relative (as normally indicated in the possessive prefix), or to non-kin. Whether this subset of M/U's refers to *kin* or non-kin can only be determined by the non-linguistic environment. The instances of this formal ambiguity are limited to reference to older relatives of O and + 1 generation. The terms show contrast in the dimension of sex of referent and (in the case of /bankil/ and /š*i* ʔlel/) sex of coordinating individual, and the minimal-pairs procedure

Table 16. M/U

Older	M	F
↓	tatik	meʔtik
	tataʔ	nanaʔ
	tat	meʔ
	tat	nan
↓	bankil-š <i>i</i> ʔlel	wiš
Younger		

establishes an ordering based on the relative age of referent to other referents (all being older than the speaker). The subset of forms is as follows: (Table 16)

Examining for other dimensions of contrast involved in the parallel kin terms, the only manifest difference is the more probable absence of genealogical relationship. While the P which parallel this set may refer to non-kin, the M/U do so to a much greater extent. They constitute an age-status hierarchy applied in reference to kin and non-kin alike.

One member, /nan/, occurs rarely as P, only one instance occurring in our corpus, and shows distributional restrictions as well. Its occurrence as M is almost entirely limited to appearance before T, as in /nan s-me[?] hwana/ "the mother of Juana". Informants' responses indicate it as reference to a person younger than one referred to as either /nana[?]/ or /me[?]/, and its failure to occur after /me[?]1/ bears out the relative youth of the referent. It appears then that it is employed to refer to a young woman of (at least) potential child-bearing age, but primarily not a lineal relative, who will more likely be referred to by one of the P_{kin} terms of appropriate generation.

/me[?]tik/ and /tatik/, employed in reference to persons at the top of this age-hierarchy, are analyzable into /tat/ and /me[?]/ respectively with the "reverential" suffix /-tik/;¹⁵ they also occur in a compound /me[?]tik + tatic/ which participates in several contrast sets. The compound varies freely with the collective reference /prinsepal-etik/ "respected elders", and these two alternatives are mutually exclusive with /h-[?]a[?]tel-etik/, "holders of office" (3.1), since it is the men (and the wives of men) who have already passed through the hierarchy of civil and religious offices who are referred to as /prinsepal/.

Further, the compound contrastswith /h-[?]oktor/ "doctor", in the same circumstances that it varies freely with /h-[?]ul/ and /h-poštawaneh/ "curer".

Finally, it is homophonous with the plural compound /h-me[?]-tik + h-tat-(t)ik/ "our parents", since /me[?]tik + tatic/ can occur possessed, i.e. as "our *principales*". With the occurrence of the "reverential" /-tik/, the occurrence of the suffix /-tik/ of the 1st person plural possessive /h-...-tik/ is morphophonemically impossible. The contrast is preserved, however, in the

¹⁵ One of a number of functionally differentiable, homophonous morphemes.

freely varying alternative /h-meʔ + h-tat- (t) ik/ "our parents".

/meʔtik + tatik/, then, stands at the head of two classificatory sets, that of the /ʔaʔteletik/, and that of the kin group (possessed), or the age-status hierarchy (unpossessed). It is the case that a person may stand simultaneously in any combination of these positions, and it is further likely that at the requisite advanced age, he (or she) will be attributed the power of curing.

Absent from the class M/U are those unpossessed references to children and immature persons encompassed by the possessed forms of the set *kin*.

The sole remaining member of the class is /ʔoktor/ or /doktor/ "doctor" which stands alone as a U, and as M before N in /ʔoktor péyro/ "Dr. Pedro" (in reference to an Indian *enfermero*). The form is otherwise unusual in occurring in what is here analyzed as a sequence of head plus post-modifier: /ʔoktor + kaʃlan/ "ladino doctor", (cf. /ʃinlan/ "ladina" as post-modifier in example 317 of Appendix I).

3.4 Turning to the major class U, we find that while it is possible to distinguish formally a number of sub-classes, the internal organization of the class on lower levels is amenable in part to the procedures outlined in the introduction to this section.

Table 17 displays, first, the formally isolable subclasses of U, and second a most general distinction of the types of internal organization within the formally defined subclasses.

3.4.1 U (P/P₃ in T) are those U having possessed counterparts which may occur in P₃N = T. Among these are the -1 generation kin terms which are without counterparts in M/U; as U they occur as simple P in R in reference to children without overt reference to coordinating parents.

Table 17. Subclasses within U

U (P/P ₃ in T)	U (P only)	
-1 generation	generation unspecified	
(3.4.1)	/h-ʔaʔtel-etik/	others
	(3.4.2; 4.3)	(3.4.2)

The disparity in distribution of kin and kin-like terms may be shown as follows, where -plus 1, -zero, and -minus 1 represent the stems of forms showing the component of generation, and \emptyset indicates non-occurrence.

Table 18

P	M/U	U
-plus 1	-plus 1	\emptyset
-zero	-zero	\emptyset
-minus 1	\emptyset	-minus 1

The difference in classification of the forms reflects differences in environments occupied; for example, where M/U occur as M, that is before P, N, T, or U, the "age-status" terms which parallel adult kin-terms modify the following head by indicating something of the relative age status of the person identified. This particular dimension is absent in the case of persons of -1 generation. (cf. section 3.2.1 where it is shown that "child" terms are further distinguished by the use of the syntactic alternative in the indication of possession). They further share the distributional peculiarity of U generally in being final to the P in R (hence not further specified), nor do they modify (by definition). Functionally, the role (or roles) of "child" does not intersect (i.e., is not specified by) any other of the distinguishable sets of roles such as kin, or /ʔaʔteletik/. Where possession is operative, a child is regularly identified only in relation to parents, or in the absence of possession, merely as a child, with or without appropriate modifiers. The range of application of the unpossessed "child" terms, like the O and + 1 generation terms of M/U, may functionally overlap possessed kin terms, in that reference to one's own or some other person's children may be made without explicit indication of the coordinating parent. Equally, where kin and M/U terms show reciprocals, the U "child" terms possess their reciprocals as well, but among the M/U. Thus if A refers to B as "child", B will refer to A as /tat/, etc., depending on sex and age of referent.

The remaining members of the class U having parallels in

P or P₃ in T are marked generics. Few of these occur in our corpus, since they apparently seldom figure in primary personal reference. Like other U, however, they occur finally in the P in R and though paralleled in most cases by finite unpossessed forms (i.e., the M/U of 3.3 above), they do not modify. These we shall label Ug (generic):

si (?) lel.al	"older brother (f.c.i.)"
bankil.al	"older brother (m.c.i.)"
ʔihɛ'in.al	"younger sibling"
wiš.il	"older sister"
tat.il	"father"
ʔahwal.il	"master; owner"

Distributionally we must distinguish between their occurrence as U and their occurrence succeeded by one of the forms of the syntactic alternatives to possessive prefixing (2.2.3.1) where they are not only parallel P_{kin} but are formally (at least) equivalent.

3.4.2 U (p only) are those U's having possessed counterparts which do not, however, occur as P₃ in T. This formally distinguishable class of forms is further distinguishable by the mandatory presence of an allomorph of the agentive prefix when possessed. Thus:

U	P
/presirente/ ~ /h-presirente/ "presidente"	/ʔaw-ah-presirente/ "your presidente"
/h-ʔul/ "curandero"	/ʔaw-ah-ʔul/ "your curandero"

Though formally so delimitable, it remains for other procedures to reveal the internal organization of the class. Within the corpus there occur the forms of the class /h-ʔaʔtel/ and /h-ʔaʔtel-etik/, literally "worker" and "workers" respectively. These stand as head words to a large segment of the membership of U (p only) as diagrammed in Table 17.

On the next lower level of contrast these headwords are modified by one of the mutually exclusive post-modifiers /ta kabilto/ "in the *cabildo* (civil)" or /ta martomil/, "in the

mayordomia (religious).” These in turn constitute head words of two mutually exclusive classes of forms, as shown in Tables 23 and 25. These two classes have an internal order and are further related one class to the other. Since our knowledge of this ordering and interrelatedness stems in part from, and is closely associated with, performance correlates, we defer detailed description to Section 4.3.

The same procedures applied produce the classificatory set of Table 19:

Table 19. The class / (h) kašlan-etik/

/ (h) kaš (1) an (etik) /		“ladinos (as a class)”
/hkašlan-etik/		/šin (1) an-etik/
“ladino man/men”		“ladino woman/women”

which contrast at the higher level with the elicited form /h-tul h-lumal/ “one of my *pueblo* (Aguacatenango)”.

The dimensions of contrast are not simple here, since there is involved as well /h-tul yan lum/ “one of another *pueblo*” in reference as well to persons other than *ladinos*. Furthermore, an immediate contrast that suggests itself to the informants when differentiating themselves from *ladinos* is:

Table 20. Some contrasts and equivalences of /h-tul lumal/

/h-tul lumal/	/kašlan/
/pobr-etik/	/k'uleh-etik/
/“the poor ones”/	“the rich ones”

Of the remaining forms of the class, a series represents alternative terms for a single group of people, i.e., native curers: /h-ʔul/ ~ /h-poštawan (eh) / ~ /h-ʔak'-poš/ which while possibly distinctive (we are unprepared to say until our studies of Tzeltal medicine have proceeded further), share the characteristic performance /pik ʔiʔ/ “pulsing”. A contrasting form

/ʔoktor/, "doctor", marks a curer who does not know how to pulse, but who instead gives "consultations".

Lastly, the remaining forms of the class U are shown by listing in the glossary. We might perhaps label them "occupational", but in so doing we would merely be grouping together otherwise distinctive forms in a way which appears "reasonable" to us.

3.5 The large class N and its syntactically subordinate sub-class *n* incorporate the whole of the catalogue of Christian names and surnames in the community. The major sub-class N, identifiable as Christian names, is sub-divided on the basis of sex as indicated in 3.2.1. The minor sub-class of family names is not so divisible, co-occurring as they do with Christian names of either sex.

The class N occurs possessed, either affixed or with the syntactic alternatives /k-ʔuʔn/, etc. All such instances are in reference to children of the coordinating person. Further, N may enter into modifier-compounds with /ɛ'in/, "little", which compounds also are limited to P in R in reference to children.

