TZUTUJIL GRAMMAR

Tzutujil Grammar

by Jon P. Dayley

To my father, Mac, and
the memory of my mother, Shirley

Contents

     5.1 Noun Inflection, 139
          5.1.1 Inflection for Plurality, 139
          5.1.2 Inflection for Possessor, 141
                 5.1.2.1 Subclassification of Nouns Under
                          Possession, 142
                 5.1.2.2 Normal vs Abnormal Possession, 146
                 5.1.2.3 Inflection for Possessor of Complex Nouns, 147
          5.1.3 Inflection for Abstraction, 150
          5.1.4 Predicate Noun Subject Inflection, 151
     5.2 Noun Subcategories, 152
          5.2.1 Relational Nouns, 152
          5.2.2 Numerals, 159
                 5.2.2.1 The Numbers, 159
                 5.2.2.2 Quantifiers, 163
          5.2.3 Enumeratives, 164
          5.2.4 Measure Words, 167
          5.2.5 Proper Names, 168
          5.2.6 Vocatives, 171
          5.2.7 Toponyms, 171
     5.3 Noun Derivation, 173
          5.3.1 Affixes Deriving Nouns, 174
          5.3.2 Nominal Compounds, 187

6   Adjectives   194

     6.1 General Features of Adjectives, 194
          6.1.1 Modifier Connectors, 195
          6.1.2 Number Agreement, 196
          6.1.3 Derivational Paradigms of Adjectives, 197
          6.1.4 Predicate Adjective Inflections, 199
          6.1.5 Adjectives as Nouns and Adverbs, 201
     6.2 Positional Adjectives, 203
     6.3 Comparatives and Superlatives, 210
     6.4 Adjective Derivation, 212
          6.4.1 Affixes Deriving Adjectives, 212
          6.4.2 Adjective Compounds, 219

Contents

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my appreciation to a number of people for their support in making this work possible. Although I assume responsibility for any shortcomings it might contain, these people deserve credit for whatever merits it might have. I thank:

-- Wallace L. Chafe, Mary R. Haas, Johanna Nichols, and anonymous members of the UCPL editorial staff, who read this work and made insightful comments and criticisms;

-- Members of the Proyecto Linguistico Francisco Marroquin, both North American and Guatemalan, who taught me virtually everything I know about Mayan languages in general; and

-- Members of the Equipo Tzutujil of the PLFM: Francisco Perez Mendoza and Miguel Hernandez Mendoza from San Juan la Laguna, and Diego Reanda Chiquival and Felipe Tuiz Vasquez from Santiago Atitlan, who taught me virtually everything I know about their language, Tzutujil, the topic of this work;

-- The staff of the Boise State University Research Center, especially Tina Gunter and Barbara McGowan, who prepared the final draft of this book; and finally

-- Members of my family: Victoria, Veronica, Nicolas, Lucas, and Yolanda, whose love, support, and patience kept me going.

Abbreviations and Conventions

//...//	abstract form, but not necessarily the most basic underlying form
A	ergative (Set A) person prefix, e.g.,

A1 = 1st person singular	A1p = 1st person plural
A2 = 2nd person singular	A2p = 2nd person plural
A3 = 3rd person singular	A3p = 3rd person plural

A	agent; used only in combinations such as VPA = verb patient agent, AVP = agent verb patient, etc.
Agt	agent or subject of a transitive verb (see chapter 8, note 4)
Adj	adjective
Adv	adverb
B	absolutive (Set B) person marker, e.g.,

B1 = 1st person singular	B1p = 1st person plural
B2 = 2nd person singular	B2p = 2nd person plural
B3 = 3rd person singular	B3p = 3rd person plural

C	consonant
C_x	consonant determined by the 'xth' consonant of the preceding root or stem
comp	completive
Dem	demonstrative particle
DTJ	derived transitive verb in J
DTV	derived transitive verb
DT7	derived transitive verb in 7
emph	emphatic
foc	agent focus antipassive marker
front	fronting particle

incomp	incompletive
instr	instrument(al)
irreal	irrealis particle or adverb
IV	intransitive verb
Loc	locative particle
N	noun
nec	necessitative particle
neg	negative
nonperf	nonperfect aspect, tense, or mode
NP	noun phrase
oblig	obligative
P	positional root
P	patient (= object); used only in combinations such as VPA = verb patient agent, AVP = agent verb patient, etc.
P Adj	positional adjective
Pat	patient or object of a transitive verb (see chapter 8, note 4)
perf	perfect aspect
pf	phrase-final suffix
plr	plural
PRN	prepositional-relational noun
PRNP	prepositional-relational noun phrase
Q	question particle
RN	relational noun
RNP	relational noun phrase
RTV	root transitive verb; i.e., a nonderived transitive verb
SA	Santiago Atitlan (variety of Tzutujil)
SJ	San Juan la Laguna (variety of Tzutujil)
SP	San Pedro la Laguna (variety of Tzutujil)
Sp	Spanish
subject	subject of only a one-place predicate such as an intransitive verb or stative predicate (see chapter 8, note 4)
Subject	subject of a one-place predicate as well as agent of a transitive verb (see chapter 8, note 4)
suf	suffix

TV   transitive verb

V   vowel

V   verb; used only in combinations such as IV, TV, DTV, RTV, etc.,
          and VPA = verb patient agent, AVP = agent verb patient, etc.

V_x vowel harmonizing with the 'xth' vowel of the preceding root
          or stem

GUATEMALA WITH TZUTUJIL AREA

N

GUATEMALA   BELIZE

MEXICO

• Cobán

Huehuetenango •

Quetzaltenango
•   Solola •
Guatemala City

HONDURAS

⊗ Guatemala City

EL SALVADOR

·········· TZUTUJIL AREA

MAP I
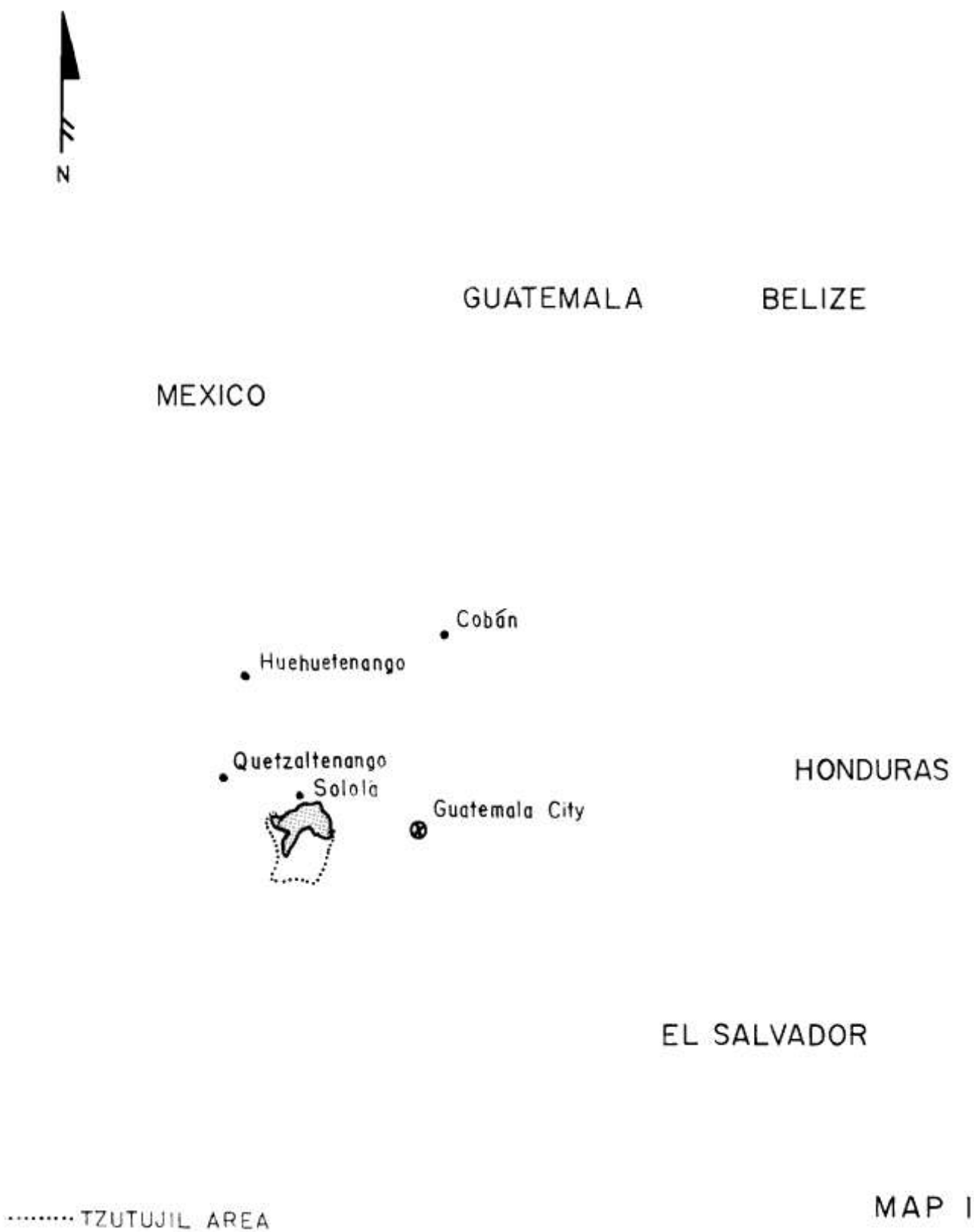
Introduction

This work is a reference grammar of the Tzutujil language spoken in the departments of Sololá and Suchitepéquez in Guatemala. Tzutujil is one of approximately thirty Mayan languages that are spoken by several million people in Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras. All Mayan languages lie within the Meso-American cultural area. Tzutujil belongs to the Greater Quichean branch of the Eastern division of Mayan languages, and it is most closely affiliated with Cakchiquel, Quiché, Sacapultec, and Sipacapa (Campbell 1977; Kaufman 1974, 1976).

Tzutujil is spoken by approximately 50,000 people in midwestern Guatemala in an area extending from the highlands (Sp tierra fría) on the southern and western ends of Lake Atitlán to the lowlands (Sp tierra caliente) on the southern Pacific coastal plain. The Tzutujil area includes all of the towns on the south shores of Lake Atitlán, namely San Lucas Tolimán, Santiago Atitlán, San Pedro la Laguna, and San Juan la Laguna, as well as San Pablo la Laguna on the west end of the lake and Santa María Visitación to the southwest in the mountains high above the lake. The town of Chicacao, situated on the edge of the Pacific coastal plain some ten miles to the south of the lake, is also included within the Tzutujil area, as are many small villages, hamlets, and plantations scattered throughout the area between the lake and the Pacific coastal plain. (See maps 1 and 2.)

The Tzutujil area is bordered on the north, east, and southeast by Cakchiquel speakers, on the west and southwest by Quiché speakers, and on the south by Spanish speakers. Although San Lucas Tolimán is primarily a Tzutujil town, there are also a fairly large number of Cakchiquel speakers as this town lies on the eastern edge of the Tzutujil area. There are

1

also a few older people who speak Cakchiquel in Cerro de Oro, a village
(Sp aldea) pertaining to the county seat (Sp municipio) of Santiago
Atitlán. Cerro de Oro was settled, ca. 1880, by Cakchiquel speakers from
Patzicía, but the vast majority of its inhabitants speak Tzutujil today.
Quiché is also spoken in and around Santa María Visitación, which actual-
ly lies a short distance within Quiché territory. According to local
legend (which there is no reason to doubt), this town was settled by
people from Santiago Atitlán many generations ago. Natives of Santa
María learn Tzutujil as their first language, but before they are very
old they also learn Quiché since they are surrounded by Quiché speakers
and since only Quiché is spoken in Santa Clara la Laguna, Santa María's
sister town, which lies adjacent to it in the mountains above Lake
Atitlán.

    Other Mayan languages from all over Guatemala are also spoken in
small numbers within the Tzutujil area, primarily on the larger planta-
tions where migrant workers come seasonally to harvest coffee, cotton,
sugar cane, etc. There are also transient traders from other parts of
Guatemala who pass through the area buying and selling goods. Spanish is
also spoken in the Tzutujil area, mostly by Ladinos (Guatemalan Spanish
for 'non-Indian'). In addition, most Tzutujil men know Spanish to one
degree or another and use it when traveling outside of the area, when
dealing with people from outside the area, or when dealing with Ladinos
from within the area who do not (wish to) speak Tzutujil. Few Tzutujil
women speak Spanish, although some understand it to varying degrees.
Tzutujil children usually do not learn Spanish at all unless they go to
school or until they have extended contact with outsiders. But the number
of Tzutujil children attending school is increasing year by year, espe-
cially the number of girls, who until recently almost never went to
school. Most Ladinos who were born in the area or who have lived there
for a long time speak Tzutujil, some with a high degree of proficiency,
but many do not use it unless they are speaking with Tzutujiles who do
not speak Spanish. The number of Ladinos in the Tzutujil area is rather
low, although in some cases they are prominent politically and econom-
ically because they are usually shopkeepers, tradesmen, school teachers,
national policemen, doctors and nurses, and plantation owners. The over-

all Ladino population comprises less than 5 percent in the larger towns
and is virtually non-existent in the smaller towns and villages.

A different variety of Tzutujil is spoken in virtually every town in
the area. Each variety usually contains some lexical, phonological,
morphological, and syntactic differences, although none of these differ-
ences are so great that any of the varieties are mutually unintelligible.
The present work is primarily based on the Tzutujil spoken in San Juan la
Laguna (SJ), which, from a historical linguistics perspective, is one of
the more conservative varieties. However, a good deal is also said of
the phonology of the Tzutujil spoken in Santiago Atitlán (SA), since this
variety has undergone a considerable degree of phonological innovation.

Lake Atitlán is situated in a basin in the center of the midwestern
highlands of Guatemala. The lake is 92 square miles in area and has an
average elevation of approximately 5100 feet. The deepest point in the
lake has not been determined, but soundings have been made of well over
1000 feet. The lake is surrounded on the west, north, and east by steep
precipices of over 2000 feet; the southern end is dominated by three
volcanos: Tolimán (10,350 ft.), Atitlán (11,500 ft.), and San Pedro
(9,925 ft.). In general, the area around the lake is rugged and rocky
terrain with steep cliffs, deep canyons, gorges and ravines, and little
flat ground. The climate in the lower elevations around the lake is
semitropical monsoon, with temperatures ranging from about 50-90 degrees
Fahrenheit; in the higher elevations the climate is more temperate. The
heart of the rainy season (Sp invierno 'winter') is from the end of May
to the end of October. November, December, and January are the heart of
the dry season (Sp verano 'summer'), and usually there is no rain during
this period. Occasional rains begin in February and become more frequent
until by the end of May they are almost a daily occurrence. There is
usually a short dry season (Sp canículas 'dog days') lasting two weeks in
July.

To the south of the volcanos on the southern end of the lake, the
land begins a rapid descent to the southern Pacific coastal plain. Thus,
at Chicacao, some ten miles south of the lake, the elevation is only a
few hundred feet and the climate is tropical and hot all year.

Towns around the lake are generally separated by some distance and are situated on the rather scarce, relatively flat areas on the skirts of the volcanos or on the flanks of the mountains. Up until recently travel was difficult and dangerous between towns because the terrain is rugged and because the waters of Lake Atitlán can become extremely rough without warning. Traditionally, travel between towns was carried out either on narrow footpaths weaving up and down the sides of the mountains and in and out of the deep gorges, or by canoe across the (sometimes treacherous) waters of the lake. The difficulty in travel between towns accounts for the fact that each town around the lake is to a certain degree culturally and linguistically distinct. In recent years, however, travel has become somewhat more convenient, as roads have been built connecting at least some of the towns, and there are regularly scheduled motor-launch routes traversing the lake to and from the larger towns.

The Tzutujiles are basically slash-and-burn agriculturalists, and their lifestyle is directed more to the hills and mountains than to the lake. They live in densely populated ('nuclear') towns and go out to work in surrounding farmlands. At times, their fields are several hours' (or even days') walk from the towns. The most important crops are the ubiquitous corn, beans, chilis, and squashes of various types, but other vegetables and fruits are also important, especially as cash crops, for example: tomatoes, onions, garlic, lettuce, cabbage, green beans, cucumbers, avocados, hog plums, oranges, pitayas, bananas, mangos, zapotes, anise, coffee, and sugar cane, as well as others. Cornfields are usually on the mountain and hill sides (some on slopes of over 45 degrees), and on the more rocky terrain. Vegetables are usually grown on the flatter and richer soils; sugar cane is important only on the coastal plain. San Juan la Laguna is especially well known for its vegetable crops; in San Pablo la Laguna, the people's livelihood is almost exclusively directed toward the harvest of century plant or maguey, from which all kinds of twine products are manufactured; Cerro de Oro is known for its tule mats.

Most Tzutujiles own their own farmlands, if only small plots. However, there are many people who do not own their own land or who own too little to make their livelihood entirely from it. These people either sharecrop or work as day laborers on the land of others. The latter is

especially true of people from San Juan la Laguna, since earlier in this
century they lost most of their own land to outsiders (mainly to people
from San Pedro la Laguna) through a series of legal and political dis-
putes. Virtually all Tzutujil men, either seasonally or occasionally, go
to work on the large plantations (Sp _fincas_) scattered from south of the
volcanos down onto the coastal plain. This work is a necessity for most
people since it provides one of the few sure sources of cash to pay med-
ical and educational expenses and to buy food, clothing, and other goods
not grown or made at home.

The basic social and economic unit of the Tzutujil is the household,
which may be a nuclear family or somewhat extended nuclear family . The
household usually has a domestic plot (Sp _sitio_) in town, on which there
are one to several houses or buildings, usually thatched-roof houses with
cane walls or adobe houses with either thatched or tiled roofs. The
members of the household eat together and share the resources of the
household, and all but the very old and very young contribute to it.
Usually the eldest man and woman are considered to be the heads of the
household.

Tzutujil men do the farmwork, and generally the basic farm tools, a
hoe and a machete, are symbols of manhood. Men also collect firewood,
and some hunt for birds, ducks and other game such as rabbit, peccary,
paca, iguana, alligator, and deer (the latter two of which are almost
extinct around the lake now). Men also do most of the traveling and
marketing in towns outside of the area. The life of Tzutujil women is
directed more toward the home. They raise children, prepare food, fetch
water, wash clothes, and weave cloth for making clothes. They also are
usually in charge of local marketing: buying goods for the household and
selling goods produced by members of the household such as farm products
and cloth. Children at a very early age begin to help in the chores of
their respective sexes: boys helping their fathers in the fields and
girls helping their mothers at home and in the market. Usually a house-
hold has a dog and perhaps a cat, some chickens or turkeys; some house-
holds have a pig or two; and very rarely a household might have a cow,
donkey, horse, or mule.

Fishing has been important traditionally in most of the towns on the
lake, but it has become less and less so because earlier in this century
a foreign fish was introduced into the lake that rather voraciously ate
up most of the other fish. The foreign fish itself is difficult to catch
because it tends to stay in very deep water most of the time. In some
towns (e.g. Santiago Atitlán) men traditionally did the fishing, while in
others (e.g. San Juan la Laguna) women did most of the fishing. Today
most fishing is done by men because it requires the use of a canoe in
deep water.

The most important social activities outside of the household tradi-
tionally are bound to religious festivals and to the cofradía. Cofradías
are brotherhoods of Catholic men and their wives, and their main functions
are to care for the images of saints and to make sure that religious
festivals, ceremonies, rituals, and dances are performed properly at the
appropriate times throughout the year. There are from one to several
cofradías, each having its own patron saint, in every town. Cofradías
were established in Mayan towns very early after the Conquest, and they
are the primary manifestation of the syncretism of traditional Mayan
religion and Catholicism. However, there have always been people (Sp de
costumbre) who practice rituals and religious rites outside of the
cofradía system. These people adhere to more traditional Mayan religious
beliefs influenced less by Catholicism. Today, there are also other
groups not tied to the cofradías. For example, evangelical Protestantism
has become increasingly more important in this century, and a group called
Acción Católica was established in most towns in the late forties and
early fifties. Acción Católica practices a more orthodox Catholicism,
and it tends to oppose the more syncretic ways of the cofradía system.

Until fairly recently both the religious and civil systems in each
town were tied to the cofradías. However, today there is a civil govern-
ment in each town that is independent of the cofradías. Mayors are
elected, and a number of officials are appointed by them. There is also
a secretary (usually a Ladino or someone quite literate) of each
municipio ('county seat'), who is either appointed by the governor of the
department or hired by the town and approved by the governor. The
secretary's function is to be the liaison between the town and national

government and to handle legal affairs involving the town and the outside. In addition, all men (except Ladinos) are obligated to perform various kinds of community services on a rotating basis.

For more detailed information on the geography and ethnography of the Tzutujil area the following primary sources should be consulted: Gross (1974), Lothrop (1933), McBryde (1947), Mendelson (1965), Orellana (1984), Rojas Limas (1968), Stoll (1958), Tax (1937), and Tax and Hinshaw (1969).

Typologically, Tzutujil is an ergative language, as are other Mayan languages (see Dayley 1981, on ergativity in Mayan, and Dixon 1979 and Silverstein 1976, on ergativity in general). Tzutujil is morphologically ergative in that the agents or subjects of transitive verbs (as well as possessors of nouns) are indicated with one set of person markers, the ergative set, while patients or objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates are indicated with a different set of person markers, the absolutive set. Tzutujil is also syntactically ergative in that there are a number of constraints on the syntactic processes in which agents of transitive verbs may participate, constraints that do not apply to patients of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates. Ergativity is also manifested in the voice system since Tzutujil has absolutive antipassive and agent focus antipassive voices that are typical of many ergative languages.

Tzutujil is also basically a verb-first language, and it displays a number of grammatical features often correlated with languages in which the verb normally comes before its patient or object, i.e. a VO language. Most of these features are listed below; they are discussed in detail in later chapters in the sections enclosed in parentheses. (The reader should consult Comrie 1981, especially chapter 4; Graham and Blake 1981, especially chapters 3 and 6; Greenberg 1963; Lehmann 1978, especially pp. 22-23; and Vennemann 1973, 1974, 1975, for detailed discussions of correlates of VO languages as well as of OV languages.)

Grammatical Features in Tzutujil
Typical of a VO Language

-- Preposition before its object (7.1.2, 8.1.2)

-- Auxiliary before verb (10.2.4)

-- Modal before verb (but also modals after verb) (7.2.1, 8.1.2)

-- Marker of comparison before standard (6.3)

-- Title before name (5.2.5)

-- Given name before family name (5.2.5)

-- Additive number before other number (5.2.2)

-- Noun before possessor (5.1.2, 8.1.1)

-- Noun before relative clause (8.1.1, 10.2.1)

-- Noun before adjective (but also adjective before noun) (6.1,
    8.1.1)

-- Negative marker before verb (7.1.5, 9.1)

-- Interrogatives before verb (7.1.4, 9.4)

-- Main sentence before complement (but also a few complements
     before main sentence) (10.2.4)

-- Whole clause before gapped clause (10.1.1)

-- Pronouns developed (chapter 3)

-- Reflexive pronouns (9.5)

-- Passive developed (9.6.1)

-- No cases (5.1)

-- Complex syllables (1.4)

-- Prefixing (but also much suffixing) (chapters 2 through 6)

Tzutujil also has a number of features that are not so typical of a VO
language: (1) there is a good deal of suffixing; (2) most modals occur
after the verb instead of before it; (3) many morphophonemic modifica-
tions occur finally in words rather than initially (see 1.6).

The description and analysis of the grammar of Tzutujil presented in
this work are based on nearly four years of fieldwork in Guatemala. From
August 1973 to October 1976 and from June through September 1977 the
author lived in Guatemala working as a linguist for the Proyecto
Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM; see Dayley 1975), and in July 1980
the author did supplementary fieldwork there, sponsored by the Survey of
California and Other Indian Languages, University of California, Berkeley.

While working for the PLFM the author's main duties were: (1) to teach general linguistics to Mayan Indian students who spoke a number of different Mayan languages; (2) to teach Tzutujil students how to develop educational and other written materials in their language; (3) to supervise the Tzutujil students in compiling a bilingual Tzutujil-Spanish dictionary; and (4) to work with the Tzutujiles doing grammatical analysis of their language.

The Tzutujil examples presented herein and the data on which the grammatical description and analysis are based come from several sources: (1) the author's field notes from elicitation sessions and from recordings of dialogs; (2) a substantial body of texts collected and transcribed by the Tzutujil students and checked by the author; and (3) the Tzutujil-Spanish dictionary compiled by the Tzutujil students and the author (Dayley et al. 1977, computer printout). The dictionary in itself comprises a tremendous amount of data on Tzutujil. It contains over 6300 lexical entries, each with translations, principal grammatical parts, and in most cases at least two sentence examples of each entry used in context. The sentence examples were written by the Tzutujil students and checked by the author.

The reader may wish to consult the following sources, which also contain a good deal of data and information on Tzutujil: Andrade (1946), Brasseur de Bourbourg (1961), Butler and Butler (1977), Butler and Fleming (1976), Butler and Peck (1980), Carlin (1970), Dayley (1978, 1981), Stoll (1958), and Ximénez (1701-3).

A few word are in order on the translations of Tzutujil sentences in the chapters that follow. In most cases, a literal, interlinear, word-by-word translation is provided, along with a more figurative or idiomatic translation, as in (1):

    (1) Jar ajsanjwaanii7   ma   xa   ko7   kinaa7ooj.
         the ones-of-San-Juan not only little their-experience
                              (= a lot)
         'The people from San Juan have a lot of experience.'

In the literal word-by-word translation, a Tzutujil word and its English
translation occurring directly below it begin at the same point, but
since they are usually of different lengths they normally do not end at
the same point (e.g. xa and 'only'). Dashes between words in the English
translation indicate that all of the notions of the English words
connected by dashes are included in the single Tzutujil word above, al-
though not necessarily in the same order or even by corresponding
morphemes. For example, the Tzutujil word ajsanjwaanii7 is composed of a
noun deriving prefix, aj-, meaning 'one characterized by/one from',
sanjwaan from Spanish San Juan; and the plural suffix -ii7, all of which
together mean 'ones-from-San-Juan' or Juaneros in Spanish. Occasionally,
especially in the case of Tzutujil idioms, a second more figurative
translation is provided in parentheses after or below the literal trans-
lation. For example, the three Tzutujil words ma xa ko7 literally mean
'not only little', but together they are an idiomatic phrase meaning 'a
lot'.

Sometimes, where relevant to the discussion, morpheme-by-morpheme
translations are given, as in (2):

(2) X-in-war-i   inin.
     comp-B1-sleep-pf I
     'I slept.'

In this case, dashes occur between the Tzutujil morphemes; dashes also
occur between the English glosses (or abbreviations) of the Tzutujil
morphemes, and the English glosses occur in the same relative order as
the Tzutujil morphemes. For example, the Tzutujil word xinwari =
x-in-war-i is composed of the completive aspect prefix x-; the first
person singular absolutive prefix in-, abbreviated 'B1'; the intransitive
verb root war- 'sleep'; and the phrase-final suffix -i, abbreviated 'pf'.
It should be noted here that prefixes are cited with a following dash
(e.g. x-), suffixes with a preceding dash (e.g. -i), and infixes with a
preceding and following dash (e.g. -j- passive infix, not illustrated
here). Also, bound roots are usually cited with a following dash (e.g.
war-) to indicate that they cannot occur alone, although noun roots that

always require a possessive prefix are cited with a preceding dash (e.g. -aal 'woman's child').

Occasionally literal interlinear translations are not provided, as in (3):

(3) Inin xinwari.
     'I slept.'

especially when the Tzutujil word order is the same as the English word order, when the internal structure of the Tzutujil sentence is irrelevant to the discussion, or when the internal analysis is self-evident from context.

Finally, it should be noted that the grammatical category of gender does not exist in Tzutujil. Therefore, out of context, third person singular pronouns and person markers may be translated with either 'he/him/his', 'she/her', or 'it/its', or in context, with whichever gender is appropriate.

1

PHONOLOGY

This chapter is a general outline of Tzutujil phonology. In section 1.1 an inventory of phonological segments is given, and the orthography used to write them is presented. Section 1.2 is a discussion of Tzutujil phonetics and allophonic variation within phonemes. Stress is discussed in 1.3, syllable structure in 1.4, and juncture in 1.5. In section 1.6, on morphophonemics, the most important processes involving consonant and vowel alternations are presented. The discussion in 1.6 includes both general and more restricted morphophonemic processes, but it is not completely comprehensive. Many highly restricted morphological alternations involving only one or two morphemes are discussed individually in later chapters on the morphology and syntax. And no doubt some have been omitted either because they have not been discovered or because they have been overlooked.

Both allophonic and morphophonemic rules are discussed in prose, and they are also presented in formulas. The formulas use generally accepted linguistic conventions, which are discussed in detail in, for example, Chomsky and Halle (1968) and Hyman (1975). A few conventions are unique to this work, but they are explained when they are first introduced. Many of the rules are given in feature notation basically following Chomsky and Halle with modifications by Hyman and a few by this author. Often, however, cover symbols are used instead of features because they are less cumbersome for expository purposes, and because they are less of a burden to read (e.g. 'C' for [+consonantal, -syllabic]; 'V' for [-consonantal, +syllabic]; 'p' for [+consonantal, -syllabic, -continuant, +anterior, -coronal, -nasal], etc.).

12

TABLE 1

Phonemic Inventory

CONSONANTS	Bilabial	Aleveolar	Alveo-affricate	Palato-alveolar	Velar	Postvelar	Glottal
Occlusives							
Simple	p	t	tz	ch	k	q	
Glottalized	b'	d'	tz'	ch'	k'	q'	7
Fricatives		s		x		j	
Resonants							
Nasals	m	n					
Lateral		l					
Trill		r					
Semivowels	w			y			
Spanish loans							
Stops	(b)	(d)			(g)		
Resonants (SA only)	(-w")	(-l")		(-y")			
		(-r")					

VOWELS	Short		Long		Broken Long (SA)	
	Front	Back	Front	Back	Front	Back
High	i	u	ii	uu		
	e	o	ee	oo	ie	uo
Low	a		aa			

1.1   PHONEMIC INVENTORY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

The phonemic symbols used to write Tzutujil throughout this work are presented in table 1.   The symbols were chosen as a practical orthography developed by the <u>Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín</u> (PLFM) in Guatemala (see Kaufman 1976).[1]

1.2 PHONETICS AND PHONEMICS

1.2.1 The Consonants

The simple occlusives are a series of four voiceless stops, <u>p</u>, <u>t</u>, <u>k</u>, and <u>q</u>, and two voiceless affricates, <u>tz</u> and <u>ch</u>.   They are distinguished from each other by their respective points of articulation, and in the case of <u>tz</u> from <u>t</u>, by the former's delayed sibilant primary release.   All of the simple occlusives have a strong aspirated secondary release in final position and before other consonants when in clusters.   However, before vowels there is no aspirated release.

(1)   Simple Occlusive Aspirated Release Rule:[2]

$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{continuant} \\ -\text{nasal} \\ -\text{glottal} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{aspirated}]/\_\_ \begin{Bmatrix} \# \\ C \end{Bmatrix}$$

<u>Examples of Simple Occlusives:</u>

p → [p]   pojp [pΩhp^h] 'mat'

  → [p^h]   "   "   "

                tapq'iij [tap^{h}Gí:x] 'albino'

t → [t]   tut [tʋt^h] 'palmera'

  → [t^h]   "   "   "

                tkami [t^{h}kamí] 'that he die'

tz → [¢]   tzuum [¢u:mm̥] 'skin'

  → [¢^{h}]   utz [ʔʋ¢^{h}] 'good'

$$ch \rightarrow [\check{c}] \qquad \text{chee7} \ [\check{c}\varepsilon{:}?] \quad \text{'tree, wood'}$$

$$\rightarrow [\check{c}^h] \qquad \text{kuuch} \ [ku{:}\check{c}^h] \quad \text{'pig'}$$

$$\text{chpaan} \ [\check{c}^h pa{:}n\underset{\circ}{n}] \quad \text{'in it'}$$

$$k \rightarrow [k] \qquad \text{kuuk} \ [ku{:}k^h] \quad \text{'squirrel'}$$

$$\rightarrow [k^h] \qquad \text{"} \qquad \text{"} \qquad \text{"}$$

$$q \rightarrow [q] \qquad \text{qas} \ [qas] \quad \text{'very'}$$

$$\rightarrow [q^h] \qquad \text{saq} \ [saq^h] \quad \text{'white'}$$

$$\text{saqb'ach} \ [saq^h \text{б}\acute{a}\check{c}^h] \quad \text{'hailstone'}$$

Contrasting with the simple occlusives is the series of glottalized occlusives. Glottalized occlusives function as unit phonemes and contrast with clusters of glottal stop plus a simple occlusive or a simple occlusive plus a glottal stop. tz', ch', and k' are voiceless ejectives with glottalization occurring simultaneously with the oral occlusion (i.e. [ȼ'], [č'], and [k'], respectively). b' and d' are imploded and voiced before vowels; in other environments (i.e. finally or before consonants) they are voiceless ejectives. Similarly, q' is imploded and voiced before vowels, but only optionally; otherwise it is a voiceless ejective.

(2) Glottalized Occlusive Implosion and Voicing Rule:[3]

$$\begin{Bmatrix} b' \\ d' \\ q' \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{imploded} \\ +\text{voice} \end{bmatrix} / \_\_V$$

Optional with q'.

Examples of Glottalized Occlusives:

$$b' \rightarrow [\text{б}] \qquad \text{b'aaq} \ [\text{б}a{:}q^h] \quad \text{'bone'}$$

$$\rightarrow [p'] \qquad \text{sib'} \ [sIp'] \quad \text{'smoke'}$$

$$d' \rightarrow [\text{d}] \qquad \text{d'ood'} \ [\text{d}o{:}t'] \quad \text{'snail'}$$

$$\rightarrow [t'] \qquad \text{"} \qquad \text{"} \qquad \text{"}$$

             tz' → [ȼ']   tz'i7 [ȼ'I?] 'dog'

                               meetz' [me:ȼ'] 'eyebrow'

             ch' → [č']   ch'ijch' [č'Ihč'] 'metal, car'

             k' → [k']   k'ooli [k'o:lÍ] 'there is'

                               siik' [si:k'] 'tobacco'

             q' → [Ǵ] ~ [q'] q'aaq' [Ǵa:q'] ~ [q'a:q'] 'fire'

                 → [q']   "   "   "   "

Both of the velar stops, k̲ and k̲', are palatalized in two different
types of environments, one assimilatory, and the other dissimilatory.
They are palatalized before the vowel i̲, and they are also palatalized
when they are followed by a nonround vowel (i.e. i̲, e̲, or a̲) that is
followed in turn by a postvelar consonant (i.e. q̲, q̲', or j̲).

(3) Velar Stop Palatalization Rule:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{continuant} \\ +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-\text{back}]/\underline{\quad} \left\{ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{syllabic} \\ +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \\ \begin{bmatrix} +\text{syllabic} \\ -\text{round} \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{syllabic} \\ -\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \right\}
$$

     i.e.
                                       ⎧ i   ⎫
            k^{(')} → [k^{(')y}]/____ ⎨ ⎧i⎫   ⎧q ⎫   ⎬
                                       ⎪ ⎨e⎬   ⎨q'⎬   ⎪
                                       ⎩ ⎩a⎭   ⎩j ⎭   ⎭

Examples of Palatalized Velar Stops:

             k → [k^y]   kaq [k^yaq^h] 'red'

                               kaq'ayiin [k^yaq'ayí:n̥n̥] 'cacaín plant'

                               keej [k^ye:x] 'horse'

         but k → [k]   koj [kΩx] 'jaguar'

                               keem [ke:m̥m̥] 'weaving'

$$k' \rightarrow [k'^y] \qquad k'aq \; [k'^yaq^h] \quad \text{'flea'}$$

$$k'im \; [k'^yIm\underset{o}{m}] \quad \text{'straw'}$$

$$\text{but } k' \rightarrow [k'] \; k'ooj \; [k'o{:}x] \quad \text{'mask'}$$

$$k'el \; [k'\varepsilon l] \quad \text{'parakeet'}$$

Palatalization does not always occur before a nonround vowel followed by a postvelar consonant, however. For example, the k' in k'ajool [k'axó:ḷ] is not palatal. Dissimilatory palatalization apparently is not 100 percent productive.

In word-medial and word-final position glottal stop functions like any other consonant. In initial position, however, there is no contrast between its presence or absence. Nevertheless, most monosyllabic words beginning phonemically with a vowel are preceded by a phonetic glottal stop, and vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable may be optionally preceded by a phonetic glottal stop. However, the absolutive proclitics (see section 3.1) and the directional enclitics (see section 7.2.2) are exceptions to this rule: they are never preceded by a phonetic glottal stop even though they are monosyllabic. And forms of more than one syllable with an ergative prefix beginning with a vowel (see section 3.1) are never preceded by a phonetic glottal stop.

(4) Glottal Stop Insertion rule:

$\emptyset \rightarrow [?]/\#\_\_V$

Obligatory with monosyllabic vowel-initial forms except
   the absolutive proclitics and the directional
   enclitics;

Optional with forms of more than one syllable except
those beginning with ergative prefixes that
begin with a vowel.

<u>Examples of Phonetically Inserted [?]:</u>

ak'	[?ak']	'chicken'	ajq'iij	[(?)axГí:x]	'diviner'
ooj	[?o:x]	'avocado'	ojqat	[(?)Ωxqát^h]	'deerhunter'
utz	[?v¢^{h}]	'good'	utziil	[(?)v¢í:l̥]	'goodness'
iitz	[?i:¢^{h}]	'hex'	iteel	[(?)I¢é:l̥]	'bad, ugly'
eey	[?e:y̥]	'day name'	elaq'	[(?)εláq']	'robbery'

<u>Examples of Forms Which Never Have a Phonetically Inserted [?]:</u>

in winaq   [In βInáq^h]   'I am a person'

xel eel   [x̃εl̥ é:l̥]   'he went out'

aatz'ii7   [a:¢'í:?]   'your dog'

The initial glottal stop occurring phonetically on monosyllabic
forms may become phonemic via certain derivational processes. For exam-
ple, if the characterizing prefix <u>aj-</u> is added to a monosyllabic form,
then the phonetic glottal stop remains and becomes phonemic (e.g. <u>aj7iitz</u>
'hexer, witch'< <u>iitz</u> 'hex'). On the other hand, if <u>aj-</u> is added to a
form with more than one syllable, then the glottal stop does not occur
(e.g. <u>ajaq'a71</u> 'charcoal vender' < <u>aq'a71</u> 'charcoal').

Morphologically, nouns and transitive verbs beginning with a vowel,
with or without an initial phonetic glottal stop, are treated differently
from forms beginning with a consonant. For example, there are two sepa-
rate sets of ergative prefixes (see section 3.1), one for vowel-initial
stems and one for consonant-initial stems (e.g. <u>wooj</u> 'my avocado' < <u>w-</u>
prevocalic A1, <u>ooj</u> 'avocado'; <u>nuuchee7</u> 'my tree' < <u>nuu-</u> preconsonantal
A1, <u>chee7</u> 'tree'). However, Spanish loans beginning with a stressed
vowel always take the preconsonantal ergative prefixes with a glottal
stop intervening between the prefix and the root (e.g. <u>n7óoro</u> < <u>n-</u>

preconsonantal Al, (7)óoro < Sp oro), and there are a handful of native
forms that always take the preconsonantal prefixes even though in other
respects they behave like any other vowel-initial forms (e.g. nuu7o7 'my
poo-poo' (baby talk for 'shit') < (7)o7). It seems that these forms
begin with a phonemic glottal stop rather than a phonetically inserted
one (see discussion and examples in section 3.1).

Examples of Phonemic 7:

chee7	[čɛ:ʔ]	'wood'
chila7	[čIláʔ]	'there'
jo7	[xʊʔ]	'let's go'
jo7q	[xʊʔqʰ]	'corn sheath'
ja7ee7	[xaʔɛ́:ʔ]	'they'
si7ooj	[sIʔó:x]	'to row'
tza7n	[¢aʔnṇ]	'point'
che7ewi7	[čɛʔɛwI᷈ʔ]	'because of this'
ki7	[kIʔ]	'sweet'
ki7iil	[kIʔí:l]	'sweetness'
sa7y	[saʔy̦]	'type of banana'
che7axik	[čɛʔašík᷈ʰ]	'to put sticks in the ground'
(7)o7on	[ʔʊʔʊ̂nṇ]	'iguana'
n7o7on	[nʔʊʔʊ̂nṇ]	'my iguana'

The fricatives are all voiceless, and s [s] and x [š] exhibit no
allophony. The fricative j is a glottal fricative, [h], in syllable
internal position, that is, when it occurs after a vowel and before
another consonant that is either word-final or precedes still another
consonant. In all other environments j is postvelar [x].

(5) J Allophonic Rule:

$$j \rightarrow [h]/V\_C \begin{Bmatrix} \# \\ C \end{Bmatrix}$$

$$\rightarrow [x] \text{ elsewhere}$$

Examples of Fricatives:

s → [s] sijp [sIhp^h] 'present, gift'

b'iis [ɓi:s] 'sadness'

x → [š] xa7r [ša'r̥] 'jar'

ixix [IšÍš] 'you all'

xtu7x [štʋ'š] 'female turkey'

j → [h] ojb' [ʔΩhp'] 'phlegm'

ch'ajt [č'aht^h] 'bed'

→ [x] jamooj [xamó:x] 'to empty'

ojoj [ΩxΩ̂x] 'we'

ajq'iij [axq'Í:x] 'diviner'

The resonants (i.e. l, r, w, y, m, n)[4] are voiceless in word-final
position, and all of them except the two nasals, m and n, are also voice-
less before consonants. In word-final position, the two nasals actually
start out voiced but end up voiceless. All of the resonants are always
voiced when they occur before vowels.

(6) Resonant Devoicing Rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} [+resonant] \\ \begin{bmatrix} +resonant \\ -nasal \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [-voice]/\_\_\begin{bmatrix} \# \\ C \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples of Resonants:

y → [y] ya7 [ya'ʔ] 'water'

→ [y̥] Moysees [mΩy̥sé:s] 'Moses'

way [way̥] 'tortilla'

w → [w]   way [waẙ] 'tortilla'

   → [φ]   kow [kΩφ] 'hard' (SA)

              tewlaj [tɛφláx] 'very cold' (SA)

1 → [l]   laq [laq^h]˙ 'cup'

   → [l̥]   jul [xʋl̥] 'hole'

              elnaq [ɛl̥náq^h] 'he has left'

r → [r]   rex [rɛš] 'green'

   → [r̥]   xa7r [ša?r̥] 'jar'

              warnaq [war̥náq^h] 'he has gone to sleep'

m → [m]   meem [me:mm̥] 'mute'

   → [mm̥]   "   "   "

n → [n]   naan [na:nn̥] 'Señora'

   → [nn̥]   "   "   "

W̲ is [ß] before front vowels, and [w] before other vowels.

(7) W̲ Allophonic Rule:

$$w \rightarrow [\beta] / \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{syllabic} \\ -\text{back} \end{bmatrix}$$

   → [w] elsewhere

Examples of w:

w → [ß]   wii7 [ßi:?] 'myself'

              weey [ße:y̥] 'my teeth'

   → [w]   way [waẙ] 'tortilla'

              wuuj [wu:x] 'paper'

              wooj [wo:x] 'my avocado'

The three voiced stops, b, d, and g, are loans from Spanish and occur in many forms borrowed in recent times. Older loans, in general, were usually assimilated to native Tzutujil sounds. For example Sp b usually became either b' (e.g. b'ur 'donkey' < Sp burro; b'áaka 'cow' < Sp vaca), or w, especially if Sp b occurred between or after vowels (e.g. alkawaal 'sales tax' < Sp alcabala; aróowa '25 lb. weight' < Sp arroba; Páawlo < Sp Pablo). Most Sp bs still are assimilated to b' if they are in initial position (e.g. b'akúuna 'vaccine' < Sp vacuna; b'áanko 'bank'< Sp banco). Sp d in early loans usually became t (e.g. Teeko < Sp Diego; tyoox 'religious image' < Sp Dios; alkaalte 'mayor' < Sp alcalde). In later loans Sp d usually has become d', especially if it is in initial position (e.g. d'yoos 'God' < Sp Dios; d'oktoor 'medical doctor' < Sp doctor; d'emb'áalde 'in vain' < Sp de (en) balde). Note, however, that d [x̰] occurs in one native word in Santiago Atitlán: ndta7 [nx̰ta?] 'my father'. Occasionally, Sp d is incorporated into Tzutujil as g (e.g. paagr 'priest' (SA) < Sp padre). In early loans Sp g usually became k (e.g. Keel < Sp Miguel; Teeko < Sp Diego). Some examples where Sp b, d, and g have not been assimilated are given below.

Examples of b, d, and g from Spanish:

    b: bíiblya 'Bible' < Sp biblia

           aláambre 'wire' < Sp alambre

           glóobo 'hot air baloon' < Sp globo

           garbáanso 'garbanzo bean' < Sp garbanzo

    d: díisko 'record' < Sp disco

           aldéeya 'village' < Sp aldea

           bodéega 'storage room' < Sp bodega

           dóoble 'doble' < Sp doble

    g: góoma 'hangover' < Sp goma

           galoon 'gallon' < Sp galón

gaas   'gas' < Sp gas

Sntyaag   'Santiago Atitlán' < Sp Santiago (SA)

The four resonants, -w", -y", -l", and -r", are loans from Spanish
and occur only in the Santiago Atitlán dialect of Tzutujil, and there
only in word-final position. They must be distinguished from native
Tzutujil w, y, l, and r, since the borrowed resonants do not devoice (see
rule 6) in word-final position like native resonants. Therefore, the
borrowed resonants may contrast with native resonants in final position.
In other dialects of Tzutujil Spanish resonants are fully assimilated to
their native Tzutujil counterparts.

Examples of -w", -y", -l", and -r" (SA):

aaw"   'lima bean' < Sp haba
uuw"   'grape' < Sp uva
twaay"   'towel' < Sp toalla
b'aay"   'O.K.' < Sp vaya
uul"   'rubber' < Sp hule
alkaal"   'mayor' < Sp alcalde
uor"   'hour' < Sp hora
muor"   'Moor' < Sp moro

Minimal Pairs of Consonantal Contrasts:

b' ≠ p
    ch'ob'ooj   'to think'
    ch'opooj   'to pinch'

k ≠ k' ≠ q'
    kolooj   'to save'
    k'olooj   'to keep, harvest'
    q'olooj   'to pick fruit'

ch ≠ ch' ≠ k' ≠ m
    chooy   'lake'
    ch'ooy   'rat'
    k'ooy   'monkey'
    mooy   'blind'

k' ≠ tz'
    k'uum   'ayote squash'
    tz'uum   'leather'

w ≠ y
    wak'e7e   'it stood up like
                a crab'
    yak'e7e   'it (her waist) got
                skinny'

m ≠ n
    mich'ili   'extirpable'
    nich'ili   'squeezed up (the
                face)'

b' ≠ j ≠ k ≠ q ≠ w ≠ r

    b'eey 'road'   qeey 'our teeth'

    jeey 'tail'   weey 'my teeth'

    keey 'their teeth'   reey 'his teeth'

ch ≠ tz ≠ q' ≠ q ≠ k ≠ r ≠ w

    chiij 'behind it'   kiij 'their backs'

    tziij 'word'   riij 'his back'

    q'iij 'sun, day'   wiij 'my back'

    qiij 'our backs'

7 ≠ ∅   tz' ≠ ch

    chee7 'wood'   sootz' 'bat'

    chee 'to it'   sooch 'rattle'

tz ≠ k' ≠ k   k ≠ ch ≠ b'

    iitz 'hex'   nuutii7 'my meat'

    iik' 'moon'   nuuchii7 'my mouth'

    iik 'chili pepper'   nuub'ii7 'my name'

7 ≠ b' ≠ ch'   ch' ≠ k

    kaa7 'grinding stone'   ch'aab' 'reflection; arrow'

    kaab' 'honey'   kaab' 'honey'

    kaach' 'gum'

j ≠ x ≠ ch   r ≠ y

    jee7 'yes'   b'aar 'where'

    xee7 'root, bottom'   b'aay 'gopher'

    chee7 'wood, tree'

j ≠ ch ≠ k'   p ≠ m ≠ s

    jaay 'house'   teep 'cold'

    chaay 'obsidian'   teem 'tumpline'

    k'aay 'bile'   tees 'wild amaranth'

p ≠ b' ≠ d' ≠ l   x ≠ s

    xuup 'a blow'   b'iix 'song'

    xuub' 'whistling'   b'iis 'sadness'

    xuud' 'asshole'

    xuul 'flute'

$$n \neq t \neq 1 \qquad\qquad\qquad\qquad r \neq 7$$

naq 'who, what'   wa7i 'he ate'

taq 'plural'   wari 'he slept'

laq 'cup'

1.2.2 The Vowels

With the exception of the Santiago Atitlán dialect, Tzutujil has ten
vowels, five long (ii, ee, aa, oo, uu), and five short (i, e, a, o, u),
which are distinguished by their height, backness, and roundness, as well
as by their length. Long vowels are approximately twice as long as short
vowels and, in general, are tenser. All of the long vowels, except aa,
are somewhat higher than their respective short counterparts; long aa is
somewhat lower than short a. Long ee and oo tend to be lowered before
glottal stop. All of the vowels have creaky voice or laryngealization to
a certain degree before glottal stop and glottalized occlusives.

Examples of Vowels:

ii → [i:] iis [ʔi:s] 'sweet potato'

i → [I]   is [ʔIs] 'body hair'

ee → [e:] Keel [ke:l̥] 'Miguel'

   → [ɛ:] chee7 [čɛ:ʔ]   'wood'

e → [ɛ]   k'el [k'ɛl̥] 'parakeet'

aa → [a:] chaaj [ča:x] 'ash'

a → [aˆ] chaj [čaˆx] 'pine'

uu → [u:] quul [qu:l̥] 'mother-of-corn-plant'

u → [ʋ]   qul [qʋl̥] 'throat, voice, sound'

oo → [o:] q'oor [q'o:r̥] 'corn dough'

   → [Ω:] roo7 [rΩ:ʔ]   'fifth'

o → [Ω]   q'or [q'Ωr̥] 'lazy'

In San Juan, a final vowel in a word is devoiced when it is not
stressed, that is, when it follows some other stressed vowel in the same
word. This situation arises only in loans from Spanish since in native
Tzutujil words the final vowel is always the stressed one (see section
1.3 on stress).

> (8) Vowel Devoicing Rule:
>   V → [-voice]/...v́..._#
>   Restricted to Spanish loanwords

Examples:

    b'áaka [ɓá:kḁ] 'cow' < Sp vaca

    Páawlo [pá:wlo̥] 'Paul' < Sp Pablo

    aláambre [alá:mbre̥] 'wire' < Sp alambre

In Santiago, final vowels occurring after stressed vowels (in loans) are
dropped completely. This has led to the situation (discussed at the end
of section 1.2.2) whereby final resonants in Spanish loans are not de-
voiced like native resonants. The lack of devoicing in final resonants
in loans is probably due to dropping of the final vowel that followed the
resonant.

    It should be noted that the contrast between short e and a is some-
what weak in the sense that there are many words in which e alternates
with a rather freely (e.g. rex ~ rax 'green', q'eq ~ q'aq 'black'). On
the other hand, there are many words in which a never alternates with e
(e.g. saq 'white', jab' 'rain'), and there are some where e does not
alternate with a (e.g. k'el 'parakeet', nech'eli 'smashed (of ripe
fruit)'). It may be the case, then, that short e is beginning to merge
with a. There are also a number of cases of alternations between short o
and a, although not nearly as common as the a ~ e alternations (e.g. top ~
tap 'crab', chopooj ~ chapooj 'to grab, hunt'). With o and a it is not
clear in which direction the merger may be going. In any case, it is
difficult to find minimal pairs contrasting short a with e and o, al-
though there are many forms in which there are no alternations, and the
use of one vowel for the other would be incorrect.

