Contributions

The First-Person Singular Independent Pronoun
in Classic Ch'olan

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Most Maya hieroglyphic texts present narratives in the third person, which infuses narratives with factual authority as they imply a witness to the events described. In the last decade, however, the recognition of various discourse genres using first- and second-person pronouns in the inscriptions has profoundly altered our understanding of the narrative func¬tion of Maya hieroglyphic writing (Grube 1998; Stuart et al. 1999). With the recent decipherments of the first- and second-person singular pronouns, the third-person plural pronoun, and the first-person plural pronouns, we have begun to appre¬ciate multiple discourse genres within Maya hieroglyphic writing. In addition, independent pronouns have also been identified in the script such as the second-person singular (ha-a-ta), the third-person singular (ha-i), and the third-person plural (ha-o-ba).[1] A new independent pronoun can now be added to this paradigm. We present here evidence for the decipherment of the first-person singular independent pro-noun "I/me" as *hiin* (hi-na) (Fig. I).[2] While our reading and interpretation of it has been formally presented and has made it into certain publications (Stuart 2005:52; 2006:43), as of yet the arguments for its decipherment have not been described in print.[3] In addition to adding to our growing knowledge of the Classic Ch'olan pronominal and verbal system, this paper also examines the grammatical patterns that the use of independent pronouns evidence. In particular a better understanding of the syntactic function of independent pronouns clarifies certain kinds of "passive" constructions, suggesting instead that these are better understood as actor focus (hereafter AF) constructions. The decipherments of each of these independ¬ent pronouns not only force us to question the different focus presented by first- and second-person narratives, but also to analyze in greater detail the grammatical constructions that seem to arise with their use.

Process of Decipherment

Until recently, a perplexing issue in the study of Classic Ch'olan pronouns has been the apparent lack of independent pronouns in the script. Independent pronouns are attested in all modern Mayan languages and should, in all likelihood, be present in the language of the inscriptions. The first independ¬ent pronoun to be deciphered by a number of different scholars

Fig. 1. The *hiin* glyph followed later by the verbal expression **che-he-na**, *cheheen*, "I said" on K1440 (after photo by Justin Kerr).

in the 1990s was **ha-i**, meaning either "he/she/it," or "this one/ that one" as a demonstrative pronoun (see Stuart and Houston 1994; Lacadena 2000:167). At the time, another compound, **hi-na** (Fig. 1), was also generally interpreted as either the demonstrative pronoun "this" (cf. Boot 2002:34) or as an alternate spelling of the demonstrative **ha-i** (realized *ha'i* or *haa'*), "he/ she/it here; this one over here."[4] Thus, the distinction between **ha-i** and **hi-na** was thought to represent a minor variation in the recorded language, despite the occurrence of the **hi-na** version in more limited contexts, primarily in Late Classic ceramic texts.[5]

The decipherment of the **hi-na** collocation as the first-person singular independent pronoun was first made by Kerry Hull and Michael Carrasco in 2001 while analyzing the text of K1440. Near the end the text on the "Vessel of the Eighty-eight Glyphs" (K1440), both **ha-i** and **hi-na** appear in close proximity, which for Hull and Carrasco called into question their interpretation as mere dialectal variants. A search of the linguistic resources produced several intriguing possibilities for *hiin* as the first-person independent pronoun "I/me".[6]

Crucially, the lengthy text on K1440 contains the **hi-na** compound followed by the quotative particle *cheheen*, spelled **che-he-na** at Dl', commonly interpreted as "he/she/it said" (David Stuart 1997 [personal communication from David Stuart to Alfonso Lacadena 1997]; Grube 1998; 2004) (Fig. 2). The quotative discourse indicated by this particle is an ideal context for the use of a first-person pronoun. Thus, Hull and Carrasco began to entertain the possibility that *hiin* could be the independent pronoun "I/me" in this quotative context. A check of other cases where *hiin* also appears soon confirmed this supposition. Based on these initial observations, together with insights and contributions of Robert Wald, we believe there is considerable evidence pointing to *hiin* as the first-person singular independent pronoun.

The Historical Development of *hiin*

Independent pronouns in Proto-Mayan were likely built upon the base *ha'- or *haa'- with the addition of absolutive pronouns.[7] According to Kaufman (1989), the first-person singular independent pronoun in Proto-Mayan was **ha '-i:n*. In Proto-Mayan, *-i:n was the first-person singular absolutive marker, corresponding to the Proto-Ch'olan *-een. John Robertson has suggested seeing hieroglyphic *hiin* as a fossilized form retaining the Proto-Mayan *-i:n ending (i.e., **ha'-i:n > hiin)* as the *a* and the glottal stop elided, leaving only *h-* and *-iin* behind, even when other Ch'olan pronominal forms were simultaneously adopting the *-een suffix (John Robertson, personal communication 12/2/2006). While in gen¬eral agreement with Robertson, we instead interpret *hiin* as a fossilization of a Pre-GreaterTzeltalan form **ha 'iin*. Therefore, in the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Late-Classic period, the *-ii* of the independent pronoun *hiin* likely reflects a fossilization harkening back to an earlier form.

Evidence for *hiin* as the First-Person Indepent Pronoun

Turning our attention again to K1440, the text from B4'-F2' reads:

hi-na ?-?-ya-si tz'i?-na u-? che-he-na
hiin ?-?-yaas tz'iin u ? cheheen
1SI 'name' 'name' say ISA[8]
'It is I, [name] Tz'iin' ?, I said'

u-TZ'IB? li ?-?-ya-si tz'i?-na u-?-?-na sa?-ja-la
u-tz'ihbil ?-?-yaas tz'iin u-?-n saj-al
3SE-writing-POSS 'name'? 'name'? 3SE-'vassal lord'
It is the writing of the' Scribe of the Eighty-eight Glyphs', the ? of the 'vassal lord'

The independent pronoun *hiin* here functions as the subject in this statement. Thereafter, a sign likely referring to a scribal title follows, suggesting the scribe who painted this vase left his "signature" at the end of the text. It is important to note that we interpret the *cheheen* glyph not as a third-person quotative (as first published by Grube in 1998), but rather as the first-person quotative expression "I said," composed of the root *che* 'and the first-person singular absolutive pronoun-*een*.[9] If this interpretation is correct, it further strengthens the first-person context of this portion of the text.

A cylindrical vase from the Naranjo area (Kl 398), known as the "Regal Rabbit Vase," contains three crucial instances of the **hi-na** compound and is without a doubt the most important extant inscription for understanding the function of *hiin* as the first-person singular independent pronoun (Fig. 3). Several scholars have noted the presence of first-person pronouns in the text of Kl398 (Butting and Johnson 1993:178,

182; Stuart 1993:170-171; Stuart etal. 1999:11-21). Indeed, many scholars have noted the interplay between text and image on this exceptional vessel, the mythical narrative of which falls into the category of narrative trickster tale (Nielson and Wichmann 2000; Hull 2003a, 2003b; Beliaev 2003; Wald and Carrasco 2004). On Kl 398, the leftmost caption to the Sun God and the two vertical columns of text contain three instances of the *hiin* glyph (Fig. 4). The text begins with the date 13 Ok 18 Uo, followed by a deer head variant of the *k'in* sign. The verbal expression begins with *nich 'amaw nimuwaan*, "I grasped my hawk(?)" and then mentions the god who was present during this action (Bolon Okte' K'uh) and the location where the event occurred.[10] The *hiin* is followed by an undeciphered sign, perhaps another sign for *k'in*, and a phonetic spelling of **ju-lu***jw/*, meaning "pierce." The meaning of the remaining text is unfortunately opaque; however, since the context of this vertical column is clearly first-person in the first clause, this would thus be an ideal environment for the use of the independent pronoun "I."

The second vertical text to the rear of the rabbit contains a more intelligible occurrence of **hi-na** for interpreting its function and meaning. The text begins with the Calendar Round date of 7 Ak'bal followed by a sun-god **K'IN** logogram, a locative, and martial statement (Fig. 5):

UH-ti-ya K'IN-ni u-WITZ-li pi-a CHAN-na-CH'EN-na
uht-0-iiyk'in u-witz-ilpi[p]-[h]a' chan ch 'een
happen-3A-ADV.ENCL day 3SE-mountain-POSS 'name' sky-cave
It happened [on this] day, [at the] mountain of the Pip Ha' locale

hi-na PAT-ta bu-ni-ya"jag-uar-throne"-**naTE'-BAH TOK'-BAH**
hiin pat-bu-n-Ø-iiy "throne" te' baah-Øtook' baah-Ø
1ST overturn-CAUS-AF-3SA ADV. ENCL throne wood-image/strike-3SA flint-image/strike-3SA
It is I who overturned the 'throne'. There were images/strikes of wood, images/strikes of flint (i.e. battle).

Before discussing the specifics of the grammatical elements presented in this important sentence, let us first turn our attention to the semantics of the verbal root *pat-*, which was first deciphered by David Stuart (cf. 1998:381-384)with the meaning of "to make" or "form." Due to the productive reading of **PAT**-as "make" or "form" in other contexts, many have considered this instance to likewise be a reference to the 'making' of a jaguar throne. In 2003, Robert Wald and Michael Carrasco, on the other hand, presented an
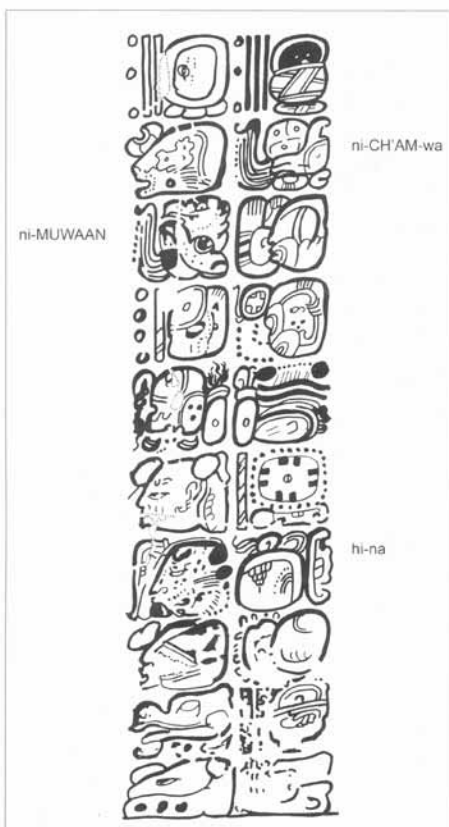

Fig. 2. Detail of K1398, Column One (drawing by M. D. Carrasco, after photo by Justin Kerr).

Fig. 3. Detail of K1398, Column Two (drawing by M. D. Carrasco, after photo by Justin Kerr).

alternative reading of this passage based on another meaning of the *rootpat* in Tzotzil, namely 'to overturn': Santo Domingo Tzotzil

patal "lying face down" (Laughlin 1988:282)

xepatey, patal on "estar echado boca abajo (to be thrown face down)" (Laughlin 1988:695)

San Lorenzo Tzotzil

patal "sitting bowed over, lying face down" (Laughlin 1975:268-269)

pati "sit bowed over, lie face down, bow low" (Laughlin 1975:268-269)

pdtluh "falling face down suddenly" (Laughlin 1975:268-269) *patk'un*

yalel "push face down"

San Andes Tzotzil

patal "acostado boca abajo (lying face down)" (Vda.deDelgatyy Ruiz Sanchez 1978:97)

ta spatan "lo pone boca abajo (put it face down)" (Vda. deDelgatyy Ruiz Sanchez 1978:97) These entries shine a different light on the events described on the Regal Rabbit Vase. Rather than describing the' forming' of a throne, this action seems to be one of 'turning over' the throne in a martial context.[11] Thus, Wald and Carrasco interpreted this sentence to read, "It is I who overturned the 'jaguar throne'." Furthermore, the next two glyph blocks in this passage, *te 'baah andtook'baah*, "images of wood, images of flint," strengthen the militaristic interpretation as a metaphor for making war, reflecting the weapons used in Maya warfare, that is, those made of wood and flint (cf. Roys 1931; Barthel 1955; ScheleandGrube 1997:83)..

<div align="center">Focus Antipassives and Actor Focus Constructions</div>

The use of independent pronouns in Mayan languages often signals specific grammatical constructions that focus attention on the actor or agent, resulting in a change in the typical word order, excluding ergative and absolutive dependent pronouns, of VPA (VOS) to AVP (SVO). In the case at hand, the *hiin patbuniiy* 'throne' clause presents a special grammatical construction which Alfonso Lacadena (1998) previously identified as antipassive.[12] However, while in general agreement with Lacadena's identification, we tend to see this more as an Actor Focus (hereafter AF) cleft construction, a closely related process found in ergative languages. In our view, the term "antipassive" simply does not adequately account for the nature of the verb in these situations (cf. Smith-Stark 1978; Yasugi 2005:77; Aissen 1999; Duncan 2003). Antipassive constructions are typically described as involving a detransitivization of the verb. However, as Tonhouser (2003:1) has noted, antipassives do not necessarily entail the demotion of the patient argument in all Mayan languages, e.g., Ixil, Popti', and Yukatek (Tonhouser 2003:1).[13] Thus, the traditional label of antipassive may not be best descriptive term for this process in AF contexts.

The purpose of the AF construction is to emphasize the actor in a particular action. The three primary contexts in which AF constructions appear are relative clauses, cleft sentences, and in w/z-questions. In cleft formations, AF constructions begin with the subject of a transitive verb being extracted from
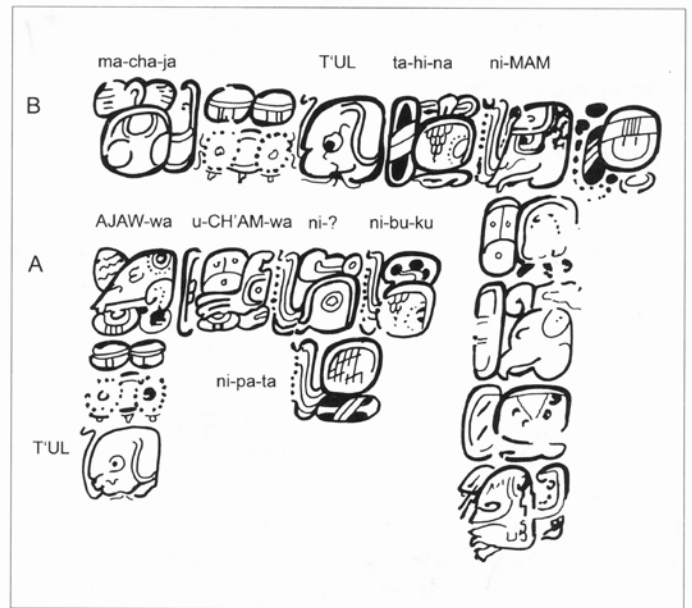

Fig. 4 a-b. Dialogue texts between the Sun God and God L on K1398 (drawing by M. D. Carrasco, after photo by Justin Kerr).

the Verbal Phrase (hereafter VP) into a focus preverbal position. The object Noun Phrase (hereafter NP) may be demoted to an oblique clause or be retained as a direct argument. The verb usually undergoes some change in morphology to traditional antipassive verbal forms.[14] Important is that the verb in AF constructions only cross-references one of the two NPs morphologically. The choice between the two is usually accomplished by deferring to an animacy hierarchy; however, a number of other factors can also be responsible (Tonhouser 2003:5-6;Hedberg 1988:2). OnK1398, we believe theclause *hiin patbuniiy* 'throne' represents just such an AF cleft construction. The subject, *him*, "I," has been extracted from the VP and realized as an independent pronoun in a preverbal focus position. In addition, the derived transitive *verbpatbu* also receives the *-n* suffix, which, appropriately, is regularly added to derived transitive roots in AF constructions in a large number of Mayan languages (see below).[15] As an AF cleft formation, the analysis and translation of this sentence would be:

hi-na PAT-ta-bu-ni-ya "jaguar-throne"-**na**

hiinpat-bu-n-Ø-iiy "j aguar- throne"

1SI face.down-CAUS-AF-3SA-ADV.ENCL throne

It is I who overturned the 'jaguar throne' It is important to state that in this type of AF cleft expression the verb cross-references on the third-person singular absolu-tive pronoun *-0* that appears on the verb as *pat-bu-n-Ø-iiy*. There are other examples of AF cleft constructions in Classic Ch'olan. For instance, the following text from Pomona Panel 4 uses the third person independent pronoun *ha 'i/haa * and the verb shows the *-n* suffix in a similar grammatical construction to the sentence in question on K1398:

ha-i ILA-ni-ya

ha 'i/haa' ila-n-Ø-iiy

3 SI see-AF-3SA-ADV.ENCL

It is he who witnessed it

As in the example from Kl 398, the transitive *verbila* receives the *-n* suffix, and the expected ergative pronoun drops since the agent is fronted with the third person independent pronoun *ha 'i/haa'*. Another clear example of this construction is found in the text of Copan Stela A:

ha-o-ba pa-sa-no-ma "portal"-ya **ma-ka-no-ma** "portal"-ya

ha '-o 'b pas-n-o 'm-Ø "portal" *mak-n-o 'm-Ø* "portal"

3PI open-AF-RESUL-3SA portal close-AF-RESUL-3SA portal

It is they who opened the portal and closed the portal

In this example, the verb cross-references on absolutive pronouns following the noun "portal" and not on agents ("they") of the expression.

Thus, in these examples we are presented syntactically and morphologically with all the markings of AF cleft constructions that are, as we shall see below, fully consistent with patterns known from modern Mayan languages. As an AF cleft formation, the translation of this the sentence from Kl 398 would be: "It is I who overturned the 'jaguar throne'." It is important to state that in this type of cleft AF expression the absolutive pronoun on the verb references not the agent but rather the patient; thus, it is the "jaguar throne" and not "I" to which the-Ø (null) absolutive pronoun in the verbal construction/?^- *bu-n-Ø-iiy* refers.

A similar marking system is found in a number of Mayan languages, where the verb can cross-reference on the object NP with an absolutive pronoun in these clefted AF constructions. For example, Schiile (2000:170) provides the following sentence from Akateko (Schule's original analysis retained):

jein ach-ma '-on an

PRO1sB2-hit-SUFCL1s

It is I who hit you

Note that the verb does not cross-reference on the first-person *pronoun/ein* (if so, an *-in* affix would be expected between ac/z and *ma')* but rather only on the second-person absolutive pronoun (labeled "B2" by Schtile), *ach-* in the Object NP.

Ixil (Blunk-Fernandez, n.d.: 6,10) also shows precisely the same AF construction (Blunk-Fernandez's original analysis retained):

a. *In   kat=tzok-on=Ø   u   si'-e'*

Islnd.   compl =CUT-af =3Abs. def.   FIREWOOD-enc.

It is I who cut the wood

b. *In   ni=b'an-on=Ø*

Islnd.   imp.=DO-af.=3Abs. It is

I who is doing it

As Blunk-Fernandez points out, in both *a* and *b*, the verb is marked with the third-person singular absolutive pronoun (*-Ø*) and cross-references on the original patient rather than the fronted agent (i.e., "I").

Kaqchikel has a similar cleft structure in which the actor is extracted from the VP, but the verb cross-references on the object NP, but not always relating to animacy hierarchy (Hedberg 1988:18). Hedberg notes that if either the subject NP or object NP is not a third person, as in the case with the subject NP on Kl 398, then an AF construction is possible, and either the Actor or the Object can be cross-referenced on the verb (Hedberg 1988:20-21). In Akateko, we can see a similar case in AF cleft constructions. Schiile (2000:167-168) writes: "When the subject of a transitive verb is clefted, it is put into the preverbal cleft position accompanied by the cleft particle/a'. The transitive verb obtains the suffix *-on* and marks only the direct object with a set B prefix." Schiile then provides the following sentence to illustrate this point (Schule's original analysis retained):

[fa '-Ø ix Malin] x-Ø-ma '-on [naj Xhunik]

[CFT-B3 NCL Mary] PEFT-B3-hit-SUF"[AF] [NCL John]

It is Mary who hit John

The third-person absolutive pronoun -Ø (marked as "B3 in Schiile's analysis) in "x-Ø-ma'-on" cross-references on the objectNP-exactlywhat we see on Kl 398 in the AF cleft construction where *the-0mhiinpat-bu-n-Ø-iiy* 'throne' similarly cross-references on the object NP, 'the throne', but not based on an animacy hierarchy (since the subject NP ranks higher than the object NP). Therefore, Kl 398 demonstrates a clear affinity with these examples drawn from modern Mayan languages in clefted AF construc-tions. Furthermore, the particular parameters of this structure in this passage indeed require interpreting this sentence as either a Focus Antipassive or AF construction; we opt for the latter. Thus, reading *hiin* as "I" in this clefted AF context is eminently appropriate.

The third case *of hiin* on the Regal Rabbit Vase

Fig. 5. The *hiin* glyph in the negative expression **mi-hi-na che-ke-na**, *mi hiin chekeen*, "I am the one who did not appear" on K0793 (drawing by M. D. Carrasco, after photo by Justin Kerr).

(K1398) appears in the spoken text caption of the Sun God. Below the Sun God, God L is pleading his case against the rabbit, who has taken some of his personal items (Fig. 6). The caption reads:

AJAW-wa ?-ch'a?-la T'UL u-CH'AM-wa ni-? ni-bu-ku ni-pa-ta

ajaw ?-ch 'al(?) ajawt'ulu-ch 'am-aw-0ni-? ni-bu[h]kni-pat

lord 'name' rabbit 3SE-grasp-TRANS-3SA 1SE-? 1SE-clothes 1 SE-back.rack

Lord, ?-ch'al(?) Rabbit took my (?), my clothes, and my back rack.

The seated Sun God then responds to the complaint of the Rabbit (Fig. 7):

ma-cha-ja ?-ch'a(?)-la T'UL ta-hi-na ni-MAM

machaj ?-ch 'al(?) t 'ul ta hiin ni-mam

NEG ? rabbit PREP-1 SI 1 SE-grandfather

?-ch'al Rabbit is not with me, my grandfather

The *hiin* in this case is used as the first-person object, "me," of the preposition *ta*, "with." Once again, the first-person context ("my grandfather") is in full concordance with the interpretation *of hiin* as a first-person independent pronoun. Moreover, it is this reading that best fits the iconography of the scene, where the rabbit is hiding behind the Sun God. The humor of the scene would not be complete without this statement from the Sun God.

A final example of the independent pronoun *him* appears on K0793 (kindly pointed out to us by Luis Lopes).[16] The central scene on this vase shows two individuals facing each other - one in the guise of a firefly way and the other in the guise of K'awiil (see Lopes 2004) (Fig. 8). Between the two seated figures, the text reads:

mi-hi-na che-ke-na ? ?-ba ya-la-ji-ya ?-EK?

mi-hiin chek-een ? ?y-al-aj-0-iiy (?) ek'(?)

NEG1 SI appear-1SA ? ? 3 SE-say-RESUL-3 SA-ADV.ENCL
? 'name'

I am the one who did not appear ?, said "? Ek'"Them/ is a negative adverbial particle meaning "no" or "not." The *chekeen* compound is of considerable importance for understanding the first-person context of this and similar inscriptions.[17] In 2003, Carrasco suggested the che-ke-na compound should be analyzed as composed of the root chek-, meaning "to appear" in Ch'olan languages plus the first-person singular absolutive pronoun -*een*, producing "I appeared."[18] The first two glyphs in this series may therefore read: "It was not I who appeared/was present." It is notable that since the verb is intransitive, there is no need to distinguish the NPs from each other; therefore, the absolutive suffix on the verb cross-references on the subject NP, "I." Quite appropriately in this first-person context, a quotative expression appears three glyphs later asya-la-ji-ya,*yalaj-0-iiy,* "he (has) said it" (cf. Stuart etal. 1999; MacLeod 2004:294). The presence of *the him* in a first-person context *with-een* and the quotative marker argues favorably for its interpretation as the first-person singular independent pronoun.

Conclusion

Thus, while the *hiin* glyph has been considered by many to represent a dialectal variation of *ha 'i/haa'* in the hieroglyphic script, the evidence presented here suggests it is better interpreted as the first-person singular independent pronoun.[19] In addition, the above discussion has clarified the distinction between antipassive and AF cleft constructions in hieroglyphic script. Similar to antipassives, AF cleft forms cause a shift in emphasis through syntactic and paradigmatic disruption; however, unlike antipassives, they do not necessarily entail the demotion of the patient. Also, as we have shown, the realization of AF cleft constructions in Classic Ch'olan accords perfectly with the syntactic and morphemic alternations found in many modern Mayan languages. In AF cleft constructions, the verb marks the object with Set B (absolutive) pronouns, not the subject - precisely the pattern we find in hieroglyphic texts - which accounts for the lack of first-person morphology associated with the verb when the *hiin* pronoun occurs. Also, the attestation of cognates to the *hiin* form in a number of modern Mayan languages also gives contemporary linguistic support for the reading. Finally, the consistent first-person contexts associated with *thehiin* glyph in the inscriptions are themselves compelling factors confirming its interpretation as the independent pronoun "I/me."

The decipherment of the *hiin* glyph as the first-person singular independent pronoun adds to our ever more refined understanding of the pronominal system of Classic Ch'olan and brings into clearer focus the use of first-person discourse by the ancient Maya elite.

Notes

In general, independent pronouns in Mayan languages are most commonly used to highlight certain forms of discourse, especially when syntactic variations occur such as poetic or emphatic fronting and focus constructions.

Based on the most recent spelling conventions proposed by John Robertson, Stephen Houston, and David Stuart, both *hiin* and *hi'n* are possible although Robertson prefers reading **hi-na** as *hi'n* (John Robertson, personal communication 11/2006). While we still favor a *hiin* reading for the sign, *hi'n* is also a still a viable option.

The reading of *hiin* as the first-person singular independent pronoun "I/me" was deciphered by Kerry Hull and Michael D. Carrasco in 2001. In 2003, the reading was discussed with other epigraphers (Nikolai Grube, Barbara MacLeod, and Robert Wald). The decipherment was first presented by Robert Wald and Michael Carrasco in a public forum in March of 2004 at the Texas Maya Meetings in a paper focusing on the Regal Rabbit Vase, K1398. Wald and Carrasco further suggested that in general the forms **hiin, ha'at, ha'i/haa',** and **ha'o'b** were best analyzed as independent pronouns as opposed to their more common interpretation as demonstrative pronouns (Carrasco 2004).

Alfonso Lacadena (2000:176) suggested that **hi-na** was related to the *him* form in Ch'ol, meaning *"el, ella, esa, este, esta"* ("he, she, this, this one") (Aulie and Aulie 1978:65). This interpretation saw the **hi-na** spelling as a variant form of ha-i, which was rightly identified as the third-person independent pronoun.

The small, incised caption text of Lintel 3 from Piedras Negras may be the sole known occurrence in non-ceramic texts of the first-person singular independent pronoun; however, it appears there written in an abbreviated fashion as **hi** and not as **hi-na.** Additionally, there are few instances where the likely equivalent of *hiin* also appears simply as **hi** on ceramic vessels (cf. K1092, K7727). Sometimes referred to as a result of "underspelling," this process may rather reflect the phonetic spelling of actual, perhaps localized and/or contextually-motivated speech patterns.

Mocho also has **hi'in** as the first-person singular-independent pronoun (Schumann 1969). Most Mayan languages have cognates of *hiin* but show varying degrees of phonetic change. David Mora-Marin has also kindly pointed out to us dialectal forms in Chontal of *kdjin* "I/me," *a-jin* "you," and *u-jin* "he," where -*jin* is the base upon which the ergative/possessive pronouns are added in forming independent pronouns (Keller and Luciano 1997:16, 57, 269, 271) (cf. Mora-Marin 2004:57) In addition, Poqomam and Poqomchi' both have the form **hin,** albeit with a short vowel (Kaufman 1976; Mayers 1966).

Marc Zender (see Stuart 2005:52) has proposed that the original form was **haa'-* in Proto-Mayan, and the vowel was shortened near the end of the Late Classic period with the appearance of a few **ha-a** spellings.

Grammatical abbreviations used is this paper are as follows: 1, 2, 3 first, second, third person, 0 third-person singular absolutive pronoun, A absolutive pronoun, ADV adverb, AF agent focus, AVP agent verb patient, CAUS causative, CL clitic, COMP completive, DEF definite article, E ergative pronoun, ENCL enclitic, I independent pronoun, IMP imperfective, NCL noun classifier, NEG negative, NP noun phrase, P plural, PART particle, PEFT perfective, POS possessive, PREP preposition, PRO pronoun, RESUL resultative, S singular, SUF suffix, SVO subject verb object, TRANS transitive, VOS verb object subject, VP verbal phrase, and VPA verb patient agent.

In 2004, based on a suggestion from Michael Carrasco, we have come to see the *cheheen* form as strictly a first-person quotative, "I said."

Marc Zender has also come to a similar conclusion as to its interpretation and circulated his ideas in an email to other epigraphers in 2004 (Marc Zender, personal communication 2005). There is not room for a full discussion into the complexities for this argument here.

David Stuart interprets this glyph as referring to the Muwaan-bird hat (or "feathery sombrero") often worn by God L (Stuart 2006:99; cf. Coe 1973:91).

This idea is supported further by the iconography of Naranjo Stela 21, a monument dedicated to the conquest of K'ahk' Tiliw Chan Chahk, the ruler who is also mentioned as the owner of the Regal Rabbit Vase. Stela 21 depicts a jaguar throne actually positioned upside down (Julia Guernsey, personal communication to Michael D. Carrasco 2004) in an image that is nearly identical to the scene of God L before the Sun God on the vase.

Antipassive constructions in Mayan languages were described in considerable detail early on by John Robertson (1976:133-164). Robertson noted that in many Mayan languages the patient of the transitive verb is attenuated, resulting in a transitive verb left with only a single argument Noun Phrase that takes absolutive case markings.

13. Duncan has noted similar instances in Tz'utujil where detransitivization does not necessarily occur in AF constructions (2003:174).

In some Mayan languages, however, Tonhouser argues that the verb may not show any special morphological change in focus constructions that "realize an event participant with the discourse status 'unpredictable'" (2003:14).

The -n "agentive voice suffix" ultimately derives from a Proto-Mayan *-(V)n (Smith-Stark 1978). In the modern Mayan languages, the suffix used on derived transitive and non-CVC verbs is -n or a cognate form of it (see Yasugi 2005:80).

One final occurrence of *hiin* is known. At Kohunlich, a short hieroglyphic inscription with a **hi-na** compound was recently found by Enrique Nalda and Sandra Balanzario in a funeral chamber above Edificio E-8 Sub of 27 Escalones. (We thank Erik Boot for bringing this example to our attention.) Erik Velasquez Garcia has published a drawing and reading of the glyphs (2002:16). He interprets the sequence as **hi-na ka-AJAW,** *hiin ka-ajaw, "este es nuestro Senor* ("this is our Lord")." We would instead see the *hiin* as "I" in this context (note the explicit first-person reference with ka-, "our"). Furthermore, we disagree with reading the main sign as *ajaw* since Mayan phonological rules do not normally allow two successive vowels without an epenthetic ligature (usually "w" or "y" in the hieroglyphic inscriptions), especially in the case of ergative pronominal proclitics. More important, however, is that the ka- prefix leaves open the possibility of a first-person plural ("our") reference - an ideal place for a first-person independent pronoun.

In 2004, Marc Zender also independently concluded the **che-ke-na** spellings must represent a first-person reference (personal communication 2005).

The verbal form *chekta* means "to appear" in Ch'orti' (Hull 2005:15), *chectan* means *"declararse, saber, manifestarse* ("to declare oneself, to know, to manifest oneself")" in Chontal (Keller and Luciano 1997:82), and *checta* means *"hallcar* ("to find")" in Ch'orti' (Boot 2004:26).

Most notably, David Mora-Marin (2003; n.d.) has made an alternative argument that **hi-na** and the unique **hi-ni** example (on K4113) represent Pre-Proto-Ch'olan and Proto-Western Ch'olan variants of the third-person singular independent pronoun, respectively.

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RESUMEN: En este ensayo presentamos evidencia que el compuesto jeroglifico de **hi-na,** *him,* es el pronombre independiente de la primera persona de singular en el Ch'olano-Clasico. Damos evidencia por esta interpretacion por repasar el contexto de las ocurrencias conocidas del termino y los datos linguisticos que lo apoyan. Al final, presentamos nuestros argumentos por la presencia de construcciones gramaticales de Foco de Agente asociadas con pronombres independientes en vez de las interpretaciones previas que eran solo formas antipasivas.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG: In dem vorliegenden Beitrag argumentieren wir, dass die Hieroglyphe **hi-na,** *him,* als unabhangiges Pronomen der ersten Person Singular im klassischen Ch'olan zu deuten ist. Die Argumentation beruht auf den unterschiedlichen Kontexten, in denen der Ausdruck erscheint, wie auch auf linguistischen Daten. Daran ankniipfend schlagen wir vor, dass verschiedene Vorkommen des Pronomens im Kontext von Agent-Fokus-Konstruktion zu deuten sind und wie friiher, als einfache Antipassive.