The Colonial Kaqchikel verb ux and its role in non-verbal predication / Глагол ux в какчикельском языке Колониального периода и его роль в неглагольной предикации
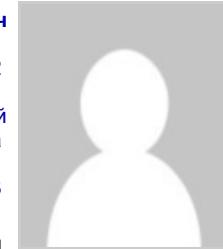
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Аннотация: Объектом исследования являются особенности какчикельского языка Колониального периода (семья майя), предметом – свойства неглагольных клауз. Особое внимание уделяется глаголу ux, его морфосинтаксическим и семантическим характеристикам, а также его роли в неглагольной предикации. В современном какчикельском языке этот глагол отсутствует (хотя сохранился в родственных какчикельскому языках киче и кекчи, однако в них он является лексическим, а не служебным глаголом). В протомайянском языке глагол ux не реконструируется. Цель работы – описать морфосинтаксические и семантические особенности глагола ux в какчикельском языке Колониального периода. Материалом для исследования послужил корпус текстов на какчикельском языке Колониального периода, грамматические

описания и словари периода с XVI по XIX век. Основой корпусного анализа послужил текст Анналов какчикелей (манускрипт XVI века, опубликованный Дэниэлем Бринтоном в 1885 г.). Основным методом является морфосинтаксический анализ. Выявлена связь семантического типа неглагольного предиката и структурной конфигурации клаузы. Описаны особенности копульных и бескопульных конструкций какчикельского языка Колониального периода. Показана служебная функция глагола ux, которая состоит в установлении предикативной связи, а также в выражении времени, аспекта, модальности неглагольных предикатов. Предпринята попытка этимологического анализа глагола ux, отмечаются его когнаты в близкородственных языках: киче и кекчи. Анализ показал, что ux может модифицировать все семантические типы неглагольных предикатов и заменять экзистенциальный копульный элемент k'o. Вместе с тем, глагол ux никогда не помещается в каноническую (левую) позицию предиката. Приводятся функциональные отличия аспектуальных форм глагола ux. Выявлено сокращение стратегий выражения времени, аспекта, модальности неглагольных предикатов в истории какчикельского языка.

1. Introduction

In natural languages, two generalized structural types of non-verbal clauses can be identified (*i.e.*, the predicate is a lexeme other than a verb, denoting a property or relation [1]): copular and non-copular constructions. The latter can be represented by juxtaposition constructions or constructions with predicative flexion (Type A – personal agreement affix on the predicate or Type B – case marker on the referential noun phrase) [2].

In [3], 7 semantic types of non-verbal predicates are distinguished: classificational (1), equative (2), attributive (3), appertentive (4), predlocative (5), existential (6), and predpossessive (7). In modern Kaqchikel, non-verbal predicates are represented by non-copular constructions (Type A). Only three types of constructions (5, 6, 7) require the auxiliary element *k'o*, which, however, is not a true copula since it introduces an essential component of meaning into the construction, possesses its own valency, and always occupies the predicate position – characteristics that a true copula usually does not have (see [1],[4]).

(1) *in tijonel*

1sg.abs teacher

'I am a teacher.' [5, p. 14]

(2) *ru-tata' B'eleje' Ey*

3sg.pos-father B'eleje' Ey

'His father is B'eleje' Ey.' [5, p. 63]

(3) *pim-ø ru-koton*

thick-3sg.abs 3sg.pos-jacket

'His jacket is thick.' [5, p. 27]

(4) *la su't la' r-ichin nu-xib'al*

def sweater dem 3sg.pos-rn 1sg.pos-brother

'That sweater is my brother's.' [5, p. 44]

(5) *akuchi k'o wi ri wayb'äl-jay*

where exs part def restaurant

'Where is the restaurant?' [5, p. 67]

(6) *jampe ch'atal e k'o pa qa-tijob'al*

how.many table 3pl.abs exs pre 1pl.pos-classroom

'How many tables are there in our classroom?' [5, p. 20]

(7) *k'o jun ru-koton pim*

exs indef 3sg.pos-jacket thick

'He has a thick jacket.' [5, p. 27]

For the Proto-Mayan language, a copula is not reconstructed (*e.g.*, [6] and [7]). However, in texts in the Kaqchikel language from the Colonial period (XVI-XIX centuries), as well as in descriptions of the language from the same era, the verb *ux* is encountered, apparently serving as an equative copula in specific contexts (8).

