

Control and Command in Tzotzil Purpose Clauses

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Control and Command in Tzotzil Purpose Clauses  
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1. Introduction Tzotzil has a 'motion-cum-purpose' construction exemplified below:[1]

- (1) Ch-ba s-man chitom li Xune.  
 icp-GO A3-BUY PIG THE JUAN  
 'Juan will go buy pigs.'
- (2) La7 k'el-o.  
 COME LOOK-imp  
 'Come look at it.'

In this construction (henceforth simply 'purpose' construction) a verb of motion (e.g. ba in (1)) is followed by what appears to be a clause (e.g. sman chitom li Xune). We will say that the verb of motion com-bines with this clause without implying for the moment any particular syntactic analysis. The syntax of this construction is discussed in section 3. Problematic is the fact that the verb of motion cannot cross-reference the person or number of its (semantic) argument. We argue below that this verb has no free syntactic subject and that its argument is controlled by the AGENT of the clause that follows, i.e. the reference of the argument of the verb of motion is determined by the reference of the AGENT in the clause it combines with. By 'free' subject, we mean one which can be realized in surface structure by a full nominal and one whose reference is determined by discourse, not controlled. Depending on what syntactic analysis is assumed, this may entail a violation of the condition that PRO not (asymmetrically) command its antecedent.

Tzotzil is a predicate-initial, subject-final language, see (1) above. The predicate obligatorily cross-references the person (and in some cases the number) of its final subject and, if there is one, its final direct object. Tzotzil is an ergative language: one set of affixes (Set B) cross-references final intransitive subjects and direct objects; a distinct set (Set A) cross-references final transitive subjects. Set B affixes are glossed "B1, B2" (Set B, first person, etc); Set A affixes are glossed "A1, A2, A3" (Set A, first person, etc.). Pronominal arguments generally do not occur in surface structure, see (2).

We start with (1)-(2) because they can be translated by the semantically similar English construction GO/COME/RUN + VERB. The English construction is restricted in several ways (Carden and Pesetsky 1977): the first verb must be one of the three listed above, the second verb is not preceded by to, and

neither verb may be inflected (\*He went get/got it ).

The Tzotzil construction is peculiar in none of these ways. The verb of motion (henceforth V1) may be selected from a class of about twelve intransitive verbs of motion, including:[2]

(3)	tal	'come'	la7	'come' (imp)
	ba	'go' (<bat)	7a(y)	'went' (<7ay)
	7ech'	'pass by'	yul	'return home'
	k'ot	'arrive'	kom	'remain'

Like other verbs, V1 may occur in the indicative, subjunctive, or imperative modes. If indicative, V1 is inflected for one of three aspects: incomplete, complete,[3] or perfect. The second verb (V2), on the other hand, does not inflect for aspect. This is because V2 occurs in the so-called 'subjunctive' mode which distinguishes no aspects. In the case of transitive stems, the subjunctive consists simply of the stem. This is illustrated by (1)-(2) above. The subjunctive of intransitive stems is formed by suffixing -ik (-uk word-finally) to the stem. The (a) sentences which follow are examples of the purpose construction; V2 is in the subjunctive. The (b) sentences are simple clauses; the verb is in the indicative.[4]

- (4)a. Tal nak[all-uk li krixchano. [0 155]  
 CAME LIVE-subj THE PEOPLE  
 'The people came to live [there].'  
 b. Te nakal li krixchano.  
 THERE LIVE THE PEOPLE  
 'The people live there.'
- (5)a. Tal 7elk'aj-uk ta Muk'ta Jok'. [0 129]  
 CAME STEAL-subj at Muk'ta Jok'.  
 'They came to steal at Muk'ta Jok'.  
 b. Ch-7elk'aj.  
 'They're going to steal.'
- (6)a. Tal chonolaj-ik-on.  
 CAME TRADE-subj-B1  
 'I came to trade.'  
 b. L-i-chonolaj.  
 cp-B1-TRADE  
 'I traded.'

What is peculiar about this purpose construction is that V1 cannot cross-reference the person or number of its understood argument. In general, a verb which bears no agreement affixes is necessarily interpreted as intransitive and as having a third person subject. This is because only third person absolutes cross-reference with  $\emptyset$ :

- (7) X-tal.  
 'He/she/it/they come.'