Minimal Pairs of Vowel Contrasts:*

aa ≠ ee ≠ o
    jaa7 'he, she, it'
    jee7 'yes'
    jo7 'let's go'

aa ≠ oo ≠ a
    aaj 'cane'
    ooj 'avocado'
    aj 'corn on the cob'

aa ≠ ii ≠ uu ≠ oo
    waaj 'my cane'
    wiij 'my back'
    wuuj 'paper'
    wooj 'my avocado'

aa ≠ i
    kaa7 'grinding stone'
    ki7 'sweet'

ii ≠ oo
    piim 'thick'
    poom 'incense'

oo ≠ uu
    choom 'fat'
    chuum 'lime'

a ≠ u
    ak' 'chicken'
    uk' 'louse'

a ≠ i
    k'ay 'bitter'
    k'iy 'many'

a ≠ ee
    paq 'money'
    peeq 'pataxte plant'

o ≠ u
    top 'crab'
    tup 'quequesque plant'

ee ≠ ii
    nuutee7 'my mother'
    nuutii7 'my meat'

ee ≠ oo
    kool 'basket'
    Keel 'Miguel'

The Santiago dialect has twelve phonemic vowels, five short ones as in other dialects (i, e, a, o, u), and seven long ones (ii, ie, ee, aa, uu, uo, oo). The two heterogeneous or 'broken' long mid vowels, ie and uo, occurring only in the Santiago dialect, correspond with long ee and oo, respectively, in other dialects of Tzutujil (e.g. chie7 (SA) and chee7 (SJ) 'wood'; puom (SA) and poom (SJ) 'incense'). However, the Santiago dialect also has plain long ee and oo, which contrast phonemically with broken ie and uo. In the Santiago dialect ee and oo originate from underlying and/or historical //e7// and //o7//, respectively,

---

*For minimal pairs of forms with short versus long contrasts, see the beginning of section 1.2.2.

before glottalized occlusives (see morphophonemic rule 37 in section 1.6.3). But since the rule that changes //e7// and //o7// to ee and oo before glottalized occlusives is not only synchronically productive but also has been in effect for some time, there are many forms today that do not display any morphological alternations between e7 and ee, and o7 and oo. In other words, where there are no morphological alternations the (previous) underlying forms are no longer recoverable. This situation has led to the development of two new long vowels in Santiago and the resulting contrast between ie and ee, and uo and oo. Compare the examples below.

Examples of ie, ee, uo, and oo from Santiago Atitlán:

    uo [uə]   tzk'uok' 'biscuit' < *tzok'ook'
               ch'uob'   'pineapple' < *ch'oob'
               uob' 'diviner's ritual word' < *oob'
               q'uor 'corn dough' < *q'oor
    oo [o:]   tzk'ook' 'tostada' < *tzok'o7k'
               ch'oob'   'cajete tree' < *ch'o7b'
               oob' 'phlegm, cough' < *o7b'
               q'oob' 'earring' < *q'o7b'
               xch'oob'a 'it was thought' < //xch'o7b'a//
                   (cp. xch'o7pa 'it was pinched')
    ie [iə]   chie7 'wood' < *chee7
               wiey 'my teeth' < *weey
               jie7 'yes' < *jee7
               tiew 'cold' < *teew
               pieq 'pataxte plant' < *peeq
    ee [e:]   ch'eech' 'metal, car' < *ch'e7ch'
               xb'eeq'a 'it was swallowed' < //xb'e7q'a//
                   (cp. xb'e7qa '(grains) were removed')
               xd'eeb'a 'it was stained' < //xd'e7b'a//

1.3 STRESS

With one exception, all native Tzutujil words have stress on their last vowel. The only exception to this rule is the adjectival suffix -V (i.e. -a ~ -i ~ -o ~ -u; see section 6.1.1) used on monosyllabic modifying adjectives when they precede the head noun in a noun phrase. The adjectival connector suffix -V is never stressed; rather the vowel of the adjective stem preceding -V carries stress. Since stress in native Tzutujil forms is completely predictable it is not written. However, stress in loans from Spanish is not predictable, so it is written in loanwords when it does not fall on the last vowel of the word.

(9) Stress Rule:

   $V \rightarrow [+stress]/\_(C^n)\#$

   Exceptions: (a) adjectival suffix -V never carries
                         stress;
                   (b) some Spanish loanwords.

Examples of Stress in Native Forms:

wa7iim	[wa?í:m̥]	'to eat'
wa7naq	[wa?náq^h]	'eaten'
xwa7i	[šwa?Í]	'he ate'
ch'eyooj	[č'ɛyó:x]	'to hit'
ch'eyoon	[č'ɛyó:nn̥]	'hit'
xuuch'ey	[šu:č'ɛ́y̥]	'he hit it'
xch'eyooni	[šč'ɛyo:nÍ]	'he hit'
tach'eya7	[tač'ɛyá?]	'hit it!'
tii7iij	[ti:?Í:x]	'meat'
nuutii7	[nu:tÍ:?]	'my meat'
aachi	[a:čÍ]	'man'
achajiloom	[ačaxIló:m̥]	'husband'

wachajiil	[wačaxí:l̥]	'my husband'
saq	[sáqʰ]	'white'
saqireem	[saqIré:m̥]	'to whiten'
saqiil	[saqí:l̥]	'whiteness'
saqa jaay	[sáqa xá:y̥]	'white house'

Examples of Stress in Spanish Loanwords:

b'áaka	[ɓáakḁ]	'cow'	< Sp vaca
aróowa	[aró:wḁ]	'25 lb. weight'	< Sp arroba
serb'íisyo	[sɛrɓí:syo̥]	'service'	< Sp servicio
b'yáaja	[ɓyá:xḁ]	'trip'	< Sp viaje
Teeko	[te:kó]	'James'	< Sp Diego
kape	[kapɛ́]	'coffee'	< Sp café
galoon	[galó:n̥]	'gallon'	< Sp galón
lugaar	[lʋgá:r̥]	'place'	< Sp lugar

It should be noted that directionals (see section 7.2.2) and a number of verbal or adverbial enclitic particles (see section 7.2.1) take the stress when they are appended to a preceding word (e.g. na nec, ta irreal, eel 'going out': xinwa7 na 'I had to eat', ma xinwa7 ta 'I didn't eat', xinwa7 eel 'I ate going out').

1.4 SYLLABLE TYPES

The majority of roots in Tzutujil are monosyllabic of the form CVC, or one of three expanded versions of this form: CVVC, CV7C, and CVjC. Monosyllabic roots of the form VC, or expanded versions: VVC, V7C, and VjC, are also common. These basic root syllable types can be represented with the formula:

$$(C)V\left(\begin{Bmatrix} V \\ 7 \\ j \end{Bmatrix}\right)C$$

Examples of Basic Root Types:

CVC:	saq	'white'		ki7	'sweet'
CVVC:	ch'aak	'flesh'		kuuk	'squirrel'
CV7C:	ch'a7k	'a boil'		si7k	'lizard'
CVjC:	ch'ajt	'bed'		kujk	'stake'
VC:	ak'	'chicken'		o7	'poo-poo' (baby talk)
VVC:	ooj	'avocado'		iitz	'hex'
V7C:	i7x	'day name'			
VjC:	ajq	'pig'		ojb'	'phlegm, cough'

Santiago Tzutujil has lost syllabic internal -j-. Syllables that historically were CVjC have become CV7C (e.g. ch'a7t 'bed', ku7k 'stake', a7q 'pig' (SA)). Syllabic internal -j- seems to be changing to vowel length in San Pedro (e.g. ch'ajt ~ ch'aat 'bed' (SP)).

With the exception of the broken long vowels, ie and uo, in Santiago, nonidentical vowel clusters do not occur in native Tzutujil words, although they have been recorded in a few loanwords (e.g. aóora 'now' < Sp ahora; reáal 'Real' (monetary unit)).

In general, there are few restrictions on the possible combinations of consonants that may co-occur as the first and last consonants in the same syllable.[5] However, it may be stated that nonidentical glottalized occlusives do not co-occur in the same syllable unless one of them is b'. Also, sibilants and affricates co-occur with other sibilants and affricates, respectively, only if they agree in the value of the feature anterior; that is, s does not co-occur with x, and tz(') does not co-occur with ch(').

There are a few root syllables that begin with a consonant cluster, the first consonant normally being a sibilant and the second a stop or resonant; e.g.

xtoq'   'burp'   spoj   'a swelling'
xka7   'wax'   xna7m 'doe'

Two onomatopoetic forms have been recorded that have stops as the initial
consonant of the cluster (e.g. tlintlin 'dingding' and tlantlan 'ding-
dong'). Normally, root syllables do not end in clusters other than -jC
or -7C, but one root has been recorded with a triconsonantal cluster
ending the syllable (e.g. pijxk' 'white oak').

Roots ending in vowels are extremely rare; the following forms are
the only ones recorded:

aachi   'man'   syaa   'cat'
k'aak'a 'new'   k'ii   'with respect to, as for'
                                           k'aa   'with respect to, as for'

Although the majority of roots are monosyllabic, there are a large
number of bisyllabic roots as well, most of them nouns. Some examples
are given below.

Examples of Bisyllabic Roots:

    CCVCVC: xkoya7   'tomato'
    CVCCVC: b'ajlam 'jaguar'
    CVCVC: chakach 'basket'
    CVVCVVC: kaamiik 'now'
    VCVVC: uleep   'earth, land'
    VCVC: ib'och' 'nerve, vein'
    VVCV: aachi   'man'
    VVCVVC: -oochooch 'house' possessed form

Completely unanalyzable native roots of greater than two syllables are
extremely rare or nonexistent. However, some borrowings that are now
recognized as native forms are trisyllabic (e.g. tinaamit 'town' < Aztec
tenamitl 'fortification'; armiita 'cofradía house' < Sp ermita).

Affixes may be a full syllable, or, occasionally, they are
bisyllabic in the case of a few suffixes, but often they are only a sin-
gle vowel or consonant. Many suffixes are comprised of one or more

reduplicated segments of the root (see section 1.6.4, rule 39). Examples
of the forms of a representative number of affixes are given below.

Suffixes

-VCVC:	$-V_1C_1a7$	TV derivational
-CVC:	-naq	IV perfect
-VC:	-ow	RTV focus antipassive
-VVC:	-iil	nominal
-V:	-i	IV phrase-final
-C:	-x	DTV passive

Infix

-C-:	-j- ($\sim$-7- $\sim$ -V-)	RTV passive

Prefixes

CVV-:	nuu-	A1 preconsonantal
CV-:	ki-	A3p prepolysyllabic
C-:	x-	completive aspect
CC-:	xk-	potential aspect
VV-:	ee-	B3p
VVC-:	aaw-	A2 prevocalic
VC-:	aj-	characterizer

1.5 JUNCTURE

Word juncture is indicated fairly clearly phonetically: (1) by
stress on the final vowel of a word (except in the case of some loan-
words, and in the case of a few enclitic particles that take stress in-
stead of the last vowel of the preceding word); (2) by final resonant
devoicing; (3) by the fact that the glottalized occlusives b', d', and q'
are voiceless in final position; and (4) by the possibility of a pause
before or after words.

There is also another type of juncture, which is called phrase
juncture and which is indicated by certain kinds of morphophonemic and
morphological alternations. Basically, phrase juncture marks the end of
certain kinds of phrases or clauses, and it may also indicate the degree

of syntactic closeness that certain words in a phrase have, as opposed to
the words in other similar syntactic constructions. One important
indicator of phrase juncture is the intransitive verb phrase-final suffix
$-i$, which occurs on an intransitive verb only if the verb is at the end
of the clause, or if it immediately precedes a definite noun phrase (see
section 4.1.2.2 for details and examples). In other words, $-i$ may func-
tion like a period or semicolon, indicating clause boundary on the one
hand; on the other, it also indicates that the following NP is definite
and I suspect in a more distant syntactic relationship to the verb than
an indefinite NP or some other nondefinite phrase. Another indicator of
phrase juncture is morphophonemic vowel shortening (see rule 23, section
1.6.2). Long vowels of verbs (and verbal forms) and relational nouns
remain long only at the end of a clause or before definite NPs; otherwise
they are shortened. Thus, long vowels of verbs and relational nouns
indicate clause boundary, and they indicate that the following NP is
definite and thus perhaps not as closely related syntactically as an
indefinite NP or some other type of nondefinite phrase.

1.6 MORPHOPHONEMICS

1.6.1 Consonant Alternations

In San Juan, when two identical consonants become contiguous because
of morphological processes, they are reduced to one if they are in the
same word or word plus clitic construction. This rule may not apply,
optionally, in slow, very careful speech.

(10) Geminate Consonant Reduction Rule (SJ):

$$C_i C_i \rightarrow C_i$$

Obligatory in rapid speech;
Optional in slow, careful speech.

Examples:

//xtopoon na//	→	xtopona 'he'll arrive there'
//rraxaal//	→	raxaal 'its greenness'
//ma xb'olq'o7t ta//	→	ma xb'olq'o7ta 'it didn't twist'

The nasal n̲ assimilates to m̲ before a labial occlusive or m̲. The rule is not obligatory but usually occurs in rapid speech. However, the first person singular ergative prefix n̲- occurring before stems of more than one syllable never assimilates (see rule 24).

(11) N̲-Assimilation:

$$n \rightarrow [+\text{anterior}]/\_\_\_\begin{bmatrix} +\text{anterior} \\ -\text{coronal} \end{bmatrix} \quad \text{Optional}$$

Exception: n- Al prepolysyllabic

Examples:

//ninb'e//	→	nimb'e 'I go'
//ninpeeti//	→	nimpeeti 'I come'
//in mooy//	→	im mooy 'I am blind'
cp. //nuub'aaqiil//	→	nb'aaqiil 'my body'

The r̲ of the third person singular ergative prefix ruu̲- (~r̲-) is deleted after the preposition and complementizer chi̲ (~ch̲) 'at, to; that'. The rule is optional when r̲- precedes a vowel initial stem (see sections 7.1.2 and 7.1.3).

(12) R̲-Deletion (restricted):

$$r \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ chi} \_\_\_ \\ \qquad [\text{prep}]$$

Optional before vowel initial stems.

Examples:

//chi rch'ejyiik//	→	chi ch'ejyiik 'its being hit'
//chi ruuxee7//	→	chuuxee7 'under it'
//chi riij//	→	chiij ~ chriij 'in back of it'

In San Juan only, w̲ becomes p̲ in word-final position.

(13) W to P Rule (SJ):

    w → p/___#

Examples:

    //kow//   →   kop   'hard'

      cp. kowireem 'to harden', rkowiil 'hardness'

    //teew//   →   teep   'cold'

      cp. tewureem 'to cool', rteewuul 'coldness'

There are two exceptions to this otherwise general rule: d'oow 'goodbye' and myaaw 'cat'. The ws here neither change to p, nor do they devoice like other resonants, or as w does in other dialects (see rule 6, section 1.2.1).

The passive infix -j- becomes -7- before j and vowel length (-V-) before 7 (see section 9.6.1).

(14) -J- Alternation (restricted; SJ):

$$-j- \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -7- \\ -V_i- \end{bmatrix} /V_{i}- \begin{bmatrix} j \\ 7 \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

    xch'ejyi 'it was hit'   cp. xuuch'ey 'he hit it'

    xto7ji 'it was paid'   xuutoj 'he paid it'

    xyaa7i 'it was given'   xuuya7 'he gave it'

In Santiago, x optionally assimilates to s if s precedes x in the same word.

(15) X-Assimilation Rule (SA):

    x → s/...s...___   Optional

Examples:

    //xkamsaxa//   →   xkmsasa   'it was killed'

    //xjosq'ixa//   →   xjsq'isa   'it was cleaned'

    //xmistaxa//   →   xmstasa   'it was swept'

An epenthetic r is inserted at the end of the definite article ja and the contrasting/topic-shifting particles $k'aa$ and $k'ii$, both meaning 'with respect to, as for' (see section 7.1.7.3), when they precede vowel-initial stems of more than one syllable. r also replaces the 7 of the fronting enclitic particle $wi7$ (see section 7.1.7.2) when it precedes a vowel-initial stem of more than one syllable. This rule works in conjunction with Vowel Lengthening (rule 26, section 1.6.2).

(16) R-Epenthesis (SJ; restricted):

$$\emptyset \rightarrow r / \begin{Bmatrix} ja \\ ja\ k'aa \\ ja\ k'ii \\ wi(7) \end{Bmatrix} \underline{\quad} VC_1V$$

'C_1' indicates a minimum of one C with no upper limits.

Examples:

jar aachi 'the man'	cp. ja tz'i7 'the dog'
ja k'iir Aa Teeko	ja k'ii tz'i7
'with respect to Diego'	'with respect to the dog'
ja k'aar iixoqii7	ja k'aa winaq
'with respect to the women'	'with respect to the people'
b'aakii k'o wir awan?	b'aakii k'o wi(7) ja chee7?
'Where are the corn plants?'	'Where is the tree?'

The next five morphophonemic rules (17-21) account for consonant alternations that are restricted to a small number of lexical items. They are not general rules that apply throughout the language whenever their structural descriptions are met.

In a number of forms q becomes j before a consonant. The rule is obligatory in some cases and optional in others.

(17) Q to J Alternation (restricted):

$q \rightarrow [+continuant] / \underline{\quad} C$

Examples:

sajb'utub'uj $\sim$ saqb'utub'uj 'very white' < saq 'white'
naj chee $\sim$ naq chee 'why' < naq 'what', chee 'to it'

In a few forms m̲ becomes n̲ finally.

(18) M̲ to N̲ Alternation (restricted):
      m → [+coronal]/__#

Examples:

//nuupaam// → npaan 'my shit' cp. paamaaj 'shit'
//ruutza7m// → ruutza7n 'its point', ruutza7m 'its nose'
      cp. tza7maaj 'nose; point'

In a few forms b̲' alternates with 7̲.

(19) B̲' to 7̲ Alternations (restricted):
      b' → 7/ ?

Examples:

q'ab'aaj 'hand   nuuq'a7 'my hand'
ka7i7 'two'   ruukaab' 'second'   kab'lajuuj 'twelve'

In a couple of forms a cluster with a simple occlusive followed by a glottal stop (even if a phonetic [?], not phonemic; see rule 4, section 1.2.1) becomes a glottalized occlusive.

(20) Glottalization Rule (restricted):
      C + 7 → C'
      C = simple occlusive here

Example:

rwach'uleep 'world' < rwach 'its face', [?]uleep 'earth'

Metathesis occurs in a very few forms.

(21) Metathesis Rule (restricted):
      $S_i...S_{ii}$ → $S_{ii}...S_i$
      S = segment

Examples:

    chwiley 'Chichicastenango (town)' < chwi7 'on top of',
        yel 'stinging nettle' (Sp chichicaste)
    tzejxik ~ tzojxik //tzejoxik// 'to talk' (SA)

1.6.2 Vowel Alternations

Root transitive verb (RTV) suffixes (see section 4.1) that have a basic vowel o̲ harmonize with a preceding root vowel u̲. And the vowel of the RTV suffix -a̲7 harmonizes with both root vowels o̲ and u̲.

(22) RTV Suffix Vowel Harmony Rules:

(A)
$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{-ooj} \\ \text{-oon} \\ \text{-ool} \sim \text{-oy} \\ \text{-V}_1\text{yoon} \\ \text{-ow} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-uuj} \\ \text{-uun} \\ \text{-uul} \sim \text{-uy} \\ \text{-V}_1\text{yuun} \\ \text{-uw} \end{bmatrix} / \underset{[\text{root}]}{\ldots\text{u}\ldots} \_\_$$

(B)
$$\text{-a7} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{-o7} \\ \text{-u7} \end{bmatrix} / \underset{[\text{root}]}{\begin{bmatrix} \ldots\text{o}\ldots \\ \ldots\text{u}\ldots \end{bmatrix}} \_\_$$

Examples:

ch'eyooj	'to hit'	muquuj	'to bury'
ch'eyoon	'hit'	muquun	'buried'
ch'eyool+	'hitter of'	muquul+	'burier of'
ch'eyeyoon	'one who has hit'	muquyuun	'one who has buried'
xch'eyowi	'he was the one who hit it'	xmuquwi	'he was the one who buried it'
tach'eya7	'hit it!'	tamuqu7	'bury it!'
choyooj	'to cut'	tachoyo7	'cut it!'

Basic or underlying long vowels of verbs and verbal forms like participles and infinitives (see section 4.1) remain long only if the verb occurs before a definite noun phrase or at the end of the clause. Basic or underlying long vowels of relational nouns (see section 5.2.1) remain long only at the end of a clause or before (their) definite objects. In other words, long vowels of verbs and relational nouns are shortened in

clause-internal position if they do not precede definite NPs. Also, long
vowels of possessed nouns are shortened before indefinite possessors (see
sections 1.5, 4.1.2.2, 5.1).

(23) Vowel Shortening Before Nondefinite Phrases:

(A)

$$V_iV_i \rightarrow V_i/\underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} \text{anything that is not a} \\ \text{definite NP, and that} \\ \text{is not a clause boundary} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{verb} \\ \text{RN} \end{bmatrix}$$

(B) $V_iV_i \rightarrow V_i/\underline{\quad}$ [indefinite possessor]

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{possessed} \\ \text{noun} \end{bmatrix}$$

Examples:

Vowel Shortening in Relational Nouns:

    rumaal 'by her'

    rumaal jar iixoq 'by the woman'

    rumal ixoq 'by women'

    rumal jun ixoq 'by a woman'

Vowel Shortening in Possessed Nouns:

    tz'uumaal 'skin'

    rtz'uumaal ja masaat 'the deer's skin'

    rtz'umal masaat 'deerskin = skin of deer'

    rtz'umal jun masaat 'a deer's skin'

Vowel Shortening in Verbs:

    rb'ixaxiik 'for it to be sung'

    rb'ixaxiik ja b'iix 'for the song to be sung'

    rb'ixaxik jun b'iix 'for a song to be sung'

    b'iixaan 'sung'

    b'iixaan ja b'iix 'the song is sung'

    b'ixan jun b'iix 'a song is sung'

    xb'iixaaj 'he sang it'

    ma xb'ixaj ta 'he didn't sing it'

    xb'iixaaj ja b'iix 'he sang the song'

    xb'ixaj b'iix 'he sang songs'

    xb'ixaj jun b'iix 'he sang a song'

```
ch'eyooj   'to hit'
ch'eyoj tz'i7   'to hit dogs'
ch'eyoj jun tz'i7   'to hit a dog'
rch'ejyiik   'for it to be hit'
rch'ejyiik ja tz'i7   'for the dog to be hit'
rch'ejyik jun tz'i7   'for a dog to be hit'
rch'ejyik tz'i7   'for dogs to be hit'
ch'eyeyoon   'one who has hit'
ch'eyeyoon ja tz'i7   'one who has hit the dog'
ch'eyeyon jun tz'i7   'one who has hit a dog'
ch'eyeyon tz'i7   'one who has hit dogs'
```

The ergative prefixes (see section 3.1) have short forms that are
used when they are prefixed to noun and verb stems of more than one syl-
lable. In the short forms, the vowels of the prefixes are either deleted
(e.g. with nuu- and (r)uu-), shortened (e.g. with aa(w)-, qaa-, and
ee(w)-), or shortened and changed (e.g. with kee-).

(24) Ergative Prefix Shortening Rule:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{nuu-} \\ \text{aa(w)-} \\ \text{(r)uu-} \\ \text{qaa-} \\ \text{ee(w)-} \\ \text{kee-} \end{bmatrix}
\rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix} \text{n-} \\ \text{a(w)-} \\ \text{(r-)} \\ \text{qa-} \\ \text{e(w)-} \\ \text{ki-} \end{bmatrix}
\Big/ \underline{\quad}
\begin{bmatrix} \text{noun and verb stems of} \\ \text{more than one syllable} \end{bmatrix}
$$

Examples:

nuutz'ii7	'my dog'	ntz'uumaal	'my skin'
aatz'ii7	'your dog'	atz'uumaal	'your skin'
ruutz'ii7	'his dog'	rtz'uumaal	'his skin'
qaatz'ii7	'our dog'	qatz'uumaal	'our skin'
eetz'ii7	'you all's dog'	etz'uumaal	'you all's skin'
keetz'ii7	'their dog'	kitz'uumaal	'their skin'
xatnuuch'ey	'I hit you'	xatnkuunaaj	'I cured you'
xaach'ey	'you hit it'	xakuunaaj	'you cured him'
xuuch'ey	'he hit it'	xkuunaaj	'he cured him'
xatruuch'ey	'he hit you'	xatrkuunaaj	'he cured you'

xqaach'ey	'we hit it'	xqakuunaaj	'we cured him'
xeech'ey	'you all hit it'	xekuunaaj	'you all cured him'
xkeech'ey	'they hit it'	xkikuunaaj	'they cured him'

There are a few monosyllabic stems that function as if they were of more than one syllable in that they take the shortened prefixes only (e.g. paq 'money', qapaq 'our money', never *qaapaq).

The long uu of the ergative prefixes nuu- and ruu- is deleted before a few rather common monosyllabic nouns that begin with p or w.

(25) UU-Deletion (restricted):

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{ergative} \\ \text{prefix} \end{bmatrix} \quad uu \quad \rightarrow \quad \emptyset / \_\_ \begin{Bmatrix} w \\ p \end{Bmatrix}$$

Examples:

nwi7	'my head'	rwi7	'his head'
nwach	'my face'	rwach	'his face'
npaan	'my shit'	rpaan	'his shit'

That the rule is not general may be seen with the following two examples: nuuwuuj 'my paper' < wuuj 'paper'; nuupojp 'my mat' < pojp 'mat'.

The initial vowels of vowel-initial stems of more than one syllable are lengthened when they are immediately preceded by the definite article ja or one of the contrasting/topic-shifting particles k'ii and k'aa (see section 7.1.7.3). This rule works in conjunction with R-Epenthesis (rule 16, section 1.6.1).

(26) Vowel Lengthening Rule (SJ restricted):

$$V_i \quad \rightarrow \quad V_i V_i / \begin{Bmatrix} \text{ja(r)} \\ \text{ja k'ii(r)} \\ \text{ja k'aa(r)} \end{Bmatrix} \_\_ C_1 V$$

'C_1' indicates a minimum of one C with no upper limits.

Exception: inapplicable before the prefix aj-.

Examples:

　　//ja ixoq// → jar iixoq 'the woman'

　　//ja k'ii ixoq// → ja k'iir iixoq 'with respect to the woman'

　　//ja k'aa ixoq// → ja k'aar iixoq 'with respect to the woman'

This rule is completely general with one important exception: it never
applies to forms beginning with the characterizer prefix aj- (see section
5.3.1). That is, the a of aj- is never lengthened (e.g. jar ajq'iij 'the
diviner').

　　Vowels of nouns in noun class S1A (see section 5.1.2.1) are length-
ened when the nouns of this class are possessed. The lengthening of
vowels here occurs only when the possessor is definite. It may be that
the vowels of class S1A nouns are not lengthened before indefinite nouns,
or that they are lengthened but then shortened by rule 23, Vowel Shorten-
ing Before Nondefinite Phrases.

　　(27) Vowel Lengthening of Possessed S1A Nouns (restricted):

$$V_i \rightarrow V_i V_i / \begin{bmatrix} \text{possessive} \\ \text{prefix} \end{bmatrix} \cdots \text{\_\_\_} \cdots \begin{bmatrix} \text{definite} \\ \text{possessor} \end{bmatrix}$$

　　　[S1A noun]

Examples:

　　tz'i7 'dog'

　　ruutz'ii7 'his dog'

　　ruutz'ii7 jar aachi 'the man's dog'

　　rtz'i7 jun aachi 'a man's dog'

　　chikop 'animal'

　　rchiikoop 'her animal'

　　rchiikoop jar iixoq 'the woman's animal'

　　rchikop jun ixoq 'a woman's animal'

　　winaq 'people'

　　nwiinaaq 'my people'

　　Basic or underlying vowels of verb stems are shortened whenever the
stems are followed by the passive suffix -x, the locative/instrumental
suffix -(V)b'al, the agentive suffix -l, and the IV perfect suffix -naq.

(28) Verb Stem Vowel Shortening Before Certain Suffixes (restricted):

$$V_iV_i \rightarrow V_i / \_\ldots \begin{Bmatrix} -x \\ -(V)b'al \\ -l \\ -naq \end{Bmatrix}$$

[verb]

Examples:

//eel// 'go out'

eeleem 'to go out'   elnaq 'he has gone out'

xeeli 'he went out'   elab'al 'exit'

//k'aayi// 'sell'

k'aayiineen 'to sell' IV   k'ayinaq 'he has sold'

xk'aayiini 'he sold'   k'ayixik 'to be sold'

k'aayiin 'sold'   xk'ayixi 'it was sold'

xk'aayiij 'he sold it'   k'ayib'al 'market'

                                           k'ayil+ 'seller of'

In the Santiago dialect, basic or underlying long vowels are short-
ened when they occur in nonfinal syllables. However, vowel shortening
does not apply to long vowels created by rule 36, which are derived from
a vowel plus glottal stop before glottalized occlusives (see discussion
of rule 36). It should be noted that if there is no allomorphic alter-
nation in a given form between long and short vowels, then the original
long vowel is never realized as such, rather only as a short vowel. But
since, generally speaking, underlying noninitial short vowels are deleted
in nonfinal syllables (see rule 30), if a short vowel appears in a non-
final syllable and is not word-initial, one can assume that it is an
underlying long vowel or, at least historically, that it was a long
vowel.

(29) Vowel Shortening Rule (SA):

$$VV \rightarrow V/\_C_1V$$

i.e.
$$\begin{bmatrix} ii \\ ie \\ aa \\ uu \\ uo \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} i \\ e \\ a \\ u \\ o \end{bmatrix} /\_C_1V$$

Condition does not apply to long vowels created by rule 36.

'C_1' here indicates a minimum of one C with no maximum of Cs.

Examples:

b'iix 'song	muuj 'shadow, shade'
b'ixaniem 'to sing'	nmujaal 'my shadow'
< //b'iixaaniem//	< //nmuujaal//
jeyaaj 'tail'	chuom 'fat
< //jieyaaj//	rchomaal 'fatness'
nujiey 'my tail'	< //rchuomaal//
b'aaq 'bone; skinny'	chomriem 'to fatten'
b'aqiil 'body'	< //chuomariem//
< //b'aaqiil//	wnaq 'people'
b'aqriem 'to get skinny'	< //winaq//
< //b'aaqiriem//	nwinaaq 'my people'
	< //nwiinaaq//

In Santiago Atitlán, generally speaking, short vowels are deleted in nonfinal syllables if they are not word-initial, and if they are not followed by a final open syllable. If no allomorphic alternations occur in a given form then the vowel is simply not recoverable synchronically.

(30) Short Vowel Deletion Rule (SA):

$$V \rightarrow \emptyset/C\_C_1V(V)C$$

'C_1' indicates a minimum of one C with no upper limit of Cs.

There are a number of exceptions to this rule (all of which I do not fully understand yet), which require further comment and qualification. A vowel is __not__ deleted before a glottal stop plus another consonant; the

glottal stop is deleted (see rule 35) instead. Vowels are <u>always</u> deleted
in the penultimate syllable before a closed final syllable, but never
deleted in a penultimate syllable before an open final syllable. Vowels
in syllables preceding the penultimate are often but not always deleted.
Some of the cases where they are not deleted follow: (1) When the vowels
of the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables are identical
(especially because of reduplicating processes, see section 1.6.4), the
vowel of the antepenultimate is not deleted unless it is followed by a
resonant.   (2) Vowels of the absolutive prefixes (see chapter 3) are
usually not deleted, although they may be. (3) Vowels shortened by rules
28 and 29 are not deleted.   (4) When consonant clusters resulting from
vowel deletion seem unpronounceable to the speaker, a given vowel may not
be deleted (i.e. deletion occurs only if there is clear morphological
motivation for knowing what the deletable underlying vowel is). However,
what is unpronounceable is rather subjective and seems to depend on
factors like the speaker's age, place of residence, and perhaps
worldview. Younger speakers, people living closer to the center of town,
and less conservative people tend to delete more vowels. In any event,
some people tolerate rather long clusters of 7-10 consonants, while
others only strings of 4-5 consonants. For example, one speaker might
say <u>m</u> <u>xtktqkmsaaj</u> <u>ta</u> while another <u>m</u> <u>xtkatqkmsaaj</u> <u>ta</u> < //<u>m</u> <u>xtkatqakamsaaj</u>
<u>ta</u>// 'we wouldn't kill you'.

<u>Examples</u>:
    aqan   'leg'
    wqan   'my leg' < //waqan//
    chkop 'animal' < //chikop//
    nchikuop 'my animal' < //nchiikuop//
    exoq 'woman'
    wxqiil 'my wife' < //wexoqiil//
    chyuoj 'to cut' < //choyuoj//
    xuchoy 'he cut it' < //xuuchoy//
    choyik 'to be cut' < //cho7yik//
    xcho7ya 'it was cut'
    chyuon 'cut' < //choyuon//
    chyoniem 'to cut' IV < //choyuoniem//

xchyona 'he cut' < //xchoyuona//

xchyowa 'he was the one who cut it' < //xchoyowa//

xchoytaja 'it was already cut' < //xchoyotaja//

kmik 'to die, death' < //kamik//

kmnaq 'dead' < //kamnaq//

xkama 'he died'

ktkam na ~ tkatkam na 'hope you die' < //(t)katkam na//

kmsxik 'to be killed' < //kamsaxik//

xkmsaxa 'it was killed' < //xkamsaxa//

xkmsaaj 'he killed it' < //xkamsaaj//

xkmstaja 'it was already killed' < //xkamsataja//

kmsaan 'killed' < //kamsaan//

kmsaniem 'to kill' IV < //kamsaaniem//

xkmsana 'he killed' < //xkamsaana//

The vowels e and a both assimilate optionally to following o and/or
u when there is only an intervening glottal stop.

(31) Vowel Assimilation Rule I:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} e \\ a \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} o \\ u \end{bmatrix} / \_\_7 \begin{bmatrix} o \\ u \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{Optional}$$

<u>Examples:</u>

xu7ujqalasaaj ~ xe7ujqalasaaj 'we came to get them out'

yo7ool+ ~ ya7ool+ 'giver of'

In Santiago, the vowels e and o become i and u, respectively, when
they precede ie and uo, respectively, with only a single intervening
consonant. The assimilation in this rule is governed strictly by surface
phonetic constraints. Thus, assimilation does not occur before underly-
ing ie and uo if they are realized on the surface as short e and o be-
cause they are in a nonfinal syllable (see rule 29). And, the vowels e
and o, which are assimilated by this rule, may be shortened forms of ie
and uo (via rule 29). In other words, e and o from any underlying source
become i and u, only before surface ie and uo.

(32) Vowel Assimilation Rule II (SA):

$$\begin{bmatrix} e \\ o \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} i \\ u \end{bmatrix} / \_\_C \begin{bmatrix} ie \\ uo \end{bmatrix}$$

Condition: applies only when <u>ie</u> and <u>uo</u> appear on the surface as such.

<u>Examples</u>:

porxik 'to be burned' < //poroxik//

poroniem 'to burn' IV < //puoruoniem//

xporona 'he burned (something)' < //xpuoruona//

xporoxa 'it was burned' < //xporoxa//

puruon 'burned' < //poruon// rule 29 < //puoruon//

xpuruoj 'he burned it' < //xporuoj// rule 29 < //xpuoruoj//

tzeb'xik 'to be laughed at' < //tzeb'exik//

tzib'iniem 'to laugh' < //tzeb'eniem// rule 29 < //tzieb'ieniem//

xtzeb'ena 'he laughed' < //xtzieb'iena//

xtzeb'exa 'it was laughed at' < //xtzeb'exa//

tzib'ien 'laughed at' < //tzeb'ien// rule 29 < //tzieb'ien//

xtzib'iej 'he laughed at it' < //xtzeb'iej// rule 29 <
      //xtzieb'iej//

Note that in the form <u>tzib'iniem</u> not only has the <u>e</u> immediately preceding <u>ie</u> been assimilated, but also the <u>e</u> two syllables away. Perhaps the rule is more general than has been stated. It seems likely that once assimilation has started, all <u>es</u> and <u>os</u> in the word must be assimilated as well.

In San Juan, an epenthetic <u>i</u> is inserted (1) between an initial consonant and a following cluster of <u>x</u> plus another consonant, and (2) between the verbal prefixes <u>t-</u> or <u>xt-</u> (see section 4.1.2.2) and a following consonant. (2) is optional for some speakers.

(33) <u>I</u>-Epenthesis (SJ):

$$\emptyset \rightarrow i / \begin{Bmatrix} C\_\_xC \\ (x)t\text{-}\_\_C \end{Bmatrix}$$

Examples:

<table>
<tr><td>xkin   'ear'</td><td>xtikami //xtkami// 'he would die'</td></tr>
<tr><td>nixkin //nxkin// 'my ear'</td><td>tikami //tkami// 'that he die'</td></tr>
<tr><td>axkin   'your ear'</td><td></td></tr>
</table>

That the i in nixkin is not organic is clear since the preconsonantal possessive prefix n- is required, not the prevocalic w- (see section 3.1).

<div style="text-align:center">

1.6.3 Glottal Stop Alternations

</div>

In rapid speech, glottal stop is deleted in word-final but phrase-medial position in a number of common forms (e.g. b'aarkii7 'where', wi7 fronting particle, -a7 root transitive imperative/directional suffix, ja7ee7 'they'), when a following word begins with a consonant. In slow, careful speech the glottal stop optionally may not be deleted.

(34) Glottal Stop Deletion Rule I:

$$7 \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_ \#CX$$

Examples:

b'aarkii(7) k'o wi(7) jaay?   'Where is the house?'
b'aarkii(7) k'o wi7?   'Where is it?'
tach'eya(7) jar aachi!   'Hit the man!'
tach'eya7!   'Hit him!'

In Santiago, glottal stop is deleted before a closed syllable, that is, before a syllable that begins and ends with a consonant. Note, however, that the underlying glottal stop that is deleted prevents a preceding short vowel from being deleted by rule 30.

(35) Glottal Stop Deletion Rule II (SA):

$$7 \rightarrow \emptyset / \_\_ C_1 V(V)C$$

'C_1' indicates a minimum of one C with no upper limit of Cs.

Examples:

    //wa7naq// → wanaq 'he has eaten' cp. xwa7a 'he ate'

    //ch'e7yik// → ch'eyik 'to be hit' cp. xch'e7ya 'he was hit'

    //to7jik// → tojik 'to be paid' cp. xto7ji 'it was paid'

In Santiago, a glottal stop preceding a final glottalized occlusive,
or preceding a glottalized occlusive plus a final vowel, is converted to
length of the preceding vowel. Note that long vowels created by this
rule are not subject to vowel shortening in nonfinal syllables by rule
29.

    (36) Glottal Stop to Length Rule I (SA):
         $7 \rightarrow V_i / V_i\_C'(V)$

Examples:

    //xch'o7b'a// →   xch'oob'a 'it was thought'

    //xb'e7q'a//   →   xb'eeq'a 'it was swallowed'

    //xyi7tz'a//   →   xyiitz'a 'it was squeezed'

    //xnu7k'a//   →   xnuuk'a 'it was arranged neatly'

    //xma7q'a//   →   xmaaq'a 'it was heated'

All examples above are passives of RTVs formed with the infix -7- (which
is congnate with the passive infix -j- in SJ; see sections 4.2.1 and
9.6.1). For example, if -7- is not followed by a glottalized occlusive
it appears (e.g. xch'e7ya 'it was hit', xto7ja 'it was paid').
    In San Juan, a glottal stop preceding b' is optionally converted to
length of the preceding vowel.

    (37) Glottal Stop to Length Rule II (SJ):
         $7 \rightarrow V_i / V_i\_b'$ Optional

Examples:

    //xpa7b'a7// → xpaab'a7 ~ xpa7b'a7 'he stood it up'

    //wa7b'al// → waab'al ~ wa7b'al 'eating dish'

A glottal stop is inserted between a long vowel and some following vowels. In some cases the long vowel is then shortened; in other cases the long vowel remains long. Whether or not the long vowel is shortened is apparently determined by the particular morpheme involved (see discussion below).

> (38) Glottal Stop Insertion Rule:
>
> $\emptyset \rightarrow 7/V_i V_i \underline{\quad} V$

Because of the general structure of Tzutujil syllables and the pervading tendency in Tzutujil for morphemes to end in consonants, or if not consonants then short vowels, but not long vowels (see 1.4), the situations in which long vowels might occur before other vowels are not common. However, there are three important morphological situations in which long vowels do occur before other vowels. Rule (38) is primarily meant to account for the occurrence of glottal stop in these three situations: (1) When third person plural absolutive ee (see 3.1) occurs before vowels, it is realized as e7. Here the long ee is shortened when glottal stop is inserted. (2) When the 'go' directional prefix (b')ee- (see 4.1.4) occurs before verb stems beginning in a vowel, glottal stop is inserted but the long ee of the prefix is never shortened. (3) When either obligative k- or potential xk- (see 4.1.2.2) precede first person plural absolutive oq (see 3.1), they fuse with oq forming qoo- (< k- + oq) and xqoo- (< xk- + oq), respectively. However, when qoo- and xqoo- occur before verbs beginning in a vowel, glottal stop is inserted and the long oo of qoo- and xqoo- is shortened (i.e. qoo- > qo7- and xqoo- > xqo7-). Compare the examples below.

Examples:

    xe7aach'ey //xee-aach'ey// 'you hit them'
        cp. xeenuuch'ey 'I hit them'
    e7 oknaq //ee oknaq// 'they have gone in'
        cp. ee warnaq 'they have slept'
    xinee7ooki //xinee-ooki// 'I went to go in'
    xinee7ejtz'aani //xinee-ejtz'aani// 'I went to play'
        cp. xineewari 'I went to sleep'

xqo7ooki //xqoo-ooki// < //xkoqooki// 'we would go in'

    cp. xqoowari < //xkoqwari// 'we would sleep'

qo7ooki //qoo-ooki// < //koqooki// 'let's go in!'

    cp. qoowari < //koqwari// 'let's sleep!'

1.6.4 Reduplication

Reduplication, as a productive process, is used only in the forma-
tion of certain suffixes. These suffixes are used only on monosyllabic
roots of either verbs, positionals, or adjectives. They are formed by
repeating one or more segments of the preceding root. In addition, they
may be comprised of one or more fixed segments, that is, segments that
are not repetitions of part of the root. The reduplicated portions of
these suffixes are indicated with V_1 and C_x with subscript numbers on C_x
denoting whether the first or second consonant of the root syllable is
repeated. The vowel is always identical with the root vowel, so the
subscript number with reduplicated vowels is always '1'. For example
$-V_1C_1ik$, deriving adjectives from positional roots, is formed by repeat-
ing the vowel and first consonant of the root plus -ik (e.g. wuq +
$-V_1C_1ik \rightarrow$ wuquwik 'hunchbacked'). The rule accounting for reduplication
is given in (39).

(39) Reduplication Rule:
$$\begin{bmatrix} C_x \\ V_1 \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_i \\ V_i \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} ...C_i... \\ ...V_i... \end{bmatrix} \text{---}$$
  [suffix]   [root]

Examples:

    $-C_1oj$ '-ish': kaqkoj 'reddish', rexroj 'greenish',
                  saqsoj 'whitish'

    $-V_1C_1ik$ Adj: b'olob'ik 'cylindrical', tzub'utzik 'conical',
                  sanasik 'naked'

    $-V_1C_2V_1$ TV: nuk'uk'u- 'arrange well', kach'ach'a- 'crunch your
                  teeth together'

Notes to Chapter 1

1.   The symbols are phonemic in the 'taxonomic' or 'autonomous' sense
(see Postal 1968, Chomsky and Halle 1968, and especially the discussion
and references in chapter 3 of Hyman 1975). Taxonomic phonemes are
viewed herein as the most practical way of writing Tzutujil (see Jones
1931:28).

2.   'Simple occlusive' is a cover term for [+consonant, -syllabic,
-continuant, -glottal]. 'Aspiration' as used here is equivalent to
Chomsky and Halle's (1968:326) 'subglottal pressure'. 'Glottalization'
is likewise equivalent to their (1968:323) 'glottal pressure'.
Glottalized occlusives have the same distinctive features as simple
occlusives except that they are [+glottal].

3.   'Implosion' is equivalent to Chomsky and Halle's (1968:322)
'suction'.

4.   'Resonant' is a cover term used here that includes the liquids,
semivowels, and nasals. All of these sounds are [+sonorant, -syllabic]
in Chomsky and Halle (1968:354). However, Chomsky and Halle also include
? and h as sonorants, which is unfounded (see arguments in Hyman
1975:45).

5.   The following remarks on syllable structure do not hold for the
Santiago Atitlán dialect of Tzutujil, which has lost many nonfinal short
vowels (see rule 30, section 1.6.2), drastically changing basic syllabic
structure and making it virtually impossible to generalize.

2

INTRODUCTION TO THE MORPHOLOGY

This chapter is an introduction to Tzutujil morphology, which is discussed in detail in the next several chapters. A number of terms pertaining to morphology used throughout this work are introduced and defined in 2.1; the morphological processes and techniques at work in Tzutujil are discussed and exemplified in 2.2; and the major root and word classes are presented in 2.3.

2.1 MORPHOLOGICAL UNITS

An important distinction in a discussion of word formation in Tzutujil is that between <u>roots</u> and <u>affixes</u>. Roots are the basic unanalyzable morphological and semantic nuclei of words. Affixes are nonnuclear morphological elements that are appended to roots, or combinations of roots and other affixes in word-forming processes such as derivation and inflection. Some roots may occur as free forms, in which case they are simply unanalyzable words. Other roots may occur only bound, that is, only in combination with certain affixes or other roots. In general, affixes are always bound.

The term <u>stem</u> is used to refer to a form that is ready for inflection. In other words, a stem is a form to which only inflectional affixes may be added. A stem may be a simple root, or it may be a complex consisting of one or more roots plus one or more derivational affixes.

<u>Words</u> are holistic morphological and syntactic (and semantic?) units that are the end product of derivational and inflectional processes. <u>Compounds</u> are words consisting of more than one root. <u>Clitics</u> are little words that normally attach themselves phonologically to other words in a

54

sentence, even though they do not necessarily form a morphological unit with the word to which they are attached.

2.2 MORPHOLOGICAL PROCESSES AND TECHNIQUES

Tzutujil is mildly synthetic, and agglutination of morphemes is the primary technique used in word formation.

Prefixation is common but mostly restricted to person and tense/ aspect inflections (e.g. nuutz'ii7 'my dog' < nuu- A1, tz'i7 'dog'; xinaach'ey 'you hit me' < x- comp aspect, in- B1, aa- A2, ch'ey- RTV 'hit'), although there is one important derivational prefix, aj- characterizer (e.g. ajq'iij 'diviner' < q'iij 'sun, day'). Suffixation is the most common technique; almost all derivational affixes are suffixes, and many inflectional affixes are suffixes as well (e.g. kamsatajnaq 'it has already been killed' < kam- IV 'die', -sa causative, -taj comp passive, -naq IV perf). Infixation is rare, occurring only in the root transitive passive and medio-passive morphemes -j- and -7- (e.g. xch'ejyi 'it was hit' < x- comp, ch'ey- RTV 'hit', -j- passive, -i pf) and in a couple of derivational affixes like the positional transitivizer affix -j-...-e (e.g. xb'ojleej 'he took a cylinder' < x- comp, b'ol- P 'cylindrical', -j-...-e, -Vj DTV nonperf).

Reduplication, as a productive word-forming process, is used only as a special kind of suffixation on verb, adjective, and positional roots. A fairly large number of suffixes used on these roots are comprised of one or more reduplicated segments of the root, often along with one or more fixed segments (see examples and discussion in sections 1.6.4, 4.2, 6.4). Reduplication of whole roots occurs sporadically in number of word types, but especially in nouns. Many reduplicated forms are onomatopoetic and name sounds or actions (e.g. ch'ipch'ip 'cheepcheep (of chicks)', tlintlin 'dingding', tzaq'tzaq' 'sound of copulating', litzlitz 'chicken hawk', q'atq'at 'little grainy ball of wood or worm excrement', q'iijq'iij 'daily' < q'iij 'day').

After suffixation, compounding is the most important word-forming process. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of compound words, most of which are nouns, although there are a few adjective compounds and even fewer verb compounds. An entire volume could be devoted to the study of

compounds in Tzutujil. In the chapters that follow on noun, verb, and
adjective derivation, a representative sample of types of compounds is
given. Several examples are given below.

Examples of Compounds:

    N < Adj + N

        nmaq'iij 'party' < nim 'big', -a Adj suf, q'iij 'day'

    N < N + N

        smaachii7 'beard' < smaal 'hair', chii7 'mouth'

    N < Adj + Adj

        rexteep 'chills' < rex 'green', teep 'cold'

    N < Adj + TV/P

        saqb'ach 'hailstone' < saq 'white', b'ach- 'squeeze(d)'

    Adj < Adj + TV

        q'eqtilitoj 'very black' < q'eq 'black', til- (?) RTV 'get
        fruit down from tree', $-VC_1oj$ Adj suf (see 6.4.2)

    V < Adj + P

        saqmuqe7- 'get cloudy' < saq 'white', muq- 'cloudy', -e7 P
        suf

Tzutujil is replete with phrases that function as single lexical
items even though they are composed of several words. Many of the
phrases are merely descriptive and fairly straightforward in terms of
their interpretation. Others, however, employ metaphor to a rather high
degree, and still others are completely idiomatic in that the meaning of
the whole phrases can not be predicted (or inferred) from the meanings of
the individual component words. These phrases are called phrasal
compounds in this work. The formation of phrasal compounds seems to have
been, and still is, one of the most productive methods for creating lexi-
cal material in the language. A few examples are given below; more de-
tailed discussion occurs in later chapters on derivation of nouns, adjec-
tives, and verbs.

Examples of Phrasal Compounds:

    tino7y rwach 'narrow' < tino7y 'small', rwach 'its face, surface'
    nim raqan 'long, tall' < nim 'big', raqan 'its leg'

rk'u7x q'ab'aaj 'wrist' < ruuk'u7x 'its chest', q'ab'aaj 'hand',
    i.e. 'chest of the hand'

raqan ya7 'river' < raqan 'its leg', ya7 'water', i.e. 'leg of
    water'

smal chi7 wachaaj 'eye lash' < smaal 'hair', chii7 'edge',
    wachaaj 'eye', i.e. 'hair of edge of eye'

roqoj chii7aaj 'scream' < roqooj 'to throw' archaic, chii7aaj
    'mouth'

nmulu rwa k'u7x 'nausea' < mul- 'stack up', rwach 'its face,
    surface', k'u7x 'chest', i.e. 'it stacks up on the surface of
    the chest'

rq'inom k'ooy 'olive (tree)' < rq'iinoom 'its hog plum', k'ooy
    'monkey', i.e. 'monkey's hog plum'

rb'aaqiil rb'och'iil 'his body' (cp. nb'aaqiil nb'och'iil 'my
    body') < b'aaqiil 'body', ib'och' 'nerve, vein'

Suppletion occurs in a couple of nouns distinguishing possessed
forms from unpossessed forms (e.g. jaay 'house', woochooch 'my house',
alb'atz 'daughter-in-law', walii7 'my daughter-in-law'), and in a couple
of verbs (e.g. b'eenaam 'to go', xb'e 'he went', jo7 'let's go'; pejteem
'to come', xpeeti 'he came', katajo7 'come!').

Vowel ablaut occurs in Tzutujil to the extent that: (1) nouns of
class S1A have short vowels in unpossessed forms and long vowels in pos-
sessed forms (see rule 27, section 1.6.2); (2) derived transitive verbs
have short vowels under certain grammatical conditions and long vowels
under others (see rule 28, section 1.6.2); and (3) various vowel length
alternations occur as a result of the distinction between definite vs.
nondefinite (see rule 23, section 1.6.2). These systematic vowel alter-
nations have been treated in the section on morphophonemics, but the
conditioning factors are grammatical, not phonological.

2.3 MAJOR ROOT AND WORD CLASSES

There are six major word classes in Tzutujil that are each defined
by their inflectional and syntactic properties and possibilities. There

are also seven major root classes that are each defined morphologically
by their derivational and inflectional possibilities.

Major Root Classes	Major Word Classes
pronouns	pronouns
nouns	nouns
verbs	verbs
positionals	adjectives
adjectives	adverbs
adverbs	particles
particles	

Positional and verb roots are always bound. At least some members of the
other root classes may occur as free forms. Most roots are unequivocally
in one root class or another. However, there are a fairly large number
of roots that are at once both basically positional and transitive verb
roots, and there are also a few other roots that are basically in more
than one major root class.

Positionals form a special class of roots in Tzutujil (as in many
other Mayan languages). They get their name from the fact that they
typically indicate the position, condition, state, or form that an object
is in. They are the only major root class that does not have a parallel
major word class. Positional roots are always monosyllabic of the form
CVC,[1] and they must always be derived with a derivational affix to form
another word class. Many of the affixes deriving words from positional
roots are unique to the positional class. For example, virtually all
positional roots have an adjective form in $-\underline{V}_1\underline{l}$ (~ -aan after an $\underline{l}$ or $\underline{r}$
in the root), which indicates that an object is in the position (state,
condition, form, etc.) denoted by the root, or that an object of the
particular position is located somewhere. Most positional roots also
have an inchoative intransitive verb form in -e7, which indicates that an
object gets (got, will get, etc.) into the position. Most positionals
also have a transitive verb form in $-\underline{V}_1\underline{b'a7}$ that indicates that an agent
leaves an object in the position, or makes it get in the position de-
scribed by the root. Many positional roots also have another adjective

form in $-V_1C_1ik$ that simply characterizes or describes an object of the
relevant position. Some adjectives in $-V_1C_1ik$ have also become common
nouns as well, naming natural objects that par excellence are always in
the form described by the positional root. Some positionals also have a
transitive verb form in the infix and suffix combination $-j-...-e$, which
indicates that an agent takes or carries an object in the position de-
scribed by the root.