While the evidence cannot be extracted directly from the texts for the definition of the two types of names, i.e., Christian names and surnames, the following regularities appear to hold.

If one arrays the *n* of P in R in set such that each set has individuals who are coordinated with each other by lineal kin referential terms, the males of the set will have the same *n*, as will the female siblings of these males. The spouses of these individuals will in general not share this *n*, nor will they share a single *n* among themselves. This distribution of *n* corresponds to the following statement: The offspring of a "properly" married couple receive the surname of the male parent.¹⁶

Three variants on one or another aspect of the above distribution may be noted, though none of them occur in the texts.

1) There are contexts in which the Tzeltal surname is transformed into a pseudo-Spanish equivalent. Thus the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /ʔentis/, may refer to himself and be referred to by others as /ʔernánides/ as well as by the Tzeltal equivalent /ʔentis/. The variables that determine this variation are unknown to us.

¹⁶ The definition of "properly" will be treated in another paper.

2) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /méntes/, will be referred to by two surnames (n + n) in the order /méntes tonton/. Comparison of these n + n examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second n is associated with males of the set of lineal kin (as discussed above). This is a low frequency occurrence variant and the conditions of its appearance are unknown to us.

3) There are contexts in which the offspring of a couple, the male of whom has the surname /péres/, will be referred to by two surnames (n + n) in the order /péres hwáres/. Comparison of these n + n examples with the senior lineal equivalents indicates that the second n is identical with the surname (as previously defined) of the mother. The contexts in which the n + n (father's surname + mother's surname) appear are in part determined by the demands of the larger society within which the community of Aguacatenangueros is located. So, for example, this variant pattern appears on birth and death certificates, on censuses, and on bills and receipts.¹⁷

A pair of intersecting principles influences the Christian name which is assigned to a child by the male parent. An important factor in naming is the "saint's day", the parent choosing one of the several patron saints of the day of a child's birth. It appears that in general the name assigned to the child is selected in this way. The choice of one of the appropriate set of saints' names is further conditioned by the preference for assigning the name of some relative of preceding generation, any two of such individuals with the same Christian and surnames standing in a /helol/ relationship. The precise interaction of these principles—that is, which overrides the other under what circumstances—is the subject of further investigation.

3.6 Within the grammatically defined class T, we may distinguish between those specifiable by N and all others. The former are, as indicated, limited to those with /s-tat/ and /s-me?/ as the P3 constituent, and they may occur specified as N or not, in either case being examples of what has been termed in the literature *teknonymy*. The cases without N specification exhibit

¹⁷ *Apodos*, "nicknames," are also in use in Aguacatenango, an example of these being /?obispo/, "bishop". The distributions and contexts in relation to the N or n have not yet been determined.

a general Tzeltal grammatical pattern undistinguishable except by lexical content from the same pattern as it exists with lexical content not necessarily referring to persons.

We may further define the sub-class of T in which the second constituent is Ud. The instances which we have observed are limited in number, but we have no reason to believe that it is not potentially expandable. The distinguishing characteristic of this sub-class is the inability of the Ud. to constitute, of itself, an adequate P in R.

The grammatically equivalent /A y-ʔuʔn B/ in turn is restricted to P_{kin} children, as the P3 member, and as the /s-tat/ — /s-meʔ/ sub-class indicates parental relations, so this particular /y-ʔuʔn/ construction indicates relation as child of the coordinating person.¹⁸

From the point of view of establishing the criterial attributes of the relationship between the first two members of the P3NN construction, the complex P in R /š-nič'an s-tat hwan/, "the child of the father of Juan", is a crucial example for it leads the investigator to suppose that not any child is equally candidate for the coordinating N position in the "teknonymous" T construction. As pointed out in the introduction, the child who is candidate for the said position has the attributes of "first-born child of a legitimate union who lived long enough to be named." Since the teknonymous candidate is recruited exclusively from the first position in the relative order of own children, it might be appropriate to suggest that teknonymy be distinguished on the basis of the type and degree of explicit definition of the coordinating person.

3.7 In the foregoing, the elements of the speech events which constitute P in R have been classified in terms of linguistic distribution, in terms of the social attributes of people that lead to their association with given P in R, and in terms of elicited classificatory head-words. While the analytic rules of 2.3.1 indicate the internal grammatical structure of P in R, they do not display all of the restrictions upon co-occurrence of forms as dictated, for example, by the congruence classes established in 3. Were the analytic rules stated in terms smaller, less general classes of forms, they could, theoretically, arrive at precise state-

¹⁸ It will be noted that /h-kumpre y-ʔuʔn ʔiç haʔ/ "my *compadre* of baptism," indicates a genitive relation and the general productivity of /y-ʔu-n/ as a relative indicator.

ments regarding co-occurrence and non-co-occurrence of all forms in the P in R lexicon. We have chosen, however, to amplify the techniques of purely distributional examination with procedures outlined at the beginning of 3, working back and forth, as it were, between the two. We have just presented a discursive account of the results, linking distribution of linguistic form and attributes of the referent. We proceed now to draw these results together in the form of general statements about the construction of adequate P in R expressions.

Congruence, essentially potential co-occurrence, and the associated procedures were discussed in 3.2.1. While classes may potentially co-occur, particular members thereof may not. Therefore we distinguish between *set congruence* and *member congruence*.

Within P in R we can distinguish three grammatical processes: *modification* and *specification* (2.3.3.) and *coordination* (2.3.3 and the expanded definition of 3.2.1). Each operates to produce units within which sub-units show congruence.

3.7.1 *Set congruence in modification*: Among modifiers, the following are congruent with the following other sets:

- Group A, Position 1: P, T, U, M/U, N
- Group A, Position 2: P, T, U, M/U, N
- Group A, Position 3: P, T, U, M/U, N
- Group B, Position 1 - 2: P, U, M/U, N
- Group C, Position 1 - 3: U, N
- M/U P_{kin}, T, U[?]_a[?]_{tel}, N

Member congruence in modification: The following limitations apply:

Generally, modifiers and heads must be congruent in 1) sex of referent and 2) age of referent. Specifically,

- 1.3.1 /č'ul/ only with U[?]_a[?]_{el}
- 1.3.2 /senyor/ only with U[?]_a[?]_{tel}, N
- 1.3.4 /soltera/ only with U₋₁ of age classes /[?]ač'iš/, /kerem/
- 1.3.5 /nek/ only with U₋₁
- 1.3.6 /don (ya) / only with N
- 1.3.7 /ninya/ only with N
- 2.3 /mero/ only with P_{kin}, M/U, U₋₁

Incongruity in modification is a device employed in the expression of derogation or depreciation, in which forms indicating younger persons of O or -1 generation are modified by /ma/ (or /mamal/) or /meʔl/, the modification of meaning following from the incongruity of contrasting attributes of age brought into contiguity.

3.7.2 *Set congruence in specification*: The following combinations of sets are congruent:

P_{kin} T
 T +₁ N
 T T +₁
 P_{comp} N
 P_{comp} U²_aʔ_{tel}
 P_{comp} T

Member congruence in specification requires only the maintenance of congruity of sex of referent.

3.7.3. *Set congruence in coordination*: The following combinations of sets are congruent:

P_{kin} N
 P_{kin} P_{comp}
 P_{kin} T¹⁹
 P_{hoy} N
 P_{hoy} P_{comp}
 P_{hoy} T

Member congruence in coordination requires only the maintenance of congruity of sex of coordinating individual with sex of referent in the second position of the construction.

3.7.4. Some general features of the grammatical processes described may be pointed out as they relate to the attributes of persons referred to or to the relations between them. In general, modification serves to further differentiate members of a particular contrast set. Specifically, it tends to differentiate a particular attribute value in some dimension of contrast. Aside from incongruity, discussed above, two types of modification processes may be noted which are exceptions to this generaliza-

¹⁹ Where T is, of course, some other congruent combination of referent and coordinating person.

tion. Thus, for example, the addition of /muk'ul/ to /meʔ/ creates a contrasting member in the P_{kin} set. So the addition of /ma/ to /neal/, etc., creates contrasting members of the $P_{affinal}$ set.

The class M/U, as modifiers, do not further differentiate attributes of the heads they modify. Instead, they show redundancy through congruity of precisely the attributes of age and status in terms of which both modifier and head contrast.

In general, specification involves more than a single mode of identification, drawing upon different contrast sets or different sub-sets within contrast sets of terms to identify a person, generally in terms of relations to more than a single coordinating individual, but also possibly in terms of some role that is not defined in terms of diadic relations (e.g., the /ʔaʔtel-etik/).

In general, coordination identifies a person through some other known-person, whether the coordinating person is overtly identified in the P in R, as in $P\exists N$, or represented by zero where speaker or listener is the coordinating person, as with first and second person possession.

By implication, many sequences of classes and members thereof are excluded from co-occurring by the statements of 3.7.1-3. That in fact persons are able to fill more than one of a grammatically mutually-exclusive pair of positions has been pointed out. The conditions under which a speaker selects between alternative modes of reference, or alternative coordinating relationships, is unknown to us, and to mark the limits of the present study, we label such alternation as "free variation".

By free variation we mean the replacement of one P in R for another under conditions which we judge identical in terms of the application of the procedures of the present analysis. "Identical conditions" may be defined as follows. In the paradigm, "The speaker mentions a person in reference", identical conditions hold if the speaker is not replaced by another speaker and the person in reference is not replaced by a second person in reference. Under these conditions, then, variation in the P in R is considered "free".

Some suggestions as to the kind of context which produces "free variation" follow: 1) The individual in reference may stand in a known specific coordinating relationship to the sev-

eral individuals in the interaction. If the coordinating relationship is the same for the several persons in the interaction, the person in reference may be specified as "our related alter".

Thus: /h-kumpre-tik/, "our *compadre*"
/h-bankil-tik/, "our older brother"

Alternatively, and in this case variation occurs, such a person may be specified as "your related alter" and "my related alter". This case involves the replacement of possessive suffixes.

Thus: first /ʔa-meʔ + a-tatik/, "your *principal*"
and then /s-meʔ + h-tatik/, "my *principal*"

If the coordinating relationship is different for the persons in the interaction, the alter may be specified in terms of his relationship to the speaker and then alternatively in terms of his relationship to some one of the others in the interaction.

