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REFERENCE TO SPACE IN COLONIAL QUICHE*

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Resumen

Se examinaron diversas estrategias para la aprehensión gramatical del espacio, partiendo de una oposición básica de dos principios, el de referencia déictica en que se tiene en cuenta la posición del hablante, y el de la referencia intrínseca o descentrada, en que el centro no se desplaza al ego, sino que se mantiene en el espacio interno de los objetos. También se analizó el papel de ciertas partes del cuerpo y los usos metafóricos de las expresiones locales.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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1. Introduction

In 16th-century Quiché documents space is of great importance as a grammatical and cultural theme.¹ In narrations such as the *Popol Vuh* a great number of morphemes indicate position and motion of the protagonists whereas characterizations the western reader is more familiar with are not present. It is possible, therefore, to describe the domain of spatial reference in some detail even if there are gaps - in part by chance, in part resulting from the discourse genre.

The first part of this article will give a brief sketch of spatial reference in 16th-century Quiché. It aims at a general characterization of the subdomains of spatial reference and of the interaction of these subdomains. Semantics, which is also of great interest, will not be treated in this first part because data are not sufficient for an analysis of the field in detail. In the second part of the article a feature of Quiché spatial reference will be discussed which has been neglected in prior studies, namely the exclusively intrinsic system of reference within one of its subdomains. The concept of "intrinsic" permits us not only to eliminate several seeming inconsistencies but also helps lead us to a better understanding of cosmological beliefs in Quiché culture.

* I'd like to thank Gordon Whitaker for having corrected what the author supposed to be English. All remaining shortcomings are mine, of course.

¹ The importance of space as a grammatical theme in Mam, another Maya language, has been discussed by England (1978). Space as a metaphor not only in Maya cosmology and ritual but also in the daily life of Maya communities has attracted attention as well; see e.g. the description of Chamula Tzotzil cosmology by Gossen (1974).

2. Subdomains of spatial reference

Within the general domain of space several subdomains can be established which are related to particular lexical and syntactic units and their functions:

subdomain	unit	function
1. motion & direction	verb phrase	predicate
2. position	noun phrase	predicate
3. location	noun phrase	oblique

This system corresponds to the clear-cut division between verbs and nominals according to the opposition of dynamic vs. static: motions and actions are dynamic and are therefore expressed by means of finite verbs, whereas positions and states must be referred to by means of nominals even in predicative usage. Moreover, predicates determine the interpretation of the oblique noun phrase associated with the subdomain of location:²

predicate	oblique noun phrase
1. motion and direction	directional
2. non-motion verbs	positional
3. noun phrase (positional, equational)	positional

2.1 Motion and direction

Motion and direction are expressed within verbal predicates either as a verb of motion, motion

² The following scheme is intended as a general statement and thus does not take into account several details of semantics, especially those involving transitive verbs.

auxiliary or as a directional clitic. Verbs of motion imply an inherent orientation either to source, goal or position:³

<i>pe(t)</i>	"come from (source)"
<i>el</i>	"leave from (source)"
<i>oc</i>	"enter (goal)"
<i>ul</i>	"arrive here [base] (goal)"
<i>opon</i>	"arrive elsewhere [non-base] (goal)" ⁴
<i>be</i>	"go to (goal)"
<i>bin</i>	"go (position)"
<i>icou</i>	"pass (position)"

With these verbs of motion, location is always inherently present even if there is no overt locative noun phrase. Moreover, the semantic interpretation of the locative noun phrase depends exclusively on the orientation of the verb of motion:

- (1) *cate puch ta x- Ø- be-c pa abix*
 then and TA COM-3sA-go-IS LOC cornfield
 'and then she went to the cornfield' (52.15)

³ Examples are presented according to the following conventions. Sources are indicated by page and line and a distinctive letter: R corresponds to the *Titulos* published in Recinos (1957), T to the *Titulo de Totonicapán* (Carmack and Mondloch 1983), no letter for the *Popol Vuh* (Schultze Jena 1944). Spelling follows that of the source, in the case of the *Titulo de Totonicapán* and the *Popol Vuh* that of the original manuscript. The spelling in these three editions is based on the conventions of 16th- and 17th-century Spanish. It is defective, especially as to glottalized consonants. Thus the graphemes *c/qu* represent any of the phonemes /k/, /k'/, /q/, and /q'/. Special graphemes are used inconsistently for glottalized consonants: ⁴ *g* in print, called "cuatrillo" for /k'/, *n* ("tresillo") for /q'/, *g*, for /ç'/ and *gh* for /c'/ instead of defective *c/qu*, *tz* and *ch*. Sometimes postvelar /q/ is indicated by *k*. Vowel length, probably a distinctive feature as in several modern dialects, is not recorded. Following Spanish orthography *u/v* are used ambiguously for both /u/ and /w/ and *i/y* for /i/ and /y/. *ç* and *z* represent /s/, *h* /x/. For details see Dürr (1987).

⁴ The distinction base vs. non-base will be discussed below.