If tal is to be interpreted as having a second person plural argument it must bear overt agreement affixes (here the B2 prefix and 2pl suffix):

- (8) X-a-tal-ik.  
 nt-B2-COME-2pl  
 'You (all) come.'

But despite the lack of overt affixes, V1 in the purpose construction can be interpreted with a second person plural argument:

- (9) X-tal 7a-tek'-ik-on. [0 145]  
 nt-COME A2-STEP-2pl-B1  
 'You (all) will come and step on me.'

Similarly, ba in (10a) is understood to have a first person plural argument, despite the absence of the affixes which are otherwise required for such an interpretation (B1 and lplexc in (10c)):

- (10)a. Ba j-ta-tikotik j7ilol. [W]  
 WENT A1-FIND-lplexc SHAMAN  
 'We went to find a shaman.'  
 b. Bat.  
 'He/she/it/they went.'  
 c. L-i-bat-otikotik.  
 cp-B1-GO-lplexc  
 'We went.'

It is clear enough why we get these interpretations despite the lack of morphology: the argument of V1 is necessarily coreferential with the subject of V2 and V2 does cross-reference its subject (by A2 and 2pl in (9) and A1 and lplexc in 10a)). However, the failure of V1 to cross-reference its argument still requires an explanation, and it is to this problem that we now turn.

2. Control We will assume that predicates always cross-reference their final subjects and direct objects (and further that they only cross-reference their final subjects and direct objects). This means that V2 governs a final subject and, when transitive, a final direct object as well. On the other hand, the failure of V1 to cross-reference its (semantic) argument is a syntactic problem only if V1 has a final subject whose syntactic person and number match those of its argument. The absence of agreement suggests then that V1 has no syntactic subject (or at least not one with

any syntactic features). Several other facts support this claim.

2.1. -at Passives In the examples cited above, V1 combines with an active clause. But it can also combine with a passive clause. Passive clauses take two forms in this construction; we deal with the less frequent type first. (11) is an example of a passive clause:

- (11) L-i-7ak'-b-at jmoton y-u7un kamikotak.  
cp-B1-GIVE-io-pass MY-PRESENT A3-BY MY FRIENDS  
'I was given my present by my friends.'

'I' is initial indirect object; it advances to direct object and then to subject. The verbal affix -b marks the advancement of indirect object to direct object, and -at marks the advancement to subject, i.e. passive. The passive agent functions syntactically as possessor of the noun stem -u7un. The function of -u7un here is simply to present the agent in passive sentences. The possessor is cross-referenced on -u7un by set A affixes.[5]

The result of combining (11) with a verb of motion is (12). Because V2 is passive, it is intransitive, and therefore suffixed with the subjunctive suffix -ik:

- (12) 7ech' 7ak'-b-at-ik-on jmoton  
PASS GIVE-io-pass-subj-B1 MY PRESENT  
y-u7un kamikotak.  
A3-BY MY FRIENDS  
'My friends passed by to give me my present.'

What is crucial here is that the argument of 7ech' (V1) is coreferential with the passive agent.[6] Furthermore, this nominal has the form appropriate for passive agents (possessor of -u7un), not the form appropriate for subject of V1 (a bare nominal). This nominal can only have the form appropriate to passive agents. (13) is ungrammatical because the argument of 7ech' is named by a bare nominal:

- (13) \*7ech' 7ak'-b-at-ik-on jmoton kamikotak.  
PASS GIVE-io-pass-subj-B1 MY PRESENT MY FRIENDS  
('My friends passed by to give me my present.')

Presumably kamikotak 'my friends' has the form appropriate to a passive agent because it is a passive agent, hence a syntactic dependent of V2, not V1. The impossibility of (13) is most straightforwardly explained if V1 has no free subject: it either has no subject or its subject is PRO, controlled by the AGENT

of V2. Since PRO has no syntactic features, it will not cross-reference on the predicate.