(8) *ki-tzih nim a q'ih t-ø-**ux***

intens-speak big 2sg.pos wealth pot-3sg.abs-cop

'Truly great must be your wealth.' [8, p. 74]

The aim of this study is to describe the morphosyntactic and semantic properties of the verb *ux*.

The research is based on texts from the colonial period Kaqchikel, including *The Annals of the Kaqchikels* (a manuscript from the XVI century, published in Philadelphia, USA, in 1885 [8]), the Chronicles of B'oko' (*Títulos de B'oko'*, XVII-century text [9]), grammatical descriptions, and dictionaries of the Kaqchikel language from the XVI to the XIX century (*Theologia indorum*, known as Manuscript *Américain 42* in Bibliothèque Nationale de France [10]), works of Franciscan missionaries Betanzos, Parra [11], Solano [12], Ximénez [13], Flores [14], Torresano [15], Brasseur de Bourbourg [16], Brinton [17] and [8]), as well as texts from grammars and dictionaries from the 16th century attributed to de Villacañas. Works from the 20th century by Schoembs [18] and Diaz Barrios, Herbruger [19] were used to document grammatical changes.

2. The Kaqchikel Colonial grammars and vocabularies

Kaqchikel, belonging to the K'iche'an (Eastern Mayan) language family alongside K'iche', Achi, Tzutijil, Sacapultec, and Sipacapense forms the Proper K'iche'an subgroup, exhibiting close linguistic ties. Presently, it boasts around 411,000 native speakers, with diverse dialects such as Southwestern, Eastern, Northern, Santa María de Jesús, Santo Domingo Xenacoj, Central, Southern, Western, and Yepocapa. Geographically, these dialects are distributed across the departments of Chimaltenango, Escuintla, Quiché, Sacatepéquez, Sololá, and the Department of Guatemala in the Republic of Guatemala.

During the Spanish Conquest, the Kaqchikel people, governed by two branches of the same reigning house, witnessed the founding of Guatemala City in their lands. Consequently, the Kaqchikel language gained prominence among missionaries. Francisco Marroquín, appointed as the first bishop of Guatemala in 1534, marked a significant juncture as Catholic doctrinal documents began to be published in Kaqchikel. In 1676, the University of Guatemala was established, and in 1678, it featured a dedicated department for the Kaqchikel language, led by Dominican fray, Father José Senoyo [17, p. 347].

All existing grammars and dictionaries of the Kaqchikel language, as well as those of other Mesoamerican languages, were authored by Catholic missionaries, with the majority attributed to Franciscans. The earliest surviving work is the 16th-century Spanish-Kaqchikel dictionary (*Vocabulario hispano-cakchiquel chi*) by fray Juan Alonso [20, p. 141]. Another contemporaneous document, *Vocabulario cakchiquel*, *con quiché y zutujil, y castellano* attributed to fray Domingo de Vico, is also recognized. Additionally, the title of a work printed in Mexico in 1556, *Arte, Vocabulario y Doctrina Christiana en Lengua de Guatemala* is acknowledged. While fray Perdo de Betanzos and fray Juan de Torres are identified as two potential authors, the exact authorship remains uncertain. This work serves as an exposition of the foundations of the Catholic faith in the Kaqchikel language. The Introduction outlines a dispute between Franciscans and Dominicans regarding the use of the Kaqchikel word *cabovil* ('god') to denote the Christian God. Despite advocating for the use of the Spanish word *Dios*, the work encompasses not only catechism and reasoning but also a grammatical section and a dictionary.