Thus: first /h-meʔl ʔihε'in/, "my younger sister (-in-law)"
then /s-meʔ ʔalal ʔaw-ʔuʔun/, "the mother of your children.
i.e., your wife"

Also: /ʔa-tataʔ/, "your uncle", where the relation of alter to speaker is "husband"

2) The speaker may refer to the person in reference by a set of complex P in R which express different modalities of relationship to him.

Thus: first /h-kumpre s-ta hwan liʔ/, "my *compadre* the
father of Juan
here"

then /h-bankil s-tat hwan/, "my older brother the father of
Juan"

Or: first /ʔoktor peyro/, "Dr. Pedro"
then /ma tataʔ peyro/, "Uncle Pedro"

3) The listener may not identify the individual the speaker is referring to on the basis of a single P in R. Successive P in R are used to define him until the identification is made.

- Thus: Speaker A /h-kumpre hose/, "my *compadre* Jose"
 „ „ /hoy s-tat hwana hose/, "my companion,
 the father of
 Juan, Jose"
 Listener B /nun ta ti[?] koral/, "there at the corral
 gate"
 Speaker A /ha[?] ʔabi[?]/, "that's the one"

4) Once the identification is completed, further references to the individual in reference tend to be minimal P in R, as can be seen in the following examples:

- Thus: first /y-ʔinam ma peyro hwana/, "Pedro's wife, Juana"
 then /me[?]l hwan (a) /, "Juana"
 And: first /s-tat hwana li[?] ta pat na/, "the father of Juana
 here behind the
 house"
 then /s-tat hwana/, "the father of Juana"

Though we have largely limited our attention to the structure and content internal to the single P in R, these cases serve to show which "roles" and role relationships may intersect in the same person and provide further evidence as to the relations existing between established contrast sets.

4. *Examples of performance correlates.*

4.1 Criterial attributes may be considered as indicative of regular and recurrent performances with which they are associated, performances which constitute the "meaning" of the forms of reference we have described. What we propose to do here is to account for some of the formal differences by establishing the relationships between certain attributes of P in R and certain observed performances. More specifically, we will show how some relatively simple and readily observable patterns of "etiquette" —clothing, greetings, seating arrangement, order or precedence in drinking and in processions— are associated with some of the attribute of P in R. These patterns of "etiquette" are indicative of complex recurring modalities of behavior which we have as yet to bring under the control of descriptive frames.

We assume, then, that a P in R specifies the alter not only in terms of salient attributes (as we have seen in section 3), but also in terms of performances, or expected performances, of alter *vis a vis* the speaker, and/or the listener, and/or some other coordinating individual(s), and vice-versa. Where an alter is specified by more than one P in R, or by a P in R with more than one head (i.e., a complex P in R), we assume that the alter is involved in distinctive performance correlates for each formally identifiable unit.

An attribute is represented by one of a set of contrasting values; thus the attribute set "sex of referent" constitutes a contrast set including Male and Female, and a given P in R can possess only one of these values. Where more than one attribute participates in a particular P in R, the attributes complement each other; for example, the P in R /-tataʔ/ has values in the attribute sets "sex of referent" and "generation", and it follows that these attribute values are in *complementation* throughout the personal reference set. Some but not all attributes occur in complementation. The values of each of the attributes which complement each other in a given P in R are congruent; thus, in /-tataʔ/, "male" (sex of referent) and "+1" (generation) are congruent, and these values are therefore in *congruence* in the P in R set as a whole. The attributes and their inter-relationships permitted the interpretation of the grammatical classes of P in R by discriminating sub-classes within them. In our examination of the performance correlates of some of these attributes, we will show that performances can be similarly grouped into contrast sets which may complement each other and in which the values of performances in complementary sets are congruent.

The correlation of attributes of P in R and performances is of necessity somewhat indirect. The referent of a given P in R is rarely in the speaker's presence, and, present or absent, his reported behavior is unlikely to include the patterns of etiquette we have chosen (because of their saliency and their simplicity) to consider. In order to get from the P in R to the performance, one must first identify the alter and, if the performance varies relative to the pairs of individuals involved, the speaker or other coordinating person. Then one must either observe the alter (or the alter and the speaker or other coor-

dinating person) participating in the performance or ask informants which of the contrasting performances in a given set they would expect from that individual or pair. These observations and responses with reference to one or several individuals who share a P in R attribute or cluster of attributes constitute the performance associated with that attribute or set of attributes in the contrast set.

4.2 Table 21. Some performance correlates of Absolute Age/Sex; Clothing

/kučbil ʔalal/ long-sleeved shirt (white or colored); cloth tied around waist with a narrow sash; head scarf	
<p style="text-align: center;">/č'in + k'oš + kerem/ /ʔalal/ long-sleeved shirt (white or colored); pants optional</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">/č'in + ʔač'iš/ short-sleeved white, or white with polka-dots, blouse with embroidery around neck; print skirt to mid-calf; small colored shawl of cotton or terry cloth; small earrings</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">/ʔuntik/</p> <p style="text-align: center;">/č'in + kerem/ long-sleeved white shirt; white calf-length trousers; red sash; natural or white straw hat; sandals optional</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">/ʔač'iš/ blouse as above, except embroidery is more elaborate; dark-blue calf-length skirt pleated and held with red woolen belt, or (rarely), flowered kneelength skirt; white shawl or (rarely) colored shawl larger than that above; long, bright earrings; bright ribbons in braids; for work, print apron doubles as head scarf; for trips, white hat, thong sandals</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">/kerem/ as above, except sandals usual; in addition, plaid blanket worn at night</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">/ʔanč/ as above, except blouse always white with embroidery; in general, costume less elaborate, less new; black ribbons in braids; small earrings or none at all</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">/soltera kerem/ as above, except white hat usual; in addition, for fiestas, black gabardine trousers, white broadcloth shirt, sometimes shoes</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">/winik/ as above, except no black trousers + white shirt, rarely shoes; in addition, sometimes store-bought work shirts and pants; in addition, black woolen slipover sleeveless jacket</p>

The particular performances with which we are concerned here are associated with the attribute of sex, absolute and relative age, and "rank" — attributes established on the basis of the distribution of P in R and informants' responses as to the meaning of the contrasts. Thus, P in R which contrast in terms of the attributes of sex and absolute age can be distinguished by their styles of dress. Table 21 displays the formal contrast (with U forms from our corpus servin to define the age-sex classes) and their performance correlates.

It will be clear from Table 21 that the /winik/ — /ʔanɕ/ attribute is reflected in styles of dress in all but a single detail — the fact that women, when on trips, wear the same white hats as do men. This distinction begins to operate as soon as the child can walk — that is, as soon as he ceases to be /kučbil ʔalal/ — although it is ignored in the more general alternate forms of reference to children, /ʔalal/ and /ʔuntik/. In contrast to the sex attribute, the attribute of age is reflected in relatively slight differences between one age group and another. Among the forms which recognize both age and sex, however, there would seem to be no formal distinction without some correlate in style of dress. The differences are more striking between immature and mature females (/č-in + ʔač'iš/ vs. /ʔač'iš/ ~ /ʔanɕ/) than between the corresponding groups of males. The difference in style of dress between /ʔuntik/ and /winik/ — /ʔanɕ/ may be stated, perhaps inadequately, as that the latter wear black jackets (if male) or black hair ribbons (if female) and the former do not. The distinction of /ʔalal/ within /ʔuntik/ seems to be reflected only in the optional wearing of pants by little boys under three years.

4.3 In addition to the sex attribute reflected in clothing, the etiquette of greetings distinguishes P in R who contrast in terms of their age relative to that of the speaker. Greeting etiquette in Aguacatenango includes the following performances:

When individuals pass on the street, they may simply call out a greeting:

person initiating	/bahkon tat/ ²⁰	"I go, sir"
person responding	/banč'ay tat/,	"Go then, sir"

²⁰ The /tat/ form is one of a set of "vocative" usages not discussed in this paper.

while continuing on their way. Alternately, they may stop and greet each other more formally. In this case, the verbal greeting combines one of the following series of forms which express the time of day and the appropriate term of address.

Time of day	Greeting (/ε'ahal/)
1 - 8 a.m.	sak (') inal tat
9 - 12 a.m.	ε'ahal tat
1 - 6 p.m.	mal k'ahal tat
7 - 12 p.m.	ε'ul ² ahk'ubal tat

The greeting is accompanied by one of the following performances:

	Person initiating	Person responding
either:	1. extends right hand as if to shake hands	extends right hand and lightly, briefly touches the hand extended to him
or:	2. bows the head slightly in the direction of the other person, standing directly in front of him	touches the bowed head lightly with the back of his right hand ²¹
or:	performs neither of these	makes neither response

The distribution of these greetings among P in R who contrast in terms of sex and relative age is shown in the following table. Initiation-response 1 is indicated by *k-k*; initiation 2 is represented by *h* and response 2 by *k*; initiation-response 3 is indicated by \emptyset . If there is a difference of age, the younger person initiates.

²¹ The initiation-response 1 and the response 2 are not linguistically differentiated. For example, /²aka ²akab/, "give him your hand," may occur with reference to either.

Table 22. Some performance correlates of Relative Age/Sex; Greetings

	M greets F	F greets M or F	M greets M
Age difference at least: 5 years		hol-k'ab	
2 years	∅		
Same age			k'ab--k'ab

4.4 The distinction of members of the /ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/ in terms of their "rank" is reflected in their seating arrangement when formally assembled.

The /ʔaʔtel ta kabilto/ are responsible for the civil business of the community, the resolution of conflicts brought before it, the maintenance of community facilities and the making of a limited number of decisions which affect the community as a whole. Its members are recruited yearly for one-year terms, the whole group assuming office in January. Every male in the community is expected to hold office as an /ʔaʔtel ta kabilto/ four times in his life, and the order of recruitment to the position for any individual is more or less fixed. The positions are similarly contrastive in the degree and kind of responsibility attributed to each. We will use "rank" as a cover term to include both of these features. The set of contrasting forms is as follows (in ascending order):

- /mayor/ "policia" ranked from /ba/, "first" or /hefe de kwartel/ to /šwaškebal/, "eighth"
- /sintiko/, "sindico"
- /rehidor/, "regidor" ranked from /ba/, "first" to /šcebal/ "second."
- /šcebal rehimal/, "second regimal"
- /ba rehimala/~/suplente presirente/, "first rehimal or assistant presidente"
- /presirénte/~/ʔahénte (munisipal) /, "presidente or ahente munisipal"

/ščebal hwes/, "second juez"
 /hwes/~/ʔalkal/, "juez"

Those individuals who are identified in any one year as being members of the civil hierarchy engage in many repetitive performances, one of which is to assemble daily at the *cabildo*, where they conduct the business of the town. We here display the seating arrangements of these governing officers under those circumstances when they have 'focused' on seating arrangement as one means of expressing the internal organization of their company, which is to say, the relative seating order when they consider themselves 'properly' seated.