**2.2. -el Passives** The passive clause with which V1 combines may take a second form. This construction is more common than the one exemplified by (12): all speakers accept it, and the argument of V1 can only be interpreted as coreferential with the passive agent (see fn. 6). In this case, -el is suffixed to V2. It is plausible to think that -el conflates whatever is expressed by the passive and subjunctive suffixes, for neither suffix cooccurs with -el. [7] Because the complement predicate is intransitive, the derived subject is cross-referenced by set B affixes (e.g. B2 in (14)). The agent phrase is expressed as above, as possessor of -u7un: [8]

- (14) 7a ti x-tal s-tzak-el-ot. [0 232]  
 IF nt-COME A3-ARREST-pass-B2  
 'If they come to arrest you.'
- (15) Tal s-k'el-el y-u7un taj solteroetik... [0 25]  
 CAME A3-LOOK-pass A3-BY THOSE SOLDIERS  
 'Those soldiers came to look at him.'
- (16) 7a y-ak'-b-el-on. [0 217]  
 WENT A3-GIVE-io-pass-B1  
 'They came to give it to me.'
- (17) 7ay s-pajes-el y-u7un li mayoletike.  
 WENT A3-STOP-pass A3-BY THE POLICE  
 'The police went to stop him.'

In (14), for example, 'you' is initial direct object of tzak 'arrest'; it advances to subject and as final subject it is cross-referenced by the B2 suffix. The AGENT in (14) is indefinite and therefore unexpressed. The derived subject of V2 in (15) is third person, 'him', hence it is not overtly cross-referenced. The initial subject, taj solteroetik 'the soldiers', has the form of a passive agent (possessor of -u7un). In all these examples, the argument of the verb of motion is necessarily coreferential with the agent of V2, expressed or not, and as noted, this is the only possible interpretation if V2 forms its passive with -el. As with the passive complements discussed earlier, when this individual is named, it must have the form appropriate to passive agents. (18)-(19) are ungrammatical because the AGENTS are expressed as bare nominals. This is the form we would expect if these nominals were subjects of V1.

- (18) \*Ch-tal s-tzak-el Xun li agenteetike.  
 icp-COME A3-GRAB-pass JUAN THE AGENTS  
 ('The agents came to arrest Juan.')

- (19) \*Ba s-sa7-el Xun li yajnil 7une.  
 WENT A3-SEEK-pass JUAN THE HIS-WIFE cls  
 ('Juan's wife went to look for him.')

solteroetik 'soldiers' in (15) and mayoletik 'police' in (17) are presumably expressed as passive agents because they are passive agents. Hence they are syntactic dependents of sk'e1e1 and spajesel (V2), not of tal and 7ay (V1). The ungrammaticality of (18)-(19) is explained straightforwardly if V1 has no free subject. It must either have no subject or its subject must be PRO, controlled by the AGENT of V2. Hence, the properties of this construction support the earlier conclusion: V1 does not have a free subject. If it did, it would be possible to express it overtly, and it is not.

2.3. 7ich Complements We consider now a third case in which the argument of V1 is controlled by the AGENT of the clause with which V1 combines. In this case, the clause in question is complex, headed by the verb 7ich which means 'get, receive' when it occurs without a complement. 7ich can also govern a complement clause, however, and when it does, the whole construction is semantically passive though syntactically active. The complement to 7ich is passive, and is formed by the suffix -el, which we have already discussed:

- (20) 7av-ich 7il-el. [0 287]  
 A2-GET SEE-pass  
 'You were seen.' (lit: 'You got seen.')

Although (20) is synonymous with a simple passive clause (e.g. with L-a-7il-at cp-B2-SEE-pass 'you were seen'), we assume that (20) is an initially complex structure in which the initial subject of 7ich is 'you'. 'you' is also understood to be initial direct object of 7il. Note that 7il cross-references no syntactic arguments. This is because the initial direct object of 7il is PRO, which is never cross-referenced. PRO advances to subject where it is controlled by the subject of 7ich. What we are claiming then is that 7ich takes a complement clause whose passive subject is necessarily controlled by the subject of 7ich. Although these complex structures are not syntactically passive, we will refer to them as 7ich passives.[9] Sentences like (20) entail an agent.[10]

A verb of motion can combine with an 7ich passive. As predicted, the argument of V1 is controlled by the AGENT of the 7ich passive. Consider first the following textual example, reproduced as (b) below,

with the text that precedes it given in (a):

- (21)a. There was a rabbit who came to steal fruit.  
 The owner of the fruit arrived. The rabbit  
 was caught and tied up.  
 The owner of the fruit said:  
 b. "70k'ob x-tal y-ich' mil-el." [0 66]  
 TOMMOROW nt-COME A3-GET KILL-pass  
 'Tomorrow I will come and kill it.'