The pioneering efforts in developing the Kaqchikel alphabet are attributed to these missionaries, a contribution enduring through the mid-XX century. In the latter half of the XVI century, Father Félix Solano's work, *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y guatemalteca que se llama Cak chi quel chi*, emerged. Another work from the same period is *Vocabulario copioso de las lenguas cakchikel, y jiche*. While it is speculated to be a copy of a work by Dominican fray Benito de Villacañas, who began his mission in Guatemala in 1568, René Acuña posits an alternative theory. Acuña suggests that this work was not composed by Benito de Villacañas and did not originate in Guatemala. Instead, he proposes that it was authored by an anonymous Franciscan friar in the first half of the XVIII century and published in Zapotitlán, Mexico.

In the XVII century, a notable work is The *saurus verborum, Vocabulario de la lengua cakchiquel, vel Guatimalteca Nuevamente hecho y recopilado con summo estudio, trabajo y erudición* by fray Thomás de Coto. The surviving copy is incomplete, leaving room for speculation as to whether the author lacked the time to finalize his work or if only a portion has been preserved. Notably, the text frequently alludes to appendices, yet no appendices associated with the work have been identified. During the latter half of the XVII century, the Dominican fray Francisco Ximénez produced the dictionary *Bocabulario de la Lengua Cakchiquel*. Additionally, another work by fray Ximénez, *Arte de las tres lenguas*

Q'aq'chiquel, Quiche y Tz'utuhil, was published in 1701.

In 1743, Guatemala attained the status of an Archbishopric, and the Kaqchikel language was elevated to the position of "the metropolitan tongue" [17, p. 347]. Exactly a decade later, in 1753, the renowned work *Arte de la lengua metropolitana del Reyno Cakchikel o Guatemalico, con un paralelo de las lenguas de los Reynos Kiche, Cakchikel y Tz'utuhil, que hoy integran el Reyno de Guatemala* by Fray Ildefonso Joseph Flores was published. In 1794, Father Estevan Torresano's work *Arte de la lengua Cakchiquel* also made its appearance.

In the latter half of the XIX century, the *Grammaire de la langue quiché* by French abbot Etienne-Charles Brasseur de Bourbourg was published. This work was dedicated to the description of three closely related languages: K'iche', Kaqchikel, and Tzutujil. It includes translations of *Rabinal Achi* and *Vocabulario de las principales raízes o fuentes de que salen los tres dialectos guatemalanos, quiché, cakchiquel y tzutuhil, con una traducción española y francesa y comparación etimológica de unos vocablos con las lenguas germánicas*. Towards the end of the 19th century, Daniel Brinton's *A Grammar of the Cakchiquel Language of Guatemala* was published. This work is a translation of a collection of previously unknown manuscripts that delve into the description of the Kaqchikel language dating back to the XVII century. These manuscripts were presented to the Library of the American Philosophical Society in 1836 by Señor Mariano Galvez, then the Governor of Guatemala [17, p. 349].

3. Lexical meaning of *ux* and its traces in modern Kaqchikel

3.1. Ux in Colonial dictionaries

Fray Ximénez in his *Arte de las tres lenguas*... says: "Este verbo [it means *sum, es, fui*] no tiene propia voz en esta lengua, como en la latina..." ("This verb has not the proper word in this language as [it has] in Latin") [13, p. 17]. The author says that previous grammars considered *ux* as 'ser' ('to be' in Spanish) and *q'o* as 'estar' ('to be located, stand' in Spanish).