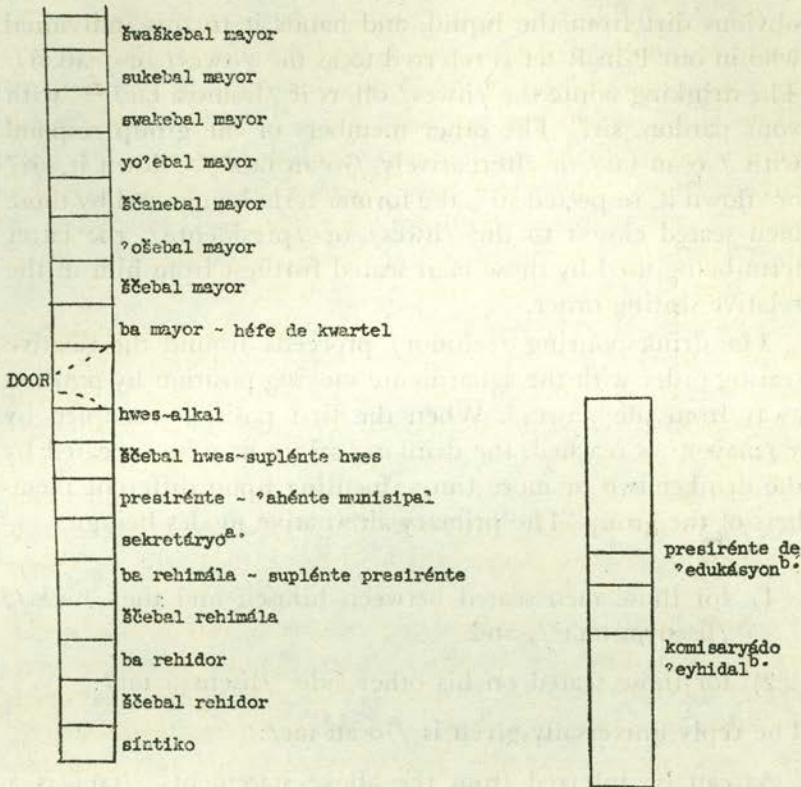
Some brief description of the physical setting is necessary in order that the reader may visualize the relationships. The town hall, or *cabildo*, stands on one side of the plaza facing the church which is situated on the other side. The *cabildo* is partitioned into three rooms, across the front of which is a long porch. On the two sides of the porch are benches, the two on the inner side of the porch being separated by a doorway that opens into the mainroom. The proper seating order is displayed in Table 23.

Not all of the P in R forms here displayed were in the initial set of texts. Thus for example, there did not occur in text any of the differentiated /mayor/ forms. We first concluded that the /mayor-etik/ could properly sit in any of the eight positions assigned to them. Further observation revealed that this was not the case. Thus, the regular relative order of the /mayor-etik/ led us to inquire if indeed they were not differentiated linguistically. In this case, the comparison of seating arrangements with known forms expand the contrast set. In the case of the /mayor-etik/ we imagine, then, that the precise position a /mayor/ occupies is used in P in R when the context of the conversation calls for a discrimination that pinpoints a particular /mayor/.

4.5 The etiquette of drinking *aguardiente* serves to differentiate the P in R which designate the members of the /ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/ in terms of the same attribute, "rank", as is involved in the seating order.

After settlement of a dispute, for permitting a /htul yan lumal/, "foreigner", to settle in the community, and on certain saints' days,

Table 23: Some performance correlates of "rank" within /ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/; seating order.



the /ʔaʔtel-etik/ is given or secures for itself *aguardiente* in liter bottles. The *aguardiente* is equally distributed in shot glass amounts among the members of the /ʔaʔtel-etik/, a particular individual drinking the glass which is offered him; or, should he choose not to drink it, taking a sip from it and handing to some other member of the group who drinks the remaining portion and returns the glass to the first drinker, who in turn returns it to the pourer of drinks. It is in the succession of drink-pouring to the several members that we observe an orderly recurring pattern which corresponds to the relative seating pattern. The drink pourer, who is one of the /rehidor-etik/ pro-

^a The position of secretary is by appointment and is not included in the civil hierarchy.

^b The positions of president of education and *ejido* commissioner are two year appointments, and neither is (yet) in the civil hierarchy.

ceeds directly to the person who is seated with the door on his left. The /rehidor/ carefully pours the drink, removing any obvious dirt from the liquid, and hands it to this individual who in our P in R set is referred to as the /hwes/ or /ʔalkal/. The drinking salute the /hwes/ offers if /lisensya tat/ ²² "with your pardon, sir." The other members of the group respond with /očan tat/ or alternatively /ʔočan tataʔ/, "down it, sir" or "down it, respected sir", the former term being used by those men seated closest to the /hwes/ or /presidénate/, the latter term being used by those men seated furthest from him in the relative seating order.

The drink pouring /rehidor/ proceeds around the relative seating order with the aguardiente moving position by position away from the /hwes/. When the first position occupied by a /mayor/ is reached, the drinking salute may be repeated by the drinker two or more times, focusing upon different members of the group. The primary alternative modes being:

- 1) for those men seated between himself and the /hwes/, /lisensya tataʔ/, and
- 2) for those seated on his other side, /lisensya tat/.

The reply universally given is /ʔočan tat/.

As can be inferred from the above statements, /tat/ is a measure of low rank and /tataʔ/, a measure of high rank in these vocative usages.

4.6. The three kinds of alternative greeting described in section 4.2 are used by the men the /ʔaʔtel-etik/. As each of them enters the porch of the *cabildo*, he greets all of those who have assembled before he arrived. The principles which determine the type of greeting used are those already enunciated in section 4.2. In the present case, these principles are associated with the following distribution across the /ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/.

²² If among the group there are those who use the P in R form /h-kumpre/ to others among them, the drinking salute is modified accordingly: /lisensya kumpre/; the response is /ʔočan kumpre/. The /-kumpre/ relationship between particular men, however, does not vary the relative order in which the liquor is drunk.

Table 24. Some performance correlates of age/"rank":
Greetings among the /ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/

	/mayor-etik/	/sintiko/ to /ščebal rehimala/	/ba rehimala/ to /hwes/
/mayor-etik/	k-k	h-k	
/sintiko/ to /ščebal rehimala/	Ø	k-k	h-k
/ba rehimala/ to /hwes/	Ø	Ø	k-k

(Note: row initiates, column responds.

h, k-k, k-h, have same value as in Table 22.)

The previous table indicates an age order among the civil officials in which the /mayor-etik/ are the youngest and the /hwes/ the oldest. There is in fact somewhat greater variation than the table suggests. As indicated in the table, the secretary, as well as the presidente of education and the representative of ejido lands, has special status *vis à vis* the rest of the civil officials. These are not cargos such that the fulfillment of them places the incumbent higher in the hierarchy. Thus, the secretary may be young or old and may be more or less indifferent to the 'bowing-touching' performances. In turn, while it is generally true that older men tend to be higher in the civil hierarchy, there are years when some minor reversals of age occur among the membership (as against that projected in the table). In such cases, age, rather than "rank" (as predicted by seating order), predicts the performances in the greeting set.

This kind of variation aside, the reader will notice that there is a correlation between seating arrangements and greetings. Proceeding away from the door (down the page), it is most probably that the /hwes/ will touch the most heads, the /ščebal hwes/ the second most, and so on.

4.7 The attribute "rank" serves to distinguish the members of the /ʔaʔtel-etik ta martomil/ as well as the /ʔaʔtel ta kabilto/, and, as in the subset just described, "rank" has among its performance correlates seating arrangement and drinking order. One further performance correlate, not shared by the /ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/ subset, is that the two /martomo-etik/

designated by the name of a particular saint are inducted into office on that saint's day.

The /ʔaʔtel-etik ta martomil/ are formally responsible for the correct interpretation of the saints' days celebrated in Aguacatenango. There are seven of these fiestas under the supervision of the *mayordomía*, and two /martomo-etick/ are co-opted for each, the pair serving for one year beginning on their particular saint's day.

Every male in the community is held responsible to be co-opted into four /martomo/ positions before he is freed from any further performances of this sort, and the positions must be held in a particular order.

The seven /martomo/ positions are grouped as follows:

The first and lowest set of positions includes:

/martómo sakraménto/ "*mayordomo of San Antonio*"

/martómo meʔtik rosáryo/ "*mayordomo of the Virgin of Rosario*"

/martómo meʔtik natibidad/ "*mayordomo of the Virgin of Natividad*"

By lowest, we mean that set of positions into one of which an individual would initially be co-opted upon entering the *mayordomía*. The second and next lowest set of positions includes:

/martómo ʔanima/ "*mayordomo of Todos Santos*"

/martómo san martin/ "*mayordomo of San Martín*"

The third set includes the position:

/martómo santa crus/ "*mayordomo of Santa Cruz*"

And the fourth set includes the position:

/martómo san sebstyan/ "*mayordomo of San Sebastián*"

In turn, for each of the saints, the two mayordomos are ranked relative to each other, the first in rank being the:

/ba martómo/ "*1st mayordomo*"

and the other being the:

/čeʔbal martómo/ "*2nd mayordomo*"

The distribution of their responsibilities follows the order of succession, the final pair of mayordomos (/san sebstyan/) generally overseeing the others, instructing them in their duties and so on.