In (21b), the verb of motion, x-tal 'come' combines with the 7ich' passive yich' milel 'it be killed'. The subject of yich' is a pronoun interpreted as referring to the rabbit. The argument of V1, however, is interpreted as coreferential with the AGENT of the 7ich' passive, namely, the speaker. Note that the AGENT is not overtly expressed in (21b) Indeed, it cannot be because first persons cannot be overt passive agents in Tzotzil. In (21b), the reference of the AGENT is determined pragmatically, but once determined, it determines the reference of the argument of V1.

Haviland (nd:244) cites a similar example:

- (22) Ch-7ech' av-ich' 7ik'-el.  
 icp-PASS A2-GET TAKE-pass  
 'Someone is going to pass by to get you.'

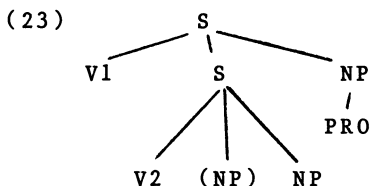
Here, the verb of motion 7ech' 'pass' combines with the 7ich' passive 'you be taken'. Again, the argument of V1 is interpreted as coreferential with the AGENT of the 7ich' passive, again unexpressed.

We have shown that the argument of V1 is controlled by the AGENT of the clause with which V1 combines, but we have not explicitly shown that the controller cannot be characterized syntactically. We can now do this. The controller can be characterized syntactically in examples (1-2), in the (a) sentences of (4-6), and in (9), (10a), (12), and (14-17) as INITIAL SUBJECT of V2. In all these cases, the AGENT of V2 is the initial subject of V2. However, in (21b) and (22), the initial subject of V2 is the PATIENT of the clause with which V1 combines, not the AGENT. Where the AGENT and INITIAL SUBJECT do not coincide, it is the AGENT which controls the argument of V1, not the INITIAL SUBJECT. We conclude then that the argument of V1 is controlled by the AGENT of the clause V1 combines with, not the INITIAL SUBJECT.

3. Three Analyses We assume now that V1 has no free subject. If it had one, we would have to explain why it does not cross-reference on V1 and why it cannot occur in surface structure. We now turn to the question of the syntactic relation between the verb of

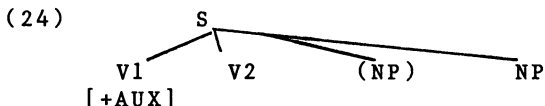
motion, V1, and the clause headed by V2. There are basically three possibilities.

3.1. Control Structure The first is that V1 heads a clause distinct from that headed by V2. Under this analysis, V1 presumably governs a PRO subject:



PRO is controlled by the AGENT in the complement. Passives like (14)-(17) and (12) would be the result of passivizing the complement clause. The main problem with this analysis is that PRO (asymmetrically) commands its controller, a configuration which is generally ruled out (see especially Bresnan 1982). This is so whether command is defined on constituent structure (as in transformational grammar, e.g. Chomsky 1981) or on functional structure (as in Lexical Functional Grammar, Bresnan 1982).[11]

3.2. Auxiliaries A second possibility is that V1 does not head a clause, but is an auxiliary in the clause headed by V2:



V2 must be stipulated as the head of S to explain why only V2, and not V1, cross-references the subject and direct object. Passives like (14)-(17) and (12) are derived simply by passivizing the structure in (24). This analysis does not entail violations of the command condition for the simple reason that V1 has no syntactic subject distinct from the subject of V2. It is still necessary, of course, to account for the fact that V1 has an argument whose interpretation is determined by the AGENT in S. Two facts noted earlier might lend mild support to this analysis, though they certainly do not force it. One is that two verbs which can function as V1 (ba 'go' and 7a 'went') are phonologically reduced (from bat and 7ay). The other is that completive aspect is systematically unmarked only with these verbs. On the other hand, although V1 lacks some properties of other main verbs (notably the government of a free subject), it governs V2 in the

sense that it determines its form as subjunctive. If the structure in (24), together with the stipulation that V2 heads S, entails that V1 is optional, then (24) is the wrong structure. For recall that passives formed by -el cannot head independent clauses: they occur only in complements (as in (20), (21b), footnote 9, ex. (a)), and under (24), with verbs of motion.