In the part '*Del verbo substantivo. Sum, es, fui*' fray Flores says that there isn't a special word for the idea of *sum, es, fui* [Flores 1753: 59]. But still indicates that it is either null either expressed by two means. First, different meanings are expressed by different forms: *vx* 'ser', *k'oh* or *k'ohe* 'estar'. Second, one form for different meanings: *k'oh* for 'haver, estar, tener' [14, p. 59]. However, the author does not explain why the predicate *k'oh* can have the form *k'ohe* for 'estar' in the first way to express the Latin notion of *sum, es, fui* but it has only one form *k'oh* in the second way. Moreover, the difference between 'haver' and 'tener' among meanings of *k'oh* remains unclear. One can figure out that 'haver' can mean the grammatical use of 'to have' and 'tener' is for the lexical possession verb.

In [21, p. 263], it is noted that the form *ux* can be complex. The author thinks that it is a passivization of another verb *uh* with a passive marker -*x*. Professor Stoll suggests the hypothesis that the verb *uh* denotes 'to generate.' However, precisely this form has not been found in the dictionaries of the Colonial period.

The only form that can be found in [12],[13],[14], and [15], is *ux*. The dictionaries provide its definition as 'grinding stone, sharpening stone' or 'ser.'

An interesting fact is that in all the examined dictionaries, there is a lexeme with exactly

the same set of meanings: *ca* (or *ka*).

3.2. Possible etymology and meaning of ux

The Colonial K'iche' (the closest related language to Kaqchikel) text Popol Vuh also contains non-verbal clauses with *ux* that can be translated as 'become' (9). The Missionary orthographic tradition has some specific symbols: 4 for k' in modern OKMA orthography; 4, – for tz', 4c for ch' and Ɛ for q'. But for the purposes of simplicity, I replaced them with new characters.

(9) a. *jusuk' nima'q juyub' x-**ux**-ik*

at_once big mountain compl-**become**-ss

'Straightaway great mountains came to be.' [22, p. 230]

b. *ta ch-**ux**-oq xa lab'e*

irr pot-**become**-ss only mistake

'Then let it become merely mistake.' [22, p. 480]

The modern K'iche' verb *uxik* (*ux* and status suffix *-ik*) 'become' and Q'eqchi' verb *uxk* 'happen, be realized, become' (10) seem to be related with Colonial Kaqchikel *ux*. They are not used as a copula but as an independent lexeme with its own semantics.

(10) *na'-**ux**-k len tijok sa' k'iche'*

inc-**happen**-ss quot prayer pre mountain

'They say that ceremonies are held in the mountains.' [23, p. 185]

Also, the modern interrogative word *atux* meaning 'what' is derived from the verb *ux* (2sg.abs *at* and *ux*).

So, the possible meaning of *ux* can be interpreted as 'become, happen.'

4. The Colonial Kaqchikel non-verbal predication

4.1. Structural and semantic types

Two primary structural types of non-verbal clauses exist in Colonial Kaqchikel: copulaless (11) and copular constructions (12). Copulaless constructions consist of two N(ominal)P(hrases) (or a pronoun and an NP), where one functions as a referent NP and the other as a predicative NP. They are linked through juxtaposition. On the other hand, copular clauses are more intricate, with the two NPs connected through a copular element.

(11) *yn utz*

I good

'I am good' [17, p. 373]

(12) *k'a ruyon ok umul tz'iquin **k'oh***

pst only part rabbit bird **exs**

'then only rabbits and birds were here' [17, p. 66]

A correlation between the semantic type of the non-verbal predicate and the structural type of the clause can be identified. Non-verbal clauses with an existential (13), locative (14), and possessive (15) nature incorporate the *k'oh/k'o* copular element.

(13) **k'oh** *chiri e mulan conohel*

exs there 3pl.abs together all

amaq' ahlabal chi palouh

village warrior pre sea

'There were gathered together the warriors of all the seven villages at the sea.' [17, p. 78]

(14) *xae chay chi chicop etam-ayon* **k'o** *vi*

only obsidian pre animal know-ptp **exs** part

ri echa pam Paxil

def food pre Pashil

'Only the Obsidian Beast knew that there was food in a place called Pashil (Guatemala).' [17, p. 68]

(15) *chinak* **k'oh** *u cheen*

who **exs** 3sg.pos power

'Who has the power (who can)?' [17, p. 78]

In contrast, other semantic types of non-verbal predications [Haspelmath 2022], such as classificational (16), equational (17), attributional (18), and appertentive clauses (19), typically do not employ any copular element.