The /ʔaʔtel-etik ta martomil/ assemble on fiesta days on the porch of the annex of the church. Benches run the length of the porch on its inside and outside edges. As the mayordomos assemble, they seat themselves initially on the inside of the two benches. The relative order of seating is as follows:

Table 25. Some performance correlates of "rank":

Seating order of /ʔaʔtel-etik ta martomil/

ba martómo sakraménto
 ščebal martómo sakraménto
 ba martómo meʔtik rosáryo
 ščebal martómo rosáryo
 ba martómo meʔtik natibidad
 ščebal martómo meʔtik natibidad
 ba martómo ʔanima
 ščebal martómo ʔanima
 ba martómo san martin
 ščebal martómo san martin
 ba martómo santa crus
 ščebal martómo santa crus
 ba martómo san sebstyan
 ščebal martómo san sebstyan

It may be readily observed that this seating arrangement corresponds to the relative order of succession to these offices.

At each fiesta, two mayordomos are inducted and two let out as was mentioned above. At the time of induction, the mayordomos split into two groups, one group going to the house of one of the inducted mayordomos, the other group going to the house of the other mayordomo. The two groups of mayordomos arrange themselves in lines, the relative order in the two lines as in Table 26.

Table 26. Some performance correlates of "rank":

Processional order of /ʔaʔtel-etik ta martomil/

Line 1	Line 2
ba martómo santa krus	ba martómo san sebstyan
ščebal martómo san sebstyan	ščebal martómo santa krus
ba martómo san martin	ba martómo ʔanima
ščebal martómo ʔanima	ščebal martómo san martin
ba martómo meʔtik rosáryo	ba martómo meʔtik natibidad
ščebal martómo meʔtik natibidad	ščebal martómo meʔtik rosáryo
ba martómo sakraménto	ščebal martómo sakreménto ²³

One thus sees in the seating arrangement and in the processional order for the induction of new mayordomos, an expression of a strong pattern of relative ordering that distinguishes the persons holding the positions as finely as do the linguistic forms. One might say that there is a one-to-one correspondence between the differentiations made by the linguistic forms and by the relative arrangement in space. It is not surprising to find, then, that under those conditions in which the mayordomos drink *aguardiente*, the order of succession in drinking proceeds from /ba martómo san sebstyan/ to /ščebal martómo sakreménto/, in the singly ordered succession of the seating arrangement.

4.8 In section three we displayed characteristics which could be described in terms of contrast, complementation, and congruence. In this section we have displayed performance correlates which can be described in terms of the same set of relations. Thus, for example, the seating positions for the civil hierarchy are in contrast with each other and are in complementation with the drinking order. In turn, congruence relations can be established between the complementary sets such that in the case of any P in R such as /hwes/, for example, we can describe it as the intersection of three complementing performance sets each of which has a particular value which is appropriate to this P in R and which is not appropriate to any other P in R

²³ It appears that number 1 position next lower overrides number 2 in each position in the processional order. We have not yet worked out the implications of this.

in contrast with this one. Just so we showed in section 3 that the P in R display characteristics which function this way.

5. Conclusion

We have extracted from Tzeltal conversational texts all identifiable occurrences of primary person references. From about 150,000 running words of text approximately 1,000 examples were identified. Computer compiled concordances and specially focused analytic reports aided us in this compilation.

From this initial set of P in R we constructed a "grammar", which at once took into account the grammar of Tzeltal and the special distributionally defined subclasses which occurred within the P in R set. From the grammar we constructed an ordered set of rules predicated on the three types of expansion of simple P in R — Specification, Modification, and Coordination — which permits the reduction of any complex P in R to its simple governing head.

We then examined the subclasses of the P in R as defined above in terms of the attributes they might display, attempting to define the relations between the attributes in terms of congruence, contrast, complementation, and free variation.

The small size of the initial sample led us to develop direct eliciting procedures for expanding the set of P in R; the comparisons of P in R which showed minimal differences, the embedding of P in R in the native taxonomic hierarchy, the eliciting of 'reciprocals' for P in R, and finally the observation of performances which correlated with P in R or their distinctive attributes.

The interaction of these procedures with the initial set of grammatically defined classes served to produce relatively well-defined and exhaustively inventoried P in R contrast sets for which the criterial attributes could be worked out. Finally, we have given a few examples of how the investigator may go about formulating behavioral descriptions which will stand in 'interpretable' relation to the P in R forms as they are described grammatically and as they are described in attribute sets.

We have formulated a set of rules which expresses our knowledge of how any P in R in the corpus may be analyzed grammatically, and we have combined the grammatical evaluation of P in R with our description of the criterial attributes and

the performances to make some general statements about personal reference in Aguacatenango. We imagine that some such set of statements as this will ultimately allow an uninitiated observer to correctly identify behavior in the native community — that is, he should be able to assign roles to the performers, and he should be able to anticipate the further performance correlates of these roles.

We do not pretend that the records from which we worked are in any sense complete. Yet they are complete enough to force the recognition that “teknonymy” in Tzeltal is not an isolated phenomenon apart from the larger system of reference. Our corpus and procedures also required us to consider the referential kinship terminology within the larger frame of referential terminology in general. The interaction of kin terms with the other contrast sets which collectively make up the role inventory gives us a somewhat more ‘balanced’ picture than would the description of the kin terms alone, were there some other means of isolating and defining them. We have shown that, at least in Aguacatenango, there is a set of terms in use, which are formally definable and delimited and to which the name kinship terms seems appropriately applied.

Essentially, we have tried to construct a description of some aspects of the social organization of Aguacatenango using as a language of description ‘Tzeltal’ linguistic and non-linguistic form in conjunction with certain simple relations which ‘exist’ between them — the relations of congruence, contrast, complementation, and free variation. The ‘meaning’ of any form displayed in the description is not to be obtained from the English gloss (which is operating in some as yet undescribed ‘semantic field’ of its own) but rather from the type of relations it has with other forms.

A description such as this does not easily permit the insertion of the conceptual categories and distinction of the social anthropologist. It does permit the insertion of the conceptual categories and distinctions as reported by the Aguacatenangos, and in terms of these, it can be expanded. The description does not accept quite as readily the forms of neighboring Tzeltal groups, but the similarity and ‘families’ of descriptions can be usefully compared.

The procedures we used in accumulating and ordering the

corpus of P in R forms are commonly in use by anthropologists, though the use of distributional evidence in analysis is more commonly explicit among linguists, and it is they who formulate their descriptions in terms of the relations described above. It is our contention that any cultural domain may be examined through the various communication media in terms of which it is expressed. The resultant description will not look much different from a grammar. The comparison of such 'cultural grammars' may require some minor modifications in the theories in terms of which the anthropologist operates.

March, 1962 .

Appendix I: Examples

The examples shown here are roughly ordered by internal complexity merely to avoid repetition. They represent a sample of the examples employed in the present study.

Some vowel final forms in the examples show a different final vowel than shown in the checklist of Appendix II. The ends of certain syntactic units are marked by one or another morpheme with the shape V. This final V (being /i/, /e/ or /a/) generally collapses with the vowel of a preceding vowel final form, the result generally being a single vowel, /i/, /e/, or /a/. This modification is particularly frequent in the class N, these frequently having final vowels.

1. ʔač'iš
2. ʔahwal.il
3. ʔalal
4. ʔalal-etik
5. ʔalkal
6. ʔalkalde
7. ʔanç
8. bankil.al
9. besino
10. čohwer
11. doktor
12. gobyérno
13. h.ʔak'poš

14. h.ʔaʔtel
15. h.ʔaʔrel-etik
16. héfe + de + kwartel
17. h.kašlan
18. h.kašlan-etik
19. h.ʔoktor
20. h.poš.ta.wan. (eh)
21. h.ʔul
22. hwes-etik
23. ʔihɛ'in.al
24. kašlan
25. Kerem
26. kristyan-etik
27. krinsepal
28. krinsepal-etik
29. mastri
30. mayor
31. mayor-etik
32. nanaʔ
33. ʔoktor
34. persona
35. polesiya
36. presidente
37. presirenti
38. prinsepal
39. rehidor
40. rehimála
41. senyor
42. šiʔlel
43. šinlan
44. šinlan-etik
45. tat
46. tataʔ
47. tatik
48. ʔuntik
49. winik
50. winik-etik
51. ʔa-bankil
52. ʔa-besino
53. ʔa-hoy

54. ?a-hoy-ik
55. ?a-kumpagre
56. ?a-kumpre-atak
57. ?a-kumre
58. ?a-magrina
59. ?a-mamilal
60. ?a-marido
61. ?a-me?
62. ?a-nana?
63. ?a-nič'an
64. ?a-tat
65. ?a-tat-ik
66. ?aw-ah.prinsipal
67. ?aw-ah.sekretáryo
68. ?aw-ah.?ul
69. ?aw-ahwal
70. ?aw-amígo
71. ?aw-an€. (a) l.el
72. ?aw-an€. (a) l.el-etik
73. ?aw-ermano
74. ?aw-ih€'in
75. ?aw-inam
76. ?aw-untik.il
77. ?aw-untik.il-ik
78. h-bankil-tik
79. (h-) hoy
80. (h-) ho (y) -tak
81. h-kerem
82. h-kumagre
83. h-kumpagre
84. h-kumre-tik
85. h-nana?-tik
86. h-nič'an
87. h-nič'an-tik
88. h.ši?lel
89. h-tat
90. h-tata?
91. h-tat- (t) ik
92. h-winik.il
93. h-wiš

94. h-wiš-tik
95. k-ah.gobierno-tik
96. k-ah.rehidor
97. k-ah.sekretáryo
98. k-amígo
99. k-amigo-tik
100. k-anč. (a) l.el
101. k-anč.il + ꝑal
102. k-anč.il + ꝑal-atak
103. k-ermano-tik
104. k-ihč'in-ab
105. k-inam-tik
106. s-bankil
107. s-hoy
108. s-hoy-tak
109. s-kontra
110. s-kumre
111. s-tat-ik
112. s-winik.ul
113. s-winik.ul-ik
114. s-wink (i) lel
115. š-wiš-itak
116. y-ač'iš
117. y-ahwal
118. y-anč. (a) l.el
119. y-ihč'in-ik
120. y-untik.il
121. y-untik.il-ik
122. ꝑahénte + munisipal
123. ꝑawktorida + ꝑentránte
124. ꝑawktorida + salyénte
125. č'in + ꝑač'iš
126. č'in + kerem
127. č'in + šiꝑlel.al
128. č'in + ꝑuntik
129. doktor + dentista
130. h.kanan + lum
131. č'in + ba + ꝑalal
132. č'in + k'os + ač'iš