3.3. Clause Union A clause union analysis may also be possible. We have not had the opportunity to work out the details of such an approach, but hope to do so in a later paper. Under a clause union analysis, V1 and V2 would be predicates of separate clauses in initial structure, but co-predicates of a single clause in final structure. In a sense, clause union posits each of the structures posited by the approaches sketched above, but posits them at different levels. Once the two clauses are united, Passive is possible on the output of Clause Union, resulting in sentences like (12) and (14)-(17). With this approach, it may be possible both to posit a free subject for V1 in initial structure, and to avoid violations of the command condition. But this remains to be worked out.

4. Conclusion In Tzotzil, verbs of motion can combine with a clause in the subjunctive yielding a construction with the sense 'go somewhere to do something'. The verb of motion appears to be a full-fledged verb, inflecting for the various verbal aspects and, like some other verbs, governs a clause in the subjunctive. Although the verb of motion is predicated of an individual (the moving entity), in surface structure at least, the verb governs no free subject which names its argument. The agent of the subjunctive clause controls the argument of the verb of motion. It is fairly clear what the range of possible syntactic analyses is, but we have not argued for any one of them over the others. We have simply pointed out some of their consequences.

#### Footnotes

[1] I have profited from Haviland's (nd) discussion of this construction. Textual examples are cited by page from Laughlin 1975 (GTD), Laughlin 1977 (0), and Weathers 1950 (W). Examples cited without a source are from my fieldnotes and represent the judgments of several speakers from the municipality of Zinacantan, in the state of Chiapas, Mexico. x=[ʃ]; j=[h]; ʔ=[ʔ]; tz and ch represent alveolar and alveopalatal affricates; C' represents the glottalized counterpart of C. The abbreviations used in the glosses are the following: asp-aspect; cp-completive aspect; icp-incompletive

aspect; nt-neutral aspect; imp-imperative; fut-future; subj-subjunctive; A1(2,3)-set A, first (second, third) person; B1(2)-set B, first (second) person; pass-passive; pl-plural; lplexc-first person plural exclusive; io-suffix marking advancement of indirect object to direct object; cl(s)-clitic(s); top-topic. In Tzotzil examples, [ ] encloses material which is regularly deleted; in translations, [ ] encloses material which is provided pragmatically.

[2] Note that two verbs are phonologically reduced in this construction (ba < bat and 7a (optionally) < 7ay).

[3] One peculiarity of this construction is that the completive form of V1 is usually  $\emptyset$ ; otherwise, the completive is usually (not always) overtly marked.

[4] The causative verb 7ak' 'have, let' requires its complement in the subjunctive too:

- (a) Mu x-[y]-ak' j-ti7. [0 278]  
 NOT nt-A3-LET A1-EAT  
 'She doesn't let me eat them.'
- (b) Mu x-[y]-ak' lok'-ik-on. [GTD 40]  
 NOT nt-A3-LET LEAVE-subj-B1  
 'He won't let me leave.'

Because the complement in (a) is transitive, the subjunctive is unmarked. The complement in (b) is intransitive so the verb is suffixed with -ik. 7ak' does optionally trigger Clause Union in Tzotzil (see Aissen (1983)), but (a) and (b) are not examples of it.

[5] All syntactic possessors cross-reference on the possessed noun by set A affixes.