(16) *yn yn ah-pop*

1sg.abs 1sg.abs agt-king

'I am a king.' [8, p. 107]

(17) *yn y-lab, qu-ix-cam*

1sg.abs 2pl.pos-harbinger opt-2pl.abs-die

'I am your harbinger [of your death], you shall die.' [8, p. 77]

(18) *in vtz*

1sg.abs good

'I am good.' [13, p. 17]

(19) *hun nabey-al hun k'a ch'ipil-al ch-iv-ichin*

one first-nmlz one and youngest_son-nmlz pre-2pl.pos-rn

'One chief and one junior are yours.' [8, p. 76]

4.2. Tense/aspect/mood marking

The copula serves a dual purpose. On the one hand, it is intended to establish relations of predication between the subject and the non-verbal predicate, in cases where the latter cannot do so independently. On the other hand, the copula provides means of tense/aspect/mood (TAM) contextualization for the non-verbal predicate. Since in Colonial Kaqchikel, non-verbal predicates (excluding existential, locative, and possessive) could directly enter predicative relations with the subject, they had a limited set of contextualization means available.

In the history of the Kaqchikel language, four methods of TAM-contextualization can be identified. A morphological mean, direct verbalization (when NVP can incorporate aspectual morphology); two syntactical means, the copula *ux* and special particles, and a lexical mean – adverbs.

It should be noted that the direct verbalization of positional predicates is still encountered today, representing a common means of TAM-contextualization (20), just because positional roots can form all types of stems, including verbal stems. They constitute a distinct lexical class in Mayanist descriptional tradition. Positional predicates are formed by a special type of roots – positional roots. The latter cannot be used in free form; to create a lexeme, they must undergo derivation. According to [24, p. 223], positional roots can describe the position in space, the shape or state of an object, and also indicate the absence of movement. In [25, p. 116], it is pointed out that transitive bases formed by positional roots denote the creation of an object in the shape specified by the semantics of the positional root or the action of placing an object of the specified shape in space. Intransitive bases formed by positional roots indicate that something acquires the specified shape. Substantive bases derived from positional roots denote objects of the specified shape or occupying the specified position. Adjective bases formed from positional roots indicate that the object is in a state described by the positional root.

In addition to TAM-morphology, the stem also takes the suffix *-e'*. This derivation means that the object takes the position indicated by the positional root. However, non-verbal predicates derived from other lexical classes have lost this capability. Presumably, it was possible in the 16th century, but it is not found in later sources.

(20) a. *in raq'-ar-ik*

1sg.abs lean-adj-nmlz

'I am leaning.' [26, p. 79]

b. *x-raq'-e'*

compl-lean-der

'He/she/it leaned.' [26, p. 79]

According to our observations, direct verbalization of non-positional predicates is found in only one source from the 16th century [10] (and only for adjectives) (21).

(21) *x-utz-in kaj x-utz-in ulew r-umal*

compl-good-vrblz sky compl-good-vrblz earth 1sg.pos-rn

x-utz-in q'ij

compl-good-vrblz light/day

'{God} made the sky, he made the earth, and he made the light.' [10, f. 3, 1st line on the left site]

In (21) F. Vico used the verbalized form of the adjective *utz* 'good' with the verbalizer -in to make a transitive form (the 3rd sg ergative marker is omitted in (21) due to phonological reasons and the 3rd absolutive is always null). The resulting meaning of *utzin* can be interpreted as 'make good, make perfect.'

It is also important to highlight that in some languages related to Kaqchikel, such as Q'eqchi', this method of contextualization remains productive even today (22).