133. č'in + k'oš + ʔalal
 134. č'in + patil + ʔuntik
 135. doktor h.kašlan
 136. suplente + munisipal
 137. ʔa-č'in + (ʔa)w-al
 138. (ʔa)č'in-ik + ʔuntik¹
 139. č'in + (ʔa)w-untikil
 140. ʔa-meʔ + ʔa-tat
 141. ʔa-meʔ + ʔa-tat-ik
 142. ʔaw-al + ʔa-nič'an
 143. ʔaw-ʔanč + nič'an
 144. č'in + ʔalal k-uʔn-tik
 145. č'in + kerem k-uʔn
 146. č'in + untik ʔaw-uʔn
 147. h-č'in + ʔač'iš
 148. h-č'in + kerem-tik
 149. h-č'in + k-untik.il-tik
 150. h-č'in + k'oš + kerem
 151. h-ma + neal
 152. h-meʔ + h-tat
 153. h-meʔ + h-tat-(t)ik
 154. h-meʔtik + h-tatik
 155. h-nič'an — snaryos
 156. ʔihada k-uʔn
 157. k-al + h-nič'an
 158. k-al + h-nič'an-tik
 159. k-al-tik + h-nič'an-tik
 160. kerem k-uʔn-tik
 161. k-ihč'in-ab + kerem-etik
 162. s-(h)oy + yašben
 163. s-ma + ʔalib
 164. s-meʔl + neal
 165. s-meʔ + s-tat
 166. s-muk'ul + meʔ
 167. s-muk'ul + me(ʔ)-ik
 168. š-č'in + tataʔ
 169. š-č'in + winkilel
 170. š-č'in + y al-ik

¹ Apparently in the absence of a repeated instance of the bracketing suffix, the *generic* form is appropriate (cf. example 139. below).

171. š-č'in + y-untik.il
172. š-kučbil + ʔalal
173. y-al + š-nič'an-ik
174. y-anč + nič'an
175. č'ul ʔahénte
176. don robérto
177. h.nuš ʔalal
178. h.tul ʔanč
179. h.tul bankil.al
180. h.tul kerem
181. ma gonzal
182. ma karpintera
183. ma kerem
184. ma kerem-etik
185. ma kristyan (o) -etik
186. ma tatik
187. ma ʔuntik
188. ma winik
189. mamal kerem
190. meʔl ʔáč'is
191. meʔl ʔanč
192. meʔl porpílya
193. meʔl šin (1) an
194. nanaʔ seberyane
195. nínya margaríta
196. ʔoktor péyro
197. ʔoš.tul ʔanč-etik
198. senyor ʔahénte
199. senyor hwes
200. soltéra kerem
201. tat ʔahénte
202. tataʔ tabyan
203. tatik ʔahénte
204. tatik ʔalkal
205. tatik gobyérno
206. tatik hwes
207. tatik presidénte
208. tatik sekretáryo
209. tatik síntiku
210. tatik tabyan

211. te ʔač'iš
212. te ʔahwal.il
213. te ʔalal
214. te ʔanɛ
215. te h-meʔ-tik
216. te hwes-etik
217. te hwes.il
218. te h.ʔul
219. te president.il
220. te winik
221. ma čiko himénes
222. presidénte + munisipal ta kabeséra
223. tat lusyáno ʔagilar
224. tatik ʔahénte + munisipal
225. tatik hwes + munisipal
226. tatik kwérpo + munisipal
227. tatik presidénte + munisipal
228. ʔa-hoy ta ʔaʔtel
229. ʔa-hoy ta yakbel
230. ʔanima h-kumre
231. ʔanima k-inam
232. ʔa-tataʔ tabyan
233. hal h-wiš
234. h-kumpre bisenti
235. h-kumpre sekretáryo
236. h-ma kumpre
237. h-ma tat
238. h-meʔl ʔihɛ'in
239. h.tul h-bankil
240. h-wiš ʔalbérta
241. s-hoy ta ʔaʔtel
242. s-ma šiʔlel
243. s-ma winik.ul
244. s-meʔl ʔinam
245. s-meʔl
246. s-meʔl nana (ʔ) ik
247. te ʔa-kumpagre
248. te ʔa-mamilal
249. te ʔa-nič'an
250. te ʔaw-ermano

251. te h-bankil
252. te h-me[?]bal
253. te h-niç'an-tik
254. te k-ah.gobierno-tik
255. te k-ah.sekretáryo
256. te s-me[?]
257. te y-ihç'in
258. te y-inam
259. te y-untik.il
260. yan k-untik.il
261. h-ma muk'ul + kumpre
262. te [?]anima h-me[?]-tik
263. te h-me[?]-tik + h-tat-(t) ik
264. te s-ma + neal
265. don manuel kasteyáni
266. ma don manwel
267. ma tatik albíne
268. ma tatik winik
269. ma tata[?] péyro
270. mamal don alhántra
271. prinsepal li[?] ta tehklum
272. tata[?] [?]alkáryo [?]entis
273. wiš hwana ramíres
274. te senyor [?]ahénte
275. te senyor hwes
276. k-ihç'in [?]alhántri
277. [?]anima [?]a-ma kumpre
278. [?]a-tata[?] nun ta [?]alan
279. h-kumpre nun ta šohlehe
280. h-ma kumpre karalámpyo
281. h-neal nun ta [?]ahk'ol
282. h-nana[?] li[?] ta[?]alan
283. bankil lutéryo nun ta ahk'ol
284. tatik tabyano nun ta hehč
285. s-me[?] alal
286. s-me[?] porpílyi
287. s.tat hwan
288. s-tat tehklum
289. s-winklel na
290. s-winklel pan

291. y-ahwal tyénde
292. y-ihé'in karelámpyo
293. y-inam marséli
294. tat.il y-uʔn kerem-etik
295. tat.il y-uʔn tehklum
296. ʔač'iš y-uʔn ʔantres
297. č'in + ʔač'iš y-uʔn-ik natabida ²
298. č'in + kerem y-uʔn ʔač'iš k-uʔn
299. s-(h) oy s-magrina
300. y-inam h-ma tat
301. s-meʔ hal porpilye
302. s-meʔ + s-tat te kerem
303. s-meʔ + s-tat te ʔanč
304. s-meʔ ʔalal ʔaw-uʔn
305. ma s-tat línti
306. h.tul š-nič'an s-kerem
307. ʔač'iš y-uʔn h-kumpre nun
308. Ø ³ y-uʔn h-kumpre nun
309. meʔl wiš petróna méntes
310. te č'am ma tatik hose gómes
311. ma tatik h.čiko h.gómes
312. ma don hasínto ramíres
313. y-inam ma péyro
314. ʔanima k-ihé'in selestíno
315. h-kumpre péyro hwáres
316. š-wiš meʔl hwána
317. meʔl h.loʔliwaneh šinlan
318. (h-) hoy-tik siril hwáres
319. me tatik péyro hwáres
320. č'in + ʔač'iš naštak y-uʔn h-kumpre
321. tatik sítiku nun ta alan
322. tat s-tat čus
323. tat s-tat hwan
324. s-tat hwána liʔ ta pat na
325. ma s-tat hwan číko
326. ʔan (i) ma s-tat hwan
327. s-meʔčus nati
328. ma tat s-tat sirílo

² Note the use of husband's name as a cover for the possessing family.

³ Cf. Example 307 above and see f.n. to the final example.

329. s-tat hwan ʔalkáryo
 330. s-meʔ hwan mariya
 331. hal š-nič'an hwan himénes
 332. nan s-meʔ ʔawrelyána
 333. meʔl meʔ ɕ⁴-meʔ h.pini
 334. don marselína rodríges nun ta hehč
 335. ma tatik ʔawstin ramíres nun ta ahk'ol
 336. h-kumre s-meʔ čabela
 337. ʔa-kumpre s-tat porpílyo
 338. h-kumpre-tik s-tat ʔanton
 339. ʔa-nan s-meʔ péyro
 340. h-bank s-tat hwan
 341. k-al s-tat pelsyána
 342. h.kresen y-uʔn s-tat ɕus⁵
 343. ʔan (i) ma s-tat hwan lutéryo
 344. (h-) hoy-tik s-tat hwan nun
 345. h-kumpre s-tat hwan liʔ
 346. h-ma kumpre s-tat čen
 347. h-kumpre s-tat kant (e) lárya nun ta ʔahk'ol
 348. tat s-tat hwan pitásyo
 349. nan s-meʔ hwan sépa
 350. h-kumpre s-tat migel danyél
 351. s-neal ma-tatik hose gómes
 352. ma tat s-tat čus kaytáno
 353. y-inam tat s-tat péyro lutéryo
 354. š.č'in + kerem bankil s-tat péyro lutéryo
 355. s-ma bankil-ik liʔ ta ʔalan (⊕) s-tat čiko péyro
 356. š.č'in + y-anɕ.il + al (⊕) ʔil h-kumre nun
 357. wiš maría (⊕) y-inam šiʔlel ʔamádo hiron
 358. luísa hwáres (⊕) hal y-ihɕ'in lutéryo
 359. y-inam ma peyri (⊕) hwána
 360. ʔanima h-bankil (⊕) hate ʔan (i) ma siril
 361. pilaména y-uʔn h-kumpre hwan méntes
 362. h.tul Ø⁶ y-uʔn tat s-tat kwan nun ta ʔalan

⁴ A rare alternant of 1st sg. prefix, /č/~/s-/ after /ʔ/.

⁵ See 3.5, on possession of N.

⁶ We posit a "zero" representing a Pkin 1 term, since the referent is another child of the "father of Juan", the use of the syntactic alternative alone being sufficient to indicate the referent is of generation -1.

Appendix II: Alphabetical Checklist of Forms Cited.

Shown here are all forms cited in the text and in the examples of Appendix I. The following modifications of normal alphabetizing are used: ç / $\text{ç}'$ č / $\text{č}'$ follow /b/ in that order; /p'/ after /p/, /t'/ after /t/, /k'/ after /k/ (i.e., glottalized stops regularly after their unglottalized counterparts), and /š/ after /s/. /ʔ/ is ignored in alphabetizing.