Examples of Wordforms from Positional Roots:

Root	san-	'naked'
	b'ol-	'cylindrical'
Adj	sanali	'he is naked; someone naked is there'
	b'olaani	'it is cylindrical; a cylinder is there'
IV	xsane7e	'he got naked'
	xb'ole7e	'it got cylindrical'
TV	xsanab'a7	'she left him naked; she made him get naked'
	xb'olob'a7	'he left a cylinder; he made it cylindrical'
Adj	sanasik	'naked'
	b'olob'ik	'cylindrical; cylinder'
TV	xsajneej	'she carried/took him naked'
	xb'ojleej	'he carried/took a cylindrical object'

Other root and word classes are discussed separately in detail in
the next several chapters.

1.   The CVC form of positionals does not hold for Santiago Tzutujil since the underlying, or historical, vowel has been lost completely in some positional roots via rule 30, section 1.6.2.

3

PRONOUNS AND PERSON MARKERS

.

This chapter is a presentation of the various kinds of pronouns and person markers occurring in Tzutujil. In 3.1, the independent personal pronouns and the person markers, both absolutive and ergative, are presented, and their uses are discussed. 3.2 presents the relative pronoun, 3.3 the interrogative pronouns, 3.4 the indefinite pronouns, and 3.5 the demonstrative pronouns.

3.1 PERSON MARKERS AND THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3.1.1 The Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns are given below. They distinguish three persons, first, second, and third; and two numbers, singular and plural.

<u>Independent Personal Pronouns</u>

S1	inin	P1	ojoj
S2	atet	P2	ixix
S3	jaa7	P3	ja7ee7 ~ je7ee7

The primary function of the independent personal pronouns is to mark contrastive information in the sense discussed by Chafe (1976), and therefore they normally are not used unless the speaker wishes to emphasize the involvement of one person in an event or state as opposed to some other person. The independent personal pronouns are not required in noncontrastive situations since person is always indicated with either

61

the asolutive or ergative person markers (3.1.2). It should be noted
that the first and second person independent pronouns are reduplicated
forms, with minor phonological modifications, of the respective first and
second person absolutive markers. The third person singular jaa7 is
etymologically related to the definite article and relative pronoun ja
(see 3.2, 7.1.3, and 7.1.7.1), and the third person plural ja7ee7 is
derived from jaa7 plus a plural suffix -ee7 (see section 5.1.1), along
with vowel shortening.

3.1.2 The Person Markers: Absolutive (Set B)
and Ergative (Set A)

In Tzutujil, as in other Mayan languages, there are two sets of
person markers, the absolutive and the ergative. In Mayan studies the
ergative markers are often referred to as 'Set A' and the absolutive
markers as 'Set B'. The absolutive markers are prefixes on nonperfect
verbs and proclitics on perfect verbs and stative predicates such as
predicate adjectives and predicate nouns. They are also the bases for
the independent personal pronouns in the first and second persons
(3.1.1). The function of the absolutive markers is to indicate: (1) the
subjects of intransitives, (2) the subjects of stative predicates, and
(3) the patients or objects of transitive verbs. (For use of the term
'patient' herein, see chapter 8, note 4.) The absolutive markers are
given below followed by examples.

The Absolutive Person Markers (Set B)

B1	in-	B1p	oq-	
B2	at-	B2p	ix-	
B3	∅	B3p	ee-	before consonants
			~e7-	before vowels

Examples of the Absolutive Person Markers (Set B):

    in winaq   'I am a person'   < winaq   N   'person, people'
    at winaq   'you are a person'
    winaq   'he/she is a person'
    oq winaq   'we are people'

```
    ix winaq   'you all are people'
    ee winaq   'they are people'
    xinwari  'I slept'                      < x- comp, in- B1,
                                              war- IV 'sleep', -i pf

    xatwari  'you slept                     < x- comp, at- B2
    xwari  'he/she/it slept'                < x- comp, ∅ B3
    xoqwari  'we slept'                     < x- comp, oq- B1p
    xixwari  'you all slept'                < x- comp, ix- B2p
    xeewari  'they slept'                   < x- comp, ee- B3p
    xinkeech'ey  'they hit me'              < x- comp, in- B1, kee- A3p,
                                              ch'ey- RTV 'hit'

    xatkeech'ey  'they hit you'             < x- comp, at- B2, kee-  A3p
    xkeech'ey  'they hit him/her/it'        < x- comp, ∅ B3, kee- A3p
    xoqkeech'ey  'they hit us'              < x- comp, oq- B1p, kee- A3p
    xixkeech'ey  'they hit you all'         < x- comp, ix- B2p, kee- A3p
    xeekeech'ey  'they hit them'            < x- comp, ee- B3p, kee- A3p
    xe7eech'ey  'you all hit them'          < x- comp, e7- B3p, ee- A2p
```

The ergative person markers are prefixes and function to indicate: (1) the agents (or conventionally 'subjects') of transitive verbs, and (2) the possessors of nouns. (For use of the terms 'agent' and 'subject' herein, see chapter 8, note 4.) There are two sets of ergative prefixes, those occurring before stems beginning with a consonant and those occurring before stems beginning with a vowel (see the list of ergative prefixes below). The forms enclosed in parentheses are short forms used before stems of more than one syllable (see phonological rule 24, section 1.6.2). The first person singular allomorphic variant in(w)- and the third personal singular variant uu- occur only in transitive verbs when the absolutive marker is ∅, indicating a third person singular patient. uu- disappears altogether before TV stems of more than one syllable. In vowel-initial TV stems, w- may vary optionally with nw- if the absolutive marker is not ∅ third person singular. In addition, it should be noted that in- always disappears if it is immediately preceded by the incompletive aspect prefix n- (see section 4.1.2.2). Compare the examples following the list of ergative prefixes.

<u>The Ergative Prefixes (Set A)</u>

	preconsonantal	prevocalic
A1	nuu- (~ n-) ~ in- (~ ∅)	w- ~ inw- ~ nw-
A2	aa- (~ a-)	aaw- (~ aw-)
A3	ruu- (~ r-) ~ uu- (~ ∅)	r-
A1p	qaa- (~ qa-)	q-
A2p	ee- (~ e-)	eew- (~ ew-)
A3p	kee- (~ ki-)	k-

<u>Examples of the Ergative Prefixes (Set A)</u>:

nuutza7n	'my nose'	< nuu- A1 preconsonantal,
		tza7n N 'nose'
aatza7n	'your nose'	< aa- A2
ruutza7n	'his/her/its nose'	< ruu- A3
qaatza7n	'our noses'	< qaa- A1p
eetza7n	'you all's noses'	< ee- A2p
keetza7n	'their noses'	< kee- A3p
nb'aaqiil	'my body'	< n- A1 short preconsonantal,
		b'aaqiil N 'body'
ab'aaqiil	'your body'	< a- A2
rb'aaqiil	'his/her/its body'	< r- A3
qab'aaqiil	'our bodies'	< qa- A1p
eb'aaqiil	'you all's bodies'	< e- A2p
kib'aaqiil	'their bodies'	< ki- A3p
wak'	'my chicken'	< w- A1 prevocalic,
		ak' N 'chicken'
aawak'	'your chicken'	< aaw- A2
rak'	'his/her chicken'	< r- A3
qak'	'our chicken'	< q- A1p
eewak'	'you all's chicken'	< eew- A2p
kak'	'their chicken'	< k- A3p
wijqa7n	'my burden'	< w- A1 prevocalic,
		ijaq7n N 'burden'
awijqa7n	'your burden'	< aw- A2 short prevocalic
rijqa7n	'his/her/its burden'	< r- A3

qijqa7n   'our burden'   < q- A1p
ewijqa7n 'you all's burden'   < ew- A2p
kijqa7n   'their burden'   < k- A3p

Ergative prefixes with the consonant-initial monosyllabic root transitive
verb choy- 'cut':

     xatnuuchoy 'I cut you'   < x- comp, at- B2, nuu- A1
     xinchoy 'I cut it'   < x-comp, Ø B3, in- A1
     nchoy 'I cut it'   < n- incomp, Ø B3, in- A1
                                          [all contracted to n-]

     xaachoy 'you cut it'   < x- comp, Ø B3, aa- A2
     xinaachoy 'you cut me'   < x- comp, in- B1, aa- A2
     xoqruuchoy 'he cut us'   < x- comp, oq- B1p, ruu- A3
     xuuchoy 'he cut it'   < x- comp, Ø B3, uu- A3
     xqaachoy 'we cut it'   < x- comp, Ø B3, qaa- A1p
     xixqaachoy 'we cut you all'   < x- comp, ix- B2p, qaa- A1p
     xeechoy 'you all cut it'   < x- comp, Ø B3, ee- A2p
     xe7eechoy 'you all cut them'   < x- comp, e7- B3p, ee- A2p
     xkeechoy 'they cut it'   < x- comp, Ø B3, kee- A3p
     xeekeechoy 'they cut them'   < x- comp, ee- B3p, kee-A3p

Ergative prefixes with the polysyllabic derived transitive verb kuuna-
'cure' with the nonperfect suffix -Vj (kuuna- + -Vj > -kuunaaj):

     xatnkuunaaj 'I cured you'   < x- comp, at- B2, n- A1
     xinkuunaaj 'I cured him'   < x- comp, Ø B3, in- A1
     nkuunaaj 'I cure him'   < n- incomp, Ø B3, in- A1
                                          [all contracted to n-]

     xakuunaaj 'you cured him'   < x- comp, Ø B3, a- A2
     xinakuunaaj 'you cured me'   < x- comp, in- B1, a- A2
     xoqrkuunaaj 'he cured us'   < x- comp, oq- B1p, r- A3
     xkuunaaj 'he cured her'   < x- comp, Ø B3, Ø A3
     nkuunaaj 'he cures her'   < n- incomp, Ø B3, Ø A3
     xqakuunaaj 'we cured her'   < x- comp, Ø B3, qa- A1p

xixqakuunaaj 'we cured you all'   < x- comp, ix- B2p, qa- Alp
xekuunaaj 'you all cured him'   < x- comp, Ø B3, e- A2p
xe7ekuunaaj 'you all cured them'   < x- comp, e7- B3p, e- A2p
xkikuunaaj 'they cured him'   < x- comp, Ø B3, ki- A3p
xeekikuunaaj 'they cured them'   < x- comp, ee- B3p, ki- A3p

Ergative prefixes with the polysyllabic vowel-initial transitive verb
aajo7- 'love, want':

xat(n)waajo7 'I loved you'   < x- comp, at- B2, (n)w- A1
xinwaajo7 'I loved her'   < x- comp, Ø B3, inw- A1
nwaajo7 'I love her'   < n- incomp, Ø B3, w- A1
xinawaajo7 'you loved me'   < x- comp, in- B1, aw- A2
xawaajo7 'you loved him'   < x- comp, Ø B3, aw- A2
xoqraajo7 'he loved us'   < x- comp, oq- B1p, r- A3
xraajo7 'he loved her'   < x- comp, Ø B3, r- A3
xqaajo7 'we loved her'   < x- comp, Ø B3, q- Alp
xixqaajo7 'we loved you all'   < x- comp, ix- B2p, q- Alp
xewaajo7 'you all loved him'   < x- comp, Ø B3, ew- A2p
xe7ewaajo7 'you all loved them'   < x- comp, e7- B3p, ew- A2p
xkaajo7 'they loved him'   < x- comp, Ø B3, k- A3p
xeekaajo7 'they loved them'   < x- comp, ee- B3p, k- A3p

Even though the prevocalic ergative prefixes are normally affixed to
stems beginning with a vowel, and the preconsonantal ergative prefixes
are normally affixed to stems beginning with a consonant, there are a
number of important exceptions. For example, the relational noun xiin
'for, of' always takes the prevocalic ergative prefixes even though an
initial vowel never appears (e.g. wxiin 'for me, of me, mine' not
*nuuxiin; awxiin 'for you, of you, yours' not *aaxiin, etc.). Therefore,
it must be assumed that xiin begins with some unidentifiable underlying
vowel, thus Vxiin rather than xiin.

In addition, there are about a half dozen Tzutujil roots that in all
other respects behave like vowel-initial forms but that always take the

preconsonantal ergative prefixes with a glottal stop intervening between
the prefix and the root:

    nuu7o7   'my poo-poo' < (7)o7   [baby talk for 'shit']
    nuu7ojb' 'my phlegm' < (7)ojb' 'phlegm'
    nuu7ojch' 'my ear of green corn' < (7)ojch' 'ear of green corn'
    nuu7aak'   'my Salvia chie' < (7)aak' 'Salvia chie'
    n7o7on   'my iguana' < (7)o7on 'iguana'

Also, Spanish loans that begin with a stressed vowel always take the
preconsonantal ergative prefixes (see section 1.2.1).

    n7óobra   'my work' < Sp obra   'work'
    n7éera   'my vegetable patch' < Sp era   'vegetable patch'
    n7úule   'my rubber' < Sp hule   'rubber'
    n7áarka   'my bow' < Sp arco   'bow, arch'

On the other hand, Spanish loans that begin with an unstressed vowel
usually take the prevocalic ergative prefixes (e.g. waláambre 'my wire' <
Sp alambre; weréensya 'my inheritance' < Sp herencia; wogaar 'my home' <
Sp hogar; wamíigo 'my friend' < Sp amigo). But some take the preconson-
antal ergative prefixes (e.g. n7awusilyaar 'my helper < Sp auxiliar;
n7opinyoon 'my opinion' < Sp opinión).

The use of the preconsonantal ergative prefixes on Spanish loans
with initial vowels may indicate, on the one hand, that the preconson-
antal prefixes are becoming more productive or less marked than the pre-
vocalic prefixes and are taking over the latter's function. On the other
hand, it may indicate that the glottal stop phonetically inserted before
initial vowels (see rule 4, section 1.2) is becoming phonemic, especially
in pretonic position. With respect to the five native Tzutujil forms
that unexpectedly require the preconsonantal prefixes, either they have
phonemic initial glottal stop, in which case they are the only native
forms that do, or they are examples of an incipient encroachment by the
preconsonantal prefixes on the domain of the prevocalic prefixes. The
latter possibility should not be taken too lightly, since all of the

forms, except (7)o7, are rarely possessed, and (7)o7 is baby talk. In
other words, these are forms where one might expect analogical leveling
to begin.

Before leaving the person markers, there are several important facts
that should be noted. First, in transitive verbs, which are inflected
for both agent and patient, the absolutive markers indicating the patient
always precede the ergative prefixes indicating the agent. Second,
Tzutujil is morphologically ergative since the same set of person markers
(i.e. the absolutive markers) indicate both the subjects of intransitive
verbs and the patients (or conventionally 'objects') of transitive verbs,
while a different set of person markers (i.e. the ergative prefixes)
indicate the agents (or conventionally 'subjects') of transitive verbs.
And finally, inanimate arguments in a sentence often do not trigger
number agreement with the absolutive and ergative person markers. In
other words, overt marking of plurality with the absolutive and ergative
person markers is not obligatory if a subject, patient, agent, or posses-
sor is inanimate. Inanimate arguments are usually indicated with the
third person singular markers, whether or not they are semantically
plural. Number may be indicated in other ways, however, such as with the
proclitic plural particle taq or with plural forms of (at least some)
adjectives. Compare sentences (1) and (2) below. In both sentences the
predicate is the adjective nimaq, the plural form of nim 'big'. In (1),
the subject is animate achi7aa7 'men' (plural of aachi 'man'), and there-
fore the predicate is inflected with third person plural absolutive ee.
On the other hand, in (2) the subject is inanimate jaay 'house', and even
though it is marked for plurality with taq, the predicate is inflected
with third person singular absolutive ∅.

> (1) Ee nimaq   taq achi7aa7.
>   E3p big-plr plr men
>   'The men are big.'
> (2) Nimaq   taq jaay.
>   big-plr plr house
>   'The houses are big.'

3.2   THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

The relative pronoun is ja 'that, who, which', which is identical in
form to the definite article ja. Before vowels ja becomes jar (see rule
16, section 1.6.1). The use of ja in relative clauses seems always to be
optional (see section 7.1.3 on relativizers, and 10.2.1 on relative
clauses). Three examples are given below.

Examples of the Relative Pronoun ja:
> (3) Jaa7 xuuloq'   tii7iij (ja) q'iinaq.
>   she B3-A3-bought meat   that rotten
>   'She bought some meat that was rotten.'
> (4) Jar aachi (ja) xk'eje7 chila7 xkami.
>   the man   who lived   there died
>   'The man who lived there died.'
> (5) Uleep sóowra   pro winaq (jar) ee pejnaq   najt naqaaj ee
>   land sufficient but people who B3p have-come far near   B3p
>   k'o chwach.
>   be on-it
>   'Land is sufficient but people who have come from far and near
>   are on it.'

3.3   INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There are two interrogative pronouns: naq 'who, what, which' and
choq (~ choj) 'whom, what'. Naq is used to question direct arguments in
a proposition, that is, subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predi-
cates, and agents and patients of transitive verbs. Choq is used to
question the following oblique arguments: datives, instrumentals,
benefactives, comitatives, and possessors. Choq is always used in
conjunction with a following relational noun (see section 5.2.1 on
relational nouns), which distinguishes the semantic role of the oblique
argument. (See section 7.1.4 on interrogative particles, and section 9.4
on the formation of interrogative sentences.)

Oblique Interrogatives Based on Choq 'Whom'

choq chee (~ choj chee)   'to whom, with what' < chee 'to, with'

choq k'iin (~ choj k'iin) 'with whom' < -uuk'iin 'with'

choq xiin (~ choj xiin) 'for whom, of whom, whose' <
    -Vxiin 'for, of'

Note that choq xiin may be used optionally in conjunction with naq: naq choq xiin (~ naq choj xiin) 'for whom, of whom, whose'.

3.4 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The indefinite pronouns are listed below. Note that most of them are built on juun, which functions as the number 'one', the indefinite pronoun 'one', and the indefinite article 'a, an'. Juun has a number of variant combining forms: juun ~ jun ~ ju- ~ ju7-. Jun is normally used before other words (especially head nouns) in the same phrase, and ju- and ju7- are used in compounds and with suffixes.

Indefinite Pronouns

juun   'one; a, an'

jun chik   'another (one)' < chik 'another; already, again'

jun ka7i7   'a couple, a few, a number of' < ka7i7 'two'

juun le7   'another one there' < le7 'there, that'

juun ri7   'another one here' < ri7 'this in mind, here in mind'

jun tíira   'everyone, everybody, all (of)' < (?) Sp tiro

julee7   'some' < -l- (?), -ee7 plr

ju7jun   'some (distributively), each one (distributively)' <
    reduplication

jutz'iit   'a little bit (of)' < -tz'iit 'little bit'

majuun   'no one, nobody, none, nothing; there isn't/aren't any' <
    ma   'no, not'

ma k'o ta   'no one, nobody, none, nothing; there isn't/aren't any' <
    ma   'no, not', k'ooli 'exist, there is/are', ta irreal

xanaqta   'whatever, whoever, anything, anyone, anybody' <
    xa   'only', naq 'what, who, which', ta irreal

xab'artakii7 'wherever, anywhere' < xa 'only', b'aarkii7 'where',
     ta irreal
nojeel 'everyone, everybody, all (of)' < noj- (?), -eel suf,
     -onojeel possessed form:
          ronojeel 'all of it'
          qonojeel 'all of us'
          ewonojeel 'all of you all'
          konojeel 'all of them'
nojeelaal 'everyone, everybody, all (of)' < nojeel, -aal suf,
     -onojeelaal possessed form:
          ronojeelaal 'all of it'
          qonojeelaal 'all of us'
          ewonojeelaal 'all of you all'
          konojeelaal 'all of them'

The indefinite pronouns may also be used as adjectives and/or quan-
tifiers.

3.5 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Tzutujil has a fairly large number of demonstrative pronouns that
also function as demonstrative adjectives. They not only locate
referents spatially as well as temporally but also play an important role
keeping track of various referents in discourse with respect to 'given',
'definite', and 'contrastive' information (as defined in Chafe 1976).
The simple demonstratives given below are all based on the third person
independent pronouns: jaa7 'he, she, it' and ja7ee7 'they', plus the
demonstrative and locative particles: (a)wa7 'this/here', (a)la7 ~ le7
'that/there (pointing; emphatic)', and (a)ri7 'that/there (yonder; in
mind)' (see section 7.1.6 on the demonstrative/locative particles). The
forms preceded by '+' enclosed in parentheses are short forms used imme-
diately following verbs, interrogatives, and relational nouns.

Simple Demonstratives

jaa wa7 (+awa7) 'this'

ja7ee7 wa7 'these'

jaa la7 (+ala7) 'that (pointing; emphatic)'

ja7ee7 la7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'

jaa ri7 (+ari7) 'that (yonder; in mind)'

ja7ee7 ri7 'those (yonder; in mind)'

jaa wari7 (+wari7) 'that yonder; this/that in mind'

ja7ee7 (a)wari7 'those yonder; these/those in mind'

jaa lale7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'

ja7ee7 alale7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'

jaa laari7 'probably that'

ja7ee7 laari7 'probably those'

There is another set of demonstratives that are based on the same elements as the simple demonstratives plus the particle k'aa, which indicates contrastive information and/or a shift in topic (see sections 7.1.6 and 7.1.7.3).

Contrastive/Topic-Shifting Demonstratives

jaa k'aawa7 'this'

ja7ee7 k'aawa7 'these'

jaa k'aala7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'

ja7ee7 k'aala7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'

jaa k'aari7 'that (yonder; in mind)'

ja7ee7 k'aari7 'those (yonder; in mind)'

jaa k'aawari7 'this/that in mind'

ja7ee7 k'aawari7 'these/those in mind'

Note that immediately following verbs, interrogatives, and relational nouns, jaa7 is normally omitted from the singular forms above. Thus, for example, after the interrogative naq 'what', k'aala7 is used instead of the full form jaa k'aala7 (e.g. naq k'aala7? 'what is that?' but not *naq jaa k'aala7).

4

VERBS

This chapter is on the morphology of Tzutujil verbs. Section 4.1 is concerned primarily with verb inflection but also includes a number of other related topics: 4.1.1 is a recapitulation of person marking on the various subclasses of verbs; 4.1.2 is a discussion of aspect, tense, and mode inflections; in 4.1.3 paradigms of inflected verbs from different subclasses are given; 4.1.4 presents the directional prefixes and paradigms in which they are used; 4.1.5 is a discussion of infinitives and principal parts of verbs; and in 4.1.6 irregular verbs are discussed.

The second half of this chapter, section 4.2 is on verb derivation. Section 4.2.1 is a presentation of affixes deriving intransitive verbs, and sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.3 are presentations of affixes deriving different kinds of transitive verbs.

4.1 VERB INFLECTION

In Tzutujil there is a very important morphological distinction between intransitive verbs (IVs) and transitive verbs (TVs) with respect to their inflection as well as to their derivational possibilities. Within the subclass of transitive verbs there is also an important distinction between root transitives (RTVs), which are always monosyllabic transitive roots (e.g. b'an- 'do, make', ch'ey- 'hit', and loq'- 'buy'), and derived transitives (DTVs), which are always formed with a root (from whatever root class) plus one or more derivational suffixes. There are also two different kinds of derived transitive verbs: (1) the most common are derived transitives in -j (DTJs), and (2) somewhat less common are derived transitives in -7 (DT7s). Stems of DTJs always end in a

73

stem-formative vowel, which in the nonperfect (4.1.2.2) is always fol-
lowed by the suffix -Vj (e.g. b'iix N 'song' + -a stem formative + -Vj >
-b'iixaaj 'sing (something)' DTJ nonperf; k'aay- N 'sale' + -i stem for-
mative + -Vj >-k'aayiij 'sell' DTJ nonperf). Stems of DT7s always con-
tain a derivational suffix that ends in a vowel plus glottal stop (e.g.
k'olob'a7- 'leave a spherical object' DT7 < k'ol- P 'spherical' + -V$_1$b'a7
TV derivational; k'aqak'a7- 'stomp repeatedly' DT7 < k'aq- RTV 'shoot' +
-V$_1$C$_1$a7 TV derivational).

<u>Subclassification of Tzutujil Verbs</u>

```
                    ─V─
          IV─────/     \────TV─
               RTV─────/        \──DTV─
                   DTJ─────/           \──DT7
```
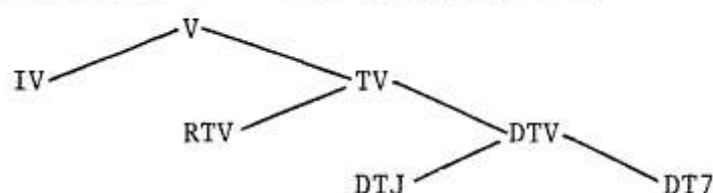
In Tzutujil all finite verbs are inflected (1) for person and number
with the person markers discussed in 3.1, and (2) for aspect, tense,
and/or mode. The latter three semantic categories are not always clearly
distinguished morphologically by separate morphemes for each category;
rather, aspect, tense, and mode notions tend to be merged together in
particular morphemes. Finite verbs may also be inflected optionally for
directional and motion notions of 'coming' and 'going'. Infinitive or
verbal noun forms of verbs are never inflected for aspect, tense, or
mode, or for direction, and only passive infinitives of TVs may be in-
flected for person, and only for the patient.

4.1.1 Person and Number Inflection

As noted in 3.1, person and number are indicated with the absolutive
and ergative person markers. Finite intransitive verbs are always in-
flected for subject with the absolutive markers. In the nonperfect
(4.1.2.2), the absolutive markers are prefixes occurring between the
aspect, tense, or mode prefix and the IV stem:

(1) xinwa7i 'I ate' < x- comp, in- B1, wa7- IV 'eat', -i IV pf

In the perfect (4.1.2.1), where there is no aspect, tense, or mode pre-
fix, the absolutive markers are proclitics occurring initially before the
IV stem:[1]

    (2) in wa7naq 'I have eaten' < in B1, wa7- 'eat', -naq IV perf

Of course, if the subject is third person singular then the absolutive
marker is always null:

    (3) xwa7i 'he ate' < x- comp, Ø B3, wa7- 'eat', -i pf
          wa7naq 'he has eaten' < Ø B3, wa7- 'eat', -naq perf

Finite transitive verbs are always inflected for agent (or conven-
tional 'subject') with the ergative prefixes, and for patient (or conven-
tional 'object') with the absolutive markers. (For use of the terms
'agent' and 'patient' herein, see chapter 8, note 4.) In the nonperfect,
an ergative prefix immediately precedes the TV stem; this is then preced-
ed by an absolutive prefix, which in turn is preceded by an aspect,
tense, or mode prefix:

    (4) xinkeech'ey 'they hit me' < x- comp, in- B1, kee- A3p, ch'ey-
            'hit' RTV

In the perfect, the TV stem is preceded by an ergative prefix that is
then preceded by a proclitic absolutive marker:

    (5) in kich'eyoon 'they have hit me' < in B1, ki- A3p, ch'ey-
            'hit', -oon RTV perf

If the patient is third person singular then the absolutive marker is
null:

    (6) xkeech'ey 'they hit it' < x- comp, Ø B3, kee- A3p, ch'ey-
            'hit'

        kich'eyoon   'they have hit it' < Ø B3, ki- A3p, ch'ey- 'hit',
             -oon perf

Note that one of the most obvious ways in which IVs differ morpho-
logically from TVs is that the former are inflected for one argument
only, subject, while the latter are inflected for two arguments, agent
and patient. With respect to person and number inflection, root transi-
tives and derived transitives also differ somewhat in that in the nonper-
fect RTVs take the 'long' ergative prefixes (i.e. if they do not have the
suffix -a7; see section 4.1.2.2), while DTVs always take the 'short'
ergative prefixes (see rule 24, sections 1.6.2 and 3.1). Compare the
forms of the DTV kuuna- 'cure' in (7) with the examples of the RTV ch'ey-
'hit' given in (4-6) above.

    (7)   xinkikuunaaj   'they cured me' < x- comp, in- B1, ki- A3p,
              kuuna- 'cure', -Vj DTJ nonperf
          xkikuunaaj   'they cured him' < x- comp, Ø B3, ki- A3p, kuuna-
              'cure', -Vj nonperf
          in kikuunaan   'they have cured me' < in B1, ki- A3p, kuuna-
              'cure', -Vn DTJ perf
          kikuunaan   'they have cured him' < Ø B3, ki- A3p, kuuna-
              'cure', -Vn perf

For more examples of the person markers see sections 3.1, 4.1.3, and
4.1.4.

                4.1.2 Aspect, Tense, and Mode Inflection

Aspect, tense, and mode inflections are divided into two mutually
exclusive categories: the perfect and the nonperfect. All finite verbs
are inflected either in the perfect or in one of the subcategories of the
nonperfect, but never both.

4.1.2.1 The Perfect

The perfect aspect is indicated with a suffix occurring as the last
morpheme in a finite perfect verb. The form of the suffix depends on the
verb class.

<u>The Perfect Suffixes</u>

IV   -naq

RTV   -oon (~ -<u>uun</u> after root vowel <u>u</u>)

DTJ   -Vn ('V' = doubling/lengthening of stem-
          formative vowel)

DT7   -oon ~ -Vn

The morphological structure of perfect verbs is given below:

Perfect Intransitive Verb

absolutive proclitic	IV STEM	-naq

Perfect Transitive Verbs

absolutive proclitic	ergative prefix	TV ROOT	-oon
		DTJ STEM	-Vn
		DT7 STEM	-oon ~ -Vn

Examples of verbs in the perfect are given in (8).

(8) IV   ee warnaq 'they have slept, they have gone to sleep'
              < ee B3p, war- 'sleep', -naq IV perf
           roqownaq 'it has boiled' < Ø B3, roqow- 'boil',
              -naq IV perf
      RTV   at nch'eyoon 'I have hit you' < at B2, n- A1,
              ch'ey- 'hit', -oon RTV perf

            qamuquun   'we have buried it' < ∅ B3, qa- Alp,
                muq- 'bury', -uun (~ -oon) RTV perf
DTJ   ee kikamsaan   'they have killed them' < ee B3p,
            ki- A3p, kamsa- 'kill', -Vn DTJ perf
      nkuunaan   'I have cured him' < ∅ B3, n- Al,
            kuuna- 'cure', -Vn DTJ perf
DT7   in rb'irib'a7oon ~ in rb'irib'aan   'he has shaken me'
            < in Bl, r- A3, b'irib'a7- 'shake',
            -oon ~ -Vn DT7 perf
      ix qajo7oon   'we have loved you all' < ix B2p, q- Alp,
            aajo7- 'love, want', -oon DT7 perf

Note that DT7 stems take either of the transitive perfect suffixes -oon
or -Vn. Some DT7s may take both, while others only take one but not the
other. When DT7s take -Vn the final glottal stop of the stem is lost and
-Vn is attached directly to the final stem vowel.

    The perfect in Tzutujil is most often used much like the present
perfect in English in that it indicates an activity that was completed in
the past but that has some relevance to the present. However, the
Tzutujil perfect also includes what would be indicated in English with
the past perfect as well as with the future perfect. Thus, the Tzutujil
perfect indicates some relevant activity completed before some particular
point in time, but only context reveals whether that point is present,
past, or future. Compare the following sentences taken from texts.

    (9) Ja   rb'iin   kaan   ma ya7oj tziij ta.
         that he-has-said-it remain not lie   irreal
         'That which he has said is not a lie.'

    (10) Jaa k'aari7 ja   kib'anoon   ja winaq waawe7.
         that   that they-have-done-it the people here
         'That is what the people have done here.'

    (11) Xinb'ij   chee   chi ixix   ix ulnaq.
         I-told-it to-him that you-all B2p have-left
         'I told him that you all had left.'

(12) Pro ja rwach'uleep utz kib'anoon   chee rk'a7xiik.
      but the nation   good they-have-done-it to-it its-destiny
      'But they will have done it well to(ward) the nation's
      destiny.'

Some perfect IVs may function as adjectives (see chapter 6) indicat-
ing the state resulting from the intransitive activity. For example, ee
warnaq may mean either 'they have gone to sleep' or 'they are asleep',
and kamnaq may mean either 'it has died' or 'it is dead'. Perfect stems
of TVs may function as past participial adjectives. When functioning as
past participles, transitive perfect stems are inflected only for patient
with the absolutive proclitics, and they are passive in meaning. Compare
the past participles from perfect TV stems given in (13) with the perfect
TVs in (8).

(13) at ch'eyoon 'you are hit' < at B2, ch'ey- 'hit', -oon RTV
          perf
      muquun 'it is buried' < Ø B3, muq- 'bury', -oon RTV perf
      ee kamsaan 'they are killed' < ee B3p, kamsa- 'kill', -Vn DTJ
          perf
      kuunaan 'he is cured' < Ø B3, kuuna- 'cure', -Vn DTJ perf
      in b'irib'a7oon ~ in b'irib'aan 'I am shaken' < in B1,
          b'irib'a7- 'shake', -oon ~ -Vn DT7 perf
      ix ajo7oon 'you are all loved' < ix B2p, aajo7- 'love, want',
          -oon perf

4.1.2.2 The Nonperfect

Verbs in the nonperfect always begin with a prefix that indicates
aspect, tense, and/or mode, and that always precedes the absolutive and
ergative person markers. The prefixes used in the nonperfect form a
mutually exclusive paradigmatic set. That is, one (and only one) nonper-
fect prefix is required on all verbs in the nonperfect. And further, the
set of nonperfect prefixes is mutually exclusive with the perfect inflec-
tions discussed in the previous subsection (4.1.2.1).

The Nonperfect Aspect, Tense, and Mode Prefixes:

    All Verbs:

x-	completive (including past or preterite tense)
n-	incompletive (including habitual aspect and present, immediate future, and narrative past tenses)
k-/t-	obligative (including imperative and optative modes)
xk-/xt-	potential (including future tense and irrealis or past subjunctive modes)

    TVs only:

j-	'go' imperative

As indicated in the above list, the nonperfect prefixes are the same for all verbs, with one exception: the 'go' imperative prefix j- is used only on transitive verbs with a third person singular null absolutive marker and a second person ergative prefix (e.g. jakuunaaj 'go cure him!'< j- 'go' imperative, Ø B3, a- A2, kuuna- 'cure', -Vj nonperf).

The alternations of k- ~ t- in the obligative and xk- ~ xt- in the potential are morphologically determined: the 't' forms are used only with the third person singular null absolutive marker, while the 'k' forms are used before all other absolutive prefixes (e.g. twari 'he must sleep' < t- oblig, Ø B3, war- 'sleep', -i pf; keewari 'they must sleep'< k- oblig, ee- B3p, war- 'sleep', -i pf; xtaach'ey 'you would hit him' < xt- potential, Ø B3, aa- A2, ch'ey- 'hit'; xkinaach'ey 'you would hit me' xk- potential, in- B1, aa- A2, ch'ey- 'hit).

The completive aspect in x- includes past tense, essentially like that in English, except that it normally is not used as a narrative past. It is more like the preterite in Spanish. It may also be used in discourse as a past before past, that is, an activity completed before some other past activity is marked with x-, especially if the other activity is narrative past. It should be noted that x- may optionally be omitted if it is immediately followed by a consonant (e.g. xwari ~ wari 'he slept'; xkeech'ey ~ keech'ey 'they hit him').

The incompletive in n- is used to indicate: (1) habitual aspect (like the present tense in English); (2) immediate future tense much like the 'be going to' future in English or the 'ir a' future in Spanish; and (3) the narrative past in discourse, texts, or stories, much like the

imperfective in Spanish. Actually, with respect to the narrative past, it seems that in Tzutujil the speaker assumes the time framework of the story he or she is telling, so that n- indicates narrative 'present' more than narrative 'past'. Therefore, activities occurring before the narrative present are indicated with the completive in x-.

The obligative mode in t-/k- inflectionally includes the imperative, in that there is no morphological distinction between second person imperatives and obligatives (or indirect commands) in other persons, except for person marking. It should be noted that the obligative is normally not used with first person singular subjects of IVs, or with first person singular agents of TVs. Even though the optative mode uses the obligative prefixes, the optative construction is somewhat different from the obligative and is discussed further on in this subsection. Note that the obligative prefix k- plus the absolutive prefix oq- 1Bp fuse together, becoming qoo-.

The potential inflection in xk-/xt- indicates a potentially possible activity that has not occurred. Normally, out of context, a verb in the potential would not be used alone. For example, xkinwari (< xk- potential, in- B1, war- 'sleep', -i pf) means something like 'I would sleep (if such and such)', and it does not make sense unless the 'if such and such' is stated or can be inferred from context. The potential inflection is also commonly used with the enclitic na to form the future tense (discussed later in this subsection), or it is used with na and an irrealis particle like the enclitic ta or the adverb taxa, both indicating that the clause is counter-to-fact or that it does not describe a real situation. These types of construction are most like past subjunctive mode in many European languages (e.g. taxa xkinwar na 'would that I had slept'; xtuub'an ta na 'would that he had done it' < xt- potential, Ø B3, uu- A3, b'an- 'do'). Note that xk- potential plus oq- B1p fuse together, forming xqoo-.

In addition to an aspect, tense, or mode prefix, verbs in the nonperfect may also require a suffix or enclitic depending on the verb class:

<u>Suffixes and Enclitics Used in the Nonperfect:</u>

-i (~ -e)	IV nonperfect phrase-final suf
-a7 (~ -o7 ~ -u7)	RTV obligative/imperative and directional suf
-Vj	DTJ nonperfect suf
na	optative, future, and necessitative enclitic

All intransitive verbs in the nonperfect require the phrase-final suffix-<u>i</u> (-<u>a</u> SA), when they are in phrase or clause-final position or when they occur before a definite noun phrase. If an intransitive verb occurs in phrase-medial position before anything but a definite noun phrase, then -<u>i</u> disappears. For example, in (14a) and (14b), -<u>i</u> occurs because the verb is phrase-final; in (14c), -<u>i</u> occurs because the verb precedes a definite noun phrase. However, in (15a-c), -<u>i</u> disappears because the verb is not phrase-final and it does not occur before a definite noun phrase.

(14)	a.	jar aachi xwari	'the man slept'
		the man slept	
	b.	jun aachi xwari	'a man slept'
		a man slept	
	c.	xwari jar aachi	'the man slept'
		slept the man	
(15)	a.	xwar jun aachi	'a man slept'
		slept a man	
	b.	ma xwar ta	'he didn't sleep'
		neg slept irreal	
	c.	xwar iiwiir	'he slept yesterday'
		slept yesterday	

It should be noted that phrase-final -<u>i</u> always assimilates to -<u>e</u> after the positional intransitivizing suffix -<u>e7</u> (e.g. <u>xsane7e</u> 'he got naked'< <u>x</u>- comp, Ø B3, <u>san</u>- P 'naked', -<u>e7</u> intransitivizer, -<u>i</u> >-<u>e</u> pf), and always disappears after the nonperfect stem of the irregular verb <u>b'e</u>- 'go' (e.g. <u>xb'e</u> 'he went' < <u>x</u>- comp, Ø B3, <u>b'e</u>- 'go', -<u>i</u> > Ø).

With most inflections in the nonperfect, root transitive verbs do not require any suffix (e.g. <u>nuub'an</u> 'he does it' < <u>n</u>- incomp, Ø B3, <u>uu</u>-

A3, b'an- 'do'; xuub'an 'he did it' < x- comp). However, in the obliga-
tive (and imperative) mode, all RTVs require the suffix -a7 (∼ -o7 ∼ -u7;
see rule 32, section 1.6.2).

    (16)   tach'eya7 'hit it!' < t- oblig, Ø B3, a- A2, ch'ey-
           'hit', -a7
        katkich'eya7 'they must hit you' < k- oblig, at- B2,
           ki- A3p, ch'ey- 'hit', -a7

RTVs also require -a7 in the 'go' imperative (e.g. jach'eya7 'go hit it' <
j- 'go' imperative, Ø B3, a- A2, ch'ey- 'hit', -a7). And finally, when-
ever RTVs contain a directional prefix they require -a7 (see section
4.1.4).

    All derived transitive verbs in -j (DTJs) require the suffix -Vj in
the nonperfect in all aspects, tenses, and modes, and in all environ-
ments. The nonperfect suffix -Vj defines the DTJ class of transitive
verbs. Compare the examples in (17).

    (17)   xakamsaaj 'you killed it' < x- comp, Ø B3, a- A2, kamsa-
           'kill', -Vj nonperf
       ma xakamsaj ta 'you didn't kill it < ma...ta neg, and vowel
           shortening (see rule 23, section 1.6.2)
       xakamsaj iiwiir 'you killed it yesterday' < iiwiir 'yes-
           terday'
       ne7akamsaaj 'you kill them' < n- incomp, e7- B3p
       xtakamsaaj 'you would kill it' < xt- potential
       takamsaaj 'kill it!' < t- oblig

Note that the 'V' of the suffix -Vj always is identical with the final
vowel of the DTJ stem (i.e. phonetically, the 'V' is length).

    Derived transitive verbs in 7 (DT7s) never require a special inflec-
tional suffix in any of the inflectional categories of the nonperfect.
However, all DT7s end in a derivational suffix (see section 4.2.3) whose
last segment is 7. Compare the examples in (18).

(18) xakotz'ob'a7 'you laid it down' < x- comp, Ø B3, a- A2,
          kotz'ob'a7- 'lay down' < kotz'- P 'lying', -V₁b'a7
          transitivizing
      ma xakotz'ob'a7 ta 'you didn't lay it down' < ma...ta neg
      nakotz'ob'a7 'you lay it down' < n- imcomp
      takotz'ob'a7 'lay it down!' < t- oblig
      xtakotz'ob'a7 'you would lay it down' < xt- potential
      xk'aqak'a7 raqan 'she stomped her foot' < x- comp, Ø B3, Ø A3,
          k'aqak'a7- 'stomp' DT7 < k'aq- RTV 'shoot', -V₁C₁a7
          transitivizer, raqan 'her foot'

The optative mode is indicated on all verbs with the obligative
prefixes k-/t- plus the enclitic na. It should be noted that RTVs do not
take the suffix -a7 in the optative, as they do in the obligative.

(19) katwar na 'hope you sleep' < k- oblig, at- B2, war- 'sleep',
          na
      twar na 'hope he sleeps' < t- oblig, Ø B3
      katkeech'ey na 'hope they hit you' < k- oblig, at- B2, kee-
          A3p, ch'ey- 'hit', na
      taach'ey na 'hope you hit it' < t- oblig, Ø B3, aa- A2
      takamsaj na 'hope you kill it' < t- oblig, Ø B3, a- A2, kamsa-
          'kill', -Vj nonperf, na
      ke7akamsaj na 'hope you kill them' < k- oblig, e7- B3p
      takotz'ob'a7 na 'hope you lay it down' < t- oblig, Ø B3, a-
          A2, kotz'ob'a7- 'lay down'
      kinakotz'ob'a7 'hope you lay me down' < k- oblig, in- B1

The future tense is indicated with the potential prefixes xk-/xt-
plus the enclitic na on all verbs.

(20) xtwar na 'he'll sleep'
      xkinwar na 'I'll sleep'
      xtuuch'ey na 'she'll hit him'
      xkinruuch'ey na 'he'll hit me'
      xtkamsaj na 'he'll kill it'

xkerkamsaj na   'he'll kill them'

xtkotz'ob'a7 na   'she'll lay it down'

xkinakotz'ob'a7 na   'you'll lay me down'

The enclitic na, except when it is used in the optative mode and the future tense, normally is a necessitative particle meaning 'have to' (e.g. xinwar na 'I had to sleep'; ninwar na 'I have to sleep'). The morphological structures of nonperfect verbs are given below.

Nonperfect Intransitive Verb

nonperfect prefix	absolutive prefix	IV STEM	-i

Nonperfect Transitive Verbs

nonperfect prefix	absolutive prefix	ergative prefix	TV ROOT	-a7 oblig/imp
			DTJ STEM	-Vj
			DT7 STEM	

4.1.3 Verb Paradigms

In this section paradigms of person and number marking and aspect, tense, and mode inflections are given for the intransitive verbs waraam (root war-) 'to sleep' and eeleem (root eel-) 'to go out, leave' (4.1.3.1); for the root transitive verb ch'eyooj (root ch'ey-) 'to hit' (4.1.3.2); for the derived transitive in j, kunaxik (stem kuuna-) 'to cure' (4.1.3.3); and for the derived transitive in 7, ajo7xik (stem aajo7-) 'to want, love' (4.1.3.4). Note that ch'eyooj and kunaxik are consonant-initial transitive verbs and therefore take the preconsonantal ergative prefixes, while ajo7xik is a vowel-initial transitive verb and so it takes the prevocalic ergative prefixes (see section 3.1).[2]

In the paradigms, the following abbreviations are employed:

S1 = first person singular
S2 = second person singular
S3 = third person singular
P1 = first person plural
P2 = second person plural
P3 = third person plural

In the paradigms of transitive verbs, notations such as 'S1 → S2' mean that a first person singular agent acts on a second person singular patient; likewise, 'S2 → S1' means that a second person singular agent acts on a first person singular patient, and similarly for the other person-number possibilities of agents acting on patients.

However, note that in the paradigms of transitive verbs no reflexive constructions are given because reflexives, formally, are not a part of the regular paradigms (see section 9.5 on reflexives). Therefore, examples such as S1 → S1, S2 → S2, P1 → P1, and P2 → P2 are not given. On the other hand, forms such as S3 → S3 and P3 → P3 are given, but in these cases the third person agents and patients, respectively, are not coreferential. Actually, transitive verbs in reflexive constructions are always inflected for the appropriate agent with an ergative prefix, but patient marking on the verb is always third person singular absolutive null, no matter what the person and number of the patient (and agent) is. The reflexive patient is indicated with a possessive prefix, agreeing in person and number with the agent, on the relational noun -ii7 'self' (e.g. wii7 'myself', aawii7 'yourself', rii7 him/her/itself', etc.), which follows the verb (e.g. xinch'ey wii7 'I hit myself', xaach'ey aawii7 'you hit yourself', xuuch'ey rii7 'he hit himself'). Thus, except in the third person singular and plural, transitive verbs are never inflected with absolutive and ergative person markers that are the same in terms of person and number. That is forms such as *xinnuuch'ey, *xataach'ey, *xoqqaach'ey, and *xixeech'ey do not exist (i.e. they are ungrammatical).

4.1.3.1   Paradigms of Two Intransitive Verbs: <u>waraam</u> 'to sleep'
           and <u>eeleem</u> 'to go out, leave'

Perfect in -naq

S1	in warnaq	in elnaq
S2	at warnaq	at elnaq
S3	warnaq	elnaq
P1	oq warnaq	oq elnaq
P2	ix warnaq	ix elnaq
P3	ee warnaq	e7 elnaq

Completive in x- ($\sim \emptyset /\_\_C$)

S1	xinwari	xineeli
S2	xatwari	xateeli
S3	(x)wari	xeeli
P1	xoqwari	xoqeeli
P2	xixwari	xixeeli
P3	xeewari	xe7eeli

Incompletive in n-

S1	ninwari	nineeli
S2	natwari	nateeli
S3	nwari	neeli
P1	noqwari	noqeeli
P2	nixwari	nixeeli
P3	neewari	ne7eeli

Obligative/Imperative in k-/t-

(N.B.: the obligative is not used in the first person singular.)

S2	katwari	kateeli
S3	tiwari	teeli
P1	qoowari	qo7eeli
P2	kixwari	kixeeli
P3	keewari	ke7eeli

Optative in k-/t-...na

S1	kinwar na	kinel na
S2	katwar na	katel na
S3	tiwar na	tel na
P1	qoowar na	qo7el na
P2	kixwar na	kixel na
P3	keewar na	ke7el na

Potential in xk-/xt-

S1	xkinwari	xkineeli
S2	xkatwari	xkateeli
S3	xtiwari	xteeli
P1	xqoowari	xqo7eeli
P2	xkixwari	xkixeeli
P3	xkeewari	xke7eeli

Future in xk-/xt-...na

S1	xkinwar na	xkinel na
S2	xkatwar na	xkatel na
S3	xtwar na	xtel na
P1	xqoowar na	xqo7el na
P2	xkixwar na	xkixel na
P3	xkeewar na	xke7el na

4.1.3.2 Paradigms of a Root Transitive Verb: ch'eyooj 'to hit'

Perfect in -oon

S1 → S2	at nch'eyoon	P1 → S2	at qach'eyoon
→ S3	nch'eyoon	→ S3	qach'eyoon
→ P2	ix nch'eyoon	→ P2	ix qach'eyoon
→ P3	ee nch'eyoon	→ P3	ee qach'eyoon
S2 → S1	in ach'eyoon	P2 → S1	in ech'eyoon
→ S3	ach'eyoon	→ S3	ech'eyoon
→ P1	oq ach'eyoon	→ P1	oq ech'eyoon
→ P3	e7 ach'eyoon	→ P3	e7 ech'eyoon

S3 →	S1	in rch'eyoon	P3 →	S1	in kich'eyoon
	→ S2	at rch'eyoon		→ S2	at kich'eyoon
	→ S3	rch'eyoon		→ S3	kich'eyoon
	→ P1	oq rch'eyoon		→ P1	oq kich'eyoon
	→ P2	ix rch'eyoon		→ P2	ix kich'eyoon
	→ P3	ee rch'eyoon		→ P3	ee kich'eyoon

Completive in x-

S1 →	S2	xatnuuch'ey	P1 →	S2	xatqaach'ey
	→ S3	xinch'ey		→ S3	(x)qaach'ey
	→ P2	xixnuuch'ey		→ P2	xixqaach'ey
	→ P3	xeenuuch'ey		→ P3	xeeqaach'ey
S2 →	S1	xinaach'ey	P2 →	S1	xineech'ey
	→ S3	xaach'ey		→ S3	xeech'ey
	→ P1	xoqaach'ey		→ P1	xoqeech'ey
	→ P3	xe7aach'ey		→ P3	xe7eech'ey
S3 →	S1	xinruuch'ey	P3 →	S1	xinkeech'ey
	→ S2	xatruuch'ey		→ S2	xatkeech'ey
	→ S3	xuuch'ey		→ S3	(x)keech'ey
	→ P1	xoqruuch'ey		→ P1	xoqkeech'ey
	→ P2	xixruuch'ey		→ P2	xixkeech'ey
	→ P3	xeeruuch'ey		→ P3	xeekeech'ey

Incompletive in n-

To form the incompletive in n̲-, the completive x̲- is replaced with n̲- in all forms, e.g.

S1 →	S2	natnuuch'ey	P1 →	P2	nixqaach'ey
S2 →	S1	ninaach'ey	P2 →	P1	noqeech'ey
S3 →	S3	nuuch'ey	P3 →	P3	neekeech'ey

except that S1 → S3 is nch'ey instead of the expected *ninch'ey.

Obligative/Imperative in k'/t-...-a7

(N.B.:   S1 → other persons is not used; however it can be used reflexive-
ly: tinch'eya7 wii7 'I must hit myself' < wii7 'myself'; sée section 9.5
on reflexives.)

S2	→ S1	kinach'eya7	P2	→ S2	kinech'eya7
	→ S3	tach'eya7		→ S3	tech'eya7
	→ P1	qo7ach'eya7		→ P1	qo7ech'eya7
	→ P3	ke7ach'eya7		→ P3	ke7ach'eya7
S3	→ S1	ki(n)rch'eya7	P3	→ S1	kinkich'eya7
	→ S2	katrch'eya7		→ S2	katkich'eya7
	→ S3	tich'eya7		→ S3	(ti)kich'eya7
	→ P1	qoorch'eya7		→ P1	qookich'eya7
	→ P2	kixrch'eya7		→ P2	kixkich'eya7
	→ P3	keerch'eya7		→ P3	keekich'eya7
P1	→ S2	katqach'eya7	P1	→ P2	kixqach'eya7
	→ S3	(ti)qach'eya7		→ P3	keeqach'eya7

Note that in P1/P3 → S3, the obligative prefix t along with
epenthetic -i-) is most commonly omitted, although some speakers option-
ally use it.

'Go' Imperative in j-...-a7

S2	→ S3	jach'eya7	P2	→ S3	jech'eya7

Optative in k-/t-...na

S1	→ S2	katnuuch'ey na	P1	→ S2	katqaach'ey na
	→ S3	tinch'ey na		→ S3	tiqaach'ey na
	→ P2	kixnuuch'ey na		→ P2	kixqaach'ey na
	→ P3	keenuuch'ey na		→ P3	keeqaach'ey na
S2	→ S1	kinaach'ey na	P2	→ S1	kineech'ey na
	→ S3	taach'ey na		→ S3	teech'ey na
	→ P1	qo7aach'ey na		→ P1	qo7eech'ey na
	→ P3	ke7aach'ey na		→ P3	ke7eech'ey na

S3 → S1	kinruuch'ey na	P3 → S1	kinkeech'ey na
→ S2	katruuch'ey na	→ S2	katkeech'ey na
→ S3	tuuch'ey na	→ S3	tikeech'ey na
→ P1	qooruuch'ey na	→ P1	qookeech'ey na
→ P2	kixruuch'ey na	→ P2	kixkeech'ey na
→ P3	keeruuch'ey na	→ P3	keekeech'ey na

Potential in xk-/xt-

S1 → S2	xkatnuuch'ey	P1 → S2	xkatqaach'ey
→ S3	xtinch'ey	→ S3	xtqaach'ey
→ P2	xkixnuuch'ey	→ P2	xkixqaach'ey
→ P3	xkeenuuch'ey	→ P3	xkeeqaach'ey
S2 → S1	xkinaach'ey	P2 → S1	xkineech'ey
→ S3	xtaach'ey	→ S3	xteech'ey
→ P1	xqo7aach'ey	→ P1	xqo7eech'ey
→ P3	xke7aach'ey	→ P3	xke7eech'ey
S3 → S1	xkinruuch'ey	P3 → S1	xkinkeech'ey
→ S2	xkatruuch'ey	→ S2	xkatkeech'ey
→ S3	xtuuch'ey	→ S3	xtkeech'ey
→ P1	xqooruuch'ey	→ P1	xqookeech'ey
→ P2	xkixruuch'ey	→ P2	xkixkeech'ey
→ P3	xkeeruuch'ey	→ P3	xkeekeech'ey

Future in xk-/xt-...na

To form the future, the enclitic _na_ is added to the potential forms given above, e.g.

S1 → S2	xkatnuuch'ey na	P1 → P2	xkixqaach'ey na
S2 → S1	xkinaach'ey na	P2 → P1	xqo7eech'ey na
S3 → S3	xtuuch'ey na	P3 → P3	xkeekeech'ey na

4.1.3.3 Paradigm of a Derived Transitive Verb in j:
         kunaxik 'to cure'

Perfect in -Vn

S1 → S2	at nkuunaan	P1 → S2	at qakuunaan
→ S3	nkuunaan	→ S3	qakuunaan
→ P2	ix nkuunaan	→ P2	ix qakuunaan
→ P3	ee nkuunaan	→ P3	ee qakuunaan
S2 → S1	in akuunaan	P2 → S1	in ekuunaan
→ S3	akuunaan	→ S3	ekuunaan
→ P1	oq akuunaan	→ P1	oq ekuunaan
→ P3	e7 akuunaan	→ P3	e7 ekuunaan
S3 → S1	in rkuunaan	P3 → S1	in kikuunaan
→ S2	at rkuunaan	→ S2	at kikuunaan
→ S3	rkuunaan	→ S3	kikuunaan
→ P1	oq rkuunaan	→ P1	oq kikuunaan
→ P2	ix rkuunaan	→ P2	ix kikuunaan
→ P3	ee rkuunaan	→ P3	ee kikuunaan

Completive in x-

S1 → S2	xatnkuunaaj	P1 → S2	xatqakuunaaj
→ S3	xinkuunaaj	→ S3	(x)qakuunaaj
→ P2	xixnkuunaaj	→ P2	xixqakuunaaj
→ P3	xeenkuunaaj	→ P3	xeeqakuunaaj
S2 → S1	xinakuunaaj	P2 → S1	xinekuunaaj
→ S3	xakuunaaj	→ S3	xekuunaaj
→ P1	xoqakuunaaj	→ P1	xoqekuunaaj
→ P3	xe7akuunaaj	→ P3	xe7ekuunaaj
S3 → S1	xinrkuunaaj	P3 → S1	xinkikuunaaj
→ S2	xatrkuunaaj	→ S2	xatkikuunaaj
→ S3	(x)kuunaaj	→ S3	(x)kikuunaaj
→ P1	xoqrkuunaaj	→ P1	xoqkikuunaaj
→ P2	xixrkuunaaj	→ P2	xixkikuunaaj
→ P3	xeerkuunaaj	→ P3	xeekikuunaaj

Incompletive in n-

To form the incompletive in n-, the completive x- is replaced with n- in all forms, e.g.

S1 → S2	natnkuunaaj		P1 → P2	nixqakuunaaj
S2 → S1	ninakuunaaj		P2 → P1	noqekuunaaj
S3 → S3	nkuunaaj		P3 → P3	neekikuunaaj

except that S1 → S3 is nkuunaaj instead of the expected *ninkuunaaj.

Obligative/Imperative in k-/t-

(N.B.: the obligative is not used with a first person singular agent.)

S2 → S1	kinakuunaaj	P2 → S1	kinekuunaaj
→ S3	takuunaaj	→ S3	tekuunaaj
→ P1	qo7akuunaaj	→ P1	qo7ekuunaaj
→ P3	ke7akuunaaj	→ P3	ke7ekuunaaj
S3 → S1	kinrkuunaaj	P3 → S1	kinkikuunaaj
→ S2	katrkuunaaj	→ S2	katkikuunaaj
→ S3	tikuunaaj	→ S3	(ti)kikuunaaj
→ P1	qoorkuunaaj	→ P1	qookikuunaaj
→ P2	kixrkuunaaj	→ P2	kixkikuunaaj
→ P3	keerkuunaaj	→ P3	keekikuunaaj
P1 → S2	katqakuunaaj	P1 → P2	kixqakuunaaj
→ S3	(ti)qakuunaaj	→ P3	keeqakuunaaj

'Go' Imperative in j-

S2 → S3	jakuunaaj	P2 → S3	jekuunaaj

Optative in k-/t-...na

The optative is formed on the obligative above with the addition of the enclitic na, which causes long vowels of the verb stem to shorten. The optative can be used with a first person singular agent, unlike the obligative. Only some exemplary forms are given below.

S1 → S2	katnkunaj na	P1 → P2	kixqakunaj na
→ S3	tinkunaj na	→ P3	keeqakunaj na

S2	→ S1	kinakunaj na	P2	→ P1	qo7ekunaj na
	→ S3	takunaj na		→ P3	ke7ekunaj na
S3	→ S1	kinrkunaj na	P3	→ P1	qokikunaj na
	→ S2	katrkunaj na		→ P2	kixkikunaj na
	→ S3	tikunaj na		→ P3	(ti)kikunaj na

Potential in xk/xt-

S1	→ S2	xkatnkuunaaj	P1	→ S2	xkatqakuunaaj
	→ S3	xtinkuunaaj		→ S3	xtiqakuunaaj
	→ P2	xkixnkuunaaj		→ P2	xkixqakuunaaj
	→ P3	xkeenkuunaaj		→ P3	xkeeqakuunaaj
S2	→ S1	xkinakuunaaj	P2	→ S1	xkinekuunaaj
	→ S3	xtakuunaaj		→ S3	xtekuunaaj
	→ P1	xqo7akuunaaj		→ P1	xqo7ekuunaaj
	→ P3	xke7akuunaaj		→ P3	xke7ekuunaaj
S3	→ S1	xkinrkuunaaj	P3	→ S1	xkinkikuunaaj
	→ S2	xkatrkuunaaj		→ S2	xkatkikuunaaj
	→ S3	xtikuunaaj		→ S3	xtikikuunaaj
	→ P1	xqoorkuunaaj		→ P1	xqookikuunaaj
	→ P2	xkixrkuunaaj		→ P2	xkixkikuunaaj
	→ P3	xkeerkuunaaj		→ P3	xkeekikuunaaj

Future in xk-/xt-...na

The future is formed on the potential above by adding the enclitic
na, which causes long vowels of the verb stem to shorten. Only some
examples are given below.

S1	→ S2	xkatnkunaj na	P1	→ P2	xkixqakunaj na
	→ S3	xtinkunaj na		→ P3	xkeeqakunaj na
S2	→ S1	xkinakunaj na	P2	→ P1	xqo7ekunaj na
	→ S3	xtakunaj na		→ P3	xke7ekunaj na
S3	→ S1	xkinrkunaj na	P3	→ P1	xqookikunaj na
	→ S2	xkatrkunaj na		→ P2	xkixkikunaj na
	→ S3	xtikunaj na		→ P3	xkeekikunaj na

4.1.3.4   Paradigms of a Vowel-Initial Derived Transitive Verb in _7_:
          ajo7xik 'to want, love'

Perfect in -oon

S1 → S2	at wajo7oon		P1 → S2	at qajo7oon
→ S3	wajo7oon		→ S3	qajo7oon
→ P2	ix wajo7oon		→ P2	ix qajo7oon
→ P3	ee wajo7oon		→ P3	ee qajo7oon
S2 → S1	in awajo7oon		P2 → S1	in ewajo7oon
→ S3	awajo7oon		→ S3	ewajo7oon
→ P1	oq awajo7oon		→ P1	oq ewajo7oon
→ P3	e7 awajo7oon		→ P3	e7 ewajo7oon
S3 → S1	in rajo7oon		P3 → S1	in kajo7oon
→ S2	at rajo7oon		→ S2	at kajo7oon
→ S3	rajo7oon		→ S3	kajo7oon
→ P1	oq rajo7oon		→ P1	oq kajo7oon
→ P2	ix rajo7oon		→ P2	ix kajo7oon
→ P3	ee rajo7oon		→ P3	ee kajo7oon

Completive in x-

S1 → S2	xatwaajo7		P1 → S2	xatqaajo7
→ S3	x(in)waajo7		→ S3	(x)qaajo7
→ P2	xixwaajo7		→ P2	xixqaajo7
→ P3	xeewaajo7		→ P3	xeeqaajo7
S2 → S1	xinawaajo7		P2 → S1	xinewaajo7
→ S3	xawaajo7		→ S3	xewaajo7
→ P1	xoqawaajo7		→ P1	xoqewaajo7
→ P3	xe7awaajo7		→ P3	xe7ewaajo7
S3 → S1	xinraajo7		P3 → S1	xinkaajo7
→ S2	xatraajo7		→ S2	xatkaajo7
→ S3	(x)raajo7		→ S3	(x)kaajo7
→ P1	xoqraajo7		→ P1	xoqkaajo7
→ P2	xixraajo7		→ P2	xixkaajo7
→ P3	xeeraajo7		→ P3	xeekaajo7

Incompletive in n-

    To form the incompletive in n-, the completive x- is replaced with n- in all forms, e.g.

S1 → S2	natwaajo7		P1 → P2	nixqaajo7
S2 → S1	ninawaajo7		P2 → P1	noqewaajo7
S3 → S3	nraajo7		P3 → P3	neekaajo7

except that S1 → S3 is nwaajo7 instead of the expected form *ninwaajo7.

Obligative/Imperative in k-/t-

(N.B.: the obligative is not used with the first person singular agent.)

S2 → S1	kinawaajo7		P2 → S1	kinewaajo7
→ S3	tawaajo7		→ S3	tewaajo7
→ P1	qo7awaajo7		→ P1	qo7ewaajo7
→ P3	ke7awaajo7		→ P3	ke7ewaajo7
S3 → S1	kinraajo7		P3 → S1	kinkaajo7
→ S2	katraajo7		→ S2	katkaajo7
→ S3	traajo7		→ S3	(ti)kaajo7
→ P1	qooraajo7		→ P1	qookaajo7
→ P2	kixraajo7		→ P2	kixkaajo7
→ P3	keeraajo7		→ P3	keekaajo7
P1 → S2	katqaajo7		P1 → P2	kixqaajo7
→ S3	(ti)qaajo7		→ P3	keeqaajo7

'Go' Imperative in j-

S2 → S3	jawaajo7		P2 → S3	jewaajo7

Optative in k-/t-...na

    The optative is formed on the obligative above with the addition of the enclitic na which causes stem vowels to shorten. The optative can be used with a first person singular agent. Some examples are given below.

S1 → S2	katwajo7 na		P1 → P2	kixqajo7 na
→ S3	tinwajo7 na		→ P3	keeqajo7 na

S2 → S1	kinawajo7 na	P2 → P1	qo7ewajo7 na
→ S3	tawajo7 na	→ P3	ke7ewajo7 na
S3 → S1	kinrajo7 na	P3 → P1	qookajo7 na
→ S2	katrajo7 na	→ P2	kixkajo7 na
→ S3	trajo7 na	→ P3	keekajo7 na

Potential in xk-/xt-

S1 → S2	xkatwaajo7	P1 → S2	xkatqaajo7
→ S3	xtinwaajo7	→ S3	xtqaajo7
→ P2	xkixwaajo7	→ P2	xkixqaajo7
→ P3	xkeewaajo7	→ P3	xkeeqaajo7
S2 → S1	xkinawaajo7	P2 → S1	xkinewaajo7
→ S3	xtawaajo7	→ S3	xtewaajo7
→ P1	xqo7awaajo7	→ P1	xqo7ewaajo7
→ P3	xke7awaajo7	→ P3	xke7ewaajo7
S3 → S1	xkinraajo7	P3 → S1	xkinkaajo7
→ S2	xkatraajo7	→ S2	xkatkaajo7
→ S3	xtraajo7	→ S3	xtkaajo7
→ P1	xqooraajo7	→ P1	xqookaajo7
→ P2	xkixraajo7	→ P2	xkixkaajo7
→ P3	xkeeraajo7	→ P3	xkeekaajo7

Future in xk-/xt-...na

The future is formed on the potential above by adding the enclitic
na, which causes stem vowels to shorten. Some examples are given below.

S1 → S2	xkatwajo7 na	P1 → P2	xkixqajo7 na
→ S3	xtinwajo7 na	→ P3	xkeeqajo7 na
S2 → S1	xkinawajo7 na	P2 → P1	xqo7ewajo7 na
→ S3	xtawajo7 na	→ P3	xke7ewajo7 na
S3 → S1	xkinrajo7 na	P3 → P1	xqookajo7 na
→ S2	xkatrajo7 na	→ P2	xkixkajo7 na
→ S3	xtrajo7 na	→ P3	xkeekajo7 na

4.1.4 The Directional Prefixes

Verbs may optionally be inflected for direction and motion with the
mutually exclusive prefixes (b')ee- 'go(ing there)' and uj- ~ jr-
'come(ing here)'. The variation of b'ee- with ee- is optional, but ee-
is by far the more predominant form in contemporary speech. The varia-
tion of uj- with jr- will be discussed later in this section. With
intransitive verbs, the directional prefixes occur after the absolutive
prefix and before the verb stem.

(21) xineewari 'I went and slept' < x- comp, in- Bl, ee- 'go',
             war- IV 'sleep', -i pf
      in eewarnaq 'I have gone and slept' < in Bl, ee- 'go', war-
             'sleep', -naq perf
      xinujwari 'I came and slept' < uj- 'come'
      in ujwarnaq 'I have come and slept' < uj- 'come'

Perfect Directional Intransitive Verb

absolutive proclitic	directional prefix	IV STEM	-naq

Nonperfect Directional Intransitive Verb

nonperfect prefix	absolutive prefix	directional prefix	IV STEM	-i

With transitive verbs, normally the directional prefixes occur
between the absolutive and ergative prefixes, and the form of the 'come'
prefix is uj-. Root transitive verbs in the nonperfect always require
the suffix -a7 (~ -o7 ~ -u7) when a directional prefix is used, while
derived transitives do not require any special suffix with the direc-
tional prefixes.

(22) xateench'eya7 'I went and hit you' < x- comp, at- B2, ee-
             'go', n- A1, ch'ey- RTV 'hit', -a7
       xatujnch'eya7 'I came and hit you' < uj- 'come'
       xateenkuunaaj 'I went and cured you' < x- comp, at- B2, ee-
             'go', n- A1, kuuna- DTJ 'cure', -Vj nonperf
       xatujnkuunaaj 'I came and cured you' < uj- 'come'

However, whenever the ergative prefix on a transitive verb is simply
a vowel form (i.e. a- A2 or e- A2p), then the form of the 'come' prefix
is jr- and occurs after the ergative prefix (a- or e-) before the TV
stem. Compare the examples in (23) with those in (22).

(23) xinajrch'eya7 'you came and hit me' < x- comp, in- B1, a- A2,
             jr- 'come', ch'ey- RTV 'hit',-a7
       xinejrkuunaaj 'you all came and cured me' < x-, in- B1, e-
             A2p, jr- 'come', kuuna- DTJ 'cure', -Vj nonperf

Further, whenever the transitive verb is a vowel-initial stem, and the
ergative prefix is prevocalic aw- A2 or ew- A2p, then the 'come' prefix
jr- is inserted between a- or e- and the following w-. Compare the exam-
ples in (24) with those in (22) and (23).

(24) xinajrwijqaaj 'you came and carried me' < x- comp, in- B1,
             a-...w- A2, jr- 'come', ijqa- DTJ 'carry', -Vj nonperf
       xinejrwijqaaj 'you all came and carried me' < e-...w- A2p

Directional prefixes have not been recorded on perfect transitive
verbs.

Normal Nonperfect Directional Transitive Verb

				TV ROOT	-a7
nonperf prefix	absolutive prefix	directional prefix	ergative prefix	DTJ STEM	-Vj
				DT7 STEM	

Nonperfect Directional Transitive Verb
with Ergative a(w)- A2 or e(w)- A2p

				TV ROOT	-a7
				DTJ STEM	-Vj
nonperf prefix	absolutive prefix	a- e-	jr-		
				DT7 STEM	
				w-	Vowel Initial TV Stem

Paradigms of the intransitive verbs waraam 'to sleep' and eeleem 'to
go out, leave', used with the directional prefixes in the completive
(x-), are given below. In the paradigms, the b'ee- alternate of the 'go'
prefix (as opposed to the ee- alternate) is indicated only where it most
commonly occurs.

Waraam with Directional Prefixes:

		'go'	'come'
S1	xineewari	xinujwari
S2	xateewari	xatujwari
S3	x(b')eewari	xujwari
P1	xoqeewari	xoqujwari
P2	xixeewari	xixujwari
P3	xe7eewari	xe7ujwari
	~ xeeb'eewari	~ xu7ujwari

Eeleem with Directional Prefixes:

		'go'	'come'
S1	xinee7eeli	xinuj7eeli
S2	xatee7eeli	xatuj7eeli
S3	x(b')ee7eeli	xuj7eeli
P1	xoqee7eeli	xoquj7eeli
P2	xixee7eeli	xixuj7eeli
P3	xe7ee7eeli	xe7uj7eeli
	~ xeeb'ee7eeli	~ xu7uj7eeli

Paradigms of the RTV ch'eyooj 'to hit', of the DTJ kunaxik 'to cure', and of the vowel-initial DTJ ijqaxik 'to carry on the back', used with the directional prefixes in the completive (in x-), are given below. Note that in transitive verbs, (b')ee- 'go' plus the ergative prefix a- A2 contract to (b')aa-, and (b')ee- plus the ergative prefix e- A2p contract to (b')ee-.

Ch'eyooj with Directional Prefixes:

		'go'	'come'
S1 →	S2	xateench'eya7	xatujnch'eya7
	→ S3	x(b')eench'eya7	xujnch'eya7
	→ P2	xixeench'eya7	xixujnch'eya7
	→ P3	xe7eench'eya7	xe7ujnch'eya7
		~ xeeb'eench'eya7	~ xu7ujnch'eya7
S2 →	S1	xin(b')aach'eya7	xinajrch'eya7
	→ S3	x(b')aach'eya7	xajrch'eya7
	→ P1	xoq(b')aach'eya7	xoqajrch'eya7
	→ P3	xe7aach'eya7	xe7ajrch'eya7
		~ xeeb'aach'eya7	
S3 →	S1	xineerch'eya7	xinujrch'eya7
	→ S2	xateerch'eya7	xatujrch'eya7
	→ S3	x(b')eerch'eya7	xujrch'eya7
	→ P1	xoqeerch'eya7	xoqujrch'eya7
	→ P2	xixeerch'eya7	xixujrch'eya7
	→ P3	xe7eerch'eya7	xe7ujrch'eya7
		~ xeeb'eech'eya7	~ xu7ujrch'eya7
P1 →	S2	xateeqach'eya7	xatujqach'eya7
	→ S3	x(b')eeqach'eya7	xujqach'eya7
	→ P2	xixeeqach'eya7	xixujqach'eya7
	→ P3	xe7eeqach'eya7	xe7ujqach'eya7
		~ xeeb'eeqach'eya7	~ xu7ujqach'eya7
P2 →	S1	xin(b')eech'eya7	xinejrch'eya7
	→ S3	x(b')eech'eya7	xejrch'eya7
	→ P1	xoq(b')eech'eya7	xoqejrch'eya7
	→ P3	xe7eech'eya7	xe7ejrch'eya7
		~ xeeb'eech'eya7	

P3	→ S1	xineekich'eya7	xinujkich'eya7
	→ S2	xateekich'eya7	xatujkich'eya7
	→ S3	x(b')eekich'eya7	xujkich'eya7
	→ P1	xoqeekich'eya7	xoqujkich'eya7
	→ P2	xixeekich'eya7	xixujkich'eya7
	→ P3	xe7eekich'eya7	xe7ujkich'eya7
		~ xeeb'eekich'eya7	~ xu7ujkich'eya7

Kunaxik with Directional Prefixes:

		'go'	'come'
S1	→ S2	xateenkuunaaj	xatujnkuunaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eenkuunaaj	xujnkuunaaj
	→ P2	xixeenkuunaaj	xixujnkuunaaj
	→ P3	xe7eenkuunaaj	xe7ujnkuunaaj
		~ xeeb'eenkuunaaj	~ xu7ujnkuunaaj
S2	→ S1	xin(b')aakuunaaj	xinajrkuunaaj
	→ S3	x(b')aakuunaaj	xajrkuunaaj
	→ P1	xoq(b')aakuunaaj	xoqajrkuunaaj
	→ P3	xe7aakuunaaj	xe7ajrkuunaaj
		~ xeeb'aakuunaaj	
S3	→ S1	xineerkuunaaj	xinujrkuunaaj
	→ S2	xateerkuunaaj	xatujrkuunaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eerkuunaaj	xujrkuunaaj
	→ P1	xoqeerkuunaaj	xoqujrkuunaaj
	→ P2	xixeerkuunaaj	xixujrkuunaaj
	→ P3	xe7eerkuunaaj	xe7ujrkuunaaj
		~ xeeb'eerkuunaaj	~ xu7ujrkuunaaj
P1	→ S2	xateeqakuunaaj	xatujqakuunaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eeqakuunaaj	xujqakuunaaj
	→ P2	xixeeqakuunaaj	xixujqakuunaaj
	→ P3	xe7eeqakuunaaj	xe7ujqakuunaaj
		~ xeeb'eeqakuunaaj	~ xu7ujqakuunaaj
P2	→ S1	xin(b')eekuunaaj	xinejrkuunaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eekuunaaj	xejrkuunaaj
	→ P1	xoq(b')eekuunaaj	xe7ejrkuunaaj
	→ P3	xe7eekuunaaj	xoqejrkuunaaj
		~ xeeb'eekuunaaj	

P3	→ S1	xineekikuunaaj	xinujkikuunaaj
	→ S2	xateekikuunaaj	xatujkikuunaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eekikuunaaj	xujkikuunaaj
	→ P1	xoqeekikuunaaj	xoqujkikuunaaj
	→ P2	xixeekikuunaaj	xixujkikuunaaj
	→ P3	xe7eekikuunaaj	xe7ujkikuunaaj
		~ xeeb'eekikuunaaj	~ xu7ujkikuunaaj

Ijqaxik with Directional Prefixes:

		'go'	'come'
S1	→ S2	xateenwijqaaj	xatujnwijqaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eenwijqaaj	xujnwijqaaj
	→ P2	xixeenwijqaaj	xixujnwijqaaj
	→ P3	xe7eenwijqaaj	xe7ujnwijqaaj
		~ xeeb'eenwijqaaj	~ xu7ujnwijqaaj
S2	→ S1	xin(b')aawijqaaj	xinajrwijqaaj
	→ S3	x(b')aawijqaaj	xajrwijqaaj
	→ P1	xoq(b')aawijqaaj	xoqajrwijqaaj
	→ P3	xe7aawijqaaj	xe7ajrwijqaaj
		~ xeeb'aawijqaaj	
S3	→ S1	xineerijqaaj	xinujrijqaaj
	→ S2	xateerijqaaj	xatujrijqaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eerijqaaj	xujrijqaaj
	→ P1	xoqeerijqaaj	xoqujrijqaaj
	→ P2	xixeerijqaaj	xixujrijqaaj
	→ P3	xe7eerijqaaj	xe7ujrijqaaj
		~ xeeb'eerijqaaj	~ xu7ujrijqaaj
P1	→ S2	xateeqijqaaj	xatujqijqaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eeqijqaaj	xujqijqaaj
	→ P2	xixeeqijqaaj	xixujqijqaaj
	→ P3	xe7eeqijqaaj	xe7ujqijqaaj
		~ xeeb'eeqijqaaj	~ xu7ujqijqaaj
P2	→ S1	xin(b')eewijqaaj	xinejrwijqaaj
	→ S3	x(b')eewijqaaj	xejrwijqaaj
	→ P1	xoq(b')eewijqaaj	xoqejrwijqaaj
	→ P3	xe7eewijqaaj	xe7ejrwijqaaj
		~ xeeb'eewijqaaj	

P3 → S1	xineekijqaaj	xinujkijqaaj
→ S2	xateekijqaaj	xatujkijqaaj
→ S3	x(b')eekijqaaj	xujkijqaaj
→ P1	xoqeekijqaaj	xoqujkijqaaj
→ P2	xixeekijqaaj	xixujkijqaaj
→ P3	xe7eekijqaaj	xe7ujkijqaaj
	~xeeb'eekijqaaj	~xu7ujkijqaaj

4.1.5 Infinitives and Principal Parts

4.1.5.1 Infinitives

Most verbs in Tzutujil have one or more infinitives (or verbal
nouns), the forms of which depend on the verb class. The majority of
intransitive verbs have an infinitive in -eem, which with a couple of IVs
has the variant -aam, and with one IV has the variant -iim. One basical-
ly intransitive verb has an infinitive in -ik, rather than the more
normal -eem, and one IV has infinitives in both -eem and -ik. In addi-
tion, simple passive stems (see section 9.6.1 on passives), which are
always morphologically intransitive and derived from transitive verbs,
have infinitives in -ik, never in -eem.

<div align="center">Intransitive Infinitives</div>

-eem:	b'ijneem 'to walk'	yawajeem 'to get sick'
	ookeem 'to enter'	eeleem 'to go out'
~ -aam:	waraam 'to sleep'	b'eenaam 'to go'
~ -iim:	wa7iim 'to eat'	
-ik:	kamik 'to die'	yawajik 'to get sick'
	[and all intransitive simple passives from transitive	
	verbs (see below)]	

Root transitive verbs have an active infinitive in -ooj, which has
the variant -uuj used after a root vowel u. RTVs also have a couple of
other infinitives based on nonactive stems that are formally intransi-
tive: (1) a simple passive infinitive in -ik added to passive stems
formed with the infix -j- (~ -7- ~ -V-), and (2) an absolutive

(antipassive) infinitive in -eem added to absolutive stems formed with -oon vary-
ing with -uun after root vowel u (see section 9.6 on voice formation).

Root Transitive Infinitives

-ooj   Active:

  ch'eyooj 'to hit'   muquuj 'to bury'

  loq'ooj 'to buy'   b'anooj 'to do, make'[3]

-ik   Simple Passive:

  ch'ejyik 'to be hit'   mujqik 'to be buried'

  lojq'ik 'to be bought'   b'ajnik 'to be done, made'

-eem   Absolutive:

  ch'eyooneem 'to hit'   muquuneem 'to bury'

  loq'ooneem 'to buy'   b'anooneem 'to do, make'

Derived transitive verbs do not have a freely occurring active in-
finitive. However, DTVs do have an active infinitive in -n that always
requires that an overt, nondefinite, third person patient be present in
the infinitival phrase. Like RTVs, DTVs have two other infinitives based
on nonactive stems that are formally intransitive: (1) a simple passive
infinitive in -ik added to DTV passive stems in -x, and (2) an absolutive
(antipassive) infinitive in -eem added to absolutive stems formed with
-Vn on DTJ stems and formed with -n on DT7 stems.

Derived Transitive Infinitives

-n   [plus a nondefinite third person patient] Active:

  kamsan winaq 'to kill people'

  kunan winaq 'to cure people'

  ajo7n winaq 'to love people'

-ik   Simple Passive:

  kamsaxik 'to be killed'

  kunaxik 'to be cured'

  ajo7xik 'to be wanted, loved'

-eem   Absolutive:

  kamsaaneem 'to kill'

  kunaaneem 'to cure'

  ajo7neem 'to want, love'

Note that DTVs are cited throughout this work in the simple passive
infinitive, since there is no free occurring active infinitive. And
usually the translation is active rather than the more accurate passive
translation (e.g. kamsaxik 'to kill' rather than the more accurate 'to be
killed'). Passive translations are given only when the need arises to
distinguish passive meaning from active meaning (as in the examples
above).

4.1.5.2 Principal Parts

Given the information on inflection and infinitives discussed in the
preceding sections of this chapter, the easiest way to distinguish the
class of a given verb is to view its 'principal parts', which include one
or more infinitive forms, a perfect form or past participle, and a
nonperfect finite form. The principal parts of two verbs from each verb
class are given below.

Principal Parts of Intransitive Verbs:

waraam	'to sleep'	yawajeem	'to get sick'
warnaq	'have slept'	yawajnaq	'have got sick'
xinwari	'I slept'	xinyawaji	'I got sick'

Principal Parts of Root Transitive Verbs:

ch'eyooj	'to hit'	b'anooj	'to do, make'
ch'ejyik	'to be hit'	b'ajnik	'to be done, made'
ch'eyoon	'(have) hit'	b'anoon	'(have) done, made'
xatnuuch'ey	'I hit you'	xeenuub'an	'I made them'

Principal Parts of Derived Transitive Verbs in -J:

kunaxik	'to cure (be cured)'	kamsaxik	'to kill (be killed)'
kuunaan	'(have) cured'	kamsaan	'(have) killed'
xatnkuunaaj	'I cured you'	xeenkamsaaj	'I killed them'

Principal Parts of Derived Transitive Verbs in -7:

ajo7xik	'to want, love (be wanted, loved)'	b'irib'a7xik	'to shake (be shaken)'

ajo7oon '(have) loved, wanted'   b'irib'a7oon ~ b'irib'aan

                                                      '(have) shaken'

xatwaajo7 'I loved you'   xatnb'irib'a7 'I shook you'

4.1.6 Irregular Verbs

The vast majority of verbs in Tzutujil are completely regular with
respect to their inflection and to their infinitival forms. However,
there are some noteworthy irregularities, which are discussed in this
section.

The two intransitive verbs b'eenaam 'to go' and pejteem 'to come'
are highly irregular. Compare their principal parts along with their
imperative forms.

b'eenaam 'to go'	pejteem 'to come'
b'enaq 'have gone'	pejnaq ~ pejtinaq 'have come'
xb'e 'he went'	xpeeti 'he came' ~ xpi(t)+
jat 'go!'	(non-phrase-final form)
jix 'you all go!'	katajo7 'come!'
jo7 'let's go!'	kixajo7 'you all come!'

Note first that the imperatives of both verbs are suppletive. B'eenaam
is also irregular in that it never takes the IV phrase-final suffix -i,
and the stem of the infinitive is based on the root b'e- 'go' plus the
suffix -Vn (i.e. b'e- + -Vn   b'een-). -Vn is an intransitivizing suffix
normally used to derive intransitive verbs from DTJ stems (see section
4.2.1). Pejteem has the unexpected stem alternations of pejti- ~ pej- ~
peet- ~ pi(t)-. The short stem pi(t)- occurs when other nonperfect IVs
lose their phrase-final suffix -i, that is, when not at the end of the
phrase or clause, or not before a definite NP; the form without t occurs
before consonants (e.g. xinpeeti 'I came', xinpit iiwiir 'I came yester-
day', xinpi na 'I had to come').

There are a fairly large number of defective verbs (especially IVs),
which lack one or more principal parts. Thus, focus antipassive

intransitive verbs formed with -ow from RTVs lack an infinitive (e.g.
*ch'eyoweem < ch'eyow- 'be the one who hit'). Many intransitive verbs
formed from transitive and/or positional roots with the intransitive
deriving suffixes $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_2$, $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{o7}$, and $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{ot}$ often lack an infinitive
and/or perfect form. For example the IVs setet- 'for a discoid object to
roll' (< set- P 'discoid', $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_2$) and wach'awo7- 'break up rapidly' (<
wach'- RTV 'break', $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{o7}$), do not have infinitives or perfect forms.
Inchoative intransitive verbs formed with -e7 from positional roots
always lack an infinitive (e.g. *tz'ub'e7eem < tz'ub'e7- IV 'sit down' <
tz'ub'- P 'sitting'). However, a few very common positional adjectives
in -V1 have infinitival forms in -eem that functionally take the place of
the nonexistent inchoative infinitives (e.g. tz'ub'uleem 'to sit down' <
tz'ub'uli 'be sitting', a positional adjective).

Another highly irregular intransitive verb is che7- (~ chi- ~ e7- ~
i-) 'say', which is used in quoting someone directly (N.B.: che7- is
etymologically related to the quotative particle cha7; see 7.1.7.5).
Che7- has no infinitive form and has the irregular allomorphic alter-
nations illustrated below. Note that the phrase-final suffix -i assimi-
lates to -e after the stem vowel e (e.g. xatche7e < //xatche7-i//).

Che7- ~ chi- ~ e7- ~ i-   'say':

che7naq	'have said'	xche7e	'she said'
xatche7e	'you said'	xchi chee	'she said to him'
xatchi chee	'you said to him'	ne7e	'she says'
natche7e	'you say'	ni chee	'she says to him'
natchi chee	'you say to him'		

Che7- is most irregular in the incompletive aspect in n- when the subject
is third person singular (indicated with absolutive ∅ B3); in phrase-
final position and before definite noun phrases the stem has the unex-
pected form e7- (e.g. n-∅-e7-e), while in non-phrase-final position
before anything but a definite noun phrase the stem has the unexpected
for i- (e.g. n-∅-i chee). Also, the irregular stem chi- occurs in non-
phrase-final position before anything but definite noun phrases when the
subject is non-third person singular, or in aspects and tenses other than
the incompletive. In other environments the stem form che7- occurs as
expected.

A couple of common transitive verbs also are defective. For exam-
ple, aaj- 'want, be about to do' and ojtaq- 'know, believe' both lack
infinitives and perfect forms. Aaj- is also irregular in that it is
inflected like a DTJ even though it is a transitive root (e.g. xraaj 'he
wants it'). Perhaps aaj- has been reanalyzed as -a (root and/or stem-
formative vowel), plus the DTJ suffix -Vj. Ojtaq- is also irregular in
that it never takes an aspect, tense, or mode prefix, and with respect to
person inflection, it is inflected like a DTV but in form it is neither
DTJ nor DT7 (e.g. wojtaq 'I know it'). In fact, it is the only TV that
formally does not fit into any transitive subclass.

The root transitive verb ilooj 'to find, get, encounter' is also
highly irregular.

Ilooj 'to find, get, encounter':
     ijlik 'to be found, gotten, encountered'
     iloon '(have) found, got, encountered'
     xatwijli 'I found you'
     xujrila7 'he came and found it'
     xeerila7 'he went and found it'

Ilooj is the only vowel-initial RTV in Tzutujil. In the nonperfect it
irregularly takes the intransitive (!) phrase-final suffix -i, and has
the allomorph ijl- instead of the expected il-. The ijl- allomorph is
homophonous with the passive stem as seen in ijlik. However, if direc-
tional prefixes are used then the expected il- occurs, along with the
normal RTV directional suffix -a7. That the verb in the nonperfect is
not simply a passive form is clear since it can be inflected for both
patient and agent. True passives are intransitive and are never inflect-
ed for agent (see section 9.6.1 on passives).

The root transitive verb meel- 'take' is irregular in that it nei-
ther has an infinitive nor a perfect form. It also is the only RTV in
Tzutujil with a long vowel. In fact, meel- and ilooj (discussed in the
preceding paragraph) are the only RTVs out of several hundred that do not
have the form CVC. Meel- is only inflected in the nonperfect (e.g.
xuumeel 'he took it').

The derived transitive b'ixik 'to say, tell' is irregular:

B'ixik ~ b'i7xik 'to say, tell':
    b'iin ~ b'i7n ~ b'i7iin '(have) said, told'
    xb'iij 'he said it'
    xb'iixi ~ xb'i7xi 'it was said'

Note that in the nonperfect b'ixik behaves like a DTJ in that it takes
the DTJ suffix -Vj. If the alternate forms with 7 did not occur, then it
would appear that b'ixik was a DTJ derived from a root b'- plus the stem-
formative vowel -i. However, this would be suspicious because DTVs
normally come from roots of the form CVC or longer. The alternate forms
with 7 make b'i7xik look like a DT7, except in the nonperfect. Histor-
ically, this verb probably comes from the root b'ii7 'name' plus the
stem-formative vowel -i, and then the DTJ stem b'ii7i irregularly col-
lapsed or contracted to b'i, at least in some forms.
    Contraction occurs in a couple of other verb forms as well:

xuuya7 'he gave/put it' > yo7 optionally < x- comp, Ø B3, uu- A3,
        ya7- RTV 'give, put'
-kik'ama7 > -kima7 optionally < ki- A3p, k'am- RTV 'take', -a7
        directional suffix; e.g. neekik'ama7 ~ neekima7 'they go and
        take it'

There are a couple of vowel-initial DTJ verbs that are in the pro-
cess of losing their stem-initial vowels. In terms of person inflection,
this leads to irregularities as to whether these verbs are inflected with
the prevocalic or preconsonantal ergative prefixes. Compare the forms
given below.

Alasaxik ~ elasaxik ~ lasaxik 'to take out:
    alasaan ~ lasaan '(have) taken out'
    xrelasaaj ~ xlasaaj 'he took it out'
    xinwasaaj ~ xinlasaaj 'I took it out'
    xawasaaj ~ xalasaaj 'you took it out'

Note that in the nonperfect, when the prevocalic ergative prefixes inw-
and aw- (as well as ew-, not shown) are used, then the l of the stem is
elided.

Ak'axaxik ~ k'axaxik 'to hear, ask':

    ak'aaxaan ~ k'aaxaan '(have) heart, asked'

    xrak'aaxaaj ~ xk'aaxaaj 'he heard, asked it'

    xinwk'aaxaaj 'I heard/asked it'

    xawk'aaxaaj 'you heard/asked it'

Note here that in the nonperfect when the ergative prefix is not third
person singular, the initial stem vowel is always elided even though the
prevocalic prefixes are always used.

4.2 VERB DERIVATION

In Tzutujil there are a large number of derivational affixes that
derive verb stems. In fact, all verb stems that are not basically verb
roots must have at least one derivational affix. Most of the verb-
forming affixes are suffixes, but there are also a couple of infixes.
The affixes forming verb stems make the following kinds of changes in the
roots, stems, or words to which they are attached: (1) they may change
the word or stem class; (2) they may change the meaning; and (3) they may
form verb stems from certain roots that otherwise, without derivational
affixes, do not occur as stems of any word class. In the latter case,
the process is productive with positional roots that always must have a
derivational affix in order to participate as a stem of any word class,
whether it be verb, adjective, or some other. There are also a number of
other roots that only occur with one or another verb-forming suffix;
these roots are much like the English root '-ceive' occurring in such
forms as 'receive', 'deceive', 'conceive', etc.

    Affixes deriving IV stems are presented in section 4.2.1; those
forming DTJ stems occur in 4.2.2; and those forming DT7 stems are in
4.2.3. In 4.2.4 brief mention is made of compound verb stems that are
composed of more than one root plus one or more derivational affixes.

The format for presenting information on each derivational affix is as follows:

1. Affix (and its arbitrarily assigned number) and gloss.
2. Allomorphs and distribution (2 is omitted if no allomorphy exists).
3. Function.
4. Productivity.
5. Examples, including one infinitive form (if one exists), one finite form in the completive aspect with a third person singular subject for IVs, and a third person singular agent and patient for TVs.
6. Other comments, if any.

4.2.1 Affixes Deriving Intransitive Verbs

1) 1. -7-   <u>mediopassive</u>
   2. -7- ~ -j-:
      The alternation is lexically determined.
   3. Derives mediopassive verbs from monosyllabic roots, especially from positional and transitive roots.
   4. Unproductive.
   5. Examples:
      qu7reem 'for food to burn too much (while cooking)'
           < -qur (?)
           xqu7ri 'it (the food) burned too much'
      k'i7seem 'to end, finish' < k'is- RTV 'finish'
           xk'i7si 'it ended'
   6. -<u>7</u>- also occurs as an allomorph of the passive infix -<u>j</u>- (cp. affix 7).

2) 1. -at   <u>intransitivizer</u>
   3. Derives IVs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and transitive roots.
   4. Unproductive.

5. Example:

> tz'aqateem 'to finish, be complete' < tz'aq- RTV 'do'
>   (archaic)
>
> xtz'aqati 'it finished/it was complete'

3) 1. -e7   positional intransitivizer

3. Derives inchoative IVs from positional roots meaning to get
    into the position, shape, condition, etc., indicated by the
    positional root; also derives a few inchoative verbs from ad-
    jective plus positional compounds.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

> xb'ole7e 'it became cylindrical' < b'ol- P 'cylindrical'
>
> xch'ane7e 'he got naked' < ch'an- P 'naked'
>
> xsaqruje7e 'he got pallid' < saq Adj 'white' + ruj- P (?)

6. N.B.: the IV phrase-final suffix is always -e after -e7,
    rather than the normal -i.

4) 1. -j-   simple passive of RTV

2. -j- ～ -7- ～ -V-:

-7- occurs before j; -V- or vowel length occurs before 7; and
-j- occurs elsewhere.

3. Derives simple passives from RTVs; and derives mediopassives
    from a few other monosyllabic roots.

4. Productive as a passive; unproductive as a mediopassive.

5. Examples:

> ch'ejyik 'to be hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
>   xch'ejyi 'it was hit'
> lojq'ik 'to be bought' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
>   xlojq'i 'it was bought'
> to7jik 'to be paid' < toj- RTV 'pay'
>   xto7ji 'it was paid'
> ti7jik 'to be eaten, consumed' < tij- RTV 'eat, consume'
>   xti7ji 'it was eaten'
> naa7ik 'to be felt' < na7- RTV 'feel'
>   xnaa7i 'it was felt'
> yaa7ik 'to be given, put' < ya7- RTV 'give, put'
>   xyaa7i 'it was given/put'

           k'ijyeem 'to grow' < k'iy Adj 'much, many'
                 xk'ijyi 'it grew'

6.   The alternation of -j- with -7- in mediopassive forms is lexi-
      cally determined, not phonologically determined, as is the
      alternation of allomorphs in the passive (see -7- affix 1).
      Cp. -x simple passive suffix (24) used in DTVs.

5) 1.   -j-...-o7m   absolutive

    2.   -j-...-o7m ~ -V-...-o7m:
          The alternation is lexically determined.

    3.   Derives absolutive IVs from a handful of RTVs.

    4.   Unproductive.

    5.   Examples:
              d'iiso7m 'to sew' < d'is- RTV 'sew'
                  xd'iiso7mi 'she was sewing'
              lojq'o7m 'to buy' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
                  xlojq'o7mi 'she was buying'

    6.   This suffix not only derives IVs but also irregular verbal
          nouns for the IVs that it derives (see 5.3.1).

6) 1.   -ko7r   intransitivizer

    3.   Derives the one IV given below.

    4.   Unproductive.

    5.   Example:
              pasko7reem 'to make a ruckus' < pas- (?)
                  xpasko7ri 'he made a ruckus'

    6.   Cp. -ko7ri (34) DTJ transitivizer.

7) 1.   -ku7t   intransitivizer

    3.   Derives the one IV given below.

    4.   Unproductive.

    5.   Example:
              xtz'unku7ti 'it twisted' < tz'un- (?)

    6.   Cp. -kuti (35) DTJ transitivizer.

8) 1.   -k'a7t   intransitivizer

    3.   Derives the single IV given below.

    4.   Unproductive.

5. Example:

> jalk'a7teem 'to move (residence)' < jal- RTV 'change'
>> xjalk'a7ti 'he moved'

6. Cp. -kati (36) DTJ transitivizer.

9) 1. -ma7y   slow motion intransitivizer

2. -ma7y ~ -V$_1$ma7y:

The latter form occurs only in one stem, the former in many;
the distribution is apparently lexically determined.

3. Derives IVs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and
transitive roots, which mean to go around or move (especially
slowly) in such and such a manner. Usually the manner of move-
ment is related to the position or form indicated by a posi-
tional root, or to the activity of a transitive root.

4. Semiproductive.

5. Examples:

wak'ma7yeem 'to walk like a crab' < wak'- P 'standing like a
    crab or mosquito'
    xwak'ma7yi 'it walked like a crab'
jupuma7yeem 'to drag oneself on the belly' < jup- P 'lying
    face down'
    xjupuma7yi 'he dragged himself on the belly'
tikma7yeem 'to go around looking down' < tik- P 'hanging down'
    and RTV 'plant (plants)'
    xtikma7yi 'he went around looking down'

6. Cp. -mayi (38) DTJ transitivizer.

10) 1. -oob'   intransitivizer

3. Derives one IV from the monosyllabic root given below.

4. Unproductive.

5. Example:

> q'aroob'eem 'to get sticky' < q'ar- (?)
>> xq'aroob'i 'it got sticky'

11) 1. -oon   absolutive antipassive of RTV

2. -oon ~ -uun:

-uun occurs after a preceding root vowel u, otherwise -oon.

3. Derives absolutive antipassive IVs from RTVs, indicating that
    the agent performs a transitive activity, without regard or
    reference to a patient (see section 9.6.2 on antipassives).
4. Productive.
5. Examples:

> ch'eyooneem 'to hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
>> xch'eyooni 'he was hitting'
> tz'atooneem 'to see, look' < tz'at- RTV 'see, look'
>> xtz'atooni 'he was looking'
> muquuneem 'to bury' < muq- RTV 'bury'
>> xmuquuni 'he was burying'

6. Cp. $-\underline{V}_1\underline{n}$ (20), which derives antipassives from DTVs. On a very
    few transitive roots -oon derives IVs that may be understood
    (medio)passively. For example,

> raqooneem 'to break' < raq- RTV 'break'
>> xraqooni 'it broke (was broke)' or 'he was breaking
>> (something)'

Note that the finite form xraqooni is ambiguous as to whether
an agent is performing an act of breaking, or a patient is
breaking or being broken.

12) 1. -ow   focus antipassive of RTV
    2. -ow ~ -o ~ -uw ~ -u:
        The alternants with u (i.e. -uw and -u) occur only after a root
        vowel u. The alternants without w (i.e. -o and -u) occur when-
        ever the intransitive phrase-final suffix, -i, is absent; that
        is, phrase-medially before anything but a definite NP (see
        section 4.1.2.2). The form -ow occurs in all environments not
        included in the two preceding statements.
    3. Derives focus antipassives from RTVs (see section 9.6.2 on
        antipassive voices); also derives IVs from a few other monosyl-
        labic roots.
    4. Productive, as a focus antipassive only.
    5. Examples:

> jaa7 xch'eyowi 'he is the one who hit it'
>> < jaa7 'he/she/it', ch'ey- RTV 'hit'

jaa7 xch'eyo tz'i7 'he is the one who hit dogs'

    < tz'i7 'dog'

jaa7 xloq'owi 'she is the one who bought it'

    < loq'- RTV 'buy'

jaa7 xloq'o way 'she is the one who bought tortillas'

    < way 'tortilla'

jaa7 xmuquwi 'he is the one who buried it'

    < muq- RTV 'bury'

jaa7 xmuqu chee7 'he is the one who buried sticks'

    < chee7 'tree, wood, stick'

pasoweem 'to pant' < pas- (?)

    xpasowi 'he panted'

6.   N.B.: focus antipassives from RTVs do not have an infinitive form (e.g. *ch'eyoweem), whereas other IVs derived with -ow usually do (e.g. pasoweem).

N.B.: even though focus antipassive verbs are morphologically intransitive, they function as transitive predicates; they also have rather unusual person marking (see section 9.6.2 on antipassive voices).

Cp. -V_1n (20), which derives antipassives from DTVs, and the agent focus perfect participle suffix -oyoon in section 6.4.

13) 1.   -q'o7t   intransitivizer

     3.   Derives the one IV given below.

     4.   Unproductive.

     5.   Example:

b'olqo7teem 'to get twisted' < b'ol- RTV 'twist strands together in rope-making'

    xb'olq'o7ti 'it got twisted'

     6.   Cp. -q'oti (41) DTJ transitivizer.

14) 1.   -V_1C_2 celeritive and simulfactive
                                              intransitivizer

     3.   Derives IVs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and transitive roots, meaning that an activity takes place rapidly or all at once.

     4.   Semiproductive.

5. Examples:

    b'irireem 'to rumble once (a volcano or large body of
        water)' < b'ir- RTV 'twist thread'
        xb'iriri 'it rumbled'
    qitz'itz'eem 'to squeak once' < qitz'- P 'stuffed full'
        xqitz'itz'i 'it squeaked once'
    rupupeem 'to fly off' < rup- (?)
        xrupupi 'it flew off'

6. Cp. $-V_1C_2V_1$ (46) DTJ transitivizer.

15) 1. $-V_1C_1o7$ intransitivizer: agentless

   2. $-V_1C_1o7 \sim -C_1o7$:
    The alternation is lexically determined.

   3. Derives IVs from positional and transitive roots, and occasion-
    ally from other monosyllabic roots. Usually, forms from RTVs
    indicate either that a normally transitive activity occurs
    without an agent or that an activity makes a certain sound,
    normally only once.

   4. Semiproductive.

   5. Examples:

    wach'awo7eem 'to break' < wach'- RTV 'break'
        xwach'awo7i 'it broke'
    ch'anach'o7eem 'for featherless baby birds to fall from
        the nest' < ch'an- P 'naked'
        xch'anach'o7i 'it fell from the nest'
    raparo7eem 'for there to be the sound of flames popping
        or wings flapping once; for flames to pop once; for
        wings to flap once' < rap- (?)
        xraparo7i 'the flame popped/the wings flapped'

16) 1. $-V_1C_1ot$ lentitive and repetitive
                                        intransitivizer

   2. $-V_1C_1ot \sim -V_1C_1oot \sim -C_1ot$:
    The alternations are lexically determined, the latter two oc-
    curring in only one or two forms.

3. Derives IVs from positional and transitive roots, and occasion-
    ally from other monosyllabic roots. The derived forms usually
    mean that an activity occurs slowly or repetitively.

4. Semiproductive.

5. Examples:

    k'aqak'oteem 'to stomp repeatedly; for the heart to jump
         repeatedly' < k'aq- RTV 'shoot'
         xk'aqak'oti 'he was stomping/his heart jumped'

    jilojoteem 'for a sick person to moan or groan' < jil- P
         'for a body to be lying on the ground' and RTV 'hit
         with a whip or rope'
         xjilojoti 'he was groaning'

    matz'amoteem 'to be eating (crunchy things)' < matz'- P
         'crunchy' and RTV 'eat crunchy things'
         xmatz'amooti 'he was eating (crunchy things)'

6. Cp. $-\underline{V_1 C_1 a7}$ (52) DT7 transitivizer.

17) 1. -Vj   <u>intransitivizer</u>

    2. -aj ~ -ij ~ -oj:
        The vowel is lexically determined; the first form is the most
        common.

    3. Derives IVs from various roots and stems.

    4. Unproductive or semiproductive (?).

    5. Examples:

        yawajeem 'to get sick' < yaaw- 'sick (one)'
             xyawaji 'he got sick'

        malka7nijeem 'to become a widow(er)' < malka7n N
             'widow(er)'
             xmalka7niji 'she became a widow'

        melojeem 'to return, go/come back' < meel- RTV 'take'
             xmeloji 'he returned'

18) 1. $-V_1 lo7j$ <u>intransitivizer</u>

    2. $-V_1 lo7j$ ~ -lo7j ~ -ulu7j:
        <u>-ulu7j</u> occurs after a preceding root vowel <u>u</u>; the variation of
        $-\underline{V_1 lo7j}$ ~ <u>-lo7j</u> is lexically determined.

3. Derives IVs from positional and transitive roots, and
    occasionally from other monosyllabic roots. Forms from RTVs
    often indicate that a transitive activity is heard but not seen
    or that it occurs without an agent.

4. Semiproductive.

5. Examples:

> choyolo7jeem 'for cutting to be going on'
>> < choy- RTV 'cut'
>> xchoyolo7ji 'there was cutting going on'
> ch'apalo7jeem 'for the body to itch or sting'
>> < ch'ap- RTV 'pinch'
>> xch'apalo7ji 'it itched/stung'
> tzinlo7jeem 'for metal to clink' < tzin- RTV 'make metal
>> clink' and P 'clinking'
>> xtzinlo7ji 'it was clinking'

19) 1. $-V_1$maj   _intransitivizer_

2. $-V_1$maj ~ -maj:
    The alternation is lexically determined.

3. Derives IVs only from the two forms below.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

> k'ut(u)majeem 'to appear' < k'ut- RTV 'show'
>> xk'ut(u)maji 'it appeared'
> ajnamajeem 'to flee' < ajn- IV 'be in progress'
>> xajnamaji 'he fled'

6. Cp. -<u>Vmaji</u> (47) DTJ transitivizer.

20) 1. $-V_1$n   _intransitivizer; DTV focus_
                                         and absolutive antipassive

2. -an ~ -en ~ -in ~ -on ~ -un ~ -n:
    This suffix is added to DTJ stems already formed with a stem-
    formative vowel (cp. suffix 45, 4.2.2), and to DT7 stems. The
    allomorph used on DT7 stems is -<u>n</u>. When $-V_1$<u>n</u> is added to DTJ
    stems the stem-formative vowel is doubled or lengthened (e.g.
    <u>kuuna-</u> DTJ 'cure' + -<u>V_1n</u> kunaan-). In other words, 'V_1' here
    indicates a vowel identical with the stem-formative vowel.

3.   Derives focus and absolutive antipassive stems (see section
     9.6.2) from derived transitive verbs. Also derives IVs from
     other stems ending in a stem-formative vowel. In the latter
     case, most commonly, IVs are formed from nouns by the addition
     of a stem-formative vowel and then $-V_1 n$.

4.   Productive.

5.   Examples:

     kunaaneem 'to cure' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
          xkunaani 'he was curing'
          jaa7 xkunaani 'he was the one who cured it'

     tzeb'eeneem 'to laugh' < tzeeb'e- DTJ 'laugh at'
          xtzeb'eeni 'he was laughing'
          jaa7 xtzeb'eeni 'he was the one who laughed at it'

     sik'iineem 'to call' < siik'i- DTJ 'call; visit'
          xsik'iini 'he was calling/visiting'
          jaa7 xsik'iini 'he was the one who called/visited
          her'

     kanooneem 'to search' < kaano- DTJ 'look for'
          xkanooni 'he was searching'
          jaa7 xkanooni 'he was the one who looked for it'

     xupuuneem 'to blow' < xuupu- DTJ 'blow (at, on)'
          (x)xupuuni 'he was blowing'
          jaa7 (x)xupuuni 'he was the one who blew (at) it'

     q'ijlo7neem 'to visit' < q'ijla7- DT7 'visit'
          xq'ijlo7ni 'he was visiting'
          jaa7 xq'ijlo7ni 'he was the one who visited her'

     k'ulula7neem 'to annoy' < k'ulula7- DT7 'annoy'
          xk'ulula7ni 'he was (being) annoying'
          jaa7 xk'ulula7ni 'he was the one who annoyed her'

     xik'aaneem 'to fly' < xiik' N 'wing', -a stem formative
          (x)xik'aani 'it flew'

     jab'iineem 'to rain' < jab' N 'rain', -i stem formative
          xjab'iini 'it rained'

6.   Note that when $-V_1 n$ is added to DTJ stems, the first stem vowel
     is shortened.

Cp. -oon (11) RTV absolutive, and -ow (12) RTV focus antipassive.

21) 1. -Vr   inchoative intransitivizer;
                                                      archaic passive

    2. -ar ~ -ir ~ -or ~ -ur ~ -r:
        The vowel is lexically determined; the form without a vowel
        occurs only after glottal stop.

    3. Derives inchoative IVs, primarily from adjectives but also from
        other word classes, especially nouns. Inchoative verbs formed
        with this suffix mean to get or become the quality or object
        indicated by the stem to which the suffix is attached. This
        suffix also derives archaic passives from a handful of RTVs
        (see section 9.6.1).

    4. Productive.

    5. Examples:

            kaqareem 'to redden' < kaq Adj 'red'
                xkaqari 'it reddened'
            ch'u7jireem 'to go crazy' < ch'u7j Adj 'crazy'
                xch'u7jiri 'he went crazy'
            tz'iloreem 'to get dirty' < tz'iil Adj 'dirty'
                xtz'ilori 'it got dirty'
            tewureem 'to cool, freeze' < teep //teew// N and Adj
                'cold'
                xtewuri 'it cooled/froze'
            ya7reem 'to melt' < ya7 N 'water'
                xya7ri 'it melted'
            xk'amari 'it was carried' < k'am- RTV 'carry'
            xtojori 'it was paid' < toj- RTV 'pay'
            xchapari 'it was grabbed' < chap- RTV 'grab'

    6. Note that the addition of -Vr causes a preceding long vowel to
        shorten.

22) 1. -V$_1$taj   completive passive

    2. -V$_1$taj ~ -taj:
        By far the most common form is -taj, but on some positional and
        transitive roots only, the root vowel is reduplicated.

3. Derives completive passives (see section 9.6.1) from transitive stems, and derives IVs with a passive or mediopassive meaning from a few positional roots.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

    xloq'otaji   'it was already bought' < loq'- RTV 'buy'

    xch'eytaji   'it was already hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'

    xkunataji   'he was already cured' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'

    xkamsataji   'it was already killed' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'

    jaqatajeem   'to open' < jaq- P 'open'

        xjaqataji   'it opened'

    k'astajeem   'to wake up' < k'as- P 'awake'

        xk'astaji   'she woke up'

23) 1.   -Vya7j   _intransitivizer_

    2.   -Vya7j ~ -ya7j:

    The alternation is lexically determined.

    3. Derives IVs especially from adjective stems meaning to go around with such and such a characteristic.

    4. Unproductive.

    5. Examples:

    memeya7jeem   'to go around as a deaf-mute' < meem Adj 'mute'

        xmemeya7ji   'he went around as a deaf-mute'

    tokonya7jeem   'to go around deaf' < tokon Adj 'deaf'

        xtokonya7ji   'he went around deaf'

24) 1.   -x   _simple passive of DTV_

    3. Derives simple passives (see section 9.6.1) from derived transitive verbs.

    4. Productive.

    5. Examples:

    xkunaxi   'he was cured' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'

    xkamsaxi   'it was killed' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'

    xsik'ixi   'she was called' < siik'i- DTJ 'call'

    xajo7xi   'it was wanted' < aajo7- DTJ 'want, love'

    xq'ijlo7xi   'she was visited' < q'ijla7- DT7 'visit'

6. Cp. -j- (4) simple passive infix used on RTVs.

    N.B.: stem vowels preceding -x are shortened.

    ### 4.2.2 Affixes Deriving Transitive Verbs in J

25) 1. -a7a   transitivizer

    2. -a7a ~ -a7:

        The final vowel of the suffix is lost in the infinitive form.

    3. Derives the two DTJ stems given below.

    4. Unproductive.

    5. Examples:

        awxina7xik 'to appropriate' < awxiin RN 'yours'

            xrawxina7aaj 'he appropriated it'

        k'ulula7xik 'to contradict, oppose' < k'ul- P 'married'

            and RTV 'encounter'

            xk'ulula7aaj 'he opposed her'

    6. Note that in the second example, the vowel and second consonant
        of the root have been reduplicated before -a7a is attached.

26) 1. -b'aja   transitivizer

    3. Derives the DTJ given below.

    4. Unproductive.

    5. Example:

        k'amb'ajaxik 'to try out (something)' < k'am- RTV 'take'

            xk'amb'ajaaj 'he tried it out'

27) 1. -b'e   instrumental voice;

                                                      transitivizer

    3. a) Derives instrumental voice DTJ stems from transitive stems,
        meaning to do such and such an activity with a given instrument
        (see section 9.6.3 on the instrumental voice); b) derives DTJ
        stems from a handful of IVs and positionals usually meaning to
        do with, in, or on something; c) derives a handful of DTJs from
        transitive and other stems, usually meaning to do to or with
        someone; this latter case is reminiscent of the dative or ref-
        erential voice found in Western Mayan languages.

    4. Productive as an instrumental voice suffix; unproductive or
        perhaps semiproductive in other cases.

5.   Examples:

      ch'eyb'e- 'hit with' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'

         chee7 xch'eyb'eej 'a stick is what he hit it with'

      b'anb'e- 'do with' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'

         machat xb'anb'eej 'a machete is what he did it with'

      kunab'e- 'cure with' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'

         aq'oom xkunab'eej 'medicine is what she cured him with'

      josq'ib'e- 'clean with' < josq'i- DTJ 'clean'

         d'ub'aq xjosq'ib'eej 'a wing-feather is what he cleaned it with'

      b'eeb'en way 'to eat tortillas while walking'

         < b'e- IV 'go', way 'tortilla'

         xb'eeb'ej rwaay 'he ate tortillas while walking'

      warb'exik 'to sleep on, in' < war- IV 'sleep'

         xwarb'eej 'he slept on it'

      kamb'e- 'die because of' < kam- IV 'die'

         xkamb'eej 'he died because of it'

      tzijob'exik 'to talk to' < tziijo- DTJ 'speak, announce'

         xtzijob'eej 'he talked to her'

      tararb'exik 'to pursue' < tarar- IV 'search rapidly'

         xtararb'eej 'he pursued her'

      ayab'exik 'to wait for' < aya- (?)

         xrayab'eej 'he waited for her'

6.   Note that instrumental voice transtitive stems in -b'e do not have an infinitive form. Noninstrumental voice stems in -b'e may or may not have an infinitive depending on the stem in question.

28) 1.   -j-...-a   transitivizer

3.   Derives a few DTJs from positional and transitive roots.

4.   Unproductive.

5.   Examples:

      jijtz'axik 'to hang (as in executing)' < jitz'- P 'tied tightly' and RTV 'tie tightly'

         xjijtz'aaj 'he hung him'

        sojkaxik 'to cut one's own hair' < sok- RTV 'injure, beat up'

        xsojkaaj 'he cut his own hair'

29) 1. -j-...-e   <u>carrying transitivizer</u>

     3. Derives DTJs from positional roots meaning to carry or take something in the position, form, condition, etc., designated by the root.

     4. Productive.

     5. Examples:

        b'ojlexik 'to carry a cylindrical object' < b'ol- P 'cylindrical'

          xb'ojleej 'he carried a cylindrical object'

        sajnexik 'to carry someone naked' < san- P 'naked'

          xsajneej 'he carried him naked'

        tzejqexik 'to carry something hanging' < tzeq- P 'hanging'

          xtzejqeej 'he carried it hanging'

30) 1. $-j-...-V_1 C_1 V$ <u>transitivizer</u>

     3. Derives only the form given below. Note that this form is an IV derived with $-V_1 n$ from a DTJ stem that is otherwise unattested.

     4. Unproductive.

     5. Example:

        mujqumiineem 'to participate in a funeral'

          < mujqumi- DTJ (?) + $-V_1 n$ < muq- RTV 'bury'

          xmujqumiini 'she participated in a funeral'

31) 1. -ka, -k'a, -qa, -q'a, -q'i   <u>transitivizers</u>

     3. Each of these suffixes respectively derives one DTJ stem from one monosyllabic root.

     4. Unproductive.

     5. Examples:

        chijkaxik 'to explode, burst' < chij- (?)

          xchijkaaj 'he exploded it (e.g. a bomb)'

        jixk'axik 'to scratch' < jix- (?)

          xjixk'aaj 'he scratched it'

        ijqaxik 'to carry on the back' < iij N 'back'

          xrijqaaj 'he carried it on the back'

                        tojq'axik 'to aid, help' < toj- RTV 'pay'
                            xtojq'aaj 'he help her'
                        josq'ixik 'to clean < jos- RTV 'scrape'
                            xjosq'iij 'he cleaned it'

6.   These five suffixes are treated together here as if they were
      one suffix because (1) it's possible they may be (or once were)
      allomorphs of the same suffix (N.B.: they all begin with a
      velar or postvelar stop); (2) to conserve space since each one
      only derives a single stem; and (3) they are in complementary
      distribution in that they don't ever occur on the same roots.

32) 1.   -kati   transitivizer
     3.   Derives the form below.
     4.   Unproductive.
     5.   Examples:
           b'alkatixik 'to revolve, roll a cylinder' < b'ol- ~b'al- P
               'cylindrical'
               xb'alkatiij 'he rolled it'

33) 1.   -kopi   transitivizer
     3.   Derives several DTJs from transitive roots.
     4.   Unproductive.
     5.   Examples:
               solkopixik 'to take out of the ground' < sol- RTV 'undo,
                   unwrap, untie'
                   xsolkopiij 'he took it out of the ground'
               ch'olkopixik 'to peel, skin fast' < ch'ol- RTV 'peel,
                   skin'
                   xch'olkopiij 'he peeled it fast'

34) 1.   -ko7ri   transitivizer
     3.   Derives the DTJ given below.
     4.   Unproductive.
     5.   Example:
               pasko7rixik 'to make a ruckus' < pas- (?)
                   xpasko7riij 'he made a ruckus'
     6.   Cp. -ko7r (6) intransitivizer.

35) 1.   -kuti   transitivizer
     3.   Derives the form below.

    4.   Unproductive.

    5.   Example:

          tz'unkutixik 'to twist' < tz'un- (?)

              xtz'unkutiij 'he twisted it'

    6.   Cp. -ku7t (7) intransitivizer.

36) 1.   -k'ati   **transitivizer**

    3.   Derives the form below.

    4.   Unproductive.

    5.   Example:

          jalk'atixik 'to move, change places' < jal- RTV 'change'

              xjalk'atiij 'he moved it/changed its place'

37) 1.   -ma   **transitivizer**

    2.   -ma ~ -V$_1$ma:

       The alternation is lexically determined.

    3.   Derives the two DTJs below.

    4.   Unproductive.

    5.   Examples:

          chojmaxik 'to arrange, resolve' < choj- (?)

              xchojmaaj 'he arranged it'

          junumaxik 'to equalize, level, compare' < juun 'one'

              xjunumaaj 'he leveled it'

38) 1.   -mayi   **transitivizer**

    2.   -mayi ~ -V$_1$mayi:

       The latter allomorph occurs only in one form, the former in
many.

    3.   Derives DTJs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and
transitive roots, that indicate doing something with motion.

    4.   Semiproductive.

    5.   Examples:

          tikmayixik 'to put face down' < tik- RTV 'plant
(plants)', P 'hanging down'

              xtikmayiij 'he put it face down'

          b'olmayixik 'to roll a cylinder' < b'ol- P 'cylindrical'

              xb'olmayiij 'he rolled it'

          ch'akmayixik 'to knock over' < ch'ak- RTV 'win, succeed'

              xch'akmayiij 'he knocked it over'

               jupumayixik 'to lay face down fast' < jup- P 'lying face
                   down'

               xjupumayiij 'he laid it face down fast'

6.   Cp. -ma7y (9) intransitivizer.

39) 1.   -na   <u>transitivizer</u>

     3.   Derives the form below.

     4.   Unproductive.

     5.   Example:

              jisnaxik 'to snort the nose' < jis- RTV 'pull warp or
                 woof threads'

               xjisnaaj 'he snorted his nose'

40) 1.   -q'ob'i   <u>transitivizer</u>

     3.   Derives the form below.

     4.   Unproductive.

     5.   Example:

              xolq'ob'ixik 'to whistle' < xol- RTV 'revolve, mix'
                 (x)xolq'ob'iij 'he whistled it'

41) 1.   -q'oti   <u>transitivizer</u>

     3.   Derives the two DTJs below.

     4.   Unproductive.

     5.   Examples:

              b'olq'otixik 'to twist, make sinuous' < b'ol- RTV 'twist
                 strands in ropemaking'
                 xb'olq'otixiij 'he twisted it'

              xolq'otixik 'to cross over' < xol- RTV 'revolve, mix'
                 (x)xolq'otiij 'he crossed over it'

6.   Cp. -q'o7t (13) intransitivizer.

42) 1.   -sa   <u>causative</u>

     2.   -sa ~ -si:

        -<u>si</u> occurs only in a single form, otherwise -<u>sa</u>.

     3.   Derives causative DTJ stems from IV stems, and rarely from
        other stems.

     4.   Productive.

     5.   Examples:

              kamsaxik 'to kill' < kam- IV 'die'
                 xkamsaaj 'he killed it'

    atiinsaxik 'to bathe' < atiin- IV 'bathe oneself, swim'
        xratiinsaaj 'he bathed her'
    wartisaxik 'to put to sleep' < war- IV 'sleep' + -ti
        xwartisaaj 'he put her to sleep'
    wa7tisaxik 'to feed' < wa7- IV 'eat' + -ti
        xwa7tisaaj 'he fed her'
    winaqirsaxik 'to invent, form' < winaqir- IV 'appear'
        xwinaqirsaaj 'he invented it'
    poq'owrsaxik 'to boil' < poq'ow- IV 'boil' + -r
        xpoq'owrsaaj 'she boiled it'
    najb'yasaxik 'to advance' < najb'eey 'first' + -a
        xnajb'yasaaj 'he advanced it'
    k'ijtisixik 'to rear' < k'iy (*k'ih) Adj 'much, many' +
        -ti
        xk'ijtisiij 'she reared him'

6. Note that in order to form the causative of some IV stems, the
    suffixes -ti or -(V)r must be added before -sa is affixed (e.g.
    war-ti-sa-xik; see other examples in (44)).

43) 1. -ta   transitivizer
    3. Derives a few DTJ stems.
    4. Unproductive.
    5. Examples:
        na7taxik 'to remember' < na7- RTV 'feel'
            xna7taaj 'he remembered it'
        mestaxik 'to forget' < mes- RTV 'sweep'
            xmestaaj 'he forgot it'
        solojtaxik 'to shed skin' < solooj (infinitive of) sol-
            RTV 'unroll, unwrap, untie'
            xsolojtaaj 'it shed its skin'

44) 1. -ti   causative (?)
    3. Derives stems from IVs to which causative -sa (42) is added.
    4. Unproductive.
    5. Examples:
        b'intisaxik 'to make walk' < b'ijn- IV 'walk'
            xb'intisaaj 'he made her walk'

        q'ab'artisaxik 'to make drunk' < q'ab'ar- IV 'get drunk'

            xq'ab'artisaaj 'it made him drunk'

        nimartisaxik 'to enlarge' < nimar- IV 'enlarge'

            xnimartisaaj 'he enlarged it'

6.   N.B.: -ti is not used without -sa following it. Also see examples in (42).

45) 1.   -V   <u>stem-formative transitivizer</u>

     2.   -a ~ -e ~ -i ~ -o ~ -u:

        The particular vowel used is lexically determined.

     3.   Derives DTJ stems directly from nouns, but occasionally from other stem and root classes as well. Some roots from which DTJ stems are derived with -V are not attested elsewhere.

     4.   Productive.

     5.   Examples:

        kunaxik 'to cure' < kuun- (?), -a

            xkuunaaj 'she cured him'

        b'ixaxik 'to sing(a song)' < b'iix N 'song', -a

            xb'iixaaj 'she sang it'

        nimaxik 'to believe' < nim Adj 'big', -a

            xniimaaj 'he believed it'

        tz'ub'axik 'to kiss' < tz'ub'- RTV 'suck', -a

            xtz'uub'aaj 'he kissed her'

        ke7exik 'to grind' < kee7 N 'grinding stone', -e

            xkee7eej 'she ground it'

        itzexik 'to hex' < iitz N 'hex', -e

            xriitzeej 'he hexed her'

        k'ayixik 'to sell' < k'aay- N 'sale', -i

            xk'aayiij 'she sold it'

        k'aqatixik 'to scratch (an itch)' < k'aqat N 'itch', -i

            xk'aqatiij 'he scratched it'

        kanoxik 'to look for' < kaan- (?), -o

            xkaanooj 'he looked for it'

        meloxik 'to return, give back' < meel- RTV 'take', -o

            xmeelooj 'he returned it'

        xakajluxik 'to mount' < xakajl N 'crotch', -u

            (x)xakajluuj 'he mounted it'

tzyaquxik 'to dress' < tzyaq N 'clothes, rags', -u

xtzyaquuj 'she dressed him'

6. It should be noted that all other suffixes deriving DTJ stems discussed in this section (4.2.2) end in a vowel. It could be argued that all of these suffixes are further analyzable into a stem-formative vowel plus the preceding element. This has not been done because the other suffixes function as units, rather than as separate morphemes.

46) 1. $-V_1C_2V_1$ <u>celeritive and simulfactive transitivizer</u>

2. $-V_1C_2V_1 \sim -C_2V_1$:
$-\underline{C_2V_1}$ occurs after DTJ stems, otherwise $-\underline{V_1C_2V_1}$.

3. Derives DTJ stems from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and transitive roots, and derives DTJ stems from other DTJ stems. The derived forms usually mean to do something rapidly, all at once, or completely.

4. Semiproductive to productive.

5. Examples:

chololoxik 'to explain completely' < chol- RTV 'explain'
xchololooj 'he explained it completely'

nich'ich'ixik palaj 'to scrunch up the face completely'
< nich'- P 'scrunched up (the face)' and RTV 'scrunch up (the face)', palaj 'face'
xnich'ich'ij rpalaj 'he scrunched up his face'

xupupuxik 'to blow fast or all at once' < xuupu- DTJ 'blow'
(x)xupupuuj 'he blew it fast/all at once'

tararaxik 'to look for rapidly' < tar- P 'together with another'
xtararaaj 'he looked for her rapidly'

6. Cp. $-\underline{V_1C_2}$ (14) intransitivizer.

47) 1. $-V_1$maji   <u>transitivizer</u>

3. Derives the form given below.

4. Unproductive.

5. Example:

    k'utumajixik 'to show again' < k'ut- RTV 'show'

        xk'utumajiij 'he showed it again'

6. Cp. $-\underline{V}_1$maj (19) intransitivizer.

48) 1. $-V_1$pi   <u>transitivizer with force</u>

    2. $-V_1$pi ~ -pi:

The alternation is lexically determined.

    3. Derives DTJ stems from monosyllabic roots that usually mean to do something with (an extra amount of) force.

    4. Unproductive.

    5. Examples:

    k'aqpixik 'to bust' < k'aq- RTV 'shoot'

        xk'aqpiij 'he busted it'

    tzoqopixik 'to drop, let loose' < tzaq- RTV 'lose'

        xtzoqopiij 'he dropped it'

    juspixik 'to loosen' < jus- RTV 'pull easily'

        xjuspiij 'he loosened it'

49) 1. -Vwa   <u>transitivizer</u>

    2. -Vwa ~ -wa:

The alternation is lexically determined.

    3. Derives the two DTJ stems below.

    4. Unproductive.

    5. Examples:

    jayawaxik 'to stimulate' < (?) jay- RTV 'tear off

        branches' or < jaay N 'house'

        xjayawaaj 'he stimulated her'

    pulwaaneem IV 'to bubble up' < unattested DTJ pulwa-

        < pul- P 'bubbling up'

4.2.3 Suffixes Deriving Transitive Verbs in 7

50) 1. -V7   <u>transitivizer</u>

    2. -a7 ~ -o7:

The vowel is lexically determined.

    3. Derives the two DT7s given below.

    4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

    pojpa7xik 'to shake a mat' < pojp N 'mat'
        xpojpa7 'he shook it'
    ajo7xik 'to want, love' < aaj- DTJ 'want'
        xraajo7 'he wanted it'

51) 1. $-V_1b'a7$ <u>positional transitivizer</u>

2. $-V_1b'a7 \sim -b'a7$:
    Forms without $\underline{V}_1$ are rare but occur after roots ending in $\underline{7}$ and
    sometimes after roots ending in resonants.

3. Derives DT7s from positional roots. The derived verbs mean
    either to leave something in the position, condition, form,
    etc., indicated by the root, or to make something get into the
    position, condition, form, etc., indicated by the root.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

    kotz'ob'a7xik 'to lay down, leave lying' < kotz'- P 'lying'
        xkotz'ob'a7 'he laid it down/left it lying'
    ch'anab'a7xik 'to make or leave someone naked' < ch'an- P
        'naked'
        xch'anab'a7 'he made/left her naked'
    pa7b'a7xik ~ paab'a7xik 'to stand up, leave standing'
        < pa7- P 'standing'
        xpa7b'a7 ~ xpaab'a7 'he stood it up/left it standing'
    sirb'a7xik 'to leave a sphere' < sir- P 'spherical'
        xsirb'a7 'he left a sphere'

52) 1. $-V_1C_1a7$ <u>lentitive and repetitive</u>
                                            <u>transitivizer</u>

2. $-V_1C_1a7 \sim -V_1C_1o7 \sim -C_1a7 \sim -C_1o7$:
    By far the most common allomorph is $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{a7}$. However, in a few
    forms, $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{o7}$ occurs when this suffix is followed by another
    suffix, for example, in the passive (and infinitive), absolu-
    tive, and perfective stems, while $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{a7}$ occurs in the nonper-
    fective where no other suffix follows (e.g. k'onok'o7xik 'to
    knock on the door', xk'onok'o7xi 'the door was knocked on',
    xk'onok'o7ni 'he was knocking', k'onok'o7oon ~ k'onok'aan 'have
    knocked on the door', xk'onok'a7 'he knocked on the door' <

k'onok'a7-'knock on doors' < k'on- (?)). The allomorphs with-
out V_1 occur only in one or two forms.

3. Derives DT7s from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and
transitive roots. Usually the forms mean to do something
slowly or repetitively.

4. Semiproductive.

5. Examples:

> k'aqak'a7xik 'to stomp repeatedly' < k'aq- RTV 'shoot'
>> xk'aqak'a7 'he stomped it repeatedly'
>
> rapara7xik 'to flap the wings repeatedly' < rap- (?)
>> xrapara7 'it flapped its wings repeatedly'
>
> tz'ajtz'o7xik 'to massage' < tz'aj- P 'in the mud' and
>> RTV 'stain, spot'
>> xtz'ajtz'a7 'he massaged her'

6. Cp. $-V_1C_1ot$ (16) intransitivizer.

53) 1. $-V_1la7$ <u>celeritive transitivizer</u>

2. $-V_1la7 \sim -V_1lo7 \sim -la7 \sim -lo7$:

The forms without V_1 occur after DTJ stems and occasionally
after stems ending in a continuant consonant. The forms with <u>o</u>
(as opposed to <u>a</u>) occur when another suffix follows, for
example, in the passive, absolutive, and perfective stems (e.g.
<u>xkamsalo7xi</u> 'it was killed fast', <u>xkamsalo7ni</u> 'he was killing
fast', <u>kamsalo7oon</u> '(have) killed fast', <u>xkamsala7</u> 'he killed
it fast' < <u>kamsala7</u>- 'kill fast' < <u>kamsa</u>- DTJ 'kill').

3. Derives DT7s from transitive stems. The derived verbs mean to
do something fast or quickly.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

> ch'eyalo7oon '(have) hit fast' < ch'ey RTV 'hit'
>> xch'eyala7 'he hit it fast'
>
> kunalo7oon '(have) cured fast' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
>> xkunala7 'he cured her fast'
>
> loq'olo7oon '(have) bought fast' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
>> xloq'ola7 'he bought it fast'

        k'ayilo7oon '(have) sold fast' < k'aayi- DTJ 'sell'
             xk'ayila7 'she sold it fast'
6.   Forms in -V̱₁la7 normally do not have an infinitive. In the
      examples a perfective or past participle form has been sub-
      stituted for the (nonexistent) infinitives.

                    4.2.4 Compound Verbs

The vast majority of verb stems in Tzutujil are either simple verb
roots or derived verb stems consisting of a single root plus one or more
derivational affixes. However, there are a number of compound verb stems
that consist of two roots plus at least one derivational suffix. Some
representative examples of compound verbs are given below. It should be
noted that the majority of compound verbs have a noun as the second root
in the stem, and the most common nouns in this position are wach 'face,
surface, front' and chii7 'mouth, edge'.

                    Examples of Verb Compounds

Noun + Noun
    b'ojchi7xik 'to woo' < b'o7j (?) 'cotton' + chii7 'mouth', -i
        stem formative
        xb'ojchi7iij 'he wooed her'
    kolwachixik 'to wake (someone) up fast' < kool (?) 'basket' + wach
        'face', -i stem formative
        xkolwachiij 'she woke him up fast'
Adjective + Noun
    tewuchixik 'to bless' < teep //teew// 'cold' + wach 'face', -i
        stem formative
        xtewuchiij 'he blessed her'
Particle + Noun
    taqchi7xik 'to obligate' < taq 'very, a lot' + chii7 'mouth', -i
        stem formative
        xtaqchi7iij 'he obligated her'

Positional + Noun

>   mulxik'ayixik 'to pile leafless branches or sticks' <
>
>   >   mul- 'piled up' + xk'ay 'leafless branches or sticks', -i stem
>   >   formative
>   >   xmulxik'ayiij 'he piled them up'

Positional/Transitive Root + Noun

>   yakchi7xik 'to demand, exact' < yak- P 'light weight' and RTV
>
>   >   'raise up; guard' + chii7 'mouth', -i stem formative
>   >   xyakchi7iij 'he demanded it'
>
>   k'ulwachixik 'to experience' < k'ul- P 'married' and RTV 'encounter'
>
>   >   + wach 'face', -i stem formative
>   >   xk'ulwachiij 'he experienced it'

Adjective + Positional

>   saqmuqe7- 'get a little cloudy' < saq 'white' + muq- 'cloudy', -e7
>
>   >   positional intransitivizer
>   >   xsaqmuqe7e 'it got a little cloudy'

Adjective + Transitive Root

>   saqpare7eem 'to fade' < saq 'white' + par- 'slap', -e7 positional
>
>   >   intransitivizer
>   >   xsaqpare7e 'it faded'

Particle + Adjective

>   tino7yireem 'for a singular object to get smaller, diminish'
>
>   >   < ti singular diminutive + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative
>   >   xtino7yiri 'it got smaller/diminished'
>
>   taqno7yir- 'for plural objects (to) get smaller, diminish'
>
>   >   < taq plr diminutive + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative
>   >   xtaqno7yiri 'they got smaller/diminished'
>
>   tino7yirsaxik 'to make a singular object smaller' < ti singular
>
>   >   diminutive + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative, -sa causative
>   >   xtino7yirsaaj 'he made it smaller'
>
>   taqno7yirsa- 'to make plural objects smaller' < taq plr diminutive
>
>   >   + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative, -sa causative
>   >   xtaqno7yirsaaj 'he made them smaller'

Notes to Chapter 4

1.   The distinction between prefixed absolutive markers in the nonper-
fect and proclitic absolutive markers in the perfect is based on native
intuitions and is not necessarily a formal morphological one. When
asked, native speakers usually state that in the perfect the absolutive
markers are in some ways part of the following verb word and in some ways
not part of it. But with respect to nonperfect forms, they consistently
state that the absolutive markers are definitely part of the verb word.

2.   Henceforth in this work, verbs are cited in their infinitive forms
(see section 4.1.5), if one exists. It should be noted, however, that
the infinitive used in citing DTVs is actually a passive infinitive since
DTVs have no free occurring active infinitive. Thus, ajo7xik 'to want,
love' actually means 'to be wanted, loved' and comes from the DT7 stem
aajo7- 'want, love' plus the passive suffix -x plus the infinitive marker
-ik.

3.   The primary meaning of the RTV b'anooj is 'to do, make', but it has
a secondary meaning 'to fuck' in its literal and vulgar sense. However,
in its absolutive form, b'anooneem, the primary meaning is 'to fuck' and
the secondary meaning is 'to do, make'. B'anooj also has a third
meaning: 'to happen, to occur'.

5

NOUNS

This chapter is a treatment of Tzutujil noun morphology. In section 5.1, the primary inflectional categories of nouns are presented, and the behavior of different subclasses of nouns within the inflectional categories is discussed. Section 5.2 deals with a number of subcategories of nouns, which are defined by their respective morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties. Section 5.3 is on noun derivation.

5.1 NOUN INFLECTION

Nouns may be inflected for plurality (5.1.1), for possessor (5.1.2), and for abstractness (5.1.3). When they function as stative predicates (i.e. as predicate nouns), they may also be inflected for subject (5.1.4).

5.1.1 Inflection for Plurality

Most nouns denoting humans as well as a few nouns denoting animals are regularly inflected for plurality with the two suffixes -(7)aa7 and -(7)ii7.[1] The forms of the suffixes with initial 7 are used after vowels (e.g. achi7aa7 'men' < aachi 'man'; Ajsanpaawlc7ii7 'persons from San Pablo' < Ajsanpáawlo 'person from San Pablo'), and the forms without initial 7 are used after consonants (e.g. ajq'iijaa7 'astrologers' < ajq'iij 'astrologer'; ixoqii7 'women' < ixoq 'woman'). The latter forms of the plural suffixes, without initial 7 are by far the more common since most nouns in Tzutujil end in a consonant. Whether a given noun takes the suffix -(7)aa7 or the suffix -(7)ii7 is not entirely

predictable, but, generally speaking, most nouns whose last vowels are
front (i or e) tend to take -(7)aa7, while most nouns whose last vowels
are back (a, o or u) tend to take -(7)ii7. However, there are many ex-
ceptions to these tendencies, so that the particular form of the plural
suffix used on a given noun is to a large degree lexically determined.
There are two nouns that take the suffix -a7 rather than either of the
two regular plural suffixes (i.e. q'eqa7 'Negroes' < q'eq 'Negro; black';
ajsamajela7 'workers' < ajsamajeel 'worker').

The addition of the plural suffixes often causes unpredictable stem
changes in the nouns to which they are affixed. The most common types of
changes are: (1) shortening of one or more long stem vowels (e.g.
meeb'a7ii7 plr of meeb'aa7 'pauper, orphan'); (2) the addition of an
epenthetic vowel between the noun stem and the plural suffix (e.g.
xtu7xa7ii7 plr of xtu7x 'female turkey'); (3) the omission of preconson-
antal glottal stop, sometimes with compensatory lengthening of the vowel
preceding the glottal stop (e.g. Ajpasuumii7 plr of Ajpasu7m 'person from
Patzún'); and (4) a combination of these changes (e.g. piya7ii7 plr of
pi7y 'turkey').

Some more examples of nouns with the plural inflection are given
below.

Singular		Plural
meem	'mute'	meemaa7
ch'eyooneel	'hitter'	ch'eyooneelaa7
alaq'oom	'thief'	alaq'oomaa7
ch'uuch'	'baby'	ch'uuch'aa7
		~ ch'uch'a7ii7
winaq	'person, people'	winaqii7
xtan ~ xten	'girl'	xtanii7 ~ xtenii7
kamnaq	'corpse, dead person'	kamnaqii7
k'ooy	'monkey'	k'ooyaa7
mama7	'rooster'	mama7ii7
ri7j	'old one'	riijaa7
Ajsanpéedro	'person from San Pedro'	Ajsanpeejaa7
alaa7	'youth'	ala7ii7

It should be noted that there are many nouns that are never inflect-
ed for plurality: (1) nouns that are inflected for possessor with the
ergative prefixes (5.1.2) may never take the plural suffixes; (2) nouns
denoting inanimates and the vast majority of nouns denoting animals are
never inflected for plurality; and (3) some nouns denoting humans do not
have plural forms (e.g proper names as well as some common nouns). How-
ever, plurality may always be indicated with the plural particle taq (see
7.1.7.6) in those cases where the plural inflection is not allowed. In
fact, the use of taq is virtually obligatory syntactically when the
speaker is talking about a plural number of entities (as opposed to a
single entity, a mass, or a class of entities), whether or not the noun
is inflected for plurality. Compare the example sentences below.

(1) Ee nimaq   taq achi7aa7.   'The men are big.'
     B3p big-plr plr men
(2) Nimaq   taq jaay.   'The houses are big.'
     big-plr plr house
(3) Ja taq nuumiix xeekami.   'My cats died.'
     the plr my-cat B3p-died

5.1.2 Inflection for Possessor

Most common nouns may be inflected for possessor with the ergative
prefixes (see section 3.1.2 on the ergative prefixes and the examples of
possessed nouns therein; also section 1.6.2, rule 24, and the examples
therein). The normal word order in a phrase of possession is Possessed
Noun + Possessor, although possessors may be (and often are) fronted
under topicalization. A third person possessor NP is often omitted if it
is given (or old) information. On the other hand, if the possessor is
non-third person, then it often does not occur in the possessor position
since it is unambiguously marked on the possessed noun with an ergative
prefix. However, a non-third person independent pronoun may occur in the
possessor position to contrast or emphasize the possessor. Phrases of
possession are illustrated in (4) and (5) with sentences built on the
(irregular but very important) positional adjective k'ooli 'there is/are,

exist, be located', which has the short form k'o when it occurs nonfinal-
ly before anything but a definite noun phrase. Sentences that have
k'ooli as predicate and a possessed noun as subject are used to predicate
possession. In other words, a sentence such as k'o jun nuutz'ii7 liter-
ally means 'there is (a) my dog' or '(a) my dog exists', but a more idio-
matic translation is 'I have a dog'.

(4) a.   K'o   jun ruukeej   nata7.
           exist a   his-horse my-father
           'My father has a horse.'

     b.   Ja   nata7   k'o   jun ruukeej.
           the my-father exist a   his-horse
           'My father has a horse.' (fronted possessor)

     c.   K'o   jun ruukeej.
           exist a   his-horse
           'He has a horse.' (omitted possessor)

(5) a.   K'o   jun woochooch.
           exist a   my-house
           'I have a house.'

     b.   K'o   jun woochooch inin
           exist a   my-house   I
           'I have a house.' (emphatic possessor)

     c.   Jar iinin k'o   jun woochooch.
           the I   exist a   my-house
           'I have a house.' (fronted and emphatic possessor)

5.1.2.1 Subclassification of Nouns Under Possession

There are a number of subclasses of nouns defined by the kinds of
changes noun stems undergo in either the possessed or absolute (or unpos-
sessed) form. These subclasses are outlined and exemplified in the next
several paragraphs. As is common in Mayan studies, each of the subclass-
es is given an arbitrary letter/number designation (e.g. 'S1' means 'sub-
stantive class 1').

S1: No Change

Nouns in class S1 have the same stem in both possessed and absolute forms. E.g.

chee7	'wood, tree'	nuuchee7	'my wood, tree'
kaab'	'raw sugar, honey'	nuukaab'	'my raw sugar, honey
uk'	'louse'	wuk'	'my louse'
aj	'ear of corn'	waj	'my ear of corn'
paq	'money'	npaq	'my money'

S1a: Vowel Lengthening in Possessed Form

Nouns in class S1a lengthen their short stem vowels in the possessed form. E.g.

chikop	'animal'	nchiikoop	'my animal'
kinaq'	'bean(s)'	nkiinaaq'	'my bean(s)'
tz'i7	'dog'	nuutz'ii7	'my dog'
uleep	'land'	wuuleep	'my land'

Normally, any vowel that is short in the absolutive form is lengthened in the possessed form of nouns of this class. However, some nouns derived from verbs lengthen only the last stem vowel. For example, passive infinitives in -ik (see section 4.1.5.1) lengthen only the last vowel (e.g. nkunaxiik 'my being cured' < kunaxik 'to be cured' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'); and some instrumental/locative nouns in -b'al (see section 5.3.1) lengthen only the last vowel (e.g. nwa7b'aal 'my eating place' < wa7b'al 'eating place' < wa7- IV 'eat'). Note that some forms in -b'al not only lengthen the last vowel but also have an epenthetic ii inserted between the stem and -b'al in the possessed form (e.g. nmu7xiib'aal 'my bathing place' < mu7xb'al 'bathing place' < mu7x- IV 'bathe').

S2: Suffix Added in Possessed Form

Nouns of class S2 add a suffix in the possessed form. The suffix that is added has the form -VV1 (i.e. -aal ∼ -iil ∼ -eel ∼ -uul). The particular vowel used in the suffix is lexically determined. Nouns of

this class are not common, and they probably are all instances of abnor-
mal possession (discussed in 5.1.2.2). E.g.

kik'	'blood'	nkik'eel	'my blood of my body'
b'aaq	'bone'	nb'aaqiil	'my bone of my body'
iik'	'month'	wiik'iil	'my month, period'
muuj	'shade, shadow'	nmuujaal	'my shadow'

S3: Absolutive Suffix Dropped in Possessed Form

Nouns of class S3 have an absolutive suffix in the unpossessed form,
which is dropped when the noun is possessed. Most of these nouns are
either body parts or kinship terms. There are several absolutive suffix-
es used on different noun stems: (1) -VVj (i.e. -aaj ~ -iij ~ -eej) with
the vowel being lexically determined; (2) -oom; and (3) -(V)xeel, which
may have an initial unpredictable vowel. E.g.

eeyaaj	'tooth'	weey	'my tooth'
tee7eej	'mother'	nuutee7	'my mother'
tii7iij	'meat'	nuutii7	'my meat'
wii7aaj	'head'	nwi7	'my head'
k'aayiij	'sale'	nuuk'aay	'my sale'
achajiloom	'husband'	wachajiil	'my husband'
axayiloom	'wife'	wxaayiil	'my wife'
alk'waalaxeel	'child of man'	walk'waal	'my child'
tati7xeel	'father'	rtata7	'his/her father'
		atata7	'your father'
		nata7	'my father'

Note that in some cases there are stem changes in the possessed and abso-
lutive forms other than the presence or absence of the absolutive suffix.
These changes are not predictable, except that long stem vowels are
always shortened before -oom.

S4: Suppletive

Two nouns have suppletive stem changes in possessed and unpossessed forms. E.g.

jaay 'house'	woochooch 'my house'
jaaxeel 'son-in-law'	nuujii7 'my son-in-law'

The absolutive form jaaxeel was historically something like *jii7axeel, but it has been attenuated to the point where synchronically it is now suppletive.

Sy: Inalienable (always possessed)

There are a fairly large number of nouns that must always be possessed; that is, they are inalienable. Inalienable nouns most commonly are: (1) kinship terms, (2) body parts, (3) abstract nouns from adjectives or other nouns, and (4) other nouns denoting an intrinsic relationship with something else (e.g. part to a whole). E.g.

-ach'aalaal 'relative'	wach'aalaal 'my relative'
-achb'al 'photo, reflection, painting'	wachb'al 'my photo, etc.'
-ati7t 'grandmother'	wati7t 'my grandmother'
-maam 'grandchild'	nuumaam 'my grandchild'
-b'eeyaal 'contents'	rb'eeyaal 'its contents'
-k'axeel 'namesake, substitute'	nk'axeel 'my namesake, substitute'
-kaqaal 'redness'	rkaqaal 'its redness'
-chee7aal 'woodness'	rchee7aal 'its woodness'

Sz: Never Possessed

There are a fairly large number of nouns that may never be possessed. These nouns usually denote natural phenomena, wild animals, or people. E.g.

juyu7 'mountain'	salk'um 'whirlwind'
koj 'cougar'	k'el 'parakeet'

sanik 'ant'	saqb'ach 'hailstone'
kunaaneel 'curer'	jaaj 'arm's reach'
q'isaaneel 'witch'	b'ajlam 'jaguar'

5.1.2.2 Normal Versus Abnormal Possession

In Tzutujil there is an important distinction between normal (or
unmarked) and abnormal (or marked) possession. The distinction is mani-
fested morphologically in that abnormally possessed nouns require the
suffix -VVl (i.e. -aal ~ -eel ~ -iil ~ -uul), the vowel of which is
lexically determined. Generally speaking, normal possession may be
thought of as prototypical ownership whereby a human has or owns some-
thing that is alienable;[2] that is, it may be bought and sold, lost or
stolen. Abnormal possession deviates from the prototypical ownership
situation in some way. Thus, when an inanimate object or an animal has
something that would normally be owned only by a human, then the pos-
sessed noun is marked with -VVl as abnormal. Or when a human possesses
something that is normally alienable, but possesses it in an inalienable
way, then the possessed noun is marked with -VVl as abnormal. Some exam-
ples should make the distinction between normal and abnormal possession
become clear. Chee7 'wood, tree, stick', is normally possessed by a
human as in nuuchee7 'my wood, etc.'. However, under certain conditions
nonhumans may be said to 'have' trees, wood, or sticks, but since this
situation is not an instance of prototypical ownership, the noun chee7
then requires the suffix -VVl (-aal) when it is possessed, as in
rchee7aal ja kinaq' 'the bean's stick' (literally: 'its-stick the bean';
i.e. the stick used to hold beans up when they are growing). Similarly,
chikop 'animal' is normally possessed only by a human as in nchiikoop 'my
animal' or rchiikoop 'his/her animal'. But sometimes nonhumans may
'have' animals as well, although abnormally with respect to prototypical
ownership, so that in this situation the possessed form of chikop must
have the suffix -VVl (-iil), as in rchikopil chee7 'wood's animal =
termite' and rchikopil ixiim 'corn's animal = weevil'.[3]

The distinction between normal and abnormal possession also comes
into play with nouns denoting things that may be possessed by humans both

in a normal <u>and</u> in an abnormal way, with respect to prototypical owner-
ship. Thus, for example, the nouns <u>b'aaq</u> 'bone', <u>kik'</u> 'blood', and
<u>tz'uum</u> 'hide, leather' may all be possessed normally with respect to
prototypical ownership, as in <u>nuub'aaq</u> 'my bone' (e.g. to make an awl
with), <u>nuukiik'</u> 'my blood' (e.g. to make blood sausages with), and
<u>nuutz'uum</u> 'my hide, leather' (e.g. to make sandals with). On the other
hand, these same nouns may be possessed, but not prototypically owned,
and therefore require the suffix -VV1, as in <u>nb'aaqiil</u> 'my bone (of my
body)', <u>nkik'eel</u> 'my blood (of my body)', and <u>ntz'uumaal</u> 'my skin (of my
body)'. Note that these examples show that the distinction between
normal and abnormal possession is in relation to the notion of proto-
typical ownership and does not necessarily have anything to do with what
may be thought of as more 'natural' possession or classical alienable
versus inalienable possession.

A few other examples of the distinction between normal and abnormal
possession are given below.

Normal Possession	Abnormal Possession
nuuch'aak 'my boneless meat'	nch'aakuul 'my flesh'
ruuwuuj 'his/her paper'	rwuujaal uleep 'land's paper = land title'
raab'aaj 'his/her rock'	rab'ajil chuum 'lime's rock = limestone'
nuumuuj 'my shade' (e.g. of a tree that I am sitting in)	nmuujaal 'my shadow'
	rmujal chee7 'tree('s) shade'

5.1.2.3 Inflection for Possessor of Complex Nouns

In Tzutujil there are a large number of complex nouns that are com-
posed of two or more roots, and that may be either simple compounds or
phrasal compounds (see sections 2.2 and 5.3.2). Simple compounds are
inflected for possessor like noncomplex nouns discussed in 5.1.2, and
usually they are of noun classes S1 or S1a. E.g.

```
smaachii7  'beard' < smaal  'hair', chii7  'mouth'
     nsmaachii7  'my beard'
saqwach  'potato' < saq  'white', wach  'face, surface'
     nsaqwaach  'my potato'
```

The vast majority of phrasal noun compounds are composed of either
two (rarely three) nouns, or of a noun preceded by a modifying adjective.
Inflection for possessor of phrasal compounds composed of two (or three)
nouns is basically of two different types. The first type, SS (i.e.
Substantive Substantive), is rare, occurring only in a handful of forms.
With SS phrasal compounds, each of the two nouns is inflected identically
for possessor with the appropriate ergative prefixes. E.g.

```
ati7t mama7  'grandparent(s)'
     wati7t nmama7  'my grandparents(s)'
     < ati7t  'grandmother', mama7  'grandfather'
-b'aaqiil -b'och'iil  'body'
     nb'aaqiil nb'och'iil  'my body'
     < b'aaq  'bone', ib'och'  'nerve, vein'
```

The second type of phrasal compound composed of two (or three) nouns
consists of a first noun possessed by a second noun. This type of
phrasal compound is called S of S (i.e. Substantive of Substantive).
E.g.

```
ri7al wachaaj  'tear = eye's liquid = liquid of eyes'
     < rii7aal  'its liquid', wachaaj  'eye'
rchaq siik'  'cigarette butt = butt of cigarette'
     < rachaq  'its butt', siik'  'cigarette'
```

In order to inflect an S of S compound for possessor, the appropriate
ergative prefix is added only to the second (or last) noun in the phrasal
compound; e.g.

```
ri7al nwach  'my tear = my eye's liquid = liquid of my eye'
rchaq nuusiik  'my cigarette butt = butt of my cigarette'
```

With some common S of S compounds the ergative prefix (r(uu)-) of the
first noun may be omitted; e.g.

    smaal wii7aaj 'hair of head'
        smaal nwi7 'my hair = hair of my head'
        < smaal 'hair', wii7aaj 'head'
    (r)chi7 jaay 'door'
        (r)chi7 woochooch 'my door = door of my house'
        < chii7 'mouth', jaay ~ -oochooch 'house'

A few S of S compounds consist of three nouns; e.g.

    smal chi7 wachaaj 'eyelash = hair of edge of eye'
        smal chi7 nwach 'my eyelash = hair of edge of my eye'
        < smaal 'hair', chii7 'edge, mouth', wachaaj 'eye'

A few other examples of S of S compounds are given below.

    rejtal aqanaaj 'footprint'
       rejtal waqan 'my footprint'
       < rejtal 'its sign', aqanaaj 'foot, lower leg'
    rb'aqil wii7aaj 'skull'
       rb'aqil nwi7 'my skull'
       < rb'aaqiil 'its bone', wii7aaj 'head'
    rq'a7 (~ ruuq'a7) chee7 'branch'
       ruuq'a7 'its hand', chee7 'tree'
    rwi7 jaay 'roof'
       rwi7 woochooch 'my roof'
       < rwi7 'its head/top', jaay ~ -oochooch 'house'
    raqan ya7 'river'
       raqan nuuyaa7 'my river'
       < raqan 'its leg/length', ya7 'water'

Phrasal compounds composed of an adjective followed by a head noun
are inflected for possessor by attaching the appropriate ergative prefix
to the noun stem; e.g.

    rex kinaq' 'green beans'
        rex nkiinaaq' 'my green beans'
        < rex 'green', kinaq! 'beans'

5.1.3   Inflection for Abstraction

In Tzutujil, abstract nouns are formed with the suffix -VVl (i.e.
-aal ~ -eel ~ -iil ~ -uul), the particular vowel of the suffix being
lexically determined. Abstract nouns, with only a few exceptions, are
almost always possessed (e.g. rchee7aal 'its treeness, woodness' < chee7
'tree, wood'; rwinaqiil 'his/her humanness, naturalness' < winaq 'person,
people'). Traditionally, abstract nouns formed from other nouns (e.g.
'treeness' < 'tree'), would be viewed as derived forms, and would be
treated only under derivation, not inflection. And in Tzutujil abstract
nouns from nouns and adjectives are, in the traditional sense, derived
forms (see section 5.3). On the other hand, in Tzutujil, abstract nouns
form a part of the regular paradigm of the nouns from which they are
derived. This is so because under certain syntactic conditions the ab-
stract form of a noun is required instead of the concrete form. One
construction in Tzutujil that requires the abstract form of a noun is:
naq chi (abstract noun) 'what kind of X is it?' (< naq 'what', chi 'at,
to'; the abstract noun of the Tzutujil construction is equivalent to the
'X' of the English construction). For example, in order to ask 'what
kind of tree is it?', one says: naq chi chee7aal? (literally: 'what is to
its treeness?'). The abstract form of the noun rchee7aal 'its treeness'
is required in this construction, the concrete form being ungrammatical:
*naq chi chee7? It should be noted that the r- of the ergative posses-
sive prefix is always deleted after the preposition chi (see rule 12 in
section 1.6.1). Virtually all nouns in Tzutujil that denote generic
entities (i.e. those which may be of various kinds) have abstract forms.
Nouns that denote highly specific entities (e.g. a particular species of

plant) may not have an abstract form. A few more examples are given
below.

>   naq chi winaqiil? 'what kind of person is he/she?'
>   naq ch ajk'aayuul? 'what kind of seller is she?'
>   < rajk'aayuul 'her sellerness' < ajk'aay 'seller'
>   naq ch uutiiwaal? 'what kind of coyote is it?'
>   < ruutiiwaal 'its coyoteness' < uutiip //uutiiw// 'coyote'

It is interesting to note that the suffix -VV1 forming abstract
nouns is identical with the suffix used in abnormal possession (see
5.1.2.3). Thus, at least formally, there is a relationship between ab-
stract nouns and abnormally possessed nouns. The full nature of this
relationship is unclear, but certainly it warrants further study.

5.1.4 Predicate Noun Subject Inflection

When nouns function as stative predicates, that is, when they are
predicate nouns, they are inflected for subject with the proclitic ab-
solutive person markers (see section 3.1 on the absolutive person mark-
ers, and section 8.1.3 on stative predicates). E.g.

>   in winaq   'I am a person'   < winaq 'person, people'
>   at winaq   'you are a person'
>   winaq   'he/she is a person'
>   oq winaq   'we are people'
>   ix winaq   'you all are people'
>   ee winaq   'they are people'
>   in ralk'waal   'I am his child'   < r- A3, alk'waalaxeel
>   at ralk'waal   'you are his child'   'child of man'
>   ralk'waal   'he/she is his child'
>   oq ralk'waal   'we are his children'
>   ix ralk'waal   'you all are his children'
>   ee ralk'waal   'they are his children'

The independent pronouns may also be used in sentences like those above
to contrast or emphasize the subject (e.g. <u>inin</u> <u>in</u> <u>winaq</u> '<u>I</u> am a person'
and <u>jaa7</u> <u>winaq</u> '<u>he</u>/<u>she</u> is a person'). And in the third person an overt
noun may occur as subject (e.g. <u>Jar</u> <u>Aa</u> <u>Xwaan</u> <u>winaq</u> '(the) John is a
person').

5.2 NOUN SUBCATEGORIES

In this section a number of subcategories of nouns are discussed.
The subcategories are defined by their distinctive morphological, syntac-
tic, and semantic properties (and may cross-cut the subclassification of
nouns based on their behavior under possession, discussed in 5.1.2.1).

5.2.1 Relational Nouns

There is an important set of nouns in Tzutujil that are used to
indicate the grammatical relations of other nouns or noun phrases, much
like prepositions in many other languages of the world. These nouns are
called <u>relational nouns</u> (RNs), and they occur in <u>relational noun phrases</u>
(<u>RNPs</u>). Normally, RNs are followed by their 'object' noun phrases and
are possessed by them (e.g. <u>rumaal</u> <u>jar</u> <u>aachi</u> 'by the man' < <u>r-</u> A3, <u>-umaal</u>
'by', <u>jar</u> 'the', <u>aachi</u> 'man'). However, object (i.e. possessor) noun
phrases of RNs may be omitted if they are given information (e.g. <u>rumaal</u>
'by him'), and under certain conditions they may be fronted if they are
topicalized. If the object noun phrase is non-third person, then it is
usually only manifested as a possessive prefix on the RN (e.g. <u>wmaal</u> 'by
me' < <u>w-</u> A1, <u>-(u)maal</u> 'by'), unless it is contrastive or emphasized, in
which case the independent pronoun occurs (e.g. <u>wmaal</u> <u>inin</u> 'by <u>me</u>').
Some RNs have short forms that do not take possessive prefixes; the short
forms are only used when there is a following overt object noun phrase
(e.g. <u>ma(l)</u> is the short form of <u>-umaal</u> in <u>mal</u> <u>aachi</u> 'by a man'). The
short forms of RNs, because they do not take possessive prefixes, might
be viewed as incipient prepositions. Some RNs, aside from their grammat-
ical function, are also common nouns (e.g. <u>-umaal</u> also means 'cause,
fault'); others, like <u>-uuk'iin</u> 'with, and', only occur as RNs. It should

be noted that long vowels (if any) of RNs are shortened when they occur
before indefinite noun phrases (cp. <u>rumaal</u> <u>jar</u> <u>aachi</u> 'by the man' and
<u>rmal</u> <u>jun</u> <u>aachi</u> 'by a man'; see rule 23 in section 1.6.2).

    Some RNs are given below (the rest are discussed and exemplified
later). Short forms occur in parentheses, and glosses are provided along
with the case relation indicated by the RN. If the RN also occurs as a
common noun, its gloss is given as the last one after the relational
glosses. The inflectional paradigms for possession of some RNs are some-
what irregular, so these are simply listed, unless the paradigm is regu-
lar. At least one sentence example is also given for each RN.

Relational Nouns

majk 'because of, on account of; sin'   Indirect Agentive
    nuumajk, aamajk, ruumajk, etc.
      (6) Xch'ejyi jar iixoq ruumajk   jar aachi.
          was-hit the woman because-of the man
          'The woman was beaten because of the man.'
-onojeel (nojeel) ~ -onojelaal (nojelaal)   Totalitive
    'all of, everybody, everything'
    wonojeel ~ wonojelaal, awonojeel ~ awonojelaal,
    ronojeel ~ ronojelaal, etc.
      (7) Ojoj qonojeel xoqpi   Pan Ajche7el.
          we   all-of-us B1p-came Panajachel
          'We all came from Panajachel.'
      (8) Ewonojelaal ixix nixb'e pa tz'a7neem.
          all-of-you you B2p-go to play
          'All of you are going to play.'
rii7iil 'self'   Reflexive/Reciprocal
    wii7, aawii7, rii7, qii7, eewii7, kii7
      (9) Xintz'at wii7   pan espéeja.
          B3-A1-saw myself in mirror
          'I saw myself in the mirror.'
     (10) Jar aachi7aa7 xkikamsaj   kii7.
          the men   B3-A3p-killed themselves/each-other
          'The men killed themselves/each other.'

tza7n 'with; point, end'   Instrumental

    [not used with possessive prefixes; this form

    is on its way to becoming a true preposition]

    (11) Xuuchoy   tza7n machat.

          B3-A3-cut with   machete

          'He cut it with a machete.'

-uuk'iin (k'iin) 'with, and'   Comitative/Associative

    wk'iin, awk'iin, ruuk'iin, quuk'iin, ewk'iin, kuuk'iin

    (12) Inin xinb'e awk'iin.

          I   B1-went with-you

          'I went with you.'

    (13) Inin k'in atet xoqb'e.

          I   and you B1p-went

          'You and I left.'

-umaal (ma before consonants,   Agentive/Indirect

    maal before vowels)   Agentive

    'by, because of, on account of; cause, fault'

    wmaal ~ mwaal, awmaal ~ amwaal, rumaal ~ rmaal, qumaal,

    ewmaal ~ emwaal, kumaal

    (14) Xch'ejyi jar iixoq rmaal jar aachi.

          was-hit the woman by   the man

          'The woman was hit by the man.'

    (15) Jar ajq'iij xwajch'   ma ch'ijch'.

          the diviner was-run-over by car

          'The diviner was run over by a car.'

    (16) Wmaal   inin xajnamaji ja tz'i7.

          because-of-me I   B3-fled   the dog

          'Because of me the dog took off.'

-Vxiin (xiin) 'of, for'   Possessive, Benefac-

    wxiin, awxiin, rxiin, qaxiin,   tive, Patient

    ewxiin, kixiin

    [the 'V' in -Vxiin means some indeterminable vowel]

    (17) Awxiin ja ch'akat.

          yours the chair

          'The chair is yours.'

(18) Xinb'an   xin Aa   Xwaan.
      B3-A1-did for youth John
      'I did it for John.'

(19) Inin xinch'eyo   awxiin.
      I   B1-hit-foc of-you
      'I was the one who hit you.'

-yoon   'alone; solitude'   Solitary

      nuuyoon, aayoon, ruuyoon, etc.

(20) Nuuyoon xinb'an   ja jaay.
      I-alone B3-A1-made the house
      'I alone built the house.'

Besides the set of RNs presented above, there is another set that
occurs in what are called prepositional-relational noun phrases (PRNPs).
Unlike the first set, the second set of RNs always occurs in conjunction
with one of the two prepositions: pa(n) 'in, to' or ch(i) 'at, to' (N.B.:
pa occurs before consonants and monosyllabic vowel-initial forms, and pan
before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable; the i of chi drops
before vowels and usually before consonants other than n or k; it may
drop before these consonants as well; sometimes chi is realized as cha
before q). The preposition and RN function together as a single grammat-
ical unit, even though they each may have independent meaning and func-
tion (e.g. chnpaan 'inside of me' < chi, n- A1, -paan 'stomach, shit'; pa
nixkin 'beside me' < pa, n- A1, epenthetic -i-, xkin 'ear'). As these
examples indicate, the RN following the preposition is possessed by the
'object' noun phrase of the PRNP; normally, if the object (i.e. posses-
sor) noun phrase is third person, then it follows the preposition plus RN
(e.g. chpaan ja jaay 'inside of the house' < chi, r- A3 (deleted after
chi), -paan 'stomach, shit', ja 'the', jaay 'house'; pa rxkin ja jaay
'beside the house' < pa, r- A3, xkin 'ear', ja 'the', jaay 'house').
Object noun phrases of PRNPs may be omitted if they are given or old
information (e.g. chpaan 'inside of it', pa rxkin 'beside it'), and if
they are non-third person they usually only occur if they are contrastive
or emphatic (e.g. chnpaan inin 'inside of me', pa nixkin inin 'beside
me').

The set of RNs occurring in conjunction with pa(n) or ch(i), called prepositional-relational nouns (PRNs), is given below. Glosses, case relations, and paradigms of possessor inflection are provided, along with some sentence examples. The forms heading each entry are either third person singular or forms that occur without possessive prefixes. Enclosed in parentheses after each entry is the common noun related to the PRN.

<center>Prepositional-Relational Nouns</center>

chee (< -e ?) 'to, with'   Dative, Instrumental

    chwe, chaawe, chee, chaqe, cheewe, chike

  (21)   Xab'ij   chwe.

       B3-A2-said to-me

       'You said it to me.'

  (22)   Nkeeya7   paq   chaqe.

       B3-A3-give money to-us

       'They'll give money to us.'

  (23)   Jar aachi xuuchoy   chee7 chee   machat.

       the man   B3-A3-cut tree with-it machete

       'The man cut trees with a machete.'

ch(i) kojol (< kojol 'gap, breach')   Locative

    'between, among, in the middle of'

    chqakojol, chekojol, ch(i) kikojol [used only in plural]

  (24)   In k'o chi kikojol.

       B1 be   among-them

       'I am among them.'

Ch(i) naaqaaj (< naaqaaj 'proximity')   Locative

    'near, close to'

    chi nnaaqaaj, chanaaqaaj, ch(i) naaqaaj, ch(a) qanaaqaaj,

    chenaaqaaj, ch(i) kinaaqaaj

  (25)   Ee k'o chanaaqaaj.

       B3p be   near-you

       'They are near you.'

chpaan (< -paan 'stomach, shit')   Locative

    'inside of, in'

    ch(i) npaan, chaapaan, chpaan, chqaapaan, cheepaan, chi keepaan

(26) In k'o chpaan   ja jul.
      Bl be inside-of-it the hole
      'I am in(side of) the hole.'

chriij ~ chiij (< -iij 'back')   Locative, Topical
    'in back of, behind; on the curved surface of; about'
    chwiij, chaawiij, chriij ~ chiij, cha qiij, cheewiij, ch(i) kiij
    (27) In k'o chaawiij.
          Bl be behind-you
          'I am in back of you.'
    (28) Qootzijon   chriij   nojeel ja naquun.
          let-us-talk about-it all   the thing
          'Let's talk about all the things.'

chuuchii7 (< -chii7 'mouth, edge')   Locative
    'on the edge of, in the vicinity of, around'
    chi nuuchii7, chaachii7, chuuchii7, chqaachii7, cheechii7, ch(i)
    keechii7
    (29) Inin chuuchii7   jun chooy in k'o wi7.
          I   on-edge-of-it a   lake Bl live front
          'I, on the edge of a lake, live.'

chuuxee7 (< -xee7 'root, base')   Locative
    'under, below, on the bottom of, at the base of'
    chi nuuxee7, chaaxee7, chuuxee7, chqaaxee7, cheexee7, chi keexee7
    chkeexee7
    (30) In k'o chkeexee7.
          Bl be under-them
          'I am under them.'

chwach ~ chwech ~ chwa   Locative
    (< -wach 'face, eye, surface')
    'in front of, on the face of, on the flat surface of'
    chi nwach, chaawach, chwach, chqaawach, cheewach, chi keewach
    (31) K'o chqaawach.
          be in-front-of-us
          'It's in front of us.'
    (32) Xinchup   ja léetra chwach   wuuj.
          Bl-Al-erased the letter on-surface-of-it paper
          'I erased the letters on (the surface of) the paper.'

pan ijkiq'a7 (< ijkiq'a7 'right hand' ?)   Locative
    'on/to the right of'
    pa wijkiq'a7, pan awijkiq'a7, pa rijkiq'a7, etc.
    (30) In k'o pan awijkiq'a7.
        Bl be on your-right
        'I am on your right'

pa niik'aaj (< niik'aaj 'half')   Locative
    'in the middle/center of'
    pa rnik'aajaal, pa qanik'aajaal, pan enik'aajaal,
    pa kinik'aajaal [used only in third persons and plurals]
    (34) In k'o pa nik'aj ya7.
        Bl be in middle water
        I am in the middle of (the) water.'

pa rk'axwaach   Substitutive
    (< -k'axwaach 'substitute, namesake')
    'instead of'
    pa nk'axwaach, pan ak'axwaach, pa rk'axwaach, etc.
    (35) Xatb'e pa nk'axwaach.
        B2-went in my-stead
        'You went instead of me.'

pa rwi7 (< -wi7 'head, top')   Locative
    'on top of, over'
    pa nwi7, pan aawi7, pa rwi7, pa qaawi7, pan eewi7, pa keewi7
    (36) Pa rwi7   aab'aj xintz'ub'e7 wi7.
        on its-top rock Bl-sat   front
        'On top of (the) rock I sat down.'

pa rxkin ~ pa rixkin (< xkin 'ear')   Locative
    'on the side of, beside'
    pa nixkin, pan axkin, pa r(i)xkin, pa qaxkin, pan exkin, pa kixkin
    (37) Ja b'eey k'o pa rixkin   woochooch.
        the road be on its-side my-house
        'The road is beside my house.'

pa xokon (< xokon 'left hand' ?)   Locative
    'on/to the left of'
    pa nxokon, pan axokon, pa rxokon, etc.

(38)   Jar iixoq xtz'ub'e7 pa nxokon.

     the woman sat   on my-left

     'The woman sat down on my left.'

pa yooniil (< -yoon 'solitude')   <u>Solitary</u>

   'alone, in solitude'

    pa nyooniil, pan ayooniil, pa ryooniil, etc.

(39)   In k'o pa nyooniil.

     Bl be   in my-solitude

     'I am alone.'

5.2.2   Numerals

5.2.2.1   The Numbers

The numbers in Tzutujil are formally nouns, but they may also be
used as quantifiers and anaphorically like pronouns, and the number one,
<u>juun</u>, also functions as the indefinite article (e.g. <u>xinkamsaj</u> <u>jun</u> <u>masaat</u>
'I killed a/one deer' and <u>xinkamsaj</u> <u>juun</u> <u>choqoja7</u> 'I killed one too').
Like the numbering systems of other Mayan languages (and Meso-American
languages in general), the Tzutujil system is vigesimal, counting being
done in intervals of 20. However, from a morphological point of view,
the system seems to have, at least in part, an underlying decimal base in
that the numbers from 11 to 19 are formed with the roots of the numbers
from 1-9 plus the number 10 (see below). In preconquest and early post-
conquest times, the Tzutujil numbering system was quite complex, with
root numbers as high as 8000 and perhaps higher (see Ximénez 1701-3 and
Brasseur de Bourbourg 1892). But since the conquest, Spanish numbers
have been steadily encroaching upon and replacing native numbers. Thus,
in contemporary Tzutujil, native numbers are rarely used over 100, and
most commonly they are used only up to 40 or so.

    The numbers from 1-10 are given in their cardinal, ordinal, distrib-
utive, and root or short combining forms in table 2. The (absolute)
cardinal numbers from 2-9 have an absolutive suffix: <u>-i7</u> ~ <u>-ii7</u> ~ <u>-ee7</u> ~

-oo7 ~ -uu7, depending on the root. The roots or short forms of the
numbers (without absolutive suffixes) are used in combination with other
forms (e.g. the root ka7- '2' occurs in absolute ka7i7 '2' and in
ka7winaq '40'); some of the short combining forms have irregular stem
changes (cp. ka7- '2' in the forms just cited but kab'- '2' in kab'lajuuj
'12'). Ordinal numbers, in general, are formed from cardinals by the
addition of the third person singular possessive prefix (e.g. rlajuuj
'10th' < r- A3 plus lajuuj '10'), but the ordinal for 'first' is supple-
tive and does not take the possessive prefix, and the ordinals from 2-9
are formed with the possessive prefix attached to the short forms of the
numbers, except that the ordinal for '9th' does not require the prefix
obligatorily. The distributive numbers mean 'n each' (e.g. ox7ox means
'3 each'). From 1 to 4, the distributives are formed by reduplicating
the root of the number. Above 4 the distributives are regularly formed
by the addition of the general plural particle taq, to the short form in
the case of '5 each', and to the absolute cardinals in numbers above 5.
The distributive chi ju7junel '1 each' is irregular; it is based on the
preposition chi 'at, to' plus ju7jun with the suffix -el. Ju7jun is the
expected form for the distributive '1 each', but its primary meaning is
'some (distributively)', although it has a secondary meaning '1 each'.
The distributives may also be used with the preposition pa 'in, to' to
form adverbial phrases meaning 'n by n' or 'in n's' (e.g. pa ox7ox
'3 by 3, in 3s').

Table 2:   The Numbers From 1-10

	Absolute Cardinals	Roots or Short Combining Forms	Ordinals	Distributives
1	juun	ju(7)-	najb'eey	chi ju7junel (ju7jun)
2	ka7i7	ka7- ~ kab'-	ruukab'	ka7ka7 ~ kaaka7
3	oxi7	ox-	roox	ox7ox
4	kaji7 ~ keji7 ~ kiji7	kaj-	ruukaaj	kajkaj
5	jo7oo7	jo7- ~ joj- ~ -oo7	roo7	jojtaq
6	waaqii7	waaq-	rwaaq(aaq)	waaqii7 taq
7	wuquu7	wuq-	rwuuq	wuquu7 taq
8	wajxaqii7	wajxaq-	rwajxaaq	wajxaqi7 taq
9	b'elejee7	b'e(e)le(e)j-	b'eleej ~ rb'eeleej	b'eleje7 taq
10	lajuuj	laj-	rlajuuj	lajuuj taq

All other numbers in contemporary Tzutujil are based on the numbers from 1-10, either the absolute cardinals or the short combining forms, and the following roots:

winaq '20; person':	juwinaq '20'
	ka7winaq '40'
-k'ajl 'score':	oxk'ajl '60'
	jo7k'ajl '100' (archaic)
-much' '80':	jumuch' '80'
	jo7much' '400' (archaic)
niik'aaj 'half':	nik'aj jun syéenta '50'
syéenta '100' (< Sp 'ciento'):	jun syéenta '100'
	ka7i7 syéenta '200'

miil '1000' (< Sp 'mil'):   jun miil   '1000'

                                     ka7i7 miil   '2000'

The numbers above 10 are exemplified below. Note that, conforming to the
vigesimal system, the numbers from 21-39 are based on juwinaq '20' plus
the numbers for 1-19. That is, for example, '39' is juwinaq
b'eelejlajuuj or literally '20 (plus) 19'. Similarly, the numbers from
41-59 are based on ka7winaq '40' plus the numbers for 1-19, and so on, in
increments up to 99, except that numbers in the 50s have alternate forms
built on nik'aj syéenta '50' literally meaning 'half (of a) hundred'.

Numbers Above 10

11	ju7lajuuj ~ julajuuj	35	juwinaq jo7lajuuj
12	kab'lajuuj	36	juwinaq waqlajuuj
13	oxlajuuj	37	juwinaq wuqlajuuj
14	kajlajuuj	38	juwinaq wajxaqlajuuj
15	jo7lajuuj	39	juwinaq b'eelejlajuuj
16	waqlajuuj	40	ka7winaq
17	wuqlajuuj	41	ka7winaq juun
18	wajxaqlajuuj	42	ka7winaq ka7i7
19	b'e(e)lejlajuuj	43	ka7winaq oxi7
20	juwinaq ~ junwinaq		etc.
21	juwinaq juun	50	ka7winaq lajuuj
22	juwinaq ka7i7	51	ka7winaq ju7lajuuj
23	juwinaq oxi7	52	ka7winaq kab'lajuuj
24	juwinaq kaji7	53	ka7winaq oxlajuuj
25	juwinaq jo7oo7		etc., or
26	juwinaq waaqii7	50	nik'aj syéenta
27	juwinaq wuquu7	51	nik'aj syéenta juun
28	juwinaq wajxaqii7	52	nik'aj syéenta ka7i7
29	juwinaq b'elejee7	53	nik'aj syéenta oxi7
30	juwinaq lajuuj		etc.
31	juwinaq ju7lajuuj	60	oxk'ajl
32	juwinaq kab'lajuuj	61	oxk'ajl juun
33	juwinaq oxlajuuj	62	oxk'ajl ka7i7
34	juwinaq kajlajuuj	63	oxk'ajl oxi7
			etc.

70	oxk'ajl lajuuj	600	waaqi7 syéenta
71	oxk'ajl ju7lajuuj	700	wuqu7 syéenta
72	oxk'ajl kab'lajuuj	800	wajxaqi7 syéenta
73	oxk'ajl oxlajuuj	900	b'eleje7 syéenta
	etc.	1000	jun miil
80	jumuch'	2000	ka7i7 miil
81	jumuch' juun	3000	oxi7 miil
82	jumuch' ka7i7	4000	kaji7 miil
83	jumuch' oxi7	5000	jo7o7 miil
	etc.	6000	waaqi7 miil
90	jumuch' lajuuj	7000	wuqu7 miil
91	jumuch' ju7lajuuj	8000	wajxaqi7 miil
92	jumuch' kab'lajuuj	9000	b'eleje7 miil
93	jumuch' oxlajuuj		
	etc.		
100	jun syéenta		
200	ka7i7 syéenta		
300	oxi7 syéenta		
400	kaji7 syéenta		
500	jo7o7 syéenta		

5.2.2.2 Quantifiers

The quantifiers are listed below. Most of them are based on one form or another of the number '1' (i.e. juun, ju- or ju7-), along with suffixes, particles, or other words.

jalaal 'a little bit' < jal 'corn ear' (?), -aal N suf
ju7jun 'some (distributively)' < ju7- '1', juun '1'
julee7 'some (of a group)' < ju- '1', -l- (?), -ee7 plr suf
junalik 'all of' < juun '1', -alik (?)
jutaq ~ jutaj 'some' < ju- '1', taq plr
jutz'iit 'a little bit' < ju- '1', -tz'iit 'little bit'
jun ka7i7 'a couple, a few, a number of' < juun 'one, a/an',
    ka7i7 '2'

k'iy laj ~ k'ilaj   'various' < k'iy   'much, many', laj   'very'

k'o juun   'some (one) of' < k'ooli   P 'there is/are, exist',
      juun   '1'

majuun   'nothing, none, no one, nobody, there isn't any'
      < ma   neg, juun   '1'

ma k'o ta   'none, no one, nobody, nothing, there isn't any'
      < ma   neg, k'ooli   P 'there is/are, exist', ta   irreal

ti juunook   'only one' < ti   diminutive, juun   '1', -ook(?)

Also, the relational noun -onojeel ~ onojelaal 'all of' functions as a
quantifier.

5.2.3 Enumeratives

Enumeratives are a special class of nouns whose primary defining
characteristic is that they must always be used with a number or a limit-
ed set of quantifiers (i.e. jutaq 'some', ju7jun 'some (distributively)',
and k'iy laj 'various'). All enumeratives are used with the short form
of the number ju- '1', and their citation form is with ju- (e.g. jub'iid'
'a tear', jub'oraaj 'a bunch (of flowers)'). Some enumeratives may be
used with the short forms of the numbers ka7- '2' or ox- '3' (e.g. jutaas
'first (ground) floor, room'; ka7taas 'second floor, room'; oxtaas 'third
floor, room'), and a few may be used with the short forms of the numbers
up to b'elej- '9' (e.g. juk'ulaaj 'a pair', b'elejk'ulaaj 'nine pairs').
Most of them, however, when used with a number above 1, only occur with
the absolute cardinals (e.g. jumuul 'one time, once', but ka7i7 muul 'two
times, twice', oxi7 muul 'three times', etc.). A few enumeratives only
occur with ju- (e.g. jutz'iit 'a little bit').

There are in the neighborhood of 200 enumeratives, and all but a
handful are derived from positional and/or transitive roots (all of which
have the form CVC), either by lengthening the root vowel (e.g. jub'aa7 'a
piece (of tortilla, bread)' < b'a7- RTV 'chew', jud'iis 'a perforation' <
d'is- RTV 'sew' and P 'perforated'), or by adding the noun-formative
suffix -aaj (e.g. juch'anaaj 'naked child or naked fat person' < ch'an- P
'naked'; juk'ulaaj 'a pair, couple' < k'ul- RTV 'meet' and P 'married').
Some exceptional forms not derived from positional or transitive roots

are: juwi7 'a bush, plant; kind' (< wi7- 'head'), jutz'iit 'a little
bit' (< ?), juráata 'a short period of time' (< Sp rato), jupuuq 'a group
(of people or animals)' (< ?), and juch'aab' 'a reflection, shining, ray'
(< ch'aab' N with same meaning as the enumerative).

Often, enumeratives from positional roots denote an entity in the
position, shape, condition, etc., indicated by the positional root (e.g.
jukotaaj 'a circle' < kot- P 'circular', juchuyaaj 'a collection, group,
swarm' < chuy- P 'grouped, collected'). Enumeratives from transitive
roots often denote either an instance of the action described by the root
(e.g. juk'oox 'a hammer/rock blow' < k'ox- RTV 'hammer', jurook' 'a
scratch' < rok'- RTV 'scratch'), or a common patient of the transitive
action (e.g. jujook 'a handful (of water, dirt)' < jok- RTV 'take out
with the hand', jub'aa7 'a piece (of tortilla or bread)' < b'a7- RTV
'chew'). However, the meanings of enumeratives are not always predict-
able from the meanings of their roots even though their meanings may be
related (e.g. jub'oq'aaj 'a fat person' < b'oq'- P 'bunched up
(berries)', jutz'uuj 'a drop' < tz'uj- RTV 'mistreat', jutzaqaaj 'a
string of' < tzaq- P 'hanging').

Many enumeratives are often used in combination with another follow-
ing noun or noun phrase in counting, much like numeral classifiers in
many other languages (e.g. ka7i7 b'aa7 ja kaxlaway 'two pieces of the
bread', kaji7 raap tz'uum 'four blows (with a) whip', oxi7 d'oyaj nuutii7
'three chunks of my meat'), but enumeratives are not obligatory in count-
ing in that nouns may be counted without them. When enumeratives are
used with a following noun phrase, either in counting or otherwise, their
main function is to restrict the scope of meaning of the following noun
or specify its form, shape, condition, or position. For example, in the
sentence:

(40) Ka7i7 b'otaaj ja wuuj xsijpax   chwe.
     two   roll   the paper B3-was-given to-me
     'Two rolls of the paper were given to me.'

the enumerative b'otaaj 'roll' restricts the meaning of wuuj 'paper'
(which can be in various forms: sheets, stacks, wads, etc.) to specif-
ically rolls (see section 8.1.1 on noun phrases).

Some enumeratives have purely qualitative meanings and semantically are more like adjectives, e.g.

    jub'oq'aaj   'fat (one)'
    jub'ujaaj   'fat (head)'
    juchuk'aaj   'tall and skinny (one)'
    julik'aaj   'very wide (fabric)'
    juluub'   'wet (one)'
    jusopaaj   'extremely fat (one)'
    jutaraaj   'hoarse'

In their restricting capacity, many enumeratives function as temporary or qualitative measures, e.g.

    jub'otz'aaj   'a package (of food)'
    jub'oraaj   'a bunch (of flowers)'
    juchool ~ jucholaaj   'a line, row'
    juch'araaj   'a slice (of cane or kindling)'
    jud'oyaaj   'a lump/chunk (of meat, mud, butter)'
    juketaaj   'a roll (of string, vine)'
    juk'aaj   'a drop'
    juk'alaaj   'a load (of firewood)'
    jumulaaj   'a pile'
    jumoq'aaj   'a fistful'
    jupatz'aaj   'a pile (of hay, rags)'
    jutz'uuj   'a drop'
    juyalaaj   'a heap (of tortillas)'

Although enumeratives are often used with following nouns or noun phrases specifying or restricting their meanings, they may also be used without a following noun. Compare the sentences below.

    (41) a.   Xintij   jub'iiq' ya7
                B3-Al-took a-drink water
                'I took a drink of water/liquor'

b. Xintij   ju7jun b'iiq'.

    B3-A1-took some   drink

    'I took some drinks (of liquor).'

(42) a. Qas   poqon ja juk'oox aab'aj xya7   chwe.

         really hurts the one-blow rock   was-given to-me

         'The blow with a rock that was given to me really hurts.'

     b. Xinya7   juk'oox chee.

         B3-A1-gave a-blow to-him

         'I gave a blow to him.'

Like other nouns, enumeratives may function as stative predicates
(see section 8.1.3).

(43) Ja kaxlan qas   jusiraaj.

      the soap   really a-sphere

      'The soap is really a sphere.'

(44) Ja nee7 qas   jub'oq'aaj.

      the child really a-fat-one

      'The child is really a fat one.'

5.2.4 Measure Words

Besides the subset of enumerative nouns that function as temporary
or qualitative measures, there is another set of nouns that are also
measure words (but not enumeratives). Some of these are standard mea-
sures (e.g. líitro 'liter' (< Sp litro), k'aam 'chord of land (approxi-
mately 25 x 25 ft.)'), while others are temporary measures (e.g. manóojo
'bunch' (< Sp manojo), ijqa7n 'load'). As these examples indicate, many
measure words are borrowed from Spanish. Characteristically, measure
words are preceded by a number, quantifier, or the interrogative jaru7
'how many, how much', and followed by a noun or noun phrase (e.g. ka7i7
líitro ya7 'two liters of water/liquor'), and they normally are not
possessed. However, some measure words are also common nouns and may be
possessed when they function as such. Compare the two sentences below.
In (45), b'áaso 'glass' functions as a measure word, whereas in (46), it
functions as a common noun preceded by another measure word doséena
'dozen'.

(45) Xinloq'   ka7i7 b'áaso nuuyaa7.
     B3-Al-bought two   glass my-liquor
     'I bought two glasses of (my) liquor.'

(46) Xinloq'   jun doséena nb'áaso.
     B3-Al-bought one dozen   my-glass
     'I bought one dozen of (my) glasses.'

Some other measure words are given below.

    éera   'garden plot (of)' < Sp era
    galoon 'gallon' < Sp galón
    laq 'bowl(ful)'
    líiwra 'pound' < Sp libra
    koxtaar 'gunny sack(ful)' < Sp costal
    óonsa 'ounce' < Sp onza
    oktáawo 'eighth of a liter' < Sp octavo
    tráago 'drink' < Sp trago
    pakéeta 'package' < Sp paquete
    niik'aaj 'half'
    patajl 'crate'
    b'áara '30 inches' < Sp vara
    ijqa7n 'load'
    almuul 'dry measure of .8 liter' < Sp almud
    aróowa '25 lbs.' < Sp arroba

5.2.5 Proper Names

Virtually all given or Christian names in Tzutujil have been bor-
rowed from Spanish, although, since most of them have undergone rather
radical phonological change, they are not usually viewed as loanwords by
contemporary Tzutujil speakers. E.g.

    Keel < Sp Miguel   Cho7r < Sp Melchora
    Ku7 < Sp Domingo   Lóoyda < Sp Loida
    Kox < Sp Lucas   Luuka < Sp Maruca
    Kus < Sp Marcos   Lu7s < Sp Lucía

Li7p < Sp Felipe   Luuxa < Sp Luisa

Lu7 ~ Luch < Sp Pedro   Mari7y < Sp María

Li(i)x < Sp Andrés   Naana ~ No7t < Sp Ana

Páawlo < Sp Pablo   Palas < Sp Francisca

Pala7s < Sp Francisco   Roosa < Sp Rosa

Ra7p < Sp Rafael   Ro7n < Sp Petrona

Sme7eel < Sp Ismaél   Rewéeka < Sp Rebeca

Spiryáano < Sp Cipriano   Sako7r < Sp Socorro

Stéewa < Sp Esteban   Saanto < Sp Santa

Sa7ak < Sp Isaac   Séelya < Sp Celia

Sakari7y < Sp Zacarías   Se7p < Sp Josefa

Sayi7s < Sp Isaías   Sóoyla < Sp Soila

Se7n < Sp Vicente   Teere7s < Sp Teresa

Teeko ~ Te7k < Sp Diego   Xwaana < Sp Juana

Xep < Sp José

Xwaan < Sp Juan

On the other hand, many surnames are native, e.g.

Chikib'al   'Chiqival'

Tuwis   'Tuíz'

Tepaas   'Tepaz'

Tzooq   'Tzoc'

Tzyaaq   'Tziac' < tzyaq   'clothes'

Sajkiiy   'Sajquiy' < sajkiiy   'century plant'

Q'anajaay   'Canajay' < q'an   'yellow', jaay   'house'

Raatz'aam   'Ratzam' < raatz'aam   'its salt'

Qochee7   'Coché' < (?), chee7   'tree'

Tz'ina7   'Tziná'

Saq'ujl   'Sacul' < saq'ujl   'banana'

Sojwe7l   'Sojhuel'

Spanish surnames are also not uncommon; these are usually pronounced
either like the Spanish forms or with slight modifications such as
lengthening of stressed vowels (e.g. Péeres < Sp Pérez, Mendóosa < Sp
Mendoza, Ernáandes < Sp Hernández, Raamux < Sp Ramos).

Proper names are distinguished from other nouns in that they are not possessed. But more importantly, when they are used referentially (rather than vocatively), they must be preceded either by one of the two proclitic particles:

Aa (~ Ma SA) 'youth, Master' used with male names
Ta(n) (~ Ya SA) 'Miss' used with female names
    [whether the n in Ta(n) appears or not is lexically determined]

or by one of the following more respectful terms:

Taa7 'Mr., Sir, Señor'
Naan 'Mrs., Lady, Señora'

The latter two forms can be used in referring with respect to anyone over 25 or so, but they are especially used in reference to older people or people of high political, economic, or social rank. If both a given and a surname are used together, then a name proclitic occurs only before the first name. Compare the examples below.

(47) Jar Aa   Xwaan xb'e Yab'akoj.
    the youth Juan went Cuyotenango
    'Juan went to Cuyotenango.'

(48) Jar Aa   Kux   Tzyaaq qas utz nejtz'aani.
    the youth Marcos Tziac very well plays
    'Marcos Tziac plays very well.'

(49) Ja Ta   Xwaana xb'e San Páawlo.
    The Miss Juana went San Pablo
    'Miss Juana went to San Pablo.'

(50) Ja Tan Palas   xb'e pa loq'oj kaxlanway.
    the Miss Francisca went to buy   bread
    'Miss Francisca went to buy bread.'

(51) Ja Taa7 Lix   xkam iiwiir
    the Sir Andreś died yesterday
    'Sir Andrés died yesterday.'

(52)   Ja Naan Cho7r   qas nb'isooni.
       the Lady Melchora very is-sad
       'Lady Melchora is very sad.'

When names are used vocatively, they may occur optionally without
Aa, Ta(n), Taa7, or Naan, in which case they are more respectful than
those used with Aa or Ta(n), but perhaps less respectful than those used
with Taa7 or Naan.

5.2.6 Vocatives

As noted in 5.2.5, proper names are used as vocatives. There are a
few other common vocatives:

Taa7 'Mr., Sir, Señor'
Naan 'Mrs., Lady, Señora'
meetz' 'kid' [used by older people with children]
xten ~ xtan 'Miss, Señorita, girl'
k'ajool ~ k'ojool 'youth, boy'
qaajaaj 'Our Lord'
kuchkuchkuch [pig call]

5.2.7 Toponyms

In Tzutujil there are hundreds if not thousands of names for places.
Some of them are not analyzable synchronically:

Nawala7 'Nahualá'   K'wa7 'Cua River'
Tzolola7 'Sololá'   Chuchuk 'San Pedro Volcano'
B'ookoo7 'Chimaltenango'   Xelaju7 'Quetzaltenango'
Yab'akoj 'Cuyotenango'   K'iilaaj 'Quilá Hill'

Others are loanwords from Spanish:

Armíita 'Guatemala City' < Sp ermita 'hermitage'
B'isitasyoon 'Santa María Visitación' < Sp visitación

Palestíina   'Palestine Village' < Sp Palestina
Santyáago   'Santiago Atitlán' < Sp Santiago

The majority of toponyms are phrases:

K'oqol Keej   'Masatenango'
      < k'oqool   'hunter', keej   'horse' (archaic meaning 'deer')
Kaqa Che7 Ya7   'Panyebar Village'
      < kaq   'red', chee7   'tree', ya7   'water'
K'iche7   'Santa Cruz el Quiché'
      < k'iy   'many', chee7   'tree'

Most phrasal toponyms are built on either the two prepositions ch(i)
'at, to' and pa(n) 'in, to', or on the relational nouns: chi7 (< chii7)
'edge, mouth', xe7 (< xee7) 'base, root', and tza7n 'point', or on the
prepositional relational noun chwach ~ chwech ~ chwa 'on the face of, in
front of'. E.g.

Chi Maq'an Ya7   'Totonicapan'
      < maq'an   'hot', ya7   'water'
Chi Kokop   'Chicacao'
      < kokop   'cacao bean'
Pa Tuulul   'Patulul'
      < tuulul   'zapote'
Pan Ajche7eel   'Panajachel'
      < ajche7eel   'matasanos tree'
Chi7 Nima Ya7   'place near San Juan on the edge of Lake Atitlán'
      < nim   'big', ya7   'water'
Chi7 K'wa7   'place on the edge of the Cua River'
Xe7 Q'apooj   'place near San Juan'
      < q'apooj   'girl'
Xe7 Pa Tzyaq   'place below Patziac'
      < tzyaq   'clothes'
Chwa Kuku7 Aab'aj   'place near San Juan'
      < kuku7   'water jug', aab'aj   'rock'
Chwa Tz'alam   'place near San Juan'
      < tz'alam   'board'

Although many phrases like those above are analyzable, many are not,
at least synchronically (and except for the first element); e.g.

Pasya7 'Patzicía' < sya7 (?)

Pasu7m 'Patzún' < su7m (?)

Xe7 K'ub'ujiil 'place near San Juan' < k'ub'ujiil (?)

Chwa B'olob' 'place near San Juan' < b'olob' (?)

Chwiley 'Chichicastenango'

  [historically from chwi7 'on top of', ley 'stinging nettle',
  which is an earlier unmetathesized form of contemporary yel
  'stinging nettle']

One important syntactic feature of place names that do not begin
with a relational noun or preposition is that some of them require the
preposition pa(n) in order to make a locative phrase in a sentence,
whereas others strictly forbid its use. Whether a toponym takes pa(n) or
not is determined by the particular lexical item. Compare the sentences
below.

(53) a. Chwaaq   ninb'e pa Nawala7.
          tomorrow B1-go   to Nahualá
          'Tomorrow I go to Nahualá.'
      b. Chwaaq   ninb'e pan Armíita.
          'Tomorrow I go to Guatemala City.'
      c. Chwaaq   ninb'e (*pa) Tzolola7.
          'Tomorrow I go to Sololá.'
      d. Chwaaq   ninb'e (*pa) Yab'akoj.
          'Tomorrow I go to Cuyotenango.'
      e. Chwaaq   ninb'e (*pa) Santyáago.
          'Tomorrow I go to Santiago Atitlán.'

5.3 NOUN DERIVATION

There are a large number of derivational affixes used in forming
noun stems in Tzutujil. Two noun-forming affixes are prefixes, one is an
infix, and one involves a discontinuous infix-plus-suffix morpheme; all

other noun-forming affixes are suffixes. Derivational affixes forming
nouns make the following kinds of changes in the roots, stems, and words
to which they are attached: (1) they may change the word or stem class;
(2) they may change the meaning; and (3) they may form noun stems from
roots that otherwise do not occur as stems (without derivational affixes)
of any word class. Affixes forming noun stems are discussed in section
5.3.1, and the format for presenting information about them is the same
as that used in discussing affixes deriving verb stems (see section 4.2).

Compounding is also a productive process by which new nouns are
formed in Tzutujil. Nominal compounds are discussed in section 5.3.2

5.3.1 Affixes Deriving Nouns

1)   1.   aj-   <u>characterizer</u>
      3.   Derives nouns from other noun stems, and in a few cases from
            roots whose grammatical class is uncertain. The derived forms
            denote someone who is characterized by what is indicated by the
            noun base. The characterization involves someone who commonly
            deals with the entity denoted by the base or, if the base is a
            toponym, who comes from that particular place.
      4.   Productive.
      5.   Examples:
                    ajq'iij 'diviner, astrologer' < q'iij N 'day, sun'
                    aj7iitz 'hexer' < iitz N 'hex'
                    ajtinaamit 'citizen' < tinaamit N 'town, city'
                    ajtziij 'counselor' < tziij N 'word'
                    ajchame7y 'constable' < chame7y N 'club, nightstick'
                    ajk'aay 'vender, seller' < k'aay- N 'sale'
                    ajkuum 'witch, sorcerer' < kuum- (?)
                         (cp. kuuna- DTJ 'cure')
                    ajq'aat 'deer-hunt participant' < q'aat- (?)
                    ajk'iche7 'person from Santa Cruz el Quiché' < K'iche7
                         'Santa Cruz el Quiché'
                    ajchikokop 'person from Chicacao' < Chi Kokop 'Chicacao'
                    ajpanajche7eel 'person from Panajachel' < Pan Ajche7eel
                         'Panajachel'

ajmaq'anya7 'person from Totonicapan'< Chi Maq'an Ya7
    'Totonicapan'

ajsanjwaan 'person from San Juan la Laguna' < San Jwaan
    'San Juan la Laguna'

ajsaamaaj 'worker' < saamaaj N 'work'

ajsamajeel 'worker' < samaj- IV 'work', -eel agentive

ajloq'ool 'buyer' < loq'- RTV 'buy', -ool agentive

ajch'akool 'winner' < ch'ak- RTV 'win', -ool agentive

6. Nouns in aj- may be derived ultimately from verbs, but
    first the verbs must be nominalized with the agentive
    suffixes: -ool used on TVs, and -eel used on IVs (e.g.
    last few examples). Sometimes nouns in aj- formed from
    toponyms beginning with chi 'to, at' lose chi when aj- is
    added and sometimes not (cp. ajmaq'anya7 < Chi Maq'an Ya7
    and ajchikokop < Chi Kokop). Note that the vowel a in aj-
    is never lengthened after the definite article ja(r) as
    other vowels are (see rule 26, section 1.6.2).

2) 1. x-   feminizer

2. x- ~ ix-:

    The alternation is lexically determined.

3. Forms a few nouns from indeterminable stems whose meaning
    always indicates the notion 'female'.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

    ixoq 'woman' < -oq (?)

    -ixnaam 'man's sister-in-law' < -naam (?)

    xna7m 'doe' < -na7m (?)

    xtu7x 'female turkey' < -tu7x (?)

    xtan ~ xten 'girl, young woman' < -tan ~ -ten (?)

3) 1. $-V_1-$ enumerative formative

3. Derives enumerative nouns from transitive roots, and from
    roots that are both basically transitive and positional.
    In a few cases, -V- derives enumeratives from positional
    roots that are not also transitive, and in one case it
    derives a non-enumerative noun from a transitive root (see
    section 5.2.3 on enumeratives).

    4.   Semiproductive.

    5.   Examples:

        jurook' 'a scratch' < rok'- RTV 'scratch'

        jub'iiq' 'a drink' < b'iq'- RTV 'drink'

        juchool 'a line' < chol- RTV 'explicate, supplicate'
            and P 'lined up'

        juluub' 'a wet thing' < lub'- P 'wet'

        tzook 'beak' < tzok- RTV 'peck'

4)   1.   -j-...-o7m   <u>deverbal noun formative</u>

    2.   -j-...-o7m ~ -j-...-u7m ~ -V-...-o7m:

        The alternations are lexically determined, the first one
        being the most common.

    3.   Forms verbal nouns from a number of transitive roots, and
        in one case, an abstract noun from an adjective.

    4.   Unproductive.

    5.   Examples:

        tijko7m 'sowing, seeding' < tik- RTV 'sow, seed'

        lojq'o7m 'item bought' < loq'- RTV 'buy'

        ch'aajo7m 'clothes for washing' < ch'aj- RTV 'wash'

        q'ejqu7m 'darkness, obscurity' < q'eq Adj 'black'

    6.   Note that this affix not only derives verbal nouns from
        RTVs, but also IVs (see section 4.2.1).

5)   1.   -aaj   <u>enumerative formative</u>

    3.   Derives enumerative nouns from positional and transitive
        roots (see section 5.2.3 on enumeratives).

    4.   Semiproductive.

    5.   Examples:

        juch'araaj 'a slice of meat or kindling'< ch'ar- RTV
            'cut wood' and P 'hoarse'

        juk'ulaaj 'a pair, couple' < k'ul- P 'married' and
            RTV 'meet'

        jumokaaj 'a bush' < mok- P 'grouped together
            (plants)'

        jusiraaj 'a sphere' < sir- P 'spherical'

    6.   Note that -<u>aaj</u> is also an allomorph of the general noun
        formative -<u>VVj</u> (see affix 22).

6)   1.   -at   <u>noun formative</u>

      3.   Derives a few nouns from various monosyllabic roots.

      4.   Unproductive.

      5.   Examples:

            k'aqat 'itch' < k'aq- RTV 'shoot'

            q'ab'at 'oar' < q'ab'- N 'hand'

            tz'aqat 'completion, adjustment' < tz'aq- RTV 'do'
                  (archaic)

      6.   Cp. the intransitivizer -<u>at</u> in section 4.2.1.

7)   1.   -b'al   <u>locative/instrumental</u>

      2.   -b'al ~ -Vb'al:

            The first form occurs after vowel-final stems; both forms
            occur after consonant-final stems, and when the second
            form occurs, the <u>V</u> is not predictable; the first form is
            more common.

      3.   Derives locative and instrumental nouns from verbs, and
            from positional roots and adjectives, and rarely from
            other nouns.

      4.   Semiproductive to productive.

      5.   Examples:

            mu7xb'al 'bath tub, bathing place' < mu7x- IV
                  'bathe'

            wa7b'al 'eating place' < wa7- IV 'eat'

            okb'al 'entrance' < ook- IV 'enter'

            elab'al 'exit' < eel- IV 'leave'

            tz'atb'al 'thing/place for viewing' < tz'at- RTV
                  'see'

            kemb'al 'weaving instrument' < kem- RTV 'weave'

            qumub'al 'thing for drinking' < qum- RTV 'drink'

            k'ayib'al ~ k'ayb'al 'market' < k'aayi- DTJ 'sell'
                  and k'aay- N 'sale'

            tzijob'al 'language, talk' < tzijo- DTJ 'speak'

            tz'ub'ulb'al 'seat' < tz'ub'uli P Adj 'be seated'

            charab'al 'dragging place' < char- P 'hanging down'

            tee7b'al 'stepmother' < tee7- N 'mother'

            tata7b'al 'stepfather' < tata7- N 'father'

6. Note that with a few forms in -b'al, when they are pos-
    sessed, an epenthetic (underlying?) vowel occurs between
    the stem and the suffix (e.g. ntz'ub'uliib'aal 'my seat' <
    tz'ub'ulb'al).

8) 1. $-C_1V_1C_2$ <u>noun formative</u>
    3. Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
    4. Unproductive.
    5. Examples:
        mutzmutz 'drizzle' < mutz- (?)
        litzlitz 'sparrow hawk' < litz- (?)
        q'atq'at 'step, rung' < q'at- RTV 'go across, over'

9) 1. -eel   <u>absolute agentive</u>
    2. -eel ~ -aal ~ -iil:
        The latter two alternants only occur in one form each, the
        former in hundreds.
    3. Derives agentive nouns from intransitive verb stems, espe-
        cially including absolutive intransitives from transitive
        verbs (in -oon ~ -Vn; see section 4.2.1).
    4. Productive.
    5. b'ijneel 'walker' < b'ijn- IV 'walk'
        atiineel 'swimmer' < atiin- IV 'swim'
        waraal 'sleepy head, one who sleeps too much' < war- IV
            'sleep'
        wa7iil 'glutton' < wa7- IV 'eat'
        ch'eyooneel 'hitter, beater' < ch'eyoon- IV < ch'ey- RTV
            'hit'
        tz'atooneel 'looker, seer' < tz'atoon- IV < tz'at- RTV
            'see, look'
        kunaaneel 'curer' < kunaan- IV < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
        kamsaneel 'killer' < kamsaan- IV < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
    6. With a few forms, the characterizer prefix aj- may be
        added along with -eel (e.g. ajsamajeel 'worker' < samaj-
        IV 'work'). Note that -eel is also an allomorph of the
        general noun formative -VVl (see affix 24).

10)   1.   -eem   <u>intransitive infinitive marker</u>

2.   -eem ~ -neem ~ -aam ~ -naam ~ -iim:
-<u>neem</u> occurs after stems ending in glottal stop; the last
three alternants occur in only one form each; the first
form occurs in hundreds.

3.   Derives verbal nouns or infinitives from intransitive verb
stems, and from a handful of the most common positional
adjectives (see sections 4.1.5.1 and 6.2).

4.   Productive (with IVs only).

5.   Examples:

b'ijneem   'to walk' < b'ijn- IV 'walk'

yawajeem   'to get sick' < yawaj- IV 'get sick'

samajeem   'to work' < samaj- IV 'work'

tare7neem   'to go with' < tare7- IV 'go with'

waraam   'to sleep' < war- IV 'sleep'

wa7iim   'to eat' < wa7- IV 'eat'

b'eenaam   'to go' < b'e- IV 'go'

tz'ub'uleem   'to be seated' < tz'ubuli P Adj 'be
    seated'

pa7leem   'to be standing' < pa7li P Adj 'be standing'

ch'eyooneem   'to hit' < ch'eyoon- IV 'hit' < ch'ey-
    RTV 'hit'

kunaaneem   'to cure' < kunaan- IV 'cure' < kuuna- DTJ
    'cure'

6.   N.B.: verbal nouns in -<u>eem</u> are never possessed.

11)   1.   -ik   <u>passive infinitive marker</u>

3.   Derives verbal nouns or infinitives from the intransitive
passive stems of transitive verbs; also derives infini-
tives from a couple of other (nonpassive) intransitive
verbs (see section 4.1.5.1).

4.   Productive (as passive infinitive marker only).

5.   Examples:

ch'ejyik   'to be hit' < ch'ejy- 'be hit' < ch'ey- RTV
    'hit'

b'ajnik   'to be done, made' < b'ajn- 'be done, made'
    < b'an- RTV 'do, make'

kunaxik   'to be cured' < kunax- 'be cured' < kuuna-
        DTJ 'cure'
kamsaxik   'to be killed' < kamsax- 'be killed'
        < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
b'irib'a7xik   'to be shaken' < b'irb'a7x-   'be
        shaken' < b'irib'a7- DT7 'shake'
yawajik   'to get sick' < yawaj- IV 'get sick'
kamik   'to die' < kam- IV 'die'

6.   Verbal nouns in -ik may be possessed, and the possessive
     prefix indicates the patient of the verb (e.g. nch'ejyiik
     'my being hit (= to hit me)', rkunaxiik 'her being cured
     (= to cure her)', nkamiik 'my dying, death').

12)   1.   -n   active infinitive marker of DTVs
      3.   Derives active infinitives from derived transitive verbs.
           These infinitives must always be followed by an indefinite
           patient noun (see section 4.1.5.1).
      4.   Productive.
      5.   Examples:
               kamsan winaq   'to kill people' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
               kunan winaq   'to cure people' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
               b'irib'a7n winaq   'to shake people' < b'irib'a7- DT7
                   'shake'

13)   1.   -ooj   active infinitive marker of RTVs
      2.   -ooj ~ -uuj:
           The latter form only occurs after root vowel u, otherwise
           the former.
      3.   Derives active infinitives from root transitive verbs (see
           section 4.1.5.1).
      4.   Productive.
      5.   Examples:
               ch'eyooj   'to hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
               b'anooj   'to do, make' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'
               tz'atooj   'to see, look at' < tz'at- RTV 'see, look
                   at'
               silooj   'to move' < sil- RTV 'move'
               muquuj   'to bury' < muq- RTV 'bury'

6. Verbal nouns in -ooj are never possessed; however, indefi-
   nite patients may follow them (e.g. ch'eyoj winaq 'to hit
   people', b'anoj jaay 'to make houses'). Note that -ooj is
   also an allomorph of the general noun formative -VVj (see
   affix 22).

14) 1. -ool   active agentive

    2. -ool ~ -ol ~ -uul ~ -ul ~ -l:
       The alternant -l occurs after derived transitive stems;
       the alternants in u occur only after root vowel u. Alter-
       nants with short vowels occur before indefinite nouns.
       Alternants with long vowels occur only when an indefinite
       noun does not follow, which can only be if the prefix aj-
       is also attached to the base stem (see affix 3).

    3. Derives agentive nouns from transitive verb stems.
       Normally, these agentive nouns require that an indefinite
       patient follow them; however, a few of them may occur
       without a following patient, but only if the prefix aj- is
       also attached to the verb base.

    4. Productive (only forms without aj-).

    5. Examples:
             ch'eyol winaq 'hitter of people' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
             b'anol jaay 'maker of houses' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'
             loq'ol jaay 'buyer of houses' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
             ajloq'ool 'buyer'
             chanol uleep 'worker of land' < chan- RTV 'till,
                 work with a hoe'
             ajchanool 'peasant'
             muqul kamnaq 'burier of (the) dead' < muq- RTV
                 'bury'
             kunal winaq 'curer of people' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
             kamsal winaq 'killer of people' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
             q'ijlo71 winaq 'visitor of people' < q'ijla7- DT7
                 'visit'

    6. Forms in -ool may be followed by the relational noun
       -Vxiin 'of, for', indicating an anaphoric patient, instead
       of an overt noun patient (e.g. ch'eyol rxiin 'hitter of

her/him/it', <u>ch'eyol</u> <u>wxiin</u> 'hitter of me'). In Santiago,
there is also a form -<u>oy</u>, which is functionally identical
to -<u>ool</u> (e.g. <u>ch'yoy</u> <u>wnaq</u> 'hitter of people' (SA)).

15) 1.   -oom   <u>noun formative</u>

2.   -oom ~ -oon:
The alternation is lexically determined but the latter
form is rare, occurring only in a couple of forms.

3.   Forms a dozen or so nouns from various roots and stems.
-<u>oom</u> also forms absolutive nouns of noun class S3 (see
section 5.1.2 and examples therein).

4.   Unproductive.

5.   Examples:
        alaq'oom 'thief' < alaq' N 'theft'
        ajnoom 'fugitive' < ajn- IV 'be in a hurry'
        q'ojoom 'marimba' < q'oj- (?)
        aq'oom 'medicine' < aq'- (?)
        kamsoon 'assassin' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'

16) 1.   -tal   <u>noun formative</u>

3.   Forms one noun from a transitive verb root.

4.   Unproductive.

5.   Example:
        chantal 'work done for another person' < chan- RTV
                 'work with a hoe, cultivate'

6.   Note than -<u>tal</u> normally derives adjectives (see section
6.4).

17) 1.   -V7   <u>noun formative</u>

2.   -a7 ~ -o7 ~ -u7:
The alternations are lexically determined.

3.   Forms a dozen or so nouns from monosyllabic roots.

4.   Unproductive.

5.   Examples:
        k'ala7 'string holding warp onto loom' < k'al- RTV
                 'tie' and P 'tied'
        kemo7 'wooden blade used in weaving' < kem- RTV
                 'weave'
        tz'alu7 'a plant' < tz'al- (?)

18)   1.   -VV7   <u>noun formative</u>
      2.   -aa7 ~ -ee7 ~ -ii7 ~ -oo7 ~ -uu7:
           The alternations are lexically determined.
      3.   Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
      4.   Unproductive.
      5.   Examples:
                -aanaa7 'man's sister' < -aan (?)
                alii7 'woman's sister-in-law, daughter-in-law'
                      < -aal 'woman's child'
                saasee7 'liver' < saas- (?)
                B'ookoo7 'Chimaltenango' < b'ook- (?)
                naatuu7 'shadow of person' < naat- (?)

19)   1.   -Vb'   <u>noun formative</u>
      2.   -ab' ~ -aab' ~ -eb' ~ -ob':
           The alternants are lexically determined.
      3.   Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
      4.   Unproductive.
      5.   Examples:
                jichab' ~ jicheb' 'comb' < jich- (?)
                tzorob' 'a vine' < tzor- (?)
                piixaab' 'counciling' < piix- (?)
      6.   The affixes 17, 18, and 19 are probably all etymologically
           related, going back to an old Mayan instrumental suffix
           *-(<u>V</u>)<u>Vb'</u>. The instrumental/locative suffix -(<u>V</u>)<u>b'al</u>
           (affix 7), in contemporary Tzutujil, also goes back to
           *-(<u>V</u>)<u>Vb'</u> with the addition of the noun formative -<u>al</u>.

20)   1. $-V_1C_2$ <u>noun formative</u>
      3.   Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
      4.   Unproductive.
      5.   Examples:
                poqoq 'dust' < poq- (?)
                ch'upup 'tule' < ch'up- RTV 'pick fruits and vegeta-
                      bles'
                tzok'ok' 'tostada' < tzok'- P 'be left on top of;
                      crunchy'

21) 1. -Vj   <u>noun formative</u>

     2. -aj ~ -oj ~ -uj:

         The alternation is lexically determined.

     3. Forms about a dozen nouns from monosyllabic roots.

     4. Unproductive.

     5. Examples:

         sik'aj 'apozote plant' < sik'- RTV 'pick up'

         soochoj 'rattlesnake' < sooch N 'rattle'

         tz'utuj 'flower of corn' < tz'ut- (?)

                [N.B.: the name 'Tzutujil' comes from this word with

                the addition of the noun formative -<u>iil</u>:

                Tz'utujiil.]

22) 1. -VVj   <u>general noun formative</u>

     2. -aaj ~ -eej ~ -iij ~ -ooj:

         The particular vowel is lexically determined; forms in <u>a</u>

         and <u>o</u> are the most common.

     3. Derives nouns from various roots and stems. Also forms

         absolutive nouns of noun class S3 (see 5.1.2 on noun pos-

         session and examples therein).

     4. Semiproductive to productive.

     5. Examples:

                ka7aaj 'small thatched roof house or shelter' < ka7-

                    (?)

                b'oolaaj 'log' < b'ol- P 'cylindrical'

                cho7keej 'cramp' < cho7k- (?)

                k'exooj 'cotton' < k'ex- (?) RTV 'exchange,

                    substitute'

                chanooj 'cultivated land' < chan- RTV 'till, work

                    with a hoe'

                wa7iijaal 'hunger' < wa7- IV 'eat', -iij, -aal N

                    formative

     6. Note than -<u>ooj</u> is also the active infinitive marker on

         RTVs (see affix 13), and that -<u>aaj</u> is an enumerative for-

         mative (see affix 5).

23) 1. -Vjl   <u>noun formative</u>

2. -ajl ~ -ujl:

The alternants are lexically determined.

3. Forms a handful of nouns from monosyllabic roots.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples"

xakajl 'crotch' < xak- P 'for the legs to be spread'

saq'ujl 'banana' < saq'- (?)

24) 1. -VV1   <u>general noun formative</u>

2. -aal ~ -eel ~ -iil ~ -ool ~ -uul:

The alternants are lexically determined.

3. Derives nouns from various roots and stems. Derives ab-
stract nouns from adjectives and nouns. Note that
abstract nouns, with only a few exceptions, must be
possessed (see sections 5.1.3 and 6.1.1). Also, marks
nouns as being abnormally possessed (see section 5.1.2.2
and examples therein).

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

k'asleemaal 'life' < k'as- P 'alive, awake', -eem
infinitive

tz'uumaal 'skin' < tz'uum N 'leather, hide'

rq'eqaal 'blackness' < q'eq Adj 'black'

kamnaqeel 'person who has been dead for some time'<
kamnaq 'dead'

k'uleel 'enemy' < k'ul- RTV 'encounter' and P
'married'

yaab'iil 'illness' < yaab'- (~ yaw-) 'sick'

muuniil 'delicacy' < muun N 'glutton'

(r)saqiil 'whiteness, clarity' < saq Adj 'white,
clear'

rtziijool 'announcement, saying' < tziij N 'word'

ch'aakuul 'flesh, muscle' < ch'aak N 'boneless
meat'

rteewuul 'cold(ness)' < teep //teew// N and Adj
'cold'

6. Note that -eel forms absolutive agentives (affix 9), and
    -ool forms active agentives (affix 14).

25) 1. -V7l   noun formative

2. -a7l ~ -e7l~ -o7l ~ -u7l:
    The alternations are lexically determined.

3. Forms nouns from various roots, mostly monosyllabic.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

    ajtaq'aja7l 'person from the Pacific coastal plain'
         < aj- characterizer, taq'aaj N 'coast, plain'
    b'oose7l 'popcorn' < b'o7s- IV 'crack apart'
    ch'ijmo7l 'cinco negritos plant' < ch'ijm- (?)
    muchu7l 'sliver' < much- RTV 'break into pieces'

26) 1. -Vn   noun formative

2. -an ~ -in ~ -on ~ -un:
    The alternation is lexically determined.

3. Forms nouns from a few monosyllabic roots.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

    awan 'cornfield' < aw- [verb root in awab'exik 'to
        replant']
    pujtzin 'toad' < pujtz- (?)
    tz'okon 'cucuyu plant' < tz'ok- (?)
    tz'unun 'hummingbird' < tz'un- (?) [root in several
        verbs]

27) 1. -V7n   noun formative

2. -a7n ~ -e7n ~ -o7n:
    The alternations are lexically determined.

3. Forms a few nouns from various roots and stems.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

    ijqa7n 'load' < ijq- root of ijqaxik 'to carry on
        the back'
    ijqale7n 'post, charge, duty' < ijqaal N 'carrier
        of'
    ch'alo7n 'chicken without feathers on neck' < ch'al-
        (?)

28)   1.   -Vq   <u>noun formative</u>

        2.   -aq ~ -a7q:

                The alternation is lexically determined.

        3.   Forms a few nouns from various monosyllabic roots.

        4.   Unproductive.

        5.   Examples:

                        ch'ab'aq 'mud' < ch'ab'- [root of various verb

                                forms]

                        rnima7qiil 'superior(s)' < r- A3, nim Adj 'big',

                                -iil N formative

29)   1.   -V7y   <u>noun formative</u>

        2.   -a7y ~ -e7y ~ -o7y ~ -u7y:

                The alternation is lexically determined.

        3.   Forms a dozen or so nouns from monosyllabic roots.

        4.   Unproductive.

        5.   Examples:

                        xik'a7y 'leafless branches or sticks' < xik'- (?)

                        ch'are7y 'screamer' < ch'ar- P 'raucous'

                        sato7y 'rolled cloth put on head to carry things on'

                                < set- P 'discoid, coiled up'

                        tzub'u7y 'hard swelling' < tzub'- P 'piled up in

                                conical shape'

5.3.2 Nominal Compounds

Perhaps the most productive process in Tzutujil for forming new
nominal lexical items is compounding. There are hundreds, if not thou-
sands, of already existing (i.e. lexicalized) nominal compounds. Also,
the process is used on a day-to-day basis to form ad hoc or novel nominal
compounds that may or may not ever become established or lexicalized
(much like spur-of-the-moment nominal compounds in English or German; see
Zimmer 1971).

Morphologically, there are two basically different kinds of nominal
compounds: simple and phrasal. <u>Simple compounds</u> are composed of two or
more roots or stems, which are joined or fused together forming a single
word. Sometimes in simple compounds there are minor alternations in the

forms of the component parts, such as loss of a segment, and sometimes
there may be a connecting element, such as a vowel, inserted between the
components. Phrasal compounds, on the other hand, are composed of two or
more words that function together as a single lexical unit but that con-
tinue to function morphologically as individual words. The formation of
phrasal compounds in Tzutujil is productive, but the formation of simple
compounds is not. Rather, it seems that simple compounds are one (possi-
ble) historical result of the productive process of phrasal compounding.
In other words, once a phrasal compound has become established as a lexi-
cal item, then through time the component words become more and more
fused together and eventually lose their individuality. To exemplify the
distinction between simple and phrasal compounds, compare the two sets of
compounds below.

Simple Compounds

    rexkaab' 'honey' < rex Adj 'green', kaab' N 'sweet (edible thing
        such as honey, unrefined sugar, candy)'
    nrexkaab' 'my honey'
    smaachii7 'beard' < smaal N 'hair', chii7 N 'mouth'
    nsmaachii7 'my beard'

Phrasal Compounds

    rex kinaq' 'green beans' < rex Adj 'green', kinaq' N 'beans'
    rex nkiinaaq' 'my green beans'
    smal wii7aaj 'head hair' < smaal N 'hair', wii7aaj N 'head'
    smal nwi7 'my head hair'

With the simple compounds above, the possessive prefix, n- (A1), is at-
tached at the beginning of each compound, whereas with the phrasal com-
pounds it is attached to the second word, clearly indicating that the
components of the phrasal compounds have not been fused together. Also,
in the simple compound smaachii7, the final 1 of the component smaal has
been lost in fusing with chii7. It seems likely that simple compounds,
like those above, were once treated like the phrasal compounds but now
are treated like simple individual words. There is synchronic evidence
for this in that a few compounds are treated in both ways. For example,

rchaq ch'ooy 'chiltepe chile' (< r- A3, achaq 'ass, shit', ch'ooy 'mon-
key'), has two possessed forms rchaq nuuch'ooy varying with nrchaqch'ooy
'my chiltepe'. It seems that this form is on its way to becoming a
simple compound.

The most common types of simple nominal compounds are of the forms:
Adjective + Noun, Noun + Noun, and Number + Enumerative Noun, but there
are also others. Some examples of simple nominal compounds are given
below.

Adj + N

    saq'iij 'summer' < saq 'white, clear', q'iij 'day, sun'

    saqche7 'cane for holding thatch' < saq 'white', chee7 'tree,
       stick'

    nmaaq'a7 ~ nimaaq'a7 'dawn' < nim 'big', aaq'a7 'night'

    nmaq'iij 'festival' < nim 'big', -a Adj suf, q'iij 'day'

N + N

    spojqul 'goiter' < spoj 'swelling', qul 'throat, neck'

    tapq'iij 'albino' < tap 'crab', q'iij 'day, sun'

    q'or7aj 'thick drink of corn flour' < q'or 'thick drink', aj
       'corn ear'

    saliichee7 'Jiote tree' (a tree with peeling bark) < saal
       'mange', -ii connector, chee7 'tree'

Number + Enumerative

    jutiij 'once' < ju(un) 'one', -tiij 'time'

    juromaaj 'a piece of music' < ju(un) 'one', -romaaj 'piece of
       music'

    jub'oot 'a roll of fabric' < ju(un) 'one', -b'oot 'roll of
       fabric'

N + Adj

    q'aq'ateep 'chills' < q'aaq' 'fire', -a connector, teep 'cold'

Adj + RTV/P

    saqb'ach 'hailstone' < saq 'white', b'ach- RTV 'squeeze' and P
       'squeezed'

Adj + Adj

    rexteep 'chills' < rex 'green', teep 'cold'

Adj + P

saqmuqumuj 'daybreak' < saq 'white', muq- P 'cloudy', $-V_1C_1oj$ suf

With regard to internal composition, there are four main types of
phrasal compounds:

(1) a modifying adjective followed by a head noun (e.g. saqa kaab'
    'stingless bee'· < saq 'white', -a Adj suf, kaab' 'sweet, bee');
(2) a head noun followed by a restricting noun (e.g. rwi7 jaay
    'roof (= top of house)' < rwi7 'its head/top', jaay 'house);
(3) a restricting noun preceding a head noun (e.g. q'ayis chikop
    'moth' < q'aayiis 'weed, herb', chikop 'animal');
(4) two juxtaposed head nouns (e.g. ati7t mama7 'grandparent(s)'
    < ati7t 'grandmother', mama7 'grandfather').

The first two types of constructions are fully productive and are used to
form novel phrasal compounds at will. The third type is not as common as
the first two, but it seems to be at least semiproductive. The fourth
type is rare and is not productive.

Most phrasal compounds of type (2), with a head noun followed by a
restricting noun, are of the inflectional class S of S (discussed in
5.1.2.3), where the head noun is possessed by the following restricting
noun (see example above and those in 5.1.2.3). However, there are many
type (2) phrasal compounds where the head noun is not possessed by the
following noun; these are especially common (although not restricted to)
constructions with a deverbal noun as head followed by a restricting noun
(e.g. ramol chee7 'wood cutter (= cutter of wood)' < ramol 'cutter' (<
ram- RTV 'cut with an axe', -ol agentive), chee7 'wood, tree'). Type (4)
phrasal compounds are all of the SS inflectional class.

More examples of the four main types of phrasal compounds are given
below, as well as a few idiosyncratic formations. It should be noted
that established or lexicalized phrasal compounds are often idiomatic in
that their meanings are not predictable from their component parts. Also
note that long vowels (if any) of all but the last component of a phrasal
compound are usually (but not always) shortened. Vowel shortening seems
to be a function of two factors: first, of the lexicalization process
itself, and second, of the tendency to shorten vowels before anything but
definite noun phrases (see rule 23 in section 1.6.2).

Adj + Head Noun

k'olok'ik xaq   'dirt clod' < k'olok'ik   'spherical', xaq   'clay'

k'olok'ik sanayi7   'pumice' < k'olok'ik   'spherical', sanayi7
    'sand'

q'an riij   'ripe corn ear' < q'an   'yellow, ripe', riij   'its back'

Kaqa Siiwaan   'Quicasiguán Hill'   kaq   'red', -a   Adj suf, siiwaan
    'canyon'

Saqa K'axool   'Witch of the Indians (of the Dance of the Conquest)'
        saq   'white', -a   Adj suf, k'axool   'substitute'

Head Noun + Restricting Noun

sanik ajxiik   'flying ant' < sanik   'ant', ajxiik'   'winged one'

sachol paq   'squanderer' < sachol   'spender', paq   'money'

k'olol paq   'treasurer' < k'olol   'guarder', paq   'money'

q'axal wuuj   'mailman' < q'axal   'passer', wuuj   'paper, letter'

q'axal tziij   'translator' < q'axal   'passer', tziij   'word'

q'atb'al tziij   'townhall' < q'atb'al   'place of cutting, crossing',
    tziij   'word'

q'atol tziij   'authority' < q'atol   'cutter, crosser', tziij   'word'

rb'ey ch'ijch'   'highway' < ruub'eey   'its road', ch'ijch'   'car'

rq'a7 chee7   'branch' < ruuq'a7   'its hand', chee7   'tree'

rxe7 chee7   'root' < ruuxee7   'its root, base', chee7   'tree'

rejtal aqanaaj   'footprint' < rejtal   'its sign', aqanaaj   'foot'

rwa xaan   'wall' < rwach   'its face, surface', xaan   'adobe'

(r)chi7 jaay   'door, corridor' < ruuchii7   'its mouth, edge', jaay
    'house'

ruutee7 ajsaroom   'hoe callus' < ruutee7   'its mother', ajsaroom
    'hoe'

Restricting Noun + Head Noun

q'ola k'im   'grass, lawn' < q'ool   'turpentine', -a   connector, k'im
    'straw'

ajtij mooso   'teacher' < ajtiij   'student', mooso   'Ladino (= non-
    Indian)'

sanayi7 uleep   'sandy soil' < sanayi7   'sand', uleep   'land, earth,
    soil'

sanik chee7   'ant nest' < sanik   'ant', chee7   'tree'

Head Noun + Head Noun

    -b'aaqiil -b'och'iil 'body' (nb'aaqiil nb'och'iil 'my body')

       < b'aaq 'bone', ib'och' 'nerve, vein'

    iyaaj mamaaj 'grandchild(ren)' (wiij nuumaam 'my grandchild(ren)')

       < (?) -iij 'back', mamaaj 'grandchild'

Restricting Noun + Adj + Head Noun

    sali kaqa k'aam 'a vine' < saal 'mange', -i connector, kaq

       'red', -a Adj suf, k'aam 'chord, string'

Verb + Head Noun + Restricting Noun

    nmulu rwa k'u7x 'nausea' < mul- RTV 'stack up', rwach 'its face,

       surface', k'u7x 'chest'

Head Noun + Restricting Noun + Restricting Noun

    smaal chi7 wachaaj 'eyelash (= hair of edge of eye)' < smaal

       'hair', chii7 'edge, mouth', wachaaj 'eye'

Notes to Chapter 5

1.   The suffix -ee7, similar in form to the two noun-plural suffixes, is used as a plural marker on ja7ee7 'they' (< jaa7 'he/she/it') and julee7 'some' (< ju- 'one', -l- (?)).

2.   Wallace Chafe (personal communication) suggested the term 'prototypical ownership' to me.

3.   The short vowel of the suffix -iil in these forms is due to the fact that they are followed by indefinite possessors. Compare rchikopiil ja chee7 'the wood's animal' and rchikopiil jar iixiim 'the corn's animal'. The vowel of -iil (or -VVl) is always long when the possessed noun is phrase-final (e.g. rchikopiil 'its animal').

6

ADJECTIVES

6.1 GENERAL FEATURES OF ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Tzutujil have two primary functions: (1) to modify nouns, and (2) to act as stative predicates (see section 8.1.3 on stative predicates). These two functions are illustrated in the sentences below with the adjectives <u>chaq'</u> 'ripe' and <u>k'aten</u> 'hot'. In (1a) and (2a) the adjectives function as modifiers, and in (1b) and (2b) they function as stative predicates.

    (1) a.   K'o   jun chaq'(a) laj araanxex.
                exist a   ripe   very orange
                'There's a very ripe orange.'

        b.   Ja wajaache7l   maja7n   qas chaq'.
                the my-white-zapote still-not very ripe
                'My white zapote is still not very ripe.'

    (2) a.   Xintij   k'aten laj q'oor.
                I-took-it hot   very atol (= thick drink)
                'I drank some very hot atol.'

        b.   Qas k'aten ja nuuyaa7.
                very hot   the my-water
                'My water is very hot.'

When adjectives function as modifiers they may precede their head nouns (as in (1a) and (2a) above, and (3b) and (4b) below), but they may also follow head nouns, as <u>k'ay</u> 'bitter' and <u>nimaq</u> 'big (plr)' do in

(3a) and (4a). However, no more than one adjective may precede a head
noun (see the discussion on noun phrases in 8.1.1).

    (3) a.   Jar iixoq ma traajo7   naquun k'ay.
                the woman not B3-A3-like thing bitter
        b.   Jar iixoq ma traajo7   k'ayi naquun.
                the woman not B3-A3-like bitter thing
                'The woman doesn't like bitter things.'
    (4) a.   Jar aachi nuuchoy   chee7 nimaq.
                the man   B3-A3-cut tree big-plr
        b.   Jar aachi nuuchoy   nimaq   taq chee7.
                the man   B3-A3-cut big-plr plr tree
                'The man cuts big trees.'

<h3 align="center">6.1.1 Modifier Connectors</h3>

When monosyllabic adjectives function as modifiers and precede their
head nouns, they are normally followed by a connecting suffix -$\underline{V}$ (i.e. -$\underline{a}$
~ -$\underline{i}$ ~ -$\underline{o}$ ~ -$\underline{u}$). The particular connecting vowel following an adjective
is lexically determined, but the most common one by far is -$\underline{a}$. It should
be noted that this connecting vowel is always unstressed, unlike other
final vowels in Tzutujil, which are always stressed (see rule 9, section
1.3). If the adverbial enclitic particle laj 'very' intervenes between
the adjective and the head noun, then the connecting vowel is occasion-
ally omitted. Note that when the connecting vowel is added to an adjec-
tive with a long vowel, the long vowel is shortened (e.g. tz'iil 'dirty'
plus -$\underline{i}$ > tz'ili). In sentences (5)-(8), the adjectives kaq 'red',
tz'iil 'dirty', looq' 'esteemed', and teep //teew// 'cold' all have con-
necting vowels.

    (5) Inin xinchoy   ja kaqa chee7.
        I   B3-A1-cut the red   tree
        'I cut the red tree.'
    (6) Ja tz'ili (~ tz'iil) laj tzyaq   ch'ab'aq.
        the dirty   very clothes wet
        'The very dirty clothes are wet.'

(7) Ja loq'o   laj winaq xkami.
     the esteemed very person died
     'The highly esteemed person died.'
(8) Inin xina7   ja tew(u) laj ch'ijch'.
     I   B3-Al-felt the cold   very metal
     'I felt the very cold metal.'

The modifier connector suffix -$\underline{V}$ is sometimes also used with monosyllabic
nouns when they function (like adjectives) as restricting nouns (see
5.3.2) and precede their head nouns in phrasal compounds (e.g. q'ola k'im
'grass, lawn' < q'ool 'turpentine', -a connector, k'im 'straw'; k'ama
ya71 'twine bag' < k'aam 'twine', -a connector, ya71 'bag').

       To a certain degree, the adverbial particle laj 'very' also
functions as a modifier connector in that a number of adjectives virtual-
ly require laj to follow them when they modify and precede head nouns
(see examples of laj in (1a), (2a), (6)-(8)). Some adjectives requiring
laj are:

chaq' 'ripe'   looq' esteemed, sacred'
k'aten 'hot'   teep //teew// 'cold'
k'ay 'bitter'   tz'iil 'dirty'

Even many modifying adjectives that do not require laj tend to be used
with it more often than not when they precede head nouns. One reason for
the frequent, and in some cases nearly obligatory, use of laj seems to be
to overtly mark adjectives as modifiers, as opposed to predicates. Laj
never occurs with predicate adjectives, rather the adverbial particle qas
'very, really, a lot' is used with predicate adjectives as an intensi-
fier (see 6.1.4).

6.1.2 Number Agreement

       Most adjectives in Tzutujil are not inflected for number; however,
there are some notable exceptions: (1) The adjective nim 'big' has the
plural form nimaq, which has the plural suffix -aq. (2) The adjective
tino7y 'little, small' has the plural form taqno7y. Tino7y is a compound

built on the diminutive proclitic particle _ti_, which has the plural form
taq, and the otherwise unattested root -_no7y_. (3) The adjective _ko7li_,
also meaning 'small, little', has the plural form _ko7koj_ (~ _kookoj_). The
singular form is formally a stative positional adjective (see 6.2) built
on the positional root _ko7_ 'small, little' plus the stative positional
adjective suffix -$(\underline{V})\underline{l}$ and the phrase-final suffix -_i_; the plural form is
built on the root _ko7_ plus the derivational suffix -$(\underline{V}_1)\underline{C}_1\underline{oj}$. Both the
singular and plural forms are commonly used in conjunction with the
diminutive proclitics: _ti ko7li_ and _taq ko7koj_. And (4), most charac-
terizing positional adjectives (see 6.2) formed from positional roots
with the suffix -$(\underline{V}_1)\underline{C}_1\underline{ik}$ have plural forms in -_aq_, where -_aq_ replaces
-_ik_ (e.g. _pa7pik_ 'standing' > _pa7paq_ plr; _ch'anach'ik_ 'naked' >
ch'anach'aq plr; _wuluwik_ 'ovoid' > _wuluwaq_ plr; _sirisik_ 'spherical' >
sirisaq plr). Compare the example sentences below in (9) and (10). Note
that since the adjectives modify inanimate nouns in these sentences the
only overt marking of plurality occurs on the adjectives, not on the
nouns or verbs.

(9) a.   Xchojyi   ja   nim chee7.
        B3-was-cut the big tree
        'The big tree was cut (down).'

b.   Xchojyi   ja   nimaq   chee7.
        B3-was-cut the big-plr tree
        'The big trees were cut down.'

(10) a.   Ja   wuluwik sanayi7 xinrpajsaaj.
        the ovoid   sand   it-made-me-fall
        'The ovoid sand (= pumice) made me fall down.'

b.   Ma xa   ko7   chi wuluwaq   xaq pa b'eey.
        not only little of ovoid-plr clay in road
        'There's a lot of ovoid clay in the road.'

6.1.3 Derivational Paradigms of Adjectives

Most adjectives (excluding positional adjectives discussed in 6.2)
have a paradigmatic set of forms derived from them. The derivational
paradigms of adjectives consist of: (1) an abstract noun derived with

the noun-formative suffix -VV1 (N.B.: most abstract nouns are obligato-
rily possessed with one of the ergative possessive prefixes; citation
forms are in r- A3); (2) an <u>inchoative intransitive verb</u> meaning to get/
become the quality indicated by the adjective (inchoative verbs are
usually formed with the intransitivizing suffix -Vr, or occasionally with
the intransitivizing suffix -Vj ~ -V7j, see 4.2.1); (3) a <u>causative tran-
sitive verb</u> meaning to make/cause something to get/become the quality
indicated by the adjective (causative verbs are built on the inchoative
verb stem with the causative suffix -sa, or occasionally with -ti-sa;
(N.B.: if the inchoative verb is formed with -V(7)j, then -Vr is added
to the inchoative stem before the causative suffix is added; see 4.2.2).
Some derivational paradigms of adjectives are provided below. Note that
some adjectives may have more than one abstract noun, inchoative verb, or
causative verb.

```
    kaq   'red'
        rkaqaal ~ rkaqiil   'redness'
        kaqareem ~ kaqireem   'to redden'
        kaqarsaxik ~ kaqirsaxik   'to make redden'
    teep //teew//  'cold'
        rteewuul  'cold(ness)'
        tewureem  'to get cold, freeze'
        tewursaxik  'to make cold, make freeze'
    chaq'  'ripe, mature, fat, cooked'
        rchaq'aal  'maturity, ripeness, fat(tiness), cookedness'
        rchaq'a7jiil  'maturity, ripeness'
        chaq'a7jeem  'to ripen, mature'
        chaq'ajarsaxik  'to make ripen, mature'
     saq  'white, clear'
        (r)saqiil  'whiteness, clarity'
        saqireem  'to whiten'
        saqareem  'to become clear; dawn'
        saqirsaxik  'to make whiten, make clear'
```

If an adjective has both a singular and a plural form, then usually
both forms have derivational paradigms. Compare the examples below.

nim   'big'
  rnimiil 'bigness, greatness'
  rnimaaluul 'bigness, greatness; superior part; chosen thing'
  nimareem 'for a singular object to get bigger, increase'
  nimar(ti)saxik 'to make a singular object get bigger,
    increase'
nimaq   'big' plr
  rnima7qiil ~ rnima7quul 'greatness, bigness; chosen, superior,
    or major thing'
  nimaqireem 'for plural objects to get bigger, increase'
  nimaqirsaxik 'to make plural objects get bigger, increase'
tino7y 'small, little'
  rtino7yaal 'smallness'
  tino7yareem ~ tino7yireem 'for a singular object to get
    smaller, diminish'
  tino7yarsaxik ~ tino7yirsaxik 'to make a singular object get
    smaller, diminish'
taqno7y 'small, little' plr
  [no abstract noun]
  taqno7yir- 'for plural objects to get smaller, diminish'
  taqno7yirsa- 'to make plural objects get smaller, diminish'

6.1.4 Predicate Adjective Inflections

When adjectives function as stative predicates, that is as predicate
adjectives, they are inflected for subject with the proclitic absolutive
person markers (see section 8.1.3 on stative predicates, and section 3.1
on the absolutive person markers). Stative positional adjectives (see
6.2) and adjectives derived with the suffix -tal (see 6.3.1), also re-
quire the phrase-final suffix -i (N.B.: -i normally only occurs on
intransitive verbs in the nonperfect; see section 4.1.2.2). If an

adjective has a plural form, then it is used in the plural persons.
Compare the person paradigms of the predicate adjectives below.

<u>utz 'good'</u>

     in utz   'I am good'

     at utz   'you are good'

     utz   'he/she/it is good'

     oq utz   'we are good'

     ix utz   'you all are good'

     e7 utz   'they are good'

<u>pa7li 'standing' stative positional adj with -i</u>

     in pa7li 'I am standing'

     at pa7li 'you are standing'

     pa7li   'she/she/it is standing'

     oq pa7li 'we are standing'

     ix pa7li 'you all are standing'

     ee pa7li 'they are standing'

<u>ojtaqitali 'famous, well known' adj in -tal with -i</u>

     in ojtaqitali   'I am famous'

     at ojtaqitali   'you are famous'

     ojtaqitali   'he/she/it is famous'

     oq ojtaqitali   'we are famous'

     ix ojtaqitali   'you all are famous'

     e7 ojtaqitali   'they are famous'

<u>nim 'big' with plural form nimaq</u>

     in nim   'I am big'

     at nim   'you are big'

     nim   'he/she/it is big'

     oq nimaq   'we are big'

     ix nimaq   'you all are big'

     ee nimaq   'they are big'

If an adjective is a compound formed with the diminutive proclitic parti-
cle <u>ti</u> (<u>taq</u> plr) plus some other stem, then the plural form of the dimin-
utive is used in the plural persons.

<u>ti utz 'pretty' < ti diminutive, utz   'good'</u>

    in ti utz   'I am pretty'

    at ti utz   'you are pretty'

    ti utz   'he/she/it is pretty'

    oq taq utz 'we are pretty'

    ix taq utz 'you all are pretty'

    ee taq utz 'they are pretty'

Predicate adjectives (perhaps with the exception of stative positional adjectives) very often occur with the adverbial particle <u>qas</u> 'very, really, a lot'; e.g.

    qas at utz 'you are very good'

    qas at ojtaqitali 'you are really famous'

    qas at nim 'you are really big'

    qas at ti utz 'you are really pretty'

The frequent (although not obligatory) use of <u>qas</u> with predicate adjectives seems to be to unambiguously mark adjectives as predicates, as opposed to modifiers. <u>Qas</u> only occurs with predicates in Tzutujil, never with modifiers. That <u>qas</u> is not used frequently with stative positional adjectives as with other predicate adjectives is probably due to the fact that stative positional adjectives normally occur as predicates and only occasionally, or rarely, are used as modifiers.

6.1.5 Adjectives as Nouns and Adverbs

In Tzutujil, there are a fairly large number of words that are lexically both adjectives and nouns, since they display morphological and syntactic characteristics of both word classes. Some common examples are:

    meem 'mute'

    mooy 'blind (one)'

    ri7j 'old (one)'

```
b'eyoom   'rich (one)'
meeb'aa7  'poor; orphan'
xu7y 'stingy (one)'
tz'iil 'dirty; filth'
b'olob'ik  'cylindrical; log'
```

Compare sentences (11)-(14) in which meem, mooy, tz'iil, and b'olob'ik
appear. In the (a) sentences these words function as adjectives, but in
the (b) sentences they function as nouns.

(11) a.   Xuuli ja meem laj naan.
            left the mute very Señora
            'The very mute Señora left.'

      b.   Qas ch'u7j   ja meem.
            very mischievous the mute
            'The mute is very mischievous.'

(12) a.   Xb'e ja moy   laj aachi.
            went the blind very man
            'The very blind man went.'

      b.   Ja ti   mooy   xpa7ji.
            the little blind-one fell
            'The little blind one fell down.'

(13) a.   Ja tz'ili laj tzyaq   xinch'aj.
            the dirty very clothes B3-A1-washed
            'I washed the very dirty clothes.'

      b.   Jar iixoq anij   ma tuuch'aj   ja tz'iil ch palaj.
            the woman always not B3-A3-wash the filth   on face
            'The woman never washes the filth off of her face.'

(14) a.   B'olob'a7 eel ja b'olob'ik   chee7 pa siiwaan.
            rolled   away the cylindrical wood in canyon
            'The cylindrical wood (= log) rolled away into the
                 canyon.'

      b.   Ja b'olob'aq qas   nkatz'iini.
            the logs   really B3-serve
            'The logs really serve (= are useful).'
```

Many words that are both adjectives and nouns have full morpho-
logical paradigms in both word classes.  For example, mooy 'blind (one)'
may be possessed like a noun: nuumooy 'my blind one', and it has a nomi-
nal plural form: mooyaa7 'blind ones'.  But it also has a typical adjec-
tival derivational paradigm with an abstract noun: rmooyiil ~ rmooyaal
'blindness'; an inchoative intransitive verb: moyireem 'to become
blind'; and a causative transitive verb: moyirsaxik  'to make blind'.

A few adjectives also function as adverbs; for example, utz 'good'
in (15) and chatachik 'in bundles' in (16).

(15)  Xinwaajo7   xinb'an   utz   chee   nmeesa.
      I-wanted-it I-did-it well to-it my-table
      'I wanted to do it well to my table (i.e. build it well).'
(16)  Ja   xkooyaa7 xto7taji        xinb'an   kaan   chatachik chee.
      the tomato    B3-was-left-over I-did-it remain in-bundle to-it
      'I left the tomatoes (plants) which were left over in bundles.'

## 6.2  POSITIONAL ADJECTIVES

There are two kinds of positional adjectives:  (1) stative position-
al adjectives (= stative positionals), and (2) characterizing positional
adjectives (= characterizing positionals).  Both kinds are always derived
from monosyllabic (CVC) positional roots.  In fact, a Tzutujil root is
defined as 'positional' if and only if there is a stative positional
adjective derived from it.

Stative positionals are normally formed with the suffix $-V_1 l$, which
is usually shortened to -l if the positional root ends in a glottal stop,
and which in a few cases is shortened to -l if the root ends in a contin-
uant.  However, if either one of the consonants of the positional root is
l, or if the last consonant of the root is r, then the stative positional
is formed with the dissimilatory suffix -aan, instead of $-V_1 l$ (see the
examples below).  Stative positionals are the most basic lexical form of
positional roots.  They indicate that some entity is for the time being
in the position, state, condition, or form denoted by the root, or that
an entity of the position (state, etc.) is located or exists somewhere.

Stative positionals usually function as predicates, although occasionally they are used as modifying adjectives. Like intransitive verbs in the nonperfect, they require the phrase-final suffix -i (see 4.1.2.2) when they are predicates, and a few of the most common ones have 'infinitives' formed with the verbal noun suffix -eem (see affix 10, section 5.3.1). Thus, stative positionals are a rather unique subcategory of adjectives in that they display a number of verb-like features (i.e. they are normally predicates, they take phrase-final -i, and some have infinitives), but they are clearly not verbs in that they never take the verbal perfect suffixes or the nonperfect tense, aspect, and mode prefixes. Some examples of (the several hundred) stative positional adjectives are presented below in their normal citation forms with phrase-final -i, and in infinitival forms if one exists.

Stative Positional Adjectives

    tz'ub'uli (tz'ub'uleem) 'sitting'
    punuli (punuleem) 'lying'
    kotz'oli (kotz'oleem) 'lying'
    k'awali (k'awaleem) 'lying face up'
    jupuli (jupuleem) 'lying face down'
    jotoli (jotoleem) 'be above'
    pa7li (pa7leem) 'standing'
    k'asli (k'asleem) 'alive; awake'
    ko7li 'little, small'
    tzukuli 'sticking out'
    d'oyoli 'for a soft mass to be located; cuttable'
    wonoli 'bent over'
    seteli 'circular, discoid'
    kotoli 'curved, rounded, sinuous'
    ch'anali ~ sanali 'naked'
    kupuli 'short'
    wukuli 'bent over'
    tikili 'sloping; cultivated'
    jutz'uli 'pointed'
    ch'ukuli 'squatting, shitting'

b'aqali   'torpid, weak'

raqali   'torn'

tzitili   'container-like'

k'ooli   'be located; exist, there is/are; have'
        (this form is irregular; see 5.1.2 and 8.2.4)

siraani   'spherical'

b'oraani   'in bunches; candle-shaped'

k'ulaani   'married'

b'olaani   'cylindrical'

lokaani   'sinuous'

lik'aani   'spread out'

tzalaani   'lying askew, twisted askew'


Examples of stative positionals used as predicates are given in
(17)-(20).  The stative positionals are ch'unuli 'for a soft mass to be
located', chuyuli 'grouped, collected', d'eb'eli 'thick (of liquid)', and
d'uyuli 'squatting'.

(17) Ch'unuli   ja  tii7iij pa pla7t.
     be-located the meat    on plate
     'The meat is located on the plate.'

(18) Ja  juut anij    ee  chuyul  chrij jun saq'ujl.
     the worm always B3p grouped on-it a   banana
     'The worms are always grouped together on a banana.'

(19) D'eb'eli   ja  q'oor chrij ntzyaq.
     be-located the atol  on-it my-clothes
     'The atol is (thick) on my clothes.'

(20) Inin in d'uyuli.
     I    B1 squatting
     'I am squatting.'


Examples of stative positionals used as modifying adjectives are
given in (21) and (22), with cholaani 'lined up' and ko7li 'little,
small'.  At least sometimes, when stative positionals function as modifi-
ers and precede their head nouns, the suffix -ik is used rather than

phrase-final -i. Thus, in (22) ko7li becomes ko7lik preceding its head noun.

(21) Ma xa ko7 chi aab'aj cholaan pa b'eey.
     not only little of rock lined-up in road
     'There's a lot of rock lined-up in (the) road.'
(22) Xintz'at jun ko7lik jaay.
     I-saw-it a small house
     'I saw a small house.'

As noted in section 2.3, there are a fairly large number of mono-syllabic roots in Tzutujil that are basically both positional and transi-tive, and their meanings may (or may not) be related to one degree or another. Compare the monosyllabic roots below. The transitive forms are exemplified with active infinitives in -ooj (~ -uuj), and the positional forms are exemplified with the stative positional adjectives in $-V_1 l \underline{\hspace{0.3em}} \sim$ -aan.

k'ul-      k'uluuj  'to meet, encounter'
           k'ulaani  'married'
jaq-       jaqooj  'to open'
           jaqali  'open'
d'eb'-     d'eb'ooj  'to stain with a thick liquid'
           d'eb'eli  'thick (of liquid)'
b'ol-      b'olooj  'to twine; boil meat'
           b'olaani  'cylindrical'
d'oy-      d'oyooj  'to cut with an axe or machete'
           d'oyoli  'be located (a soft mass); cuttable'
won-       wonooj  'to push with the head'
           wonoli  'bent over'
ket-       ketooj  'to cut with a very sharp machete'
           keteli  'discoid, wheel-shaped'
ch'ik-     ch'ikooj  'to clean land for tilling'
           ch'ikili  'stuck in'
jot-       jotooj  'to raise'
           jotoli  'be above'

ch'an-    ch'anooj   'to spank a naked person'
          ch'anali   'naked'

A few stative adjectives that are formally stative positionals
apparently are formed directly from basically transitive roots, rather
than from positional roots.  Those formed from transitive roots have the
meaning 'easy to be Xed' or 'capable of being Xed', where 'X' indicates
the action denoted by the transitive root.  In other words, these forms
are like adjectives in English derived with the suffix '-able'.  For
example:

choyoli  'cuttable' < choy- RTV 'cut with an axe or machete'
d'oyoli  'cuttable' < d'oy- RTV 'cut with an axe or machete' (but
     not from the positional root d'oy- 'be located (a soft mass)')
jayali  'easy to tear off' < jay- RTV 'tear off branches or leaves'
b'id'ili  'tearable'< b'id'- RTV 'tear into pieces'
b'ichili  'degrainable, easy to remove the grains from'
     < b'ich- RTV 'remove the grains from'

Generally speaking, characterizing positional adjectives (as opposed
to stative positionals) indicate attributes that an entity has charac-
teristically or permanently, and not just the particular state that an
entity happens to be in for the time being (as stative positionals indi-
cate).  Characterizing positionals are formed by reduplicating the vowel
and first consonant of the positional root plus the suffix -ik (i.e.
$-V_1C_1ik$; occasionally after continuants and 7, $-V_1$ is omitted).  Most
characterizing positionals have plural forms in which -ik is replaced by
-aq (i.e. $-V_1C_1aq$).  Some examples are given below with plural forms
given in parentheses.

Characterizing Positional Adjectives
     pa7pik (pa7paq)  'standing, upright'
     punupik (punupaq)  'lying'
     tz'ub'utz'ik (tz'ub'utz'aq)  'sitting'
     b'olob'ik (b'olob'aq)  'cylindrical; log(like)'
     sirisik (sirisaq)  'spherical'

ch'anach'ik (ch'anach'aq)  'naked'

wonowik (wonowaq)  'bent over, hunchbacked'

perepik (perepaq)  'wide and flat'

lik'ilik (lik'ilaq)  'spread out (of fabric)'

setesik (setesaq)  'circular, discoid'

wukuwik (wukuwaq)  'hunchbacked, crooked (of backs)'

Characterizing positionals are commonly used both as modifying adjectives and as predicate adjectives. For example, in (23a) wukuwik 'hunchbacked, crooked (of backs)' functions as a modifier, and in (23b) as a predicate; in (24a) ch'irich'ik 'fat (of stomachs)' functions as a modifier, and in (24b) as a predicate. In (25), d'oyd'ik 'chopped in little pieces (of meat)' is used as a modifier' and in (26) pa7paq, the plural of pa7pik 'standing, upright', is used as a predicate.

(23)  a.  Ja  wukuwik      laj  tz'i7 xinruuti7.
          the hunchbacked very dog   B1-A3-bit
          'The really hunchbacked dog bit me.'

      b.  Wukuwik riij      jar aachi.
          crooked his-back the man
          'The man's back is crooked.'

(24)  a.  At ch'irich'ik paan.
          B2 fat         belly
          'You are a fat belly.'

      b.  Ch'irich'ik aapaan.
          fat         your-belly
          'Your belly is fat.'

(25)  Xinb'ol     jun d'oyd'ik   tii7iij.
      I-boiled-it a   chopped-up meat
      'I boiled some chopped-up meat.'

(26)  Qas  pa7paq        rwach    ja tz'aaq.
      very standing-plr its-face the wall
      'The (face of the) walls are standing/upright.'

Unlike other adjectives, positional adjectives do not have deriva-
tional paradigms (see 6.1.2). Rather, the positional roots from which
they are derived typically have a paradigmatic set of forms derived from
them (see 2.3). Thus, all positional roots by definition have a stative
positional adjective in $-V_1l \sim$ -aan, and most of them also have a charac-
terizing adjective in $-V_1C_1ik$. With only a handful of exceptions, posi-
tional roots have an inchoative intransitive verb in -e7 that means to
become or get into the position (state, etc.) indicated by the root (as
well as by the stative positional adjective derived from the root). Most
positional roots also have a transitive verb in $-V_1b'a7$ that means to
leave an entity in the position (state, etc.) indicated by the root, or
to cause it to get into the position. Finally, many positional roots
have another transitive verb in -j-...-e that means to carry an object in
the position indicated by the root. The derivational paradigms of two
positional roots, lik'- and set- are given below.

lik'-

   lik'aani  'spread out (of fabric)'

   lik'ilik (lik'ilaq)  'spread out'

   lik'e7-  'become spread out'

   lik'ib'a7xik  'to leave (a fabric) spread out; spread out (a
       fabric)'

   lijk'exik  'to carry a fabric spread out'

set-

   seteli  'circular, discoid'

   setesik (setesaq)  'circular, discoid'

   sete7-  'become circular, discoid'

   seteb'a7xik  'to leave something circular/discoid; make
       something become circular/discoid'

   sejtexik  'to carry something circular/discoid'

It should be noted that many other word forms may be derived from posi-
tional roots, but those above are unique to the positional root class.

## 6.3  COMPARATIVES AND SUPERLATIVES

Comparative constructions in Tzutujil are stative sentences in which
the entity being compared is the subject and the predicate is the adjec-
tive of comparison.  The predicate adjective (of comparison) is always
introduced with either the intensifying adverb qas 'very, really, a lot;
more, most' or the adverb maas 'more, most', borrowed from Sp mas.  The
standard of comparison is indicated in a relational noun phrase following
the predicate with the prepositional relational noun chwach 'in front of;
than'.

(27)  a.    Jaa7 $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{qas} \\ \text{maas} \end{Bmatrix}$ nim chi nwach        inin.

            he   $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{very} \\ \text{more} \end{Bmatrix}$ big in  front-of-me I

            'He is bigger than me.'

      b.    Inin $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{qas} \\ \text{maas} \end{Bmatrix}$ in nim chwach          jaa7.

            I    $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{very} \\ \text{more} \end{Bmatrix}$ B1 big in-front-of-him he

            'I am bigger than him.'

(28)  a.    Je7ee7 $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{qas} \\ \text{maas} \end{Bmatrix}$ ee  kokoj  chi qaawach     ojoj.

            they   $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{very} \\ \text{more} \end{Bmatrix}$ B3p little in  front-of-us we

            'They are littler than us.'

      b.    Ojoj $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{qas} \\ \text{maas} \end{Bmatrix}$ oq  kokoj  chi keewach       je7ee7.

            we   $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{very} \\ \text{more} \end{Bmatrix}$ B1p little in  front-of-them they

            'We are littler than them.'

It should be stated that although the use of independent personal pronouns in comparative constructions like (27) and (28) is not obligatory,
there definitely is a strong tendency for them to occur, probably because
the NPs in comparative constructions are in contrast with each other (see
section 3.1 on the function of independent pronouns).  Nevertheless, for
example, instead of (27a) and (27b) one could say (29a) and (29b), respectively, where the independent personal pronouns are not used.  However, the sentence forms in (29) are statistically less frequent, and
perhaps stylistically not as good as those in (27).

> (29)  a.    Qas   nim chi  nwach.
>             very  big in   front-of-me
>             'He is bigger than me.'
>        b.    Qas   in nim chwach.
>             very  B1 big in-front-of-him
>             'I am bigger than him.'

Superlative constructions in Tzutujil are similar to comparative
constructions except that no standard of comparison (indicated with
chwach) appears in the sentence.  Thus, superlative constructions are
stative sentences in which the subject is the entity being compared
superlatively, and the predicate is an adjective that is introduced with
qas 'very, really, a lot; more, most' or maas 'more, most'.  Subjects of
superlative sentences are always overtly marked with a full NP or an
independent pronoun.

> (30)  a.    Jaa7 $\{{qas \atop maas}\}$ ti utz.
>
>             she  $\{{very \atop most}\}$ pretty
>
>             'She is the prettiest.'
>
>        b.    Je7ee7 $\{{qas \atop maas}\}$ ee  taq utz.
>
>             they   $\{{very \atop most}\}$ B3p pretty-plr
>
>             'They are the prettiest.'

(31)  a.   Inin $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{qas}\\\text{maas}\end{matrix}\right\}$ in nim.

      I    $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{very}\\\text{most}\end{matrix}\right\}$ Bl big

      'I am the biggest.'

   b.   Ojoj $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{qas}\\\text{maas}\end{matrix}\right\}$ oq  nimaq.

      we   $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{very}\\\text{most}\end{matrix}\right\}$ Blp big-plr

      'We are the biggest.'

It should be noted that superlative sentences with the adverb qas
(but not those with maas) are ambiguous.  Thus, for example, (30a) can
mean either 'she is the prettiest' or 'she is very pretty'.  In the lat-
ter case, qas is understood in its nonsuperlative sense of 'very, really,
a lot', and the appearance of the independent personal pronoun (jaa7)
indicates a contrastive or emphatic subject.

<h2 style="text-align:center">6.4  ADJECTIVE DERIVATION</h2>

There are about a dozen suffixes used to form adjectives.  They are
discussed and exemplified in 6.4.1.  The information about them is pre-
sented in the same format used to discuss affixes deriving verbs (4.2)
and nouns (5.3.1).  There are also a number of adjective compounds; they
are discussed in 6.4.2.

<h3 style="text-align:center">6.4.1  Affixes Deriving Adjectives</h3>

1)  1.   $-C_1$oj                                    '-ish' adjective formative
    2.   $-C_1$oj   $-C_1$uj:
         The form with u occurs after root vowel u only.
    3.   Derives adjectives from monosyllabic adjective roots meaning to
         be sort of life the quality indicated by the root (much like
         the suffix '-ish' in English, as in 'whitish'); also derives
         adjectives from a number of other monosyllabic roots.

4.   Productive.

5.   Examples:

       kaqkoj  'reddish' < kaq  Adj 'red'

       q'eqq'oj  'blackish' < q'eq  Adj 'black'

       saqsoj  'whitish, clearish' < saq  Adj 'white, clear'

       teptoj  'coldish' < teep  Adj and N 'cold'

       raxroj  'greenish' < rax  Adj 'green'

       q'anq'oj  'yellowish' < q'an  Adj 'yellow'

       maq'moj  'warm' < maq'- P 'hot'

       tz'iltz'oj  'gray, dirtyish' < tz'iil  Adj and N 'dirty;
          filth'

       b'aqb'oj  'skinnyish' < b'aaq  N and Adj 'bone; skinny'

       k'isk'oj  'urine smelling' < k'is- RTV 'spend, finish'

       ch'uuch'uj  'slippery' < (?) ch'uu7  N 'fish' or ch'u7- P
          'cured (of hides)'

       ya7yoj  'watery' < ya7  N 'water'

       paq'poj  'insipid, tasteless' < paq'- P and RTV 'split'

6.   See adjective compound stem-forming suffix $-V_1C_1oj$ discussed in 6.4.2.

2)  1.   -naq                         <u>intransitive participle</u>

     3.   Derives perfect participial adjectives from a number of intransitive verbs.

     4.   Semiproductive.

     5.   Examples:

       warnaq  'asleep' < war- IV 'sleep'

       kamnaq  'dead' < kam- IV 'die'

       no7jnaq  'full' < no7j- IV 'fill'

       q'inaq  'rotten' < q'ay- IV 'rot'

     6.   N.B.:  -naq is the regular perfect aspect marker on intransitive verbs (see 4.1.2.1).

3)  1.   -oon                         <u>past participle</u>

     2.   -oon ~ -uun ~ $-V_1n$:

       -uun is used on RTVs with root vowel u; -oon is used on other RTVs and on some DT7 stems; $-V_1n$ is used on DTJ stems and on some DT7 stems.

3. Derives past passive participial adjectives from transitive
   verb stems that indicate that a patient has been affected by
   the action denoted by the transitive stem.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

   ch'eyoon  'hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'

   loq'oon  'bought' < loq'- RTV 'buy'

   b'anoon  'done, made' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'

   siloon  'moved' < sil- RTV 'move'

   muquun  'buried' < muq- RTV 'bury'

   kuunaan  'cured' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'

   kamsaan  'killed' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'

   k'aayiin  'sold' < k'aayi- DTJ 'sell'

   tzeeb'een  'laughed at' < tzeeb'e- DTJ 'laugh at'

   kaanoon  'looked for' < kaano- DTJ  'look for'

   tzyaquun  'dressed' < tzyaqu- DTJ 'dress'

   b'irib'a7oon ~ b'irib'aan  'shaken' < b'irib'a7- DT7
        'shake'

6. N.B.:  -oon ~ -$V_1$n is also the regular perfect aspect marker on
   transitive verbs (see discussion and examples in 4.1.2.1).

4) 1. -oyoon                                        agent focus perfect participle

2. -oyoon ~ -uyuun ~ -yoon:

   -uyuun is used on RTVs with root vowel u; -oyoon is used on
   other RTVs; -yoon is used on DTVs.  N.B.:  the long vowel of
   this suffix (oo or uu) is shortened before anything that is not
   a definite noun phrase.

3. Derives participles from transitive stems that indicate the one
   who has done what is denoted by the transitive stem.  These
   participles always require an overt subject noun phrase that is
   the semantic agent of the transitive stem and that is always in
   contrastive focus.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

   jaa7 ch'eyoyoon  'he is the one who hit it' < ch'ey- RTV
        'hit' (jaa7  'he/she/it')

   jaa7 in ch'eyoyoon  'he is the one who has hit me'

        jaa7 ee ch'eyoyon winaq  'he is the one who has hit
            people'

        jaa7 b'anoyoon  'he is the one who has done it'
            < b'an- RTV 'do, make'

        jaa7 kunayoon  'he is the one who has cured it'
            < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'

        jaa7 tzeb'eyoon  'he is the one who has laughed at it'
            <tzeeb'e- DTJ 'laugh at'

        jaa7 k'ayiyoon  'he is the one who has sold it'
            < k'aayi- DTJ 'sell'

        jaa7 k'ayiyon ixiim  'he is the one who has sold corn'

        jaa7 kanoyoon  'he is the one who has looked for it'
            < kaano- DTJ 'look for'

        jaa7 tzyaquyuun  'he is the one who has dressed him'
            < tzyaqu- RTV 'dress'

        jaa7 loq'oyoon  'he is the one who has bought it'
            < loq'- RTV 'buy'

  6.    Agent focus perfect participles are antipassive in nature and
have peculiar person marking like intransitive focus antipassive verbs in -ow and $-V_1 n$ (see section 4.2.1 on verb derivation and section 9.6.2.2 on the focus antipassive voice).

5)  1.    -u7t                             <u>adjective formative</u>

     3.    Forms the two adjectives below.

     4.    Unproductive.

     5.    Examples:

           k'aju7t  'in little pieces, broken to bits'
                < -k'aaj  N 'little pieces, bits, slivers'
           altu7t  'tender' < alt- (?)

6)  1.    -ub'                             <u>adjective formative</u>

     3.    Forms the one adjective below.

     4.    Unproductive.

     5.    Example:

           muqub'  'cloudy' < muq- P 'cloudy'

7)  1.    $-V_1 C_2$                         <u>adjective formative</u>

     2.    $-V_1 C_2 \sim -V_1 7 C_2$:
The alternation is lexically determined.

3.  Forms a handful of adjectives from monosyllabic roots.
4.  Unproductive.
5.  Examples:

     xukuk'  'fresh' < xuk'- (?)

     poqoq  'dusty' < poq- [root used in a number of forms
           having to do with dust; e.g. poqlaaj  'dust']

     pichi7ch  'very stiff' < pich- P 'stiff and erect'

8)  1. •  $-V_1C_1$ik                              <u>characterizing positional</u>
                                                 <u>adjective</u>

2.  $-V_1C_1$ik ~ $-C_1$ik:
    Forms without $\underline{V}_1$ occur after roots ending in a glottal stop,
    and sometimes after roots ending in continuants; otherwise
    $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{ik}$.
3.  Forms characterizing positional adjectives from positional
    roots (see discussion and examples in 6.2).
4.  Productive.
5.  Examples:

     pa7pik (pa7paq)  'standing, upright' < pa7- P 'standing'

     d'oyd'ik (d'oyd'aq)  'chopped in pieces (meat)'
           < d'oy- P 'chopped in pieces (meat)'

     b'olob'ik (b'olob'aq)  'cylindrical' < b'ol- P
           'cylindrical'

     sanasik (sanasaq)  'naked' < san- P 'naked'

6.  N.B.:  adjectives in $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{ik}$ have plural forms in $-\underline{V}_1\underline{C}_1\underline{aq}$ (see
    examples in parentheses above and those in 6.2).

9)  1.  $-V_1C_1$o7                              <u>adjective formative</u>
    2.  $-V_1C_1$o7 ~ $-C_1$o7:
        The alternation is lexically determined.
    3.  Forms the two adjectives given below.
    4.  Unproductive.
    5.  Examples:

         lawalo7  'dangerous; despicable' < law- (?)

         k'ask'o7  'surprising' < k'as- P 'alive, awake' and RTV
               'wake, resuscitate'

10)  1.  $-V_1C_1oj$                                                    adjective compound
                                                                         stem formative

     2.  $-(V_1)C_1oj \sim -(V_1)C_1uj$:
         The form with $\underline{u}$ occurs after root vowel $\underline{u}$, otherwise the form
         with $\underline{o}$; after glottal stop $-\underline{V}_1$ is omitted.

     3.  Forms stems from monosyllabic roots that are used to form ad-
         jective compounds (see examples and discussion in 6.4.2).

     4.  Unproductive (semiproductive?).

     5.  Examples:
             saqperepoj  'whitish' < saq  Adj 'white', per- P 'wide and
                 flat'
             saqb'utub'uj  'very white' < b'ut- (?)
             saqtilitoj  'very white' < til- RTV 'knock fruit off
                 trees'
             saqlo7loj  'very white' < lo7- RTV 'hurt by rubbing a lot'
             saqmuqumuj  'cloudy' < muq- P 'cloudy'

     6.  This suffix is probably related to adjective-formative suffix
         (1) $-\underline{C}_1\underline{oj}$.

11)  1.  $-VVj$                                                        adjective formative

     2.  $-aaj \sim -iij \sim -ooj \sim -oj$:
         The alternations are lexically determined.

     3.  Forms a dozen or so adjectives.

     4.  Unproductive.

     5.  Examples:
             q'aalaaj  'visible' < q'al- (?)
             aalaaj  'little' < aal  N 'child of woman'
             chaqiij  'dry' < chaq- (?) (cp. form below)
             chaqooj  'not well ground' < chaq- RTV 'grind not very
                 well'
             ch'ijch'oj  'smelling of metal or rubber' < ch'ijch' N
                 'metal'

12)  1.  $-V_1l$                                                       stative positional adjective

     2.  $-V_1l \sim -l \sim -aan$:
         $-\underline{aan}$ occurs after roots containing an $\underline{l}$, or after a root ending
         in $\underline{r}$; otherwise $-\underline{V}_1\underline{l}$.  $-\underline{V}_1$ is usually omitted after glottal
         stop and sometimes after a continuant.

3. Forms stative positional adjectives from positional roots (see discussion and examples in 6.2).

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

        jaqali  'open' < jaq- P
        keteli  'discoid, wheel-shaped' < ket- P
        sowoli  'floating' < sow- P
        tz'ub'uli  'sitting'< tz'ub'- P
        pa7li  'standing' < pa7- P
        rimili  'stagnant' < rim- P
        peraani  'wide and flat' < per- P
        lik'aani  'spread out' < lik'- P
        k'olaani  'spherical' < k'ol- P

6. N.B.: stative positional·adjectives require phrase-final -i, and they have the same basic meaning as the positional root.

13) 1. -Vn                                           adjective formative

2. -an ~ -en ~ -on:
The alternation is lexically determined.

3. Forms a handful of adjectives from monosyllabic roots.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

        maq'an ~ maq'en  'hot' < maq'- P 'hot'
        k'atan ~ k'aten  'hot' < k'at- 'hot' (cp. k'ajteem  'to
            burn')
        poqon  'painful, sore' < poq- (?)

14) 1. $-V_1$tal                                     completive passive
                                                     stative adjective

2. $-V_1$tal ~ -tal:
$-V_1$tal occurs on RTVs and -tal occurs on DTJs and some RTVs.

3. Derives completive passive stative adjectives from transitive stems that indicate that a patient is already in the state of having been affected by the action denoted by the transitive stem.

4. Semiproductive.

5.  Examples:

      jamatali  'already occupied' < jam- RTV 'occupy'

      kuyutali  'already pardoned, forgiven' < kuy- RTV 'pardon,
         forgive'

      tz'atatali  'visible, already seen' < tz'at- RTV 'see'

      ch'aratali  'already split' < ch'ar- RTV 'split'

      ewatali  'already hidden' < ewa- DTJ 'hide'

      ejtetali  'already measured' < ejte- DTJ 'measure'

      ojtaqitali  'famous, already known' < ojtaqi- DTJ 'know'

6.  N.B.: adjectives in $-V_1$tal require the phrase-final suffix $-i$
normally used on intransitive verbs in the nonperfect (see
section 4.1.2.2).  Cp. the completive passive suffix $-V_1$taj
(affix 22 in section 4.2.1).

## 6.4.2 Adjective Compounds

There are a number of phrasal compounds that function semantically
as adjectives but that are formally composed of an adjective plus a pos-
sessed noun.  The possessor of the possessed noun of the phrasal compound
is the entity having the quality indicated by the phrasal compound.  Some
phrasal compounds are given below.

tino7y raqan (taqno7y kaqan  plr) 'short, squat'
    < tino7y (taqno7y  plr) 'small, little', raqan  'his/her/its
    leg' (kaqan  'their legs')

tino7y rpaan (taqno7y keepaan  plr) 'skinny'
    < tino7y (taqno7y  plr) 'small, little', rpaan  'his/her/its
    belly' (keepaan  'their bellies')

tino7y rwach (taqno7y rwach  plr) 'narrow'
    < tino7y (taqno7y  plr) 'small, little', rwach  'its face,
    surface'

(ti) ko7l rwach (taq ko7koj rwach  plr) 'narrow'
    < ti (taq  plr) diminutive, ko7li (ko7koj  plr) 'small,
    little', rwach  'its face, surface'

nim raqan (nimaq kaqan  plr) 'long, tall'
     < nim (nimaq  plr) 'big', raqan  'his/her/its leg' (kaqan
     'their legs')
nim rpaan (nimaq keepaan  plr) 'fat, thick, deep'
     < nim (nimaq  plr) 'big', rpaan  'his/her/its belly, insides'
     (keepaan  'their bellies, insides')
nim rwach (nimaq rwach  plr) 'wide'
     < nim (nimaq  plr) 'big', rwach  'its face, surface'


Phrasal adjective compounds of this sort are rather interesting
syntactically.  Compare the sentences in (32-34) containing examples of
phrasal adjective compounds.


(32)    Atet nim aapaan.
        you  big your-belly
        'You are fat.'  (literally:  'Your belly is big.')
(33)    Ja  nata7       qas  nim raqan.
        the my-father very big his-legs
        'My father is tall.'  (literally:  'My father's legs are very
        big.')
(34)    Jar aak'aalaa7 qas  taqno7y keepaan.
        the children    very little   their-bellies
        'The children are skinny.'  (literally:   'The children's
        bellies are little.'


Note that syntactically the possessed nouns of the phrasal compounds
actually function as the grammatical subjects of the (predicate)
adjectives of the compounds, as can be seen by the fact that the pos-
sessed nouns trigger person/number agreement in the predicate with the
null third person singular absolutive marker (because they are singular
and/or inanimate).  The grammatical possessor noun phrases of the pos-
sessed nouns of the compounds are the semantic topics of the sentences
and therefore are fronted, as topics normally are in Tzutujil (see sec-
tion 9.3 on fronting).  Thus the possessor noun phrases occur in initial
position in the sentences rather than in the normal possessor position
following the nouns they possess.  It is clear that the possessor noun

phrases are not the grammatical subjects of the sentences above, even though they are the topics, since they do not trigger person/number agreement in the predicate. For example, in (32) if <u>atet</u> 'you' were the subject then the predicate would have to be marked with the second person singular absolutive marker <u>at</u>; similarly, in (34) if <u>aak'aalaa7</u> 'children' were subject then the predicate would have to be marked with the third person plural absolutive marker <u>ee</u>.

There is another set of adjective compounds that are built on the monosyllabic color terms: <u>saq</u> 'white, clear', <u>q'eq</u> 'black', <u>rax</u> ~ <u>rex</u> 'green', and <u>kaq</u> 'red' (but apparently not <u>q'an</u> ~ <u>q'en</u> 'yellow'). Compounded with these color terms are bound stems formed with a monosyllabic root (usually positional or transitive) plus the suffix $-V_1C_1oj$ (see affix 10, 6.4.1). Each of the bound stems only occurs with one, two, or three color terms. The compounds formed with the color terms plus bound stems usually indicate either a color very much like the one denoted by the color term (i.e. an example <u>par excellence</u>), or one sort of like it. Below are the only forms of this nature that have been recorded.

+b'utub'uj < b'ut- (?)

    saqb'utub'uj   'very white, very clear'

    kaqb'utub'uj   'very red'

    raxb'utub'uj   'very green'

+julujuj < jul- (?)

    kaqjulujuj   'very red'

    q'a7julujuj   'very black'

+lo7loj < lo7- RTV 'hurt by rubbing hard'

    saqlo7loj   'very white, very clear'

+mulumuj < mul- P 'piled up'

    rexmulumuj   'very green'

+muqumuj < muq- P 'cloudy'

    saqmuqumuj   'cloudy'

+perepoj < per- P 'wide and flat'

    saqperepoj   'whitish'

+tilitoj < til- RTV 'knock fruit off trees'

    saqtilitoj  'very white'

    kaqtilitoj  'very red'

    q'eqtilitoj  'very black'

# 7

# UNINFLECTED WORDS:
# ADVERBS, PARTICLES, AND OTHER

This chapter is a presentation of the various kinds of uninflected word classes in Tzutujil. In the first half of the chapter (7.1), minor word classes are presented, such as conjunctions (7.1.1), prepositions (7.1.2), relativizers and complementizers (7.1.3), interrogative particles (7.1.4), negatives (7.1.5), locative and demonstrative particles (7.1.6), as well as some others (7.1.7). In the second half of the chapter (7.2), various kinds of adverbs and adverbial particles are presented.

Many adverbs and many members of the minor word classes are unanalyzable particles, while many others are morphologically complex. Generally speaking, processes forming new lexical items (or words) in the word classes discussed in this chapter are unproductive or idiosyncratic. That is, there are no regular productive derivational processes employed to augment these word classes, although in the case of adverbs there are productive ways in which novel adverbial phrases are formed (see 7.2). Morphological analyses or etymologies are provided, if they are known, when the forms are first presented in the chapter.

## 7.1 MINOR WORD CLASSES

Generally speaking, most member lexical items of the various minor word classes are function words having syntactic and discourse relevance, indicating relations among various kinds of constituents. In this section they are listed, and some sentence examples are provided. However, many of them are discussed and exemplified further in the chapters that follow on syntax. References to relevant discussions in

223

.

subsequent chapters are made in the subsections on each of the minor word classes.

### 7.1.1  Conjunctions

The conjunctions that have been recorded so far are listed below. Note that a number of them are preceded by the definite article ja(r) (see 7.1.7.1).

<div align="center">Conjunctions</div>

k'iin  'and' < -uuk'iin   RN 'with, and' (see 5.2.1)

i ~ ii  'and' < Sp y

pro  'but' < Sp pero

oo  'or' < Sp o

toq ~ ja toq  'when'

wi k'a ~ ja wi k'a  'when' < wi 'if; at times', k'a 'well, then'

chi utz ~ ja chi utz  'so that, in order that' < chi  'at, to; that', utz  'good'

jani7 ~ kani7  'as, like'

maanaan  'even though, although, nonetheless, nevertheless'

maaski ~ maaske  'even though, although, nonetheless, nevertheless'
       < Sp mas que

piki  'because' < Sp porque

kómo  'since, because' < Sp como

wi ~ ja wi  'if; at times'

o wi  'or, neither, nor' < Sp o, wi  'if; at times'

nixta k'a . . . ta  'nor even, neither' < nixta  'not even',
      k'a  'well, then', ta  irreal

che7ewi7  'because of the preceding'

rmaal ari7 ~ rmaal k'aari7  'because of that (the preceding)'
       <-umaal  RN 'cause; because of, on account of; by',
      ari7  'that' ~ k'aari7  'that (contrastive)'

k'a ja7 k'a  'thus, therefore, and then' < k'a jaa7  'right now,
      just', k'a  'then, well'

k'a ja7 k'aari7  'and then; afterwards, later' < k'a jaa7  'right
      now, just', k'aari7  'that (contrastive)'

k'a jaa ri7  'and then' < k'a  'until, up to', jaa ri7  'that
    (in mind)'
k'a toq k'aari7  'and then' < k'a  'until, up to', toq  'when',
    k'aari7  'that (contrastive)'

Conjunctions occur at the beginning of the clause that they conjoin
to some other clause.  All clauses introduced with a conjunction may
occur following the clause to which they are conjoined, and those clauses
introduced with (ja) toq, (ja) wi, (ja) wi k'a, jani7 ~ kani7, maanaan,
maaski ~ maaske, piki, and kómo may also occur preceding the clause to
which they are conjoined.  The last six conjunctions (i.e. che7ewi7,
rmaal ari7 ~ rmaal k'aari7, k'a ja7 k'a, k'a ja7 k'aari7, k'a jaa ri7,
and k'a toq k'aari7) are both 'syntactic' conjunctions that conjoin
sentences as well as 'discourse' conjunctions.  These discourse
conjunctions may connect a sentence to a whole preceding discussion (or
discourse), not simply to a single preceding clause.  Conjunctions and
conjoined sentences are also discussed and exemplified in chapter 10,
section 10.1.  One sentence example of each of the conjunctions is
provided below.

(1)  Jaa7 nb'ano      juun chike   k'in neertzursaaj.
     it  B3-make-foc one  to-them and  B3p-A3-straighten-out
     'It is what makes them one and straightens them out.'
(2)  Neekeeya7     kalk'waal      i   neekik'ijtisiij.
     B3p-A3p-give their-children and B3p-A3p-raise
     'They give (their) children and raise them.'
(3)  Inin  ninb'e pro  jaa7 ma  traajo7    nb'e.
     I     B1-go  but  she  not B3-A3-want B3-go
     'I am going but she doesn't want to go.'
(4)  Newojb'eej    nixb'e  oo  ma kan ta?
     B3-A2p-want  B2p-go   or  no
     'Do you all want to go or not?'

(5)  Ja toq nkojb'ej     kii7        nkuk'aj     kii7        chee
     when   B3-A3p-love each-other B3-A3p-take each-other in
     ka7i7.
     two
     'When they love each other they take each other, the two of
     them.'

(6)  Ja wi k'a k'o   jun kamnaq,   chee ajsanjwaan      neeb'i7x
     when        exist a   deceased  to   one-of-San-Juan go-be-told
     kan  wi7    rmaal ja   rajawal  kamnaq.
     stay front  by     the owner-of deceased
     'When there is a deceased (i.e. a death), the one (i.e. the
     leader) of San Juan is advised by the owner (i.e. relative) of
     the deceased.'

(7)  Ja     sakraméento rxiin ja  k'ulub'ik  neeto7o       rmaal jar
     the    sacrament   of   the marriage   B3p-help-foc by     the
     uutziil   rxiin Dyoos,
     goodness of      God
     ja chi  utz k'a  nkojb'ej      kii7.
     so that     then B3-A3p-love each-other
     'It's the sacrament of the marriage that helps them by the
     goodness of God, so that then they'll love each other.'

(8)  Neekiq'aateej ja  ch'uu7, neeb'eekimina7  to,
     B3p-A3p-trap the fish     B3p-go-A3p-push in
     jani7 nkeeb'an  winaq  wkaamiik.
     like  B3-A3p-do people now
     'They used to trap the fish, they used to push them in,
     like people do now.'

(9)  Maanaan      xkinb'e     ma  k'o   ta      neenb'ana7   chik.
     even-though B1-will-go not exist irreal B3-go-A1-do   emph
     'Even though I'll go there's nothing I'll go do, really.'

(10) Maaski      xtib'e      majun    nuub'an.
     even-though B3-will-go nothing B3-A3-do
     'Even though he'll go he won't do anything.'

(11) Xa    nkikee7eej    ja    keetz'oo7    chwa kaa7
     only B3-A3p-grind the    their-grits on    metate
     piki    ma    k'o    ta    máakina b'anol   ke7eem.
     because not exist irreal machine  doer-of  grinding
     'They only ground their grits on a metate
     because there weren't any machine grinders.'

(12) Kómo  jar oojeer ma  k'o    ta    'boláada',
     since the before not exist irreal volada
     k'o    k'a  jule7 'káamra'.
     exist then some    cámara
     'Since before there were no 'voladas',
     there were then some 'cámaras'.'
     ['volada' = type of fireworks, 'cámara' = another type
     of fireworks]

(13) Wi jaa7 nb'e, inin ninb'e.
     if he    B3-go I    B1-go
     'If he goes, I go.'

(14) Ma  ya7tal    ta    chi    kiij chi xkeeruuya7    kan ta,
     not deserving irreal about them that he-leave-them stay irreal
     o wi xtikeetij    ta    rpoqonaal wa7iijaal.
     nor  they-feel-it irreal pain-of   hunger
     'They are not deserving of him abandoning them,
     nor of them experiencing pain of hunger.'

(15) Ma  k'o    ta    móoda xtuuch'ey  ta,
     not exist irreal way   he-hit-her irreal
     nixta k'a  xtuutz'uj    ta,    o xtuuyaq'    ta    jar
     nor-even   he-maltreat-her irreal or he-molest-her irreal the
     iixoq.
     woman
     'There is no way that he should hit the woman,
     nor even maltreat her, nor molest her.'

(16) Ma  k'o    ta    píila oojeer, che7ewi7
     not exist  irreal tank  before  because-of-that
     k'a  najt neek'amar    wi7  ja ya7.
     then far  go-be-fetched front the water
     'There were no tanks before, because of that
     from far away water was fetched.'

(17) Ja  k'aar      aachi, nb'e    najt naqaaj,
     the contrast man     B3-go  far   near
     xa    rmaal     ari7 nojeel ja   nuuch'ak    ee  ka7i7 chriij.
     only because-of that all     that B3-A3-earn B3p two    about-it
     'As for the man, he goes far and near (to work),
     only because of that all that he earns is both of theirs.'

(18) ...k'a ja7 k'a ja  taq'ajq'iij nujrtija7
         and then    the afternoon  B3-came-A3-drink
     jutz'iit ti     q'oor.
     a-little little atol
     '...and then in the afternoon he came to drink
     a little bit of atol (= thick corn drink).'

(19) ...k'a ja7  k'aari7 xok     chik
         and then          entered another
     jun Presidéente Jeneraal Uwîiko,
     one Presidente  General  Ubico
     k'a ja7  k'aari7 xeerlasaaj     ja  winaq  pa   taq
     and then         B3p-A3-took-out the people from plr
     píinka.
     plantation
     '...and then another entered, one President General Ubico,
     and then he took the people off of the plantations.'

(20) B'antaj  julee7 b'atz',
     was-made some    thread
     pa líibra k'olok'aq nkeeb'an     chee,
     in pound   balls     B3-A3p-make to-it
     k'a jaari7 nkeeq'in    k'in nkeemaj      rkejmiik.
     and then   B3-A3p-warp and  B3-A3p-begin its-being-woven
     'Some thread having been made, they made balls out of
     it by the pound, and then they warped it and began to
     weave it.'

(21) Toq xwinaqir  to   jule7 b'atz'  chîina,
     when appeared here some  thread  Chinese
     k'a toq k'aari7 xkeek'ax        to   jutz'iit.
     then            B3-A3p-changed here a-little
     'When some Chinese thread appeared,
     they changed them (huipils) a little.'

### 7.1.2  Prepositions

There are four prepositions in Tzutujil that are used to introduce and form adverbial prepositional phrases.

#### Prepositions

pa ~ pan   'in, into, on, to, from'

    pa     occurs before consonant-initial forms and before vowel-initial forms of only one syllable;

    pan   occurs before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable;

ch ~ chi ~ cha   'at, to, with (an instrument)'

    ch     occurs before vowels, and may occur before any consonant, but

    cha   optionally occurs instead of ch before postvelars like q, j, and q', and

    chi   optionally occurs before non-postvelar consonants, especially n and k.

tza7n   'with (an instrument)'

tza7   'on, at, to'

Tza7n forms instrumental prepositional phrases, and tza7 forms locative prepositional phrases.

The first two prepositions, pa and ch, are by far the most important grammatically and are the most frequently encountered in Tzutujil. Both of them regularly form locative prepositional phrases, and they are also used in forming prepositional phrases indicating time and manner. Some of these place, time, and manner prepositional phrases have been lexicalized as adverbs (see 7.7 on adverbs). Ch is also used to form instrumental prepositional phrases. Both pa and ch are used in conjunction with relational nouns to form prepositional-relational noun phrases that indicate dative, instrumental, locative, substitutive, solitary, and topical relations (see section 5.2 on relational nouns). And finally, both pa and ch(i) are used as complementizers introducing embedded clauses (see 7.1.3).

(22) Qas     xinchuq'     tza7 rchaq     jun wajkax chi   chee7.
     really B3-A1-poked on    its-butt a    cow     with stick
     'I really poked on the butt of a cow with a stick.'

(23) Xuuchoy    tza7n machat.
     B3-A3-cut with   machete
     'He cut it with a machete.'

(24) In k'o ch(a) jaay.
     B1 be at    house
     'I am at home.'

(25) Xinb'e ch(a) jaay.
     B1-go to    house
     'I went (to) home.'

(26) Qas     xuupoq     chi tz'uum.
     really B3-A3-whip with whip
     'He really hit her with a whip.'

(27) In k'o pa jaay.
     B1 be in house
     'I am in (the) house.'

(28) Xinkoj    pa   kaxoon.
     B3-A1-put in   crate
     'I put it in (the) crate.'

(29) Jar aaloq'oom xok     pan awoochooch.
     the thief        entered in  your-house
     'The burglar entered into your house.'

(30) Jun iik'  xineesamaj   pa taq'aaj.
     one month B1-went-work on coast
     'For one month I went to work on the coast.'

(31) Iiwiir    xinb'e    pa Nawala7.
     yesterday B1-went   to Nahualá.'
     'Yesterday I went to Nahualá.'

(32) Iiwiir    xinpi   pa   k'ayib'al.
     yesterday B1-came from market
     'Yesterday I came from (the) market.'

7.1.3   Relativizers and Complementizers

7.1.3.1   Relativizer and Clefting Particle

The definite article ja(r) functions as a relativizer or relative
pronoun ('that, who, which') introducing relative clauses.  (N.B.:  ja is
used before consonants and monosyllabic vowel-initial forms, and jar is
used before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable; see rule 16,
section 1.6.1).  Normally relative clauses immediately follow their head
noun phrases, although they may be shifted to the end of the sentence,
and some relative clauses may be headless.  Ja(r) may be combined with
the interrogative b'aarkii7 (~ b'aar ~ b'aakii7 ~ b'aa) 'where' to
introduce relative clauses of locative noun phrases.  Note that the
appearance of ja(r) as a relative pronoun seems to always be optional
(see section 10.2.1 on relative clauses and section 3.2).  Examples of
sentences with relative clauses are provided in (33)-(38).

(33) Neeqaatzu7       ja  winaq  ja  neesamaj
     B3p-Alp-look-at the people who B3p-work
     chwach     ja  loq'o  laj  uleep.
     on-face-of the sacred very land
     'We are looking at the people who work
     on the face of the very sacred earth.'

(34) Xa   ryon  paas  ja   kaq k'in rexa   tíinta oknaq.
     just only  band  that red with green  tint   has-been-used
     'Only waist bands that were red with green tint
     had been used.'

(35) Jar aachi ja  xch'eyo   Aa    Keel   xb'e.
     the man   who B3-hit-foc youth Miguel went
     'The man who hit Miguel left.'

(36) Jar aachi ja  xuuch'ey  Aa    Keel   xb'e
     the man   who B3-A3-hit youth Miguel went
     'The man who Miguel hit left.'

(37) [prophecy:]

Taa   k'aari7      jar ee  kab'lajuj tyooxaa7 jar  ee   rb'anoon,
with respect-to the B3p twelve      images    that B3p A3-has-made

ja     neeq'a7x na  pa taq q'atb'al tziij,   xkeetz'aqat
which B3p-pass nec to plr presidency         B3p-will-finish

ari7, k'aja7 k'aari7 xtipeeti      ja  nchojmarsaani.
thus  and then        B3-will-come who B3-straighten-out-foc

'With respect to the twelve images that he had made,

which will pass to the (12) presidencies, they will finish,

and then will come he who will straighten it all out.'

(38) Xajrb'ij          waawe7 chike    juun ka7i7  winaq
B3-came-A3-told here     to-them a      couple people

pa tinaamit ja b'aar nujk'eje7    wi7.
in town        where   B3-came-be  front

'He came here to tell something to a couple of people

in town where he stayed.'

Ja(r) is also used as a clefting particle, moving constituents to
the beginning of the sentence and making predicates of them.  In its
capacity as a clefting particle, ja(r) is best translated as 'it's...'
or 'it's the case that...' (see section 10.2.3 on clefting).  Examples of
cleft sentences occur in (39)-(42).

(39) Jar    oojoj jar ooq k'o waawe7 pa tinaamit.
cleft we     who B1p be   here    in town
'It's us who are here in town.'

(40) Ja     jun masaat ja    xinkamsaj     iiwiir     qas nim.
cleft a    deer    that B3-A1-killed yesterday very big
'It's the case that a deer that I killed yesterday is
very big.'

(41) Ja     pa tinaamint waawe7 San Jwaan
cleft in town         here    San Juan
k'o jun ti     taa7 ja  xujk'eje7e.
be  one little Señor who B3-came-be
'It's the case that in town here, San Juan,
there is a little Señor who came to stay.'

(42) Ja     chi  ja  Ta   Mari7y nb'e anij   qatziij wi7.
     cleft that the Miss María  goes always true     front
     'It's the case that that María is going is true.'
     [cp. (42) with (49)]

### 7.1.3.2  Complementizers

There are a number of complementizers, each with different
functions, that introduce clauses embedded in other larger clauses or
sentences (see section 10.2 for a more detailed discussion of embedded
clauses).

<div align="center">Complementizers</div>

     chi ~ ch  'that; to, in order to; so that'
     pa ~ pan  'to, in order to'
     ja ~ jar  'for . . . to; that'
     naq  'what, whatever, that which, whichever'
     naq óora  'what time, when'
     b'ajan  'when'
     b'aarkii7 ~ b'aakii7 ~ b'aar  'where, wherever'

Chi, pa, and ja occur before consonants and before monosyllabic
vowel-initial forms; ch, pan, and jar occur before vowel-initial forms of
more than one syllable.  The alternations of b'aarkii7 are optional
variants.

   Ch(i) and pa(n) are also prepositions as discussed in 7.1.7.  Note,
however, that the allomorphy of chi(i), the complementizer, is somewhat
different from ch(i), the preposition.  The vowel i of the complementizer
is stable and is not optionally omitted before forms beginning with a
consonant, as is the i of the preposition.  Ja(r) is also the definite
article, relative pronoun, and clefting particle (see 7.1.3.1).  Naq, naq
óora, b'ajan, and b'aarkii7 are also interrogatives (see 3.3 and 7.1.4).

   Ch(i) introduces several kinds of embedded clauses whose verbs are
formally verbal nouns or infinitives (i.e. they are not finite inflected
forms), and whose Subjects are omitted under identity with the Subject of
the higher clause.[1]  When the patients of transitive verbs in infinitival

clauses introduced with ch(i) are not definite, the active infinitive is
used. When the patients are definite, the passive infinitive of the
transitive verb is used, and the patient is cross-referenced with a
possessive ergative prefix on the passive infinitive. The most important
kinds of infinitival clauses introduced with ch(i) are: (1) purpose
adverbial clauses with transitive verbs; (2) clauses following the
intransitive auxiliary verb ookeem 'to begin, start; enter'; and (3)
clauses following the intransitive auxiliary verb tajiin-, which
indicates progressive aspect or that someone/something is in the process
of doing something.

(43) a.    Xpi      chi ch'eyooj.
           B3-came to  hit
           'He came to hit.'

     b.    Xpi      chi ch'eyoj winaq.
           B3-came to  hit       people
           'He came to hit people.'

     c.    Xpi      chi kich'ejyiik     ja  winaqii7.
           B3-came to  their-being-hit the people
           'He came to hit the people.'

     d.    Xpi      ch ach'ejyiik.
           B3-came to your-being-hit
           'He came to hit you.'

(44) a.    Xinok    chi wa7iim.                [wa7iim IV 'to eat']
           B1-began to  eat
           'I began to eat.'

     b.    Xinok    chi tijoj tii7iij.         [tijooj RTV 'to eat']
           B1-began to  eat    meat

           'I $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{began} \\ \text{entered} \end{Bmatrix}$ to eat meat.'

     c.    Xinok    chi ti7jiik       ja  tii7iij.
           B1-began to  its-being-eaten the meat

           'I $\begin{Bmatrix} \text{began} \\ \text{entered} \end{Bmatrix}$ to eat the meat.'

(45) a.    Nintajin        chi wa7iim.
           B1-be-in-act-of to  eat
           'I am eating.'
     b.    Nintajin        chi tijoj tii7iij.
           B1-be-in-act-of to  eat   meat
           'I am eating meat.'
     c.    Nintajin        chi ti7jiik        ja  tii7iij.
           B1-be-in-act-of to  its-being-eaten the meat
           'I am eating the meat.'


Ch(i) is also used to introduce various kinds of embedded clauses
whose verbs are fully inflected finite forms.  Syntactically, most of
these clauses are sentential arguments of higher predicates (i.e. they
are noun phrases), many of which are extraposed to the end of the sentence.
Some example sentences are provided below.

(46) Aa    Xwaan nb'ij      chi Ta  Mari7y ma  traajo7.
     youth Juan  B3-A3-say that Miss María  not B3-A3-want
     'Juan says that María doesn't want it.'
(47) Nwaajo7     chi  jaa7 nb'e.
     B3-A1-want that he   B3-go
     'I want him to go.'
(48) Ja Ta   Mari7y nuuch'ob'      chi jar Aa   Xwaan xb'e.
     the Miss María  B3-A3-believe  that the youth Juan  B3-went
     'María believes that Juan left.'
(49) Anij   qatziij wi7  chi ja Ta  Mari7y nb'e.
     always true     front that the Miss María  B3-go
     'It's true that María is going (= that María is going is
     true).' [cp. (49) with (42)]


Pa(n) introduces purpose adverbial clauses whose verbs are always
formally infinitives, and whose Subjects are always omitted under
identity with the Subject of the higher clause.  If the verb of a purpose
clause introduced with pa(n) is transitive, then either the absolutive
(detransitivized) infinitive is used without a patient, or the active
infinitive is used with a patient that may never be definite.

(50) Xinb'e    pa wa7iim.

B1-went   to eat

'I came (in order) to eat.'

(51) Ja  Tan  Cho7r    b'enaq    pa k'ayiineem.

the Miss Melchora has-gone to sell

'Melchora has gone to sell.'

(52) Xpi       pa k'ayin ixiim.

B3-came to sell   corn

'She came to sell corn.'

The definite article ja(r) is used as a complementizer introducing
embedded clauses with fully inflected finite verbs.  These clauses are
usually sentential arguments (or NPs) and are semantically much like
'for...to' clauses in English.

(53) a.    Ma  utz  ta    ja     natmajkuuni.

not good irreal for-to B2-sin

'For you to sin is not good.'

     b.    Itzeel ari7 ja     natmajkuuni.

ugly   that for-to B2-sin

'It's ugly for you to sin.'

(54) a.    Utz  ja    npit    Aa    Xwaan.

good for-to B3-come youth Juan

'For Juan to come is good.'

     b.    Utz  ari7 ja     npit    Aa    Xwaan.

good that for-to B3-come youth Juan

'It's good for Juan to come.'

The interrogatives naq, naq óora, b'ajan, and b'aarkii7 are used to
introduce what have been traditionally called indirect question clauses.

(55) Nkeeb'an   naq  nkaaj.

B3-A3p-do what B3-A3p-want

'They do what(ever) they want.'

(56) Nkikaanooj      naq  nkeeb'an.

B3-A3p-look-for what B3-A3p-do

'They're looking for what(ever) they'll do.'

(57) Xtinb'ij        na   chaawe  b'ajan nu7uuli.
     B3-A1-will-tell nec  to-you  when   B3p-arrive-here
     'I'll tell you when they're coming.'

(58) Najiini       nqaach'ob'    naq  oora rajwaxiik    noqb'e wi7
     progressive B3-Alp-think  what time be-necessary B1p-go front
     chwaaq.
     tomorrow
     'We are thinking about what time we need to go tomorrow.'

(59) Nkikaanooj       b'aar neeb'e wi7   chi ch'ojkiik.
     B3-A3p-look-for where B3p-go front to  its-being-earned
     'They're looking for where(ver) they'll go to earn it
     (i.e. money).'

### 7.1.4   Interrogatives

The interrogative particles are listed below (see section 3.3 on
interrogative pronouns and section 9.4 on questions).

#### Interrogative Particles

naq   'who, what, which'
choq ~ choj  'whom; what'
b'ajan  'when'
b'aarkii7 ~ b'aar ~ b'aakii7 ~ b'aa   'where (from, to, in)'
jaru7  'how much, how many, for how much'
     ee jaru7  'how many animates'
jani7 ~ kani7 (... chee)  'how'
la  yes/no question particle

Naq is used to question direct arguments in a sentence, namely:
subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates, and agents and
patients of transitive verbs (see section 9.6.2 on antipassive voices,
especially for an explanation of person marking on transitive verbs in
questions with naq).  Some examples are given below.

(60) a.   Naq  aawach?
          what your-face/character
          'Who are you?'

         b.    Naq   rwach?
               what  its-face/character
               'What/who is it?'

    (61) Naq xeeli?
         who B3-1eft
         'Who/what left?'

    (62) Naq  xaatz'at?
         what B3-A2-saw
         'What/who did you see?'

    (63) Naq xattz'atowi?
         who B2-saw-foc
         'Who saw you?'


Naq is also used to question instruments with transitive verbs in
the instrumental voice (marked with the suffix -b'e):

    (64) Naq  xab'anb'eej?
         what B3-A2-did-with
         'What did you do it with?'


Naq is used in combination with the dative prepositional relational
noun chee to form two other interrogatives.  First, naq immediately followed
by chee forms the interrogative naq chee 'why':

    (65) Naq    chee  xaab'an?
         what   to-it B3-A2-did
         (= why)
         'Why did you do it?'


Second, with naq introducing the interrogative sentence and chee
following the predicate, the interrogative naq...chee 'how' is formed:

    (66) Naq  xaab'an    chee?
         what B3-A2-did to-it
         'How did you do it?'

There are a number of other interrogative phrases based on naq; these are listed below.  It should be noted that in the phrases naq varies with naj when the following word begins in a consonant.

### Some Interrogative Phrases Based on naq

naq taq  'who all, what all' < taq  plr particle

naq chi [+ abstract noun] 'what kind of' < chi  'at, to; that'

naq rwach  'who/what is it?' < rwach  'its/his/her face/surface/
    character/appearance/being/type/kind'

naq chike  'which ones' < chike  'to them'

naq la  '(I) don't know what...' < la  yes/no question

naq la waan  '(I) wonder what...' < waan  'certainly'

naq óora  'what time is it?' < Sp hora

naq pe7  'how is that?  what did (you) say?' < pe7 (?)

naq ruuq'iij  'what is its intrinsic worth?' < ruuq'iij
    'its day/sun'

naq tb'iij  'how are you?  what do you say?' < tb'iij  'that
    he/she/it say it'

naq [+demonstrative] 'what is this, that, etc.?', e.g.
    naq awa7  'what's this?'
    naq k'aawa7  'what's this?'
    naq ala7  'what's that (pointing; emphatic)?'
    naq k'aala7  'what's that (pointing; emphatic)?'
    naq ari7  'what's that (yonder; in mind)?'
    naq k'aari7  'what's that (yonder; in mind)?'
    (see section 7.1.6 on the demonstrative/locative particles)

Choq is always used in conjunction with a relational noun (see 5.2.1) to question oblique arguments such as datives, instruments, benefactives, comitatives, and possessors; e.g.

choq chee ~ choj chee  'to whom; with what' < chee  'to; with
    (instrument)'

choq k'iin ~ choj k'iin  'with whom' < -uuk'iin  'with, and'

choq xiin ~ choj xiin  'for whom, of whom, whose'
    < -Vxiin  'for, of'

Note that <u>naq</u> may optionally be used along with <u>choq xiin</u>:  <u>naq</u> <u>choq</u> <u>xiin</u>
~ <u>naq</u> <u>choj</u> <u>xiin</u> 'for whom, of whom, whose'.  Note also that when datives,
instruments, and comitatives are questioned the fronting enclitic particle
<u>wi7</u> is required after the predicate (see section 7.1.7.2).

(67) a.    Choq chee xaaya7      wi7?

           whom to    B3-A2-gave front

           'To whom did you give it?'

     b.    Choq chee xaachoy     wi7?

           what with B3-A2-cut front

           'With what did you cut it?'

(68) a.    Choq k'iin xaab'an    wi7?

           whom with  B3-A2-did front

           'With whom did you do it?'

     b.    Choq kuuk'iin  xaab'an    wi7?

           whom with-them B3-A2-did front

           'With who all did you do it?'

(69) a.    Choq xiin ja   jaay?

           whom of    the house

           'Whose house is it?' or 'For whom is the house?'

     b.    Choq xiin xaab'an?

           whom for  B3-A2-did

           'For whom did you do it?'

Examples of <u>b'ajan</u> and <u>b'aarkii7</u> are given in (70) and (71).  Note
that questioned locatives also require that the fronting enclitic
particle <u>wi7</u> occur after the predicate.

(70) B'ajan natb'e?

     when    B2-go

     'When do you go?'

(71) a.    B'aarkii7 natpi    wi7?

           where     B2-come front

           'Where do you come from?'

     b.   B'aarkii7 at k'o wi7?

         where     B2 be  front

         'Where are you?'

     c.   B'aarkii7 natb'e wi7?

         where     B2-go  front

         'Where are you going?'

When jaru7 is used to question the number of humans or animals, it
must be preceded by the third person plural absolutive proclitic ee. Ee
is not used with inanimates.

    (72) Jaru7    aab'aj?

       how-many rock

       'How many rocks are there?' or 'How much rock is there?'

    (73) Ee  jaru7    achi7aa7?

       B3p how-many men

       'How many men are there?'

    (74) Jaru7    rajil?

       how-much its-price

       'How much is it?'

Jani7 (~ kani7) is also an adverb and conjunction meaning 'like,
as'. When jani7 (~ kani7) functions as an interrogative meaning 'how',
it is always used in conjunction with the prepositional-relational noun
chee 'to', which follows the verb in the sentence.

    (75) Jani7 xaab'an   chee?

       like  B3-A2-did to-it

       'How did you do it?'

The particle la is used to mark questions requesting a 'yes' or 'no'
response.

    (76) La natwari?

       Q B2-sleep

       'Are you going to sleep?'

(77) La xe7aach'ey Aa    Pala7s    k'in Aa    Teeko?
     Q  B3p-A2-hit  youth Francisco and  youth Diego
     'Did you hit Francisco and Diego?'

(78) La utz   aawach?
     Q  good your-face/character
     'How are you?'

La is also used to express a self-directed question, or doubt, on
the part of the speaker.  These sentences are best translated with 'I
wonder...' in positive sentences, and 'I don't know if...' in negative
sentences.

(79) B'aar la qas    neepi    wi7?
     where Q  really B3p-come front
     'I wonder where they come from?'

(80) Ma  xkinrkamsaj la?
     not B1-A3-kill  Q
     'I don't know if he is going to kill me.'

Note that as a marker of yes/no questions la occurs initially in the
sentence, but when it indicates doubt it follows the doubtful constituent.

### 7.1.5  Negatives and Affirmatives

The negatives are listed below.  All but two of them are built on
the negative proclitic particle ma, which is the general marker of
negation used in negating predicates and other major constituents.  The
two negatives that are not built on ma are based on ni, which probably
has been borrowed from Spanish ni 'neither, not even'.  (See section 9.1
on negative sentences.)

### Negatives

ma (...ta) 'not, no'  general marker of negation
     [N.B.:  the a of ma is omitted before the absolutive person
     markers beginning with a vowel and before vowel-initial forms
     of more than one syllable; e.g. mix utz ta 'you all aren't
     good' < ma 'not', ix B2p, utz 'good', ta irreal.]

majalaal  'never' < jalaal  'little bit'

anij ma   'never, always not' < anij  'always'

maja7ni  'still is not, still have/has not'    (?)

    [N.B.:  this form occurs with k-/t- verbal prefixes only.]

nixta...ta  'not even' < xa   'only', ta irreal

nixta k'a...ta 'neither, not either' < k'a   'well, then'

majuun   'nothing, no one, nobody, not any(thing); not; there

    isn't/aren't any, don't/doesn't exist, don't/doesn't

    have' < juun   'one'

ma k'o ta  'there isn't/aren't any, don't/doesn't exist, don't/

    doesn't have; nothing, no one, nobody, not any(thing); not'

    < k'o(oli)  'there is/are, exist, have', ta  irreal

ma kan ta  'no' < kaan  'staying, remaining', ta  irreal

ma kan ta wi7  'never, not at all, no' < wi7  emphatic

mani7  'no' < -ni7 (?)


When predicates and other major constituents are negated with the
general marker of negation ma, they are normally followed by the irrealis
particle ta.  Specifically, the following kinds of negated predicates
must occur with ta after them:

    (1) negated stative predicates;

    (2) negated verbs in the perfect aspect marked with -naq on

        intransitive verbs and -oon/-Vn on transitive verbs;

    (3) negated verbs in the completive aspect marked with x-;

    (4) negated verbs in the habitual aspect marked with n-;

    (5) negated verbs in the imperative/obligative mode marked with

        k-/t-;

    (6) negated verbs in the potential aspect marked with xk-/xt-.


However, negations of verbs in the present and future tenses and the
optative mode never have ta following them.  Furthermore, contrary to
what one might expect, negated verbs in the present and future tenses and
optative mode are not distinguished, since they all require the
optative/imperative/obligative prefixes k-/t-, despite the fact that
their corresponding positive forms have different prefixes.  The

following forms are presented for comparison in order to illustrate the
use of _ta_ with negated predicates, as well as the differences in
tense/aspect/mode inflections in negative and positive verbs.  The
adjective _utz_ 'good' is used as an example of a stative predicate, and
the transitive verb _b'anooj_ 'to do, make' is used as an example of a
verb.  (See sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 on verb inflections.)

| Positive | | Negative |
|---|---|---|
| utz | stative | ma utz ta |
|   'it's good' | |   'it's not good' |
| rb'anoon | perfect | ma rb'anoon ta |
|   'he has done it' | |   'he hasn't done it' |
| xuub'an | completive | ma xuub'an ta |
|   'he did it' | |   'he didn't do it' |
| nuub'an | habitual | ma nuub'an ta |
|   'he does it habitually' | |   'he habitually doesn't do it/ he never does it' |
| tab'ana7 | imperative | ma taab'an ta |
|   'do/make it!' | |   'don't do/make it!' |
| ke7ab'ana7 | imperative | ma ke7aab'an ta |
|   'make them!' | |   'don't make them!' |
| xtuub'an | potential | ma xtuub'an ta |
|   'he would do/make it' | |   'he wouldn't do/make it' |
| xkeeruub'an | potential | ma xkeeruub'an ta |
|   'he would make them' | |   'he wouldn't make them' |
| nuub'an | present | ma tuub'an |
|   'he does/is doing it' | |   'he doesn't do/isn't doing it' |
| tuub'an na | optative | ma tuub'an |
|   'hope he does/makes it' | |   'hope he doesn't do/make it' |
| keeruub'an na | optative | ma keeruub'an |
|   'hope he makes them' | |   'hope he doesn't make them' |
| xtuub'an na | future | ma tuub'an |
|   'he'll do/make it' | |   'he won't do/make it' |
| xkeeruub'an na | future | ma keeruub'an |
|   'he'll make them' | |   'he won't make them' |

Some example sentences of negatives are provided below.

(81) Ma   tinb'an   ja   chenooj.
     not B3-A1-do the fieldwork
     'I don't do (the) fieldwork.'

(82) Je7ee7 majalaal xeewa7i.
     they    never    A3p-ate
     'They never ate.'

(83) Ja  winaq  maja7n    keeb'e.
     the people still-not A3p-go
     'The people still haven't gone.'

(84) Nixta     nkaajo7     ta      neepeeti.
     not-even B3-A3p-want irreal B3p-come
     'They don't even want to come.'

(85) Nixta k'a  xqoob'e ta.
     not-either B1p-go  irreal
     'We won't go either.'

(86) a.  Majuun  xintz'at.
         nothing B3-A1-saw
         'I didn't see anything/I saw nothing.'

     b.  Majuun  nuuk'aay.
         nothing my-sale
         'I don't have any sales.'

(87) a.  Ma   k'o   ta     jaay.
         not exist irreal house
         'There aren't any houses.'

     b.  Ma   k'o   ta     woochooch.
         not exist irreal my-house
         'I don't have a house.'

     c.  Ma   k'o   ta     xpeeti.
         not exist irreal B3-came
         'No one came.'

(88) 'Ma kan ta', xinchi  chee jar iixoq.
     No           B1-said to   the woman
     '"No", I said to the woman.'

(89) 'Ma kan ta wi7', ne7e   ja  q'apooj chwe.
      never              B3-say the girl    to-me
      '"Never", says the girl to me.'

(90) Mani7, ma  xinsamaj  ta.
      no      not B1-worked irreal
      'No, I didn't work.'

The affirmative particle is <u>jee7</u> 'yes', and it is used as a positive
response to yes/no questions.

### 7.1.6  Demonstrative and Locative Particles

The demonstrative and locative system in Tzutujil is quite complex
and is not yet fully understood, and therefore it warrants further study.
Nevertheless, there are a number of generalizations that can be made.
The system is based on three important particles that have both demonstrative
and locative functions and that, in combination with other particles,
play an important role in keeping track of referents in discourse.

### Demonstrative/Locative (Dem/Loc) Particles

wa7 ~ awa7  'here/this'

la7 ~ ala7 ~ le7  'there/that'
      (used deictically in pointing at something, and in discourse to
      refer emphatically to something)

ri7 ~ ari7  'there yonder/that yonder; here/there/this/that in mind'
      (used to refer to objects and places out of sight or at a great
      distance, and in discourse to refer to information previously
      mentioned or in mind)

The three dem/loc particles are never used in isolation, nor do they
ever occur alone in utterance-initial position.  Rather, they are always
used in combination (1) with each other, (2) with a number of other particles,
or (3) as sentence constituents in noninitial position, as in (91)-(94).

(91) Choj xiin awa7 jaay  ri7?

     whom of   this house here

     'Whose is this house here/there?'

(92) Iiwiir    xink'ayij  ala7 tz'i7.

     yesterday B3-A1-sold that dog

     'Yesterday I sold that dog.'

(93) Toq  nb'antaji  le7  nkeemaj        b'anoj  b'atz'

     when B3-be-done that B3-A3p-begin to-make thread

     'When <u>that</u> is done they begin to make thread.'

(94) Naq ari7 nooq'i?

     who that B3-cry

     'Who/what is that crying?'


When the dem/loc particles are used in combination with each other or with other particles they often form demonstrative and adverbial compounds.  Some of the compounds are simple compounds that function as single words.  Others are phrasal compounds that function as semantic and syntactic units but whose constituent parts are only loosely tied to each other, and in some cases may be separated by other morphemes.  The meanings of the compounds formed with the dem/loc particles are not always predictable from their constituent parts, nor are some of the phonological alternations that occur.  The compounds that have been recorded so far are presented and exemplified below.  Note that some of them never occur in initial position; they must either be preceded by other particles or by some other major sentence constituent (e.g. a verb or a noun).  These forms are marked with a preceding '+'.

In combination with each other, the dem/loc particles form the following locative adverbs and demonstratives:

```
waawe7  'here' < wa7 reduplicated
wawari7 ~ waawri7 'right here' < wa7 reduplicated + ri7
+waawa7 'this' < wa7 reduplicated
+waala7 'that (pointing; emphatic)' < wa7 + la7
+waari7 'that yonder; this/that in mind' < wa7 + ri7
```

(95) Waawe7