(22) *naq **t**-in-nim-an-q laa'in-aq aj b'olotz oq*

when **pot-**1sg.abs-big-ap-ss 1sg.pro-ss clf football_player

'When I grow up I will become a football player.' [23, p. 17]

The particles are primarily placed between the absolutive clitic and the non-verbal predicate (23). Adverbs, as a rule, typically follow the non-verbal predicate (24).

(23) *at naek vtz*

2sg.abs part good

'You were good.' [13, p. 17]

(24) a. *in vtz oher*

1sg.abs good yesterday

'I was good yesterday.' [13, p. 18]

b. *in vtz chuac/cabih*

1sg.abs good tomorrow/day_after_tomorrow

'I will be good tomorrow/the day after tomorrow.' [13, p. 18]

Adverbs and particles as means of contextualization have been present throughout the history of the Kaqchikel language from the Colonial period to the present day. The verb *ux* disappears, presumably, in the XVIII-XIX centuries. Moreover, grammars from the second half of the XIX century that mention it reproduce earlier texts (*e.g.*, [16],[8], and [17]). By the early XX century, the verb *ux* is no longer encountered (*e.g.*, [18] and [19]) (Table 1).

Table 1. Means of TAM-marking in the history of Kaqchikel language

	XVI century	XVII -XIX centuries	XX -XXI century
Direct verbalization	+	-	-
Copula ux	+	+	

Copula ux	+	+	-
Adverbs-modifiers	+	+	+
Particles-modifiers	+	+	+

4.3. Ux as a non-verbal construction modifier

The non-verbal predicates can employ the verb *ux* to introduce aspectual and/or modal nuances to the predication. This verb has the capability to modify various types of non-verbal clauses, including existential (25), possessive (26), classificational (27), equational (28), attributional (29), and appertentive (30). However, in the examined corpus, there were no examples found where the verb *ux* modifies locative non-verbal constructions. This could indicate either that the verb *ux* cannot modify locative constructions in principle, or simply that there are no such examples in the corpus. In any case, further investigation is needed.

(25) *oxlahuh achij, cahlahuh*

thirteen men fourteen

*k'a ixok x-**ux***

so women compl-cop

'So, there were thirteen men, fourteen women.' [8, p. 68]

(26) *x-e-k'uluk'u he k'a cay*

compl-3pl.abs-merry 3pl.pro so two

*ri xhayil hun x-**ux***

def wife one compl-cop

'And they got married, and each had two wives.' [8, p. 68]

(27) *mani k'a r-u quiquel*

neg so 3sg.pos-rn blood

*r-u tiohil x-**ux***

3sg.pos-rn body compl-cop

'And he was not [made] of flesh and blood.' [8, p. 68]

(28) *xa at r-etal çaq'ih t-**ux***

only 2sg.abs 3sg.pos-sign spring pot-cop

'You are just a sign of spring.' [8, p. 76]

(29) *ki-tzih nim a q'ih t-ø-**ux***

intens-speak big 2sg.pos wealth pot-3sg.abs-cop

'Truly great must be your wealth.' [8, p. 74]

(30) *vuetah m-ix-vikah ree xit,*

if inc-2pl.abs-pay_tribute dem jade

puak, q'uq'uraxom, bix y-e-q'etah,

silver feather_items song inc-3pl.abs-curse

*r-uma xavi k'a yv-ichin t-**ux***

3sg.pos-rn only so 2pl.pos-rn pot-cop

'If you give jade, silver, feather items as tribute, you will only receive songs of hatred (then the songs of hatred will be yours).' [8, p. 77]

The first thing we should pay attention to is that the verb *ux* always takes the final position. In existential and possessive clauses, it replaces *k'o*, but still occurs in the right position. Even though *ux* is a verb, it never occupies the prototypical predicate position (left). It is obviously an intransitive verb since it has no ergative markers. Moreover, it seems that *ux* has no special lexical meaning.