Stems which can occur possessed are shown only once rather than showing all forms of the possessed paradigm. For a list of the possessive affixes which must be ignored in looking for a form in the checklist, see 2.2.3.

Modifier compounds are listed in alphabetical order *under the head*. Thus /č'in + k'oš + kerem/ will be found under the head, namely /kerem/, while the modifiers /č'in/ and /k'oš/ are separately listed and identified as such.

A note on plurals. Unpossessed finite forms and generics form plurals in /-etik/ while the possessed forms of the classes we have labeled P here form plurals in /-(a)tak/ with the following exceptions which form possessed plurals in /-ab/.

-nič'an	child (m.c.i.)
-ʔhč'in	younger sibling
-hawan	sister-in-law (f.c.i.)

The following abbreviations are employed to indicate class membership:

(gen.)	: generic
M	: modifier
M (A2.1)	: (and other M succeeded by parentheses). modifier of the position class indicated — see 2.1.
Mcompd.	: compounding modifier
M1 1	: locative modifier of first position
M1 2	: locative modifier of 2nd position
M post/compd.	: compounding post-head modifier
M/U	: member of the class M/U (3.3)
n.	: <i>apellido</i> ("last" name)

Nf.	:	Name (Christian), female
Nm	:	Name (Christian), male
Nm/f	:	Name (Christian) appropriate to both male and female
Pa	:	(possessed) affinal kin
Pcom.	:	<i>compadrazgo</i> term
Phoy	:	possessed, of the class <i>hoy</i> (3.2.4)
Pkin-2	:	possessed kin term of -2 generation
Pkin-1	:	possessed kin term of generation -1
Pkin-0	:	possessed kin term of the same generation
Pkin + 1	:	possessed kin term of + 1 generation
Pkin + 2	:	possessed kin term of + 2 generation
P (Td)	:	possessed noun occurring in T only with Ud
U	:	unpossessed noun
U [?] a [?] tel	:	unpossessed, of the class <i>?</i> a [?] tel
Ud	:	"defective U"
U (gen)	:	unpossessed generic

Definition or discussion of the forms or the classes to which they belong are indicated by the numbers in the third column.

ʔabran	Nm		
-ʔač'iš	Pkin-1	2.2.3	daughter
.č'in + ʔač'iš	Pkin-1	3.2.1	little daughter
		(Table	
ʔač'iš	U-1	3.4.1	girl, daughter
č'in + ʔač'iš	U-1	3.4.1	little girl, daughter
		(cf. Table	
č'in + k'oš + ʔač'iš	U-1	3.4.1	little new-born girl/
		(cf. Table	daughter
-ʔač'iš	Pa	3.2.2	wife (young)
(h.) ʔahénte	<i>see</i> (h.)		
presidente			
(h.) ʔahénte + mu-	<i>see</i> presidente municipal		
nisipal			
suplénte + ʔahénte	<i>see</i> ba + rehimála		
ʔahk'ol	M1 2	2.1	above
-ʔahwal	P (Td)	3.2.4	owner; master
ʔahwalil	U (gen.)	3.4.2	master; owner (ge-
			neric)

ʔakilar	n		
ʔaklan <i>see</i> ʔakilar			
-ʔal	Pkin-1	3.2.1	child (f.c.i.)
-ʔançil + ʔal	Pkin-1	3.2.1	female child (f.c.i.)
		(Table	
-č'in + ʔal	Pkin-1	3.2.1	little child (f.c.i.)
		(Table	
-č'in + ʔançil + al	Pkin-1	3.2.1	little female child
		(Table	(f.c.i.)
-ʔal + nič'an	Pkin-1	2.3.1	child (ren) (m/f.c.i.)
-ʔal + snaryos	Pcom.	3.2.3	God-child (f.c.i.)
			(cf. tat snaryos
-ʔalal	Pkin-1	3.2.1	infant
ʔalal	U-1	3.4.1	
-č'in + ʔalal	Pkin-1	3.2.1	little babe
		(Table	
č'in + ba + ʔalal	U-1	3.4.1	little first-born
		(cf. Table	infant
č'in + k'oš + ʔalal	U-1	3.4.1	little new-born
		(cf. Table	infant
-kuč'bil + ʔalal	Pkin-1	3.2.1	babe-in-arms
		(Table	
ʔalan	M1 2	2.1	below
ʔalbéta	Nf		
ʔalbéto	nM		
ʔalhántra	Nm		
ʔalib	Pa	3.2.2	daughter-in-law
ʔalkal (de) <i>see</i> hwes			
ʔalkáryo	Nm		
ʔamádo	Nm		
-ʔamígo	Phoy	3.2.4	friend
ʔamprosyo	Nm		
ʔanç	U	3.4.2	wife; woman
-č'in + ʔanç	Pa	3.2.2	wife (young)
ʔanç.il	M compd	2.1	female (of children)
		(Table	
-ʔanç (a) lel <i>see</i> -ʔinam			
ʔan (i) ma	M	2.2	dead, the late
ʔanton <i>see</i> ʔantónyo			

ʔantónyo	Nm		
ʔantre <i>see</i> ʔantres			
antres	Nm		
ʔasunsyon	Nf		
ʔaʔtel <i>see</i> taʔ aʔtel			work
ʔawktorída	Uʔaʔtel	4.3	(civil) authorities (/h.ʔaʔtel-etik ta kabilto/)
ʔawktorída + ʔentránte	Uʔaʔtel	4.3	new authorities
ʔawktorída + salyénte	Uʔaʔtel	4.3	retiring authorities
ʔawrelyána	Nf		
ʔawstin	Nm		
ba	Mcompd.	2.1	first
		(Table	
bal	Pa.	3.2.2	brother-in-law (m.c.i.)
-bank <i>see</i> -bankil			
-bankil	Pkin-0	3.2.1	older brother (m.c.i.)
bankil	M/U	3.3	
bankil-al	U-O (gen.)	3.4.1	older brother (m.c.i.) (generic)
baskes <i>see</i> waskis			
besino	U	3.4.2	neighbor
-besino <i>see</i> -nahpal + nočol			
bisénti	Nm		
čabéla	Nf		
čam	M (A2.1)	2.1	dead, the late
čaʔtul	M (B1-2.3)	2.1	numerator
čen <i>see</i> čenčo			
čenčo	Nm		
čfka	Nf		
čfko	Nm		
čohwer	U	3.4.2	driver
čus	Nm/f		
č'in	Mcompd.	2.1	little, 'diminutive'
		(Table	
č'ul	M (C1-3.1)	2.1	sacred, holy

danyel	Nm		
delfina	Nf		
dentista <i>see</i> doktor + dentista			
doktor	U	3.4.2	doctor
doktor + dentista	U	3.4.2	dentist
doktor kaš (1) an	U	3.4.2	<i>ladino</i> doctor
don (ya)	M (C1-3.6)	2.1	mister/ (Mrs.)
ʔenemigo	Phoy	3.4.2	enemy
ʔentis	n.		
ʔentrante	Mpost/cmpd.	2.1	<i>see</i> -ʔawktoridad
ʔermano	Pkin-0	3.2.1	brother; older brother
ʔermanito	Pkin-0	3.2.1	younger brother
ʔermelinto	Nm		
ʔernántes <i>see</i> ʔentis			
ʔernantes <i>see</i> ʔentis			
ʔespinósa	n.		
ʔešpinoša <i>see</i> ʔespinosa			
fidénsya	Nf.		
fransísko <i>see</i> čiko			
g (i) yérmo	Nm		
(h.) gobyérno	U	3.4.2	governor
gómes	n.		
h. <i>see</i> (h.) - forms listed under 2nd consonant			
haʔ	M (A1.3)	2.1	'demonstrative'
h.ʔak'poš <i>see</i> ʔh.ʔul			
hal	M (B1-2.5)	2.1	'demonstrative'
halʔil	M (B1-2.6)	2.1	'demonstrative'
hate	M (A1.2)	2.1	'demonstrative'
h.ʔaʔtel	Uʔaʔtel	3.4.2	one who works, serves
h.ʔaʔtel-etik	Uʔaʔtel	3.4.2	workers; authorities
hawan	Pa	3.2.2	sister-in-law (f.c.i.)
hefe + de + kwartel <i>see</i> ba + mayor			
hehč	M1 2	2.1	the other side
himénes	n.		

hiron	n.		
h.kananlum	U	3.4.2	overseer of land (loosely, a forest ranger)
h.lo [?] liwaneh	U	3.4.2	teller of lies
h.nuš	M (B1-2.4)	2.1	'numerator'
hose	Nm		
hosépa	Nf		
hoy	Phoy	3.2.4	companion
hoy + yašben	Phoy	3.2.4	traveling companion
h.poštawan (eh) <i>see</i> [?] h [?] ul			
h.tul	M (B1-2.1)	2.1	'numerator'
h.tul šan	M (B1-2.2)	2.1	'numerator' (1 other)
h.tul-lumal	U	3.4.2	one of the pueblo
h. [?] ul	U	3.4.2	curer, <i>curandero</i>
hwan	Nm		
hwána	Nf		
hwáres	n.		
hwes	U [?] a [?] tel	4.3	judge; first judge
ščebal + hwes	U [?] a [?] tel	4.3	second judge
suplén [?] te + hwes <i>see</i> ščebal + hwes			
hwes.il	U [?] a [?] tel (gen)	4.3	judge (generic)
ʔignásyo	Nm		
-ʔihada	Pcom.	3.2.3	God-child
-ihč'in	Pkin-0	3.2.1	younger sibling
'ihč'in-al	U-0 (gen.)	3.4.1	younger sibling (generic)
ʔil	M (B1-2.7)	2.1	'demonstrative'
ʔil	(see /-ʔil + ʔal/ and /-ʔil + nič'an/)		
-č'in + ʔil + ʔal	Pkin-2 (cf. Table	3.2.1	little grandchild (f.c.i.)
ʔil + al	Pkin-2	3.2.1	grandchild (f.c.i.)
-ʔil + nič'an	Pkin-2	3.2.1	grandchild (m.c.i.)
-ʔinam	Pa	3.2.2	wife
kabesera	Ml 2	2.1	administrative
kant (e) lárya	Nf		center

kant (e) láryo	Nm		
karalámpyo	Nm		
kárlos	Nm		
karpintera	U	3.4.2	carpenter
kastiyáno	n.		
(h.) kaš (l) an	U.	3.4.2	ladinos; ladino (man)
kaš (l) an	Mpost	2.1	Ladino
(h.) kaš (l) an-etik	U	3.4.3	ladinos
katlin	Nf		
kaytáno	Nm		
-kerem	Pkin-1	3.2.1	son
-č'in + kerem	Pkin-1	3.2.1	little son
		(Table	
-č'in + koš + kerem	Pkin-1	3.2.1	little new-born son
		(Table	
-kerem	U-1	3.4.1	boy, young man
kláwdyo	Nm		
-kontra <i>see</i> -ɔenemigo			
kresen <i>see</i> kresénsyo			
kresénsyo	Nm		
krinsepal <i>see</i> prinsepal			
kristyano	U	3.4.2	person; human being
kristyano-etik	U	3.4.2	people
kučbil	Mcompd.	2.1	carried (in the arms)
		(Table	
-kumagre <i>see</i> -kumre			
-kumpagre <i>see</i> -kumpre			
-kumpre	Pcom.	3.2.3	<i>compadre</i>
-kumre	Pcom.	3.2.3	<i>comadre</i>
kwerpo + municipal	(h.ɔaɔtel-etik ta-kabilto)		
k'oš	Mcompd.	2.1	recent
		(Table	
k'uleh	U	3.4.2	one who is rich (a <i>ladino</i>)
liɔ	MI 1	2.1	here
línto <i>see</i> ɔermelínto			
lópez <i>see</i> lopis			

lopis	n.		
lotrígés	n.		
luísa	Nf		
lusiya	Nf		
Lúsyo	Nm		
lusyáno	Nm		
lutéryo	Nm		
ma	M (A3.1)		old, mature
ma	Mcompd.		+ 1 generation affinal kin male'
ma + ʔalib	Pa	3.2.2	father-in-law (f.c.i.)
ma + neal	Pa	3.2.2	father-in-law (m.c.i.)
-magrina see -meʔ snaryos			
mamal	M (cl-3.8)	2.1	old (male referent)
-mamílal	Pa	3.2.2	husband
manwel	Nm		
margaríta	Nf		
mari see mariya			
-marido see -mamílal			
mariya	Nf		
marselína	Nf		
martin see martines			
martínes see martines			
martines	n.		
maryáno	Nm		
mastri	U	3.4.2	teacher
matasta (ma (m), tat (M.U), stat (Pa))			
(h.) mayor	Uʔaʔtel.	4.3	police (man)
ba + mayor	Uʔaʔtel.	4.3	policeman; chief jailer
-meʔ	Pkin + 1	3.2.1	mother
-muk'ul + meʔ	Pkin + 2	3.2.1	grandmother
meʔ	M/U	3.3	
-meʔ + snaryos	Pcom.	3.2.3	God-mother (cf. tat-snaryos/)
-meʔ + tat	Pkin + 1	2.2.3	parents
-meʔbal	Phoy		

meʔi	M (A3.2)	2.1	old, mature ward
meʔ	Mcompd.	2.1	+ 1 generation affinal kin, female'
-meʔl + ʔalib	Pa	3.2.2	mother-in-law (f.c.i.)
-meʔl + neal	Pa	3.2.2	mother-in-law (m.c.i.)
méntes	n.		
méro/a	M (A2.3)	2.1	legitimate
merséla	Nm		
meʔtik	M/U	3.3	respected female elder
-meʔtik + tatik	P	3.2.1; 3.3	elders, ancestors, <i>principales</i>
-meʔtik + tatik	U	3.3	elders, ancestors, <i>principales</i>
migel	Nm		
ʔmuʔ	Pa	3.2.2	cross-sex sibling- in-law
muk'ul	Mcompd	2.1	big, elder
munisipal	Mpost/cmpd	2.1	of the <i>municipio</i>
na	Ud	2.2.1	house
náčo <i>see</i> ʔignásyo			
nahpal + nočol	Phoy	3.2.4	neighbors
nan	Pkin	3.2.1	aunt (?)
nan	M/U	3.3	
-nanaʔ	Pkin + 1	3.2.1	aunt; mother
nanaʔ	M/U	3.3	
naštak	Mpost	2.1	only
natabída	Nf/m		
náti <i>see</i> natabída			
-neal	Pa	3.2.2	son-in-law
nek	M (Cl-3.5)	2.1	big
-nič'an	Pkin-l	3.2.1	child (m.c.i.)
-ʔanɛ + nič'an	Pkin-l	3.2.1	female child (m.c.i.)
	(Table)		
-nič'an + snaryos	Pcom.	3.2.3	God-child (m.c.i.)
nič' snaryos			(cf./tat + snaryos/)

-nič'an + te snaryos	<i>see</i> nič an + snaryos		
-nič'an + tyos	<i>see</i> nič'an + snaryos		
ninya	M (Cl-3.7)	2.1	miss
nikalása	Nf		
nun	Ml 1	2.1	there
(h.) ðoktor	<i>see</i> doktor		
ðoš.tul	M (Bl-2.1)	2.1	'numerator (3)'
pagrino	<i>see</i> -tat + snaryos		
pan	Ud	2.2.2	bread, rolls
pat na	Ml 2	2.1	behind the house
patil	Mcompd	2.1	last, latest
		(Table	
páwlo	Nm		
pelis	Nm		
pelsyána	Nf		
péres	<i>see</i> peres		
peres	n.		
persona	<i>see</i> kristyano		
petróna	Nf		
péyro	Nm		
pilména	Nf		
pina	<i>see</i> delfina		
pitásyo	Nm		
pobre	U	3.4.2	one who is poor (an Indian)
(h.) polesiya	<i>see</i> (h.) mayor		
porpílya	Nf		
porpílyo	Nm		
(h.) presidente	U ² a ² tel	4.3	president
(h.) presidente + mu-	U ² a ² tel	4.3	president (of the
nisipal			municipio)
suplente + presidente	<i>see</i> ba + rehimála		
(h.) presirente	<i>see</i> (h.) presidente		
(h.) prinsepal	U	3.4.2	(respected) elder
pura	M (Bl-2.8)	2.1	entirely, simply
ramfres	n.		
(h.) rehidor	U ² a ² tel	4.3	regidor
(h.) rehimala	U ² a ² tel	4.3	rehimal

ba + rehimala	U [?] a [?] tel		1 st <i>rehimal</i> , vice-president
šĉebal-rehimála	U [?] a [?] tel	4.3	2 nd <i>rehimal</i>
rodríges <i>see</i> lotrígés			
salyénte	Mpost/cmpd	2.1	<i>see</i> [?] awktoridad
sebstyán	Nm		
(h.) sekretáryo	U [?] a [?] tel	4.3	secretary
selestíno	Nm		
senyor	M (Cl-3.2)	2.1	mister
sépa <i>see</i> hosépa			
(h.) sítiko <i>see</i> (h.) sítiku			
(h.) sítiku	U [?] a [?] tel	4.3	<i>sindicato</i>
sióna <i>see</i> [?] asunsyon			
siril <i>see</i> sirílo			
sirílo	Nm		
soltéra	M (Cl-3.4)	2.1	unmarried
suplénte	U [?] a [?] tel	4.3	vice-president
-ši (ʔ) lel	Pkin-O	3.2.1	older brother (f.c.i.)
ši (ʔ) lel	M/U	3.3	
ši (ʔ) lel-al	U-O (gen.)	3.4.1	older brother (f.c.i.) (generic)
ĉ'in + ši (ʔ) lel-al	U-O (gen.)	3.4.1	little older brother (f.c.i.) (generic) (cf. /ĉ'in/)
(h.) šin (l) an	U	3.4.2	<i>ladina</i>
šin (l) an	Mpost	2.1	<i>Ladina</i>
(h.) šin (l) an-etik	U	3.4.2	<i>ladina</i>
šohleh	Ml 2	2.1	corner
ta [?] a [?] tel	Mp	3.2.4	working, at work
ta yakbel	Mp	3.2.4	drinking, getting drunk
tabyan	Nm		
-tat	Pkin + 1	3.2.1	father
ta (t)	M/U	3.3	
-muk'-ul + tat	Pkin + 2	3.2.1	grand-father
-tat + snaryos	Pcomp.2	3.2.3	God-father (/tat/ father /s-/3rd sg./ na/house /-ryos/ God; saint)

-tata [?]	Pkin	3.2.1	uncle; father
-ē'in + tata [?]	Pkin 0/+ 1	3.2.1	much older brother or young 'uncle'
tata [?]	M/U	3.3	
-tat.il	P (Td)	3.2.4	<i>prinsipal</i> ; father (generic)
tatik	M/U	3.3	respected male elder
te	M (Al.1)	2.1	'demonstrative'
tehklum	Ml 2	2.1	<i>pueblo</i> , town
tehklum	Ud	2.2.2	<i>pueblo</i> , town
-tohbilal	Phoy	3.2.4	employee
toya	Nf		
toyita <i>see</i> toya			
tyenda/e	Ud	2.2.2	store
-ʔuʔn	syntactic alternative to possessive affixes, <i>see</i> 2.2.3		
ʔuntik	U-1 (gen.)	3.4.1	child (ren)
ē'in + patil + ʔuntik	U-1 (gen.)	3.4.1	little new-born child (ren)
	(cf. Table		
ē'in + ʔuntik	U-1 (gen.)	3.4.1	small child (ren)
	(cf. Table		
-ʔuntik.il	Pkin-1	3.2.1	child (ren)
-ē'in + ʔuntik.il	Pkin-1	3.2.1	little child (ren)
	(Table		
ʔurbano	Nm		
waskis	n.		
winik	U	3.4.2	man
winik.il <i>see</i> mamilal			
winik.ul <i>see</i> mamilal			
wink (i) lel	P (Td)	3.2.4	master, owner
ē'in + wink (i) lel	P (Td)	3.2.4	little master
-wiš	Pkin-O	3.2.1	older sister
wiš	M/U	3.3	
wol	Nm		
yakbel <i>see</i> ta yakbel			drinking, drunk- getting
yan	M (Cl-3.3)	2.1	other, different
yašben <i>see</i> hoy + yašben	Mpost/cmpd.		