(2) ta x- e- pet -ic chi tulan
 TA COM-3pA-come-IS LOC <name>
 'they came from Tulan' (108.27)

(3) ta x- Ø- opon chi tulan
 TA COM-3sA-arrive LOC <name>
 'he arrived at Tulan' (108.32)

Within the verb phrase there are two sets of morphemes indicating motion or direction. Both sets are derived from intransitive verbs of motion and add a goal orientation to the verb phrase. The class of motion auxiliaries consists of two members: *be* "go" and *ul* "come". These two elements follow the tense-aspect marker and the absolutive pronominal prefix and precede the ergative pronominal prefix of transitive verb stems or the intransitive verb stem. Being part of a transitive construction, *be* and *ul* indicate the movement of the agent, contrary to the general ergative pattern of Quiché. In contrast to the other members of the auxiliary class, motion auxiliaries must be combined with the phrase-final suffix used with imperatives:

(4) ta x- e- be cam-oc ri qui-cahau
 TA COM-3pA-go die-IIS DEF 3pE-father
 'their fathers went to die' (68.3)

(5) qu- ix- be na cu nu- vab -a
 INC-2pA-go Prospective then 1sE-lead-ITS
 'I'll go and lead you' (30.8)

(6) c- Ø- ul qui-tzono-h ri a- nan
 INC-3sA-come 3pE-ask -TS DEF 2sE-fire
 'they came to ask you for fire' (112.19)

The class of directionals is restricted, too. These adverbial modifiers follow the verb. The most frequent ones are:

vbic away from here
cahoc downward, descending
acanoc upward, ascending

vloc toward here [base]
apanoc toward another place [non-base]
canoc remaining at a place

Except for *vbic*, directionals are goal-oriented and therefore the locative noun phrase has to be analysed as goal. In transitive sentences they indicate the direction of the patient in accordance with the general ergative pattern of the language. With the exception of *vbic*, directionals can be analysed as verbs of motion followed by the phrase-final suffix *-oc* "intransitive imperative".

(7) c- at -el vbic
 IMP-2sA-leave away
 'go away!' (52.3)

(8) x- qui-tuyuba acanoc ch- u- vi nima cutam
 COM-3pE-put upward LOC-3sE-top big trunk
 'they put it on top of a big trunk' (60.28)

Note that there are two verbs of arrival and two related directionals as well which differ in regard to the classification of the goal either as base or as non-base. "Base" frequently corresponds to the permanent residence of the person referred to as the argument and may vary in size from one's house to one's hometown:

(9) anim chi cut x- Ø- pe ri atit
 quickly again then COM-3sA-come DEF old*woman

x- Ø- ul chi cut chi r-ochoch
 COM-3sA-arrive*home again then LOC 3sE-home

x- e- vl chiri pa tinamit cumarcaah
 COM-3pA-arrive*home there LOC town <name>

'the old woman came quickly and arrived again at her home (54.1) they arrived there at Cumarcaah' (150.17)

In general, all other places are considered as non-base even if they are such important towns as Tulan Zuiva (see example (108.32) above)

where the tribes stayed for some time and received their gods.

There are few exceptions which point to a more sophisticated attribution sensitive to discourse pragmatics - compare the following gloss in a modern dictionary (Diccionario Quiché 1980 s.v.): *c-ul-ic* "llega aquí o al punto de orientación de un relato", but data are not sufficient to analyse this aspect in detail:

- (10) *ri zamahel x- Ø- opon r- ug*
 DEF messenger COM-3sA-arrive 3sE-with
c- atit, [...] ta x- Ø- ul
 3pE-grandmother TA COM-3sA-arrive*home
canoc v- zamahel xibalba
 remaining 3sE-messenger <name>

'the messenger came to the grandmother('s home), [...] the messenger of Xibalba arrived to stay for a while' (66.29)

In this example the shift from non-base to base is due to a change of viewpoint. Even though "messenger" is argument of both verbs, the second verb has the base viewpoint of the more prominent grandmother of the twin heroes Hunahpu and Xbalanque. Moreover, especially in the mythological part of the Popol Vuh, the usage of *opon* and *ul* seems to be a rhetorical device for highlighting conflicts, e.g. after becoming pregnant, the girl *Xquic* returns home to non-base:

- (11) *ta x- Ø- opon cut chi r- ochoch ri capoh*
 TA COM-3sA-arrive then LOC 3sE-house DEF girl
 'the girl arrived at her home' (48.9)

And indeed, when the girl's father noticed her pregnancy she had to flee to avoid being killed. After another disturbance of their family life (the transformation of their half-brothers into monkeys), the twin heroes Hunahpu and Xbalanque, too, no longer return home to base even though

there are no overt consequences of their behaviour in the story. Finally, beside interfering discourse pragmatics, another difficulty is the understanding of sequences of verbs of motion and motion directionals which interact to create numerous shades of meaning:

- (12) *a pa c- at- pe vi vloc*
 what? Question INC-2sA-come LdL here
 'where do you come from (now being here)?' (52.1)
- (13) *anim x- e- be-c, x- e- opon ch- u- chi choh*
 quick COM-3pA-go-IS COM-3pA-arrive LOC-3sE-edge oven
 'they left quickly and arrived at the edge of the oven (88.29)⁵

2.2 Position

Position is expressed by a special root class within Quiché (and Maya languages in general). Members of this root class cannot be used as free lexical items without a derivational suffix; the most frequent suffixes for predicative usage are:

<i>+Vrootl</i>		participle of state
		"be in a certain position"
<i>+e</i>	<i>/+e?/</i>	intransitive verb
		"take a certain position"
<i>+Vrootba</i>	<i>/+Vba?/</i>	transitive verb
		"put an object into a certain position"

In static (participial) usage positionals indicate the position of the object referred to in space. In dynamic (verbal) usage they indicate the position achieved by the object as a result of the motion or action, according to the ergative pattern:

⁵ Contrast the first example (52.15) quoted in chapter 2.1 which shows the goal orientation of *be* without a second verb of motion.

- (14) *cub+ul cu ri gahol pa be*
 sit+PSt then DEF boy LOC road
 'a boy is/was sitting on the road' (68.11)
- (15) *tac +al v- bac vvb ch- u- canate*
 stand+PSt 3sE-bone blowgun LOC-3sE-jaw
 'the blowgun pellet stands out from his jaw' (20.15)
- (16) *x- qui-col +oba cut chi qui-vach ahau-ab*
 COM-3pE-hang+Suf then LOC 3pE-face king-Pl
 'they let it hang down in front of the kings' (94.3)
- (17) *x- 0- col+e apanoc*
 COM-3sA-hang+Suf elsewhere
 'it was hanging down elsewhere' (94.10)

2.3. Deictic reference

In Popol Vuh Quiché there is a three-way distinction among demonstratives:

	demonstr. free	pronouns enclitic	(demonstr.) article
visible -proximate -distal	va (la)	va la	(ve) (le)
invisible	-----	ri	ri

There are two more demonstrative deictics: the pronoun are "that" which is neutral as to proximity and visibility, and the adverbial element *varal* "here". These deictic expressions are documented only in part because of the discourse genre the texts represent - Quiché texts narrating myths and mythic history are characterized by the abundance of the "invisible" set, whereas the other two, especially the "proximate" forms, are not used except within direct speech or

within exophoric frames including personal involvement of the narrator/writer addressing the audience. In rare cases, even in mythical or historical narrations the usage of deictic expressions is triggered by inherent semantics, e.g. toponyms and, due to the daily visibility of sunrise, the locative noun phrase *chi r-elebal quih* "at the place of the sunrise, in the east" as well are classified as *la* "far and visible".

2.4 Locative noun phrases and relational nouns

Locative usage of noun phrases is indicated by one of two particles, the general marker *chi* and the less frequent specific marker *pa* expressing internal location.⁶ The semantic interpretation of location within the sentence is determined by the predicate. As previously mentioned, verbs of motion and verb phrases with motion auxiliary or directional enclitic trigger the directional interpretation of locative noun phrases either as source or goal (examples see above, chapter 2.1) whereas most other verbs and all nominal predicates lead to a positional interpretation of the locative noun phrase:

<i>pa</i>	┌	positional	_____	"in, within"
	└	directional	┌ afferent	"into"
			└ efferent	"out of"
<i>chi</i>	┌	positional	_____	"at"
	└	directional	┌ afferent	"to"
			└ efferent	"from"

⁶ In addition to spatial reference, *chi* is used as a marker of all oblique case roles, but in this article only the locative usage will be discussed.

- (18) *xa pa vvb x- e- var vi*
only LOC blowgun COM-3pA-sleep LdL
'they slept in a blowgun' (82.25)
- (19) *ma pa x- e- cam-ic chi xibalba*
NEG Question COM-3pA-die-IS LOC <name>
'didn't they die at Xibalba?' (52.1)
- (20) *tigu +il chi pucbal chah*
stand*upright+PSt LOC <name>
'it stands upright at Pucbal Chah' (46.15)
- (21) *x- qui-tzahiza -h cu ha pa quebal*
COM-3pE-make*dry-TS then water LOC jar
'then they dried the water in the jar' (64.33)

Only a small group of transitive verbs has a directional interpretation of the locative noun phrase, e.g.

- (22) *naqui la xchi-ca- ya pa zel*
what? Enclitic FUT- 1pE-give LOC bowl
'what can we give into the bowl?' (48.34)

The specific location of objects in relation to others is expressed by a class of obligatorily possessed body part terms - the so-called relational nouns - within a locative noun phrase of the type *chi* ERG-<relational noun> <noun>, in which the object referred to is the possessor of the relational noun. In general, relational nouns correspond to English prepositions even though the utilization of body-part terms gives room for complex mechanisms of metaphoric attribution of location; the most important difference is the exclusively intrinsic usage of relational nouns in Quiché which will be discussed in chapter 3. These relational nouns include:

	body-part	metaphorical spatial usage
<i>vach</i>	"face"	"in front of,"
<i>vi</i>	"top"	"on top of, over, above"
<i>pam</i>	"stomach"	"in, into"
<i>ih</i>	"back"	"behind,"
<i>xe</i>	"root"	"under"

chi "lip, edge" "at the edge of"

- (23) *maui nu- hox +bal, ri go chi nu- pam*
NEG 1sE-fornicate+NIn DEF exist LOC 1sE-stomach
'it is not the result of fornication that is within me' (48.27)
- (24) *x-Ø-cah vloc ch-u-xe che*
COM-3sA-descend here LOC-3sE-root tree
'he fell from the tree' (56.19)
- (25) *x-e-be chi r-ih ri vmul*
COM-3pA-go LOC 3sE-back DEF rabbit
'they went after the rabbit' (86.17)
- (26) *cate puch x-e-acan-ic ch-u-vi che*
then and COM-3pA-ascend-IS LOC-3sE-toptree
'and then they climbed the tree' (56.21)
- (27) *tac+al ch-u-vach v-bate hunahpu*
stand+PSt LOC-3sE-face 3sE-bate <name>
'he stopped in front of the bate of Hunahpu' (76.28)⁷
- (28) *x-u-cat ri pom ch-u-vach ri ah*
COM-3sE-heat DEF inc. LOC-3sE-face DEF reed
'she burned incense in front of the reeds' (96.31)

Several other relational nouns do not refer to spatial relations but to grammatical ones. Most of them are not introduced by the locative particle *chi*. One member of this group, *-ug* "with (comitative, associative)", has to be used with animate nouns as a substitute for a nonspecific locative: in contrast to inanimate nouns, persons cannot be referred to with locative "at, to, from" via the locative particles *chi* or *pa*:^a

⁷ The *bate* is an instrument used in ball-playing.
^a *chi* with a relational noun may be used to indicate specific location with persons.

(29) ta x-Ø-ul cut ri ixoc xquic
TA COM-3sA-arrive*home then DEF girl <name>

r-ug v-chuch hun batz, hun choven
3sE-with 3sE-mother <name> <name>

'the girl Xquic came to the mother of Hun Batz and Hun Choven' (50.31)

2.5 Metaphoric usage

Spatial relations often can be attributed metaphorically to the abstract or the temporal domain. Positional roots, e.g. cub "sit", are used to express mental or emotional states and processes, especially in combination with body-part terms as gux "heart":

(30) are cut cub+ul vi v- gux ri atit
that then sit+PSt LdL 3sE-heart DEF old*w.
'the old woman was consoled' (52.9)

(31) ta x- qui-cu +ba v- gux
TA COM-3pE-sit+Suf 3sE-heart
'they consoled him' (98.18)

As an argument of verbs of motion or as an oblique locative noun phrase abstract and verbal nouns metaphorically become "moving objects" or "places":

(32) go nu- tzihi chi nu- pam
exist 1sE-word LOC 1sE-stomach
'my words are within me' (64.10)

(33) ta x- Ø- pe cut v- tzihi varal
TA COM-3sA-come then 3sE-word here
'then his word came from here' (4.16)

(34) xavi ca- qui-tacchi-h ri c- atit chi tze
only INC-3pE-tempt -TS DEF 3pE-old*woman LOC laughter
'they caused their grandmother to laugh' (58.22)

(35) xa cu chi-Ø- coz qui-gux chi
only then POT-3sA-become*tired 3pE-heart LOC

qui-tzucu +x +ic
3pE-search+PAS+VN

'they became tired of searching for them' (128.26)

(36) x-e-nacvachi+n chi qu- ib ch- u- vi r- ahil
COM-3pA-envy+AP again 3pE-REF LOC-3sE-top 3sE-price

c- anab
3pE-sister

'they were jealous of each other because of the price of their sisters' (150.5)

Temporal relations can also be expressed by metaphoric expansion of spatial ones:

(37) vae xchi-ca-tziba-h ch- u- pan chi
here FUT-1pE-write-TS LOC-3sE-stomach again

v- gha +bal dios, pa christiano+il chic
3sE-speak+NIN <name> LOC <name> +Suf again

'we'll write it here, in the time of the word of God, in Christianity' (2.11)

(38) ta x- e- cam chi r- ih balamquitze
TA COM-3pA-die LOC 3sE-back <name>
'they died after Balamquitze' (142.24)

3. Intrinsic reference

Reference to space can be arranged according to one of two principles, a deictic or an intrinsic. These two strategies differ in regard to the point of origin with respect to which spatial relations are expressed. The deictic strategy expands the egocentric viewpoint of the speaker to create a framework for spatial reference (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976: 395):

Egocentric use of the space concept places ego at the center of the universe. From this point of

origin ego can lay out a three-dimensional coordinate system that depends on his own orientation. With respect to this landmark other objects can be directionally located as above or below (ego), in front or in back (of ego), to the left or to the right (of ego).

=== Figure 1 ===

In contrast, the intrinsic strategy gives credit to the object as center of spatial reference (Miller and Johnson-Laird 1976: 396):

the intrinsic system, where spatial terms are interpreted relative to coordinate axes derived from intrinsic parts of the referent itself.

=== Figure 2 ===

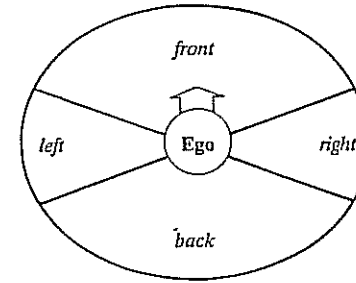
Even though the existence of two competing strategies creates possibilities for confusion as to which point of reference is being used, both are necessary to communicate successfully: whereas it is no problem for a speaker to lay out a coordinate system by expanding deictically his own front or right side etc., it is a problem for the hearer, who cannot understand what is meant unless he knows where the speaker is and in which direction he is facing; on the other side, the intrinsic strategy frees spatial reference from the immediate context of a shared situation, although it may be difficult to attribute an intrinsic front or right side to things like trees or hills.

The subdomain of space most sensitive with regard to the point of origin is that of specific location, in particular those universal binary oppositions front/back and right/left which structure space by expanding metaphorically parts of the asymmetrical human body.

For illustration of this, a glance at English may be helpful before turning to Quiché. In English, as in most other European languages, front/back and right/left can be attributed either deictically or intrinsically depending on

Figure 1: Deictic reference (adapted from Wunderlich 1982)

Expansion of the human body prototype



Deictic reference

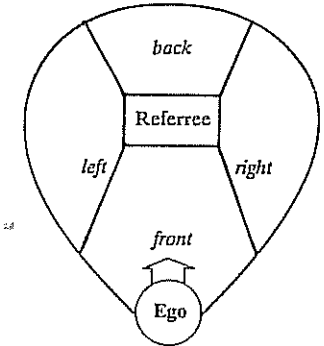
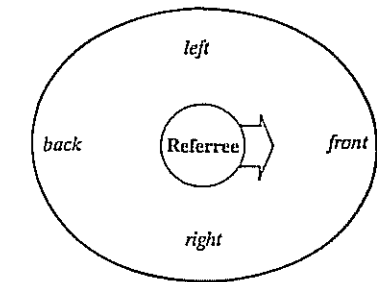
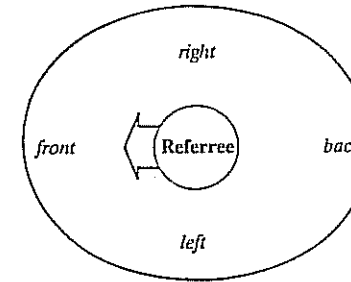
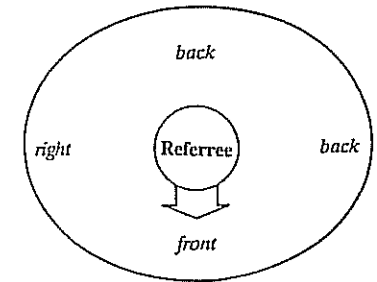
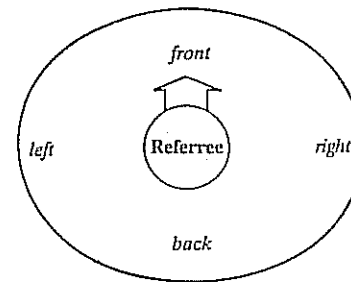


Figure 2: Intrinsic reference (adapted from Wunderlich 1982)



the referent: the usage of intrinsic reference is highly probable with objects resembling the prototype of the human body; the less the resemblance, the higher the probability of deictic reference will be. Therefore persons, animals, dolls, etc. are mostly referred to intrinsically, whereas hills, trees, boxes, etc. are referred to deictically. If the object only has a few prototypical features but a front side can still be assigned to it metaphorically, either strategy can be used.

=== Figure 3 ===

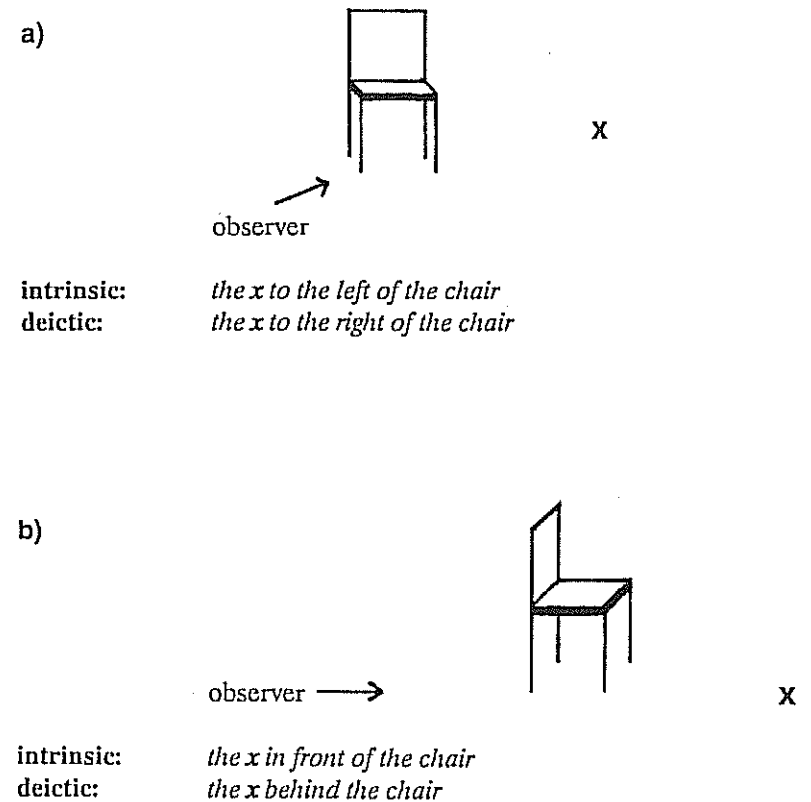
In contrast, no such ambiguity arises in Quiché where the subdomain of specific location is expressed by means of locative phrases with relational nouns which constitute a special usage of possessed body-part terms:

(39) ch- u- va ha
 LOC-3sE-face house
 'in front of the house, or, literally, at the face of the house' (38.13)

Within such a system body-part terms must be assigned directly or metaphorically to all referents, and, as a result, only the intrinsic strategy can be used. Of course, data from 16th century Quiché documents are not sufficient to analyse the problems of attribution in detail and the following statements should be considered as preliminary.⁹

⁹ An interview with a native speaker of the related language Cakchiquel during a visit to Sololá, Guatemala, in January 1988 provided good evidence for the general validity of my suggestions but, as well, pointed to a much more complicated system with competing strategies of attribution.

Figure 3: Ambiguous reference (adapted from Wunderlich 1982)



3.1 The relational noun *vach* "face"

Good evidence for the differences between Quiché relational nouns and English prepositions can be found in the usage of *vach* "face": the translation one would expect, "in front of" is only one of several possibilities:

- (40) *x- Ø- kobiza +n- ic ch- u- vach ynup*
COM-3sA-worship+AP-IS LOC-3sE-face ceiba
'he worshipped in front of a ceiba' (R 174.18)
- (41) *ch- Ø- el ch- u- vach v- quebal*
POT-3sA-leave LOC-3sE-face 3sE-jar
'it (the water) came out of the side of the jar'
(66.6)
- (42) *chi-Ø-hoc qui-baqui-il ch-u-vach abah*
POT-3sA-grind+PAS 3pE-bone-Suf LOC-3sE-face stone
'their bones should be ground on a stone' (88.19)

To understand this usage the shape of the object referred to must be taken into account. With objects of vertical orientation *vach* corresponds to "in front of", with those of horizontal orientation to "on, over". This attribution of a face side results from the metaphorical expansion of the human body prototype: the face side of a standing person is the space in front of the person, that of a person lying on one's back is the space above. Thus, referring to flat objects as stones, blankets, bark and even the earth or topographic entities as rivers or slopes, *ch-u-vach* consistently has to be translated as "on, over":

- (43) *x- Ø- cheque ch- u- vach tzalic*
COM-3sA-lie*flat LOC-3sE-face bark
'it lay on bark' (94.10)
- (44) *x- u- tziba-h ch- u- vach cul*
COM-3sE-paint-TS LOC-3sE-face blanket
'he painted it on a blanket' (132.31)

- (45) *x- u- ya qu r- akan ahau ch- u- vach hun abah*
COM-3sE-give then 3sE-foot lord LOC-3sE-face one stone
'the lord put his foot on a stone' (R 112.11)

- (46) *maui chi-Ø- gaze vinac varal ch- u- vach vleu*
NEG POT-3sA-live man here LOC-3sE-face earth
'man cannot live here on earth' (18.20)

- (47) *qu- ix- choy ch- u- vach ha ch- u- vach*
INC-2pA-cut+PAS LOC-3sE-face water LOC-3sE-face

civan
barranca

'your remains will be spread over the rivers and barrancas' (T 13r.8)

In contrast, objects with horizontal orientation which are of considerable height, such as houses or hills, will be classified as "standing":

- (48) *e pil +ol r- ech nima maçat ch- u- ua*
3pF slaughter+NA 3sE-REC great deer LOC-3sE-face

ha
house

'they were butchers of great deers on the patio of the house' (T 20v.15)

- (49) *x- e- acan cut ch- u- vach huyub*
COM-3pA-ascend then LOC-3sE-face hill
'they climbed the mountain' (138.27)

- (50) *ma cu hun g,iquin, caib g,iquin x- ca- cam*
NEG then one bird two bird COM-1pE-take

ch- u- vach
LOC-3sE-face

'we couldn't get any bird on the slope of that mountain'¹⁰ (32.24)

¹⁰ The mountain in question has been mentioned before and is thus referred to anaphorically.

The flexibility of usage becomes evident if *vach* locatives are contrasted with other relational nouns which are far more specific in meaning, e.g. *vi* "top":

- (51) *e chacachax+inac ch- u- vach tac abah*
 3pF be*wet +PPer LOC-3sE-face Pl stone
 'they lay wet on the stones' (132.11)
- (52) *xa ch- u- vi tac abah x- e- icou vloc*
 only LOC-3sE-top Pl stone COM-3pA-pass here
 'they came walking over small stones' (116.11)
- (53) *x- e- cah -ic ch- u- vach huyub*
 COM-3pA-descend-IS LOC-3sE-face hill
 'they descended the hill' (140.7)
- (54) *chiri chac +atah+inac vi ch- u- vi huyub*
 LOC defeat+PAS +PPer LdL LOC-3sE-top hill
 'they had been defeated there on the hill' (140.20)
- (55) *cub+i ri vvcub caquix ch- u- vach v- calibal*
 sit+Suf DEF <name> LOC-3sE-face 3sE-throne
 'Vucub Caquix sat on his throne' (22.7)
- (56) *x- e- cat chi cut ch- u- ui tem*
 COM-3pA-burn+PAS again then LOC-3sE-top seat
 'they were burnt (while sitting) on the seat' (42.18)

In the first pair of examples the two relational nouns refer to flat (lying) stones vs. standing pointed stones (the top projecting over the water), in the second pair to hillside vs. peak, in the third to chair/throne with back vs. stool.

In any other respect the "face side" is ascribed, according to the same general principles as in English, either directly, functionally or by the "facing" default. Direct attribution is restricted to prototypically faced persons, animals and objects depicting persons, as e.g. carved idols:

- (57) *x- e- opon ch- u- vach ahau nacxit*
 COM-3pA-arrive LOC-3sE-face lord <name>
 'they came to lord Nacxit' (144.21)
- (58) *qu- e- cat +on-ic ch- u- vach tohil*
 INC-3pA-heat+AP-IS LOC-3sE-face <name>
 'they burnt in front of the idol of Tohil' (126.30)
- (59) *x- u- liquiba acanoc v- viqui cab ch-u-*
 COM-3sE-stretch upward 3sE-right hand LOC-3sE-
vach bac
 face bone
 'she stretched out her right hand to touch the skull' (46.23)
- (60) *xa cu nac +al ri vg ch- u- vach*
 only then sticking+PSt DEF louse LOC-3sE-face
r- e xpec
 3sE-tooth toad
 'the louse was sticking to the teeth of the toad' (70.13)

If the usage of an object without prototypical face gives prominence to one of its sides, this side will become the face side, as with chairs, tools or objects used as support, and painted objects, such as blankets or jars:

- (61) *cub+i ri vvcub caquix ch-u-vach v-calibal*
 sit+Suf DEF <name> LOC-3sE-face 3sE-throne
 'Vucub Caquix sat on his throne' (22.7)
- (62) *tac +al cu ri quic ch- u- vach bate*
 stand+PSt then DEF ball LOC-3sE-face <name>
 'the rubber ball stopped in front of the bate' (86.13)
- (63) *x- 0- cheque ch- u- vach tzalic*
 COM-3sA-lie*flat LOC-3sE-face bark
 'it lay on bark' (94.10)

(64) x- u- tziba-h ch- u- vach cul
 COM-3sE-paint-TS LOC-3sE-face blanket
 'he painted it on a blanket' (132.31)

(65) ch- Ø- el ch- u- vach v- quebal
 POT-3sA-leave LOC-3sE-face 3sE-jar
 'it (the water) came out of the side of the jar'
 (66.6)

Of course, usage may differ owing to cultural patterns. For example, the "face" side of a house in Quiché is the side facing the courtyard ("patio") whereas the street side is "at the back" of the house, as Ximénez translated *chi r-ih ha, ch-u-va ha* "a la puerta de la casa o detras de ella" (38.13; Ximénez Ms. fol. 13r), see also Tedlock's note (Tedlock 1985: 270):

In Quiché terminology, as Andrés Xiloj explained, the "back" of a house is the side that has a door or entrance way giving access to a public road or path, while the "face" is the side that gives onto a patio (whether enclosed on all four sides or not).

Because everyday life takes place on the patio the door leading to the courtyard is far more prominent than the street entrance of the house. Note that *chi r-ih tinamit*, literally: "at the back of the town", by analogy also refers to the outer side of the town.

By default objects not suited to the aforementioned types of attribution will be classified as facing the observer or the object referred to. Thus, the visible side of hills, trees, etc., and the only accessible side of stones and topographic entities, such as the earth, barrancas and rivers, are referred to as "face":

(66) ca- Ø- ziqui+n ri c- atit ch- u- vach
 INC-3sA-call +AP DEF 3pE-grandmother LOC-3sE-face
 ri ah
 DEF reed

'her grandmother moaned in front of the reeds'
 (96.28)

(67) x- Ø- kobiza +n- ic ch- u- vach ynup
 COM-3sA-worship+AP-IS LOC-3sE-face ceiba*tree
 'he worshipped in front of a ceiba' (R 174.18)

(68) chi-Ø- hoc qui-baqui-iñ ch- u- vach abah
 POT-3sA-grind+PAS 3pE-bone-Suf LOC-3sE-face stone
 'their bones should be ground on a stone' (88.19)

(69) qu- ix- choy ch- u- vach ha ch- u-
 INC-2pA-cut+PAS LOC-3sE-face water LOC-3sE-
 vach çivan
 face barranca

'your remains will be spread over the rivers and barrancas' (T 13r.8)

3.2 The usage of "right" and "left"

Whereas most other relational nouns are used frequently, the right/left location is rare. There is no more than one example to be found:¹¹

(70) hun ch- a- mox, hun ch- a- viqui cab chi qu-e
 one LOC-2sE-left one LOC-2sE-right hand LOC 1pE-REC

'one of us will be at your left side, the other one at your right side' (32.31)

Probably the animateness of the noun used as possessor is not accidental: it seems plausible that right/left associations are rare because

¹¹ It became evident to me while working with the Cakchiquel informant at Sololá that these two relational nouns are avoided and instead other more suitable ones are chosen.

this pair of relational nouns resists any kind of metaphorical attribution.

But there is one more occurrence in colonial dictionaries and texts which is of some interest. The entries for cardinal directions are expressed with respect to the course of the sun (Ximénez Ms. fol. 77v):

- (71) *chi r- el +ebal quih*
 LOC 3sE-leave+NIn sun
 'east, sunrise, literally: place where the sun comes out'
- (72) *ch- v- cah +ibal quih*
 LOC-3sE-descend+NIn sun
 'west, sunset, literally: place where the sun descends'

The north-south axis is based on metaphor: these two cardinal directions correspond to the intrinsic perspective of the personified sun wandering day by day from east to west:

- (73) *ch- u- viqui cab quih*
 LOC-3sE-right hand sun
 'north, literally: at the right side of the sun'
- (74) *ch- u- mox cab quih*
 LOC-3sE-left hand sun
 'south, literally: at the left side of the sun'

=== Figure 4 ===

The assignment of right/left to cardinal directions can be found in a number of languages all over the world (Brown 1983), but the association in most cases is a different one, such as in Dyola or Celtic languages, e.g. in Welsh: *cledd* "left" and *gogledd* "north (prefix "sub-" + "left")". This attribution gives credit to the deictic perspective (Brown 1983: 136):

Three languages of Table 10 equate north with left indicating an eastward facing canonical posture. Given additional evidence described above for the

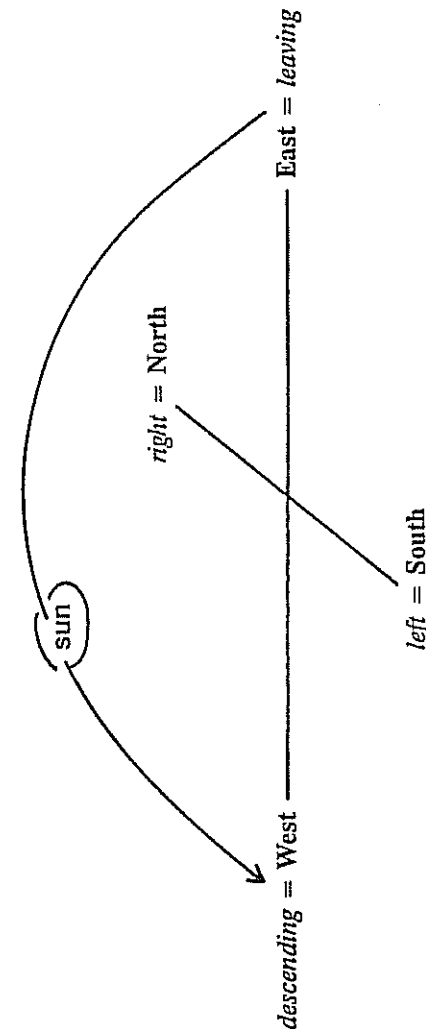


Figure 4: Cardinal directions

ubiquity of the latter, it is perhaps surprising to find one language, Hawaiian (60) with north/right and south/left association indicating a westward canonical orientation.

Taking into account the intrinsic perspective as a possible pattern of attribution, the reversed association in Quiché and other Mayan languages is not surprising at all even though the Hawaiian case may be different.¹²

Notably even in Quiché the reversed association may be found, as in Schultze Jena's work on Momostenango Quiché (Schultze Jena 1933: 25):

(75) *pa ri wik qa- q'ab*
 LOC DEF right lpE-hand
 'south, literally: at our right side'

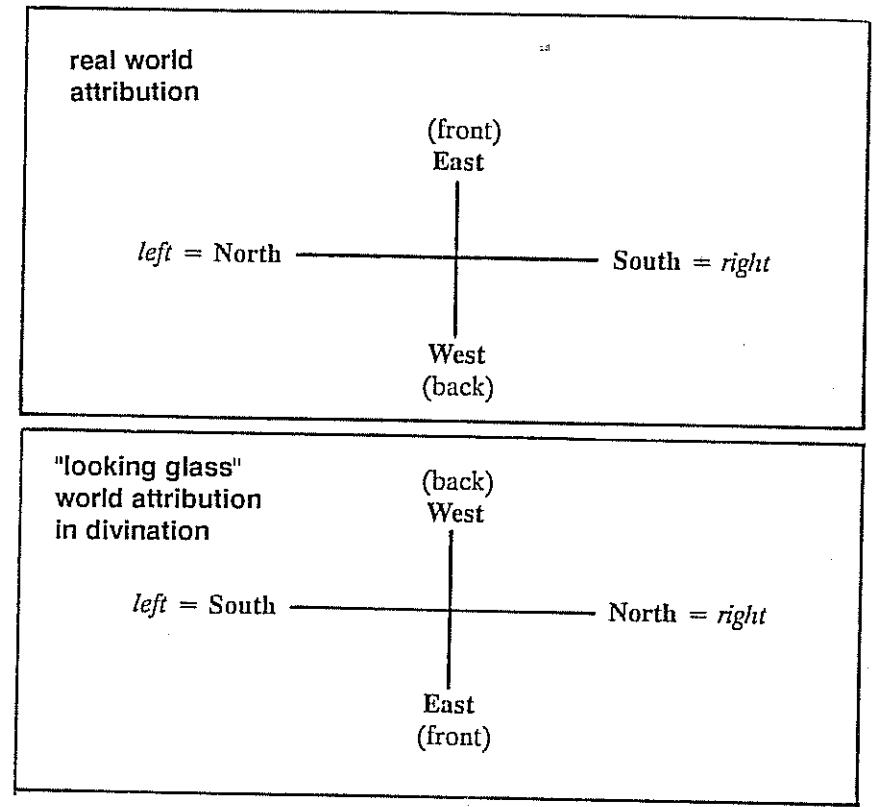
(76) *pa ri qa- mo's*
 LOC DEF lpE-left
 'north, literally: at our left side'

The reader may wonder whether these data are based on misunderstanding, but, considering the intrinsic mode of attribution and the circumstances of elicitation, this possibility has to be rejected. Nevertheless, it has nothing to do with an alternative deictic attribution. Schultze Jena collected his materials in the context of calendrical divination. As described by Tedlock (1982), Momostenango Quiché diviners interpret signs, the "speaking blood" coming from within their body, and in so doing "the left, or female, side is aligned with north" (Tedlock 1982: 140). Thus Schultze-Jena's informant provides the association for divining practice and not for everyday life. This reversed attribution of right and left to north and south in divination is another fact which can be ex-

¹² In the light of Hill's distinction of a "facing" vs. an "aligned" attribution of deictic reference (Hill 1982), the Hawaiian case may be considered as an example of an "aligned" attribution and not as the result of a westward "facing canonical posture".

plained by the intrinsic strategy. A diviner can be considered as the mirror of what is happening in the world, and, consequently, the projection of the cardinal points onto the diviner follows the same principle as that of an object onto a mirror: right and left are not reversed so that the observer sees the sides reversed.

Figure 5: Cardinal directions in divination



ABBREVIATIONS

AP	antipassive voice
COM	completive aspect
DEF	definite article
IIS	imperative intransitive final suffix
INC	incompletive aspect
IS	intransitive final suffix
ITS	imperative transitive final suffix
LdL	enclitic indicating left-dislocation of locative
LOC	locative particle
NA	agentive noun
NIn	instrumental noun
PAS	passive voice
Pl	plural
POT	potential aspect
PPer	past participle
PSt	participle of state
REC	recipient relational noun
REF	reflexive
Suf	suffix
TA	connective particle
TS	transitive final suffix
VN	verbal noun
1/2/3sA	1st, 2nd, or 3rd person singular absolutive
1/2/3pA	1st, 2nd, or 3rd person plural absolutive
1/2/3sE	1st, 2nd, or 3rd person singular ergative
1/2/3pE	1st, 2nd, or 3rd person plural ergative

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ON RECONSTRUCTING THE OBJECT CASE-MARKER IN UTE

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Resumen

A partir del análisis de la irregularidad paradigmática observada en las marcas de caso del ute (-ci nominativo y -ci oblicuo) se propone una reconstrucción de la evolución de las mismas; se descubren vestigios de la existencia de antiguas marcas de oblicuo (acusativo y genitivo) en cuya neutralización desempeñaron un papel importante los patrones de nominalización de esta lengua. Una evidencia importante para la reconstrucción la constituyen los datos del UA y PUA.

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