[6] Some speakers apparently can interpret the subject of V1 as coreferential with the derived subject of V2 when V2 is passive. Haviland (nd:309) cites (a) below, and Cowan (1969:15) cites (b):

- (a) 7Ali Petule, kom maj-e-uk.  
 top PEDRO STAY HIT-pass-subj  
 'Pedro stayed to be beaten.'
- (b) Jul 7ak'-b-at-ik-un.  
 RETURN HOME GIVE-io-pass-subj-B1  
 'I returned home and was given it.'

[7] Independent clauses never take this form:

- (a) \*S-tzak-el-ot.  
 A3-GRAB-pass-B2  
 ('You were arrested.')

[8] The claim that these are passive clauses (hence intransitive) is not straightforward since the verb obligatorily bears an A3 prefix, a prefix which otherwise cross-references only transitive subjects of verbs or possessors of nouns. The A3 prefix which occurs in this construction, however, appears to cross-reference neither, and we regard it as a morphological dummy, i.e. a set A marker which cross-references nothing. If it did cross-reference something, it would presumably cross-reference the AGENT of V2, since that is the only third person entity around in (15), for example. But this is unlikely since the AGENT of V2 is not a final ergative (it is possessor of -u7un). Further, if the A3 affix did cross-reference the AGENT of V2, it should be able to cooccur with the third person plural suffix -ik, a suffix which otherwise optionally cooccurs with A3 and cross-references the plurality of the cross-referenced nominal.

- (a) \*Tal s-tzak-el-ik-on.  
 COME A3-GRAB-pass-3pl-B1  
 ('They came to arrest me.')
- (b) \*Tal s-k'oon-el-ik-ot.  
 COME A3-ADDRESS-pass-3pl-B2  
 ('They came to talk to you.')

Compare (a) with (c), where V1 combines with an active clause:

- (c) Tal s-tzak-ik-on.  
 COME A3-GRAB-3pl-B1  
 'They came to arrest me.'

In (c), A3 does cross-reference the person of the AGENT, since the AGENT is the final subject of V2. Therefore -ik can cross-reference its plurality.

-el does derive nominals which are passive in sense from transitive verb stems. In these constructions, the deverbal nominal is possessed by a nominal interpreted as its (underlying) direct object and such nominals can, in fact, combine with verbs of motion. However, examples (14)-(17) in the text are not of this sort. The constituent headed by A3-V-el is not a nominal, but a clause. Note that the nominal understood as underlying direct object is not cross-referenced by a set A prefix, as it would be if it were possessor of a deverbal nominal, but by a set B suffix.

[9] The syntax and control principles involved here are identical to those of complex structures governed by k'an 'want', and this is the main reason for assuming that 7ich passives are initially complex. If they are, no additional syntactic or control rules are

required beyond those required for k'an. The predicate of the complement to k'an also has the form [transitive verb stem + el] and its passive subject, PRO, is controlled by the subject of k'an.

- (a) Ta j-k'an 7il-el.  
icp Al-WANT SEE-pass  
'I want to be seen.'

Only when the complement is passive is control of the subject possible. When the subject of k'an is coreferential with something other than the passive subject in the complement, there is no control and the complement verb is fully inflected:

- (b) Ta j-k'an x-i-bat.  
icp Al-WANT nt-B1-GO  
'I want to go.'

Unlike k'an, 7ich' only takes a passive -el complement.

[10] However, I am not sure whether an agent can be overtly expressed.

[11] Craig (1977) proposes an analysis like this for similar facts in Jacalteco, a related language. When V2 is intransitive, V1 cross-references the person and number of its argument and V2 does not:

- (a) Xc-ach to aʒnoj ... (314)  
asp-B2 WENT TO BATHE  
'You went to bathe.'

But when V2 is transitive, V2 obligatorily cross-references its subject, while V1 does so only optionally:

- (b) Cañal ch-in to w-il-a7. (323)  
DANCE asp-B1 GO Al-SEE-fut  
'A dance I'm going to see.'  
(c) Cañal x-to w-il-a7. (323)  
DANCE asp-GO Al-SEE-fut  
'A dance I'm going to see.'

(c) is structurally like the Tzotzil purpose construction; Craig proposes that (c) involves (Equi) deletion of the main subject controlled by the complement subject (a violation of the command condition). In all the examples Craig cites, the complement clause is active. She does not note whether passive complements are possible.

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