There are 5 forms of the verb *ux* in the entire text of *The Annals of the Kaqchikels* [8] with 3 aspectual/mood markers: completive (3rd singular *xux* and 3rd plural *xeux*), potential (3rd singular *tux*), and incompletive (1st singular intransitive *quinux* and 2nd singular intransitive *catux*). In the text, all these forms occur with different frequencies. The entire text under study contains about 14,800 words. The verb *ux* occurs 46 times. The most frequent is its completive use (22 forms), then goes the potential use (14 forms), and the less frequent is the incompletive use (10 forms) (Table 2).

Table 2. Frequency of use of *ux* forms

completive	22	xux	19
		xeux	3
incompletive	10	quinux	1
		catux	9
potential	14	tux	13
		naktux 'why'	1

It seems that the "most equative" is the incompletive use (31, 32, 33).

(31) *yn ah-queh, yn ah-cab qu-in-ux*

1sg.abs agt-venison 1sg.abs agt-honey inc-1sg.abs-cop

{O thou lord, I will give thee the venison and the honey, [because]}'I am the owner of venison and the owner of honey.' [8, p. 92]

(32) *maquian at nu hay*

neg 2sg.abs 1sg.pos house

nu chinamit c-at-ux

1sg.pos tribe inc-2sg.abs-cop

'You are not of my house, not of my tribe.' [8, p. 86]

(33) *chinak c-at-ux*

who inc-2sg.abs-cop

'Who are you?' [8, p. 86]

The affirmative forms use double absolute: one is a clitic used with a non-verbal, other is a prefix used with *ux* (31, 32). The interrogative forms do not repeat the absolutive (33). The difference between copulaless non-verbal clauses and clauses with incompletive *ux* is that the verb *ux* appears to make the non-verbal predicate more communicatively emphasized. The difference between (31, 32, 33) and (34) lies in the use of different means of emphasis: syntactical (31, 32, 33) and lexical (34).

(34) *ki-tzih vi chi at nu-chaq', nu-nimal*

intens-speak part pre 2sg.abs 1sg.pos-brother 1sg.pos-elder

'Truly you are my brother, my elder.' [8, p. 86]

The completive forms of *ux* are intended mainly to help the non-verbal predicate express tense(past)/aspectual meanings (25). The potential forms are means to express tense(future)/modal meanings (30).

5. Conclusion

The verb *ux* functions as a true copula since it has no inherent valency, does not contribute lexical meaning to the clause, and does not occupy a structural predicate position (instead, it "advances" the non-verbal element to a predicative position).

The use of the verb *ux* with non-verbal predicates is limited to certain contexts: it imparts aspectual and/or modal (*i.e.*, grammatical) meaning to the non-verbal clause.

The verb *ux* can modify all semantic types of non-verbal clauses (maybe with exception of locative). In existential and possessive clauses, it replaces *k'o/k'oh* while taking the final (right) position.

A decrease in the amount of TAM-marking means was revealed in the history of Kaqchikel language. Starting from four non-verbal predicates TAM-marking strategies in XVI century, to three in XVII-XIX with no direct verbalization, to only adverbs and particles in XX-XXI with no more copula *ux*.

In all examined colonial-period dictionaries, the verb *ux* is defined as 'grinding stone, sharpening stone' or 'to be.' However, the lexeme *ca* (*ka*) also carries the same set of meanings. In contemporary Kaqchikel, the lexeme *ka'* also means 'grinding stone, sharpening stone.'

The verb *ux* is present in modern Kaqchikel, as part of other lexemes (*e.g.*, interrogative word *atux* 'what').

List of abbreviations:

1, 2, 3 – first, second, third person

abs – absolutive

adj – adjectivizer

agt – agentive

clf – classifier

compl – completive

cop – copula

def – definite article

dem – demonstrative

der – derivation

exs – existential

inc – incompletive

indef – indefinite article

intens – intensifier

irr – irrealis

neg – negation

nmlz – nominalizer

opt – optative

part – particle

pl – plural

pos – possessive

pot – potential

pre – preposition

pro – pronoun

pst – past

ptp – participle

quot – quotative

rn – relational noun

sg – singular

ss – status suffix

vrblz – verbalizer

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Результаты процедуры рецензирования статьи

В связи с политикой двойного слепого рецензирования личность рецензента не раскрывается.

Со списком рецензентов издательства можно ознакомиться [здесь](#)*.*

Представленная на рассмотрение статья «Глагол ux в какчикельском языке Колониального периода и его роль в неглагольной предикации», предлагаемая к публикации на английском языке в журнале «Litera», несомненно, является актуальной, ввиду рассмотрения грамматических особенностей одного из индейских языков Гватемалы, относящийся к киче-мамской надветви майяской языковой семьи. У языка имеется около полумиллиона носителей, что делает какчикель одним из наиболее распространённых майяских языков. С другой стороны это делает более актуальной задачу их изучения и сохранения. Работа имеет междисциплинарную направленность.

Целью данного исследования является описание морфосинтаксических и семантических свойств глагола ux.

Статья является новаторской, одной из первых в российском языкознании, посвященной исследованию подобной тематики в 21 веке. В статье представлена методология исследования, выбор которой вполне адекватен целям и задачам работы. Автор обращается, в том числе, к различным методам для подтверждения выдвинутой гипотезы. Используются следующие методы исследования: методы полевой лингвистики, метод дескриптивного описания, а также общенаучные методы. Отметим скрупулёзный труд автора по проведению выборки иллюстративного материала.

Исследование основано на текстах колониального периода Какчикеля, включая "Анналы Какчикелей" (рукопись XVI века, опубликованная в Филадельфии, США, в 1885 году), "Хроники Бо'коко" ("Титулос де Бо'коко", текст XVII века)., грамматические описания и словари языка какчикель с XVI по XIX век (Theologia indorum, известная как рукопись Americain 42 в Национальной библиотеке Франции), труды францисканских миссионеров Бетансоса, Парры, Солано, Хименеса, Флореса, Торресано, Брассер де Бурбург, Бринтон), а также тексты из грамматик и словарей XVI века, приписываемые де Вильяканьясу. Работы 20-го века Шембса и Диаса Барриоса, Хербругера были использованы для документирования грамматических изменений.

Данная работа выполнена профессионально, с соблюдением основных канонов научного исследования. Исследование выполнено в русле современных научных подходов, работа состоит из введения, содержащего постановку проблемы, основной части, традиционно начинающуюся с обзора теоретических источников и научных направлений, исследовательскую и заключительную, в которой представлены выводы, полученные автором. К недостаткам можно отнести отсутствие четко поставленных задач в вводной части, неясность методологии и хода исследования. Отметим, что вводная часть не содержит исторической справки по изучению данного вопроса как в общем, так и в частном. Библиография статьи насчитывает 26 источников, среди которых теоретические работы исключительно на иностранных языках. К сожалению, в статье отсутствуют ссылки на фундаментальные работы, такие как монографии, кандидатские и докторские диссертации. Считаем, что обращение к русскоязычным работам по данной и смежной тематике усилили бы теоретическую составляющую работы в русле отечественной школы. В общем и целом, следует отметить, что статья написана простым, понятным для читателя языком. Опечатки, орфографические и синтаксические ошибки, неточности в тексте работы не обнаружены. Высказанные замечания не являются существенными и не влияют на общее положительное впечатление от рецензируемой работы. Практическая

значимость исследования заключается в возможности использования его результатов в процессе преподавания вузовских курсов теоретической грамматике и языкознанию. Статья, несомненно, будет полезна широкому кругу лиц, филологам, магистрантам и аспирантам профильных вузов. Статья «Глагол иx в какчикельском языке Колониального периода и его роль в неглагольной предикации» может быть рекомендована к публикации в научном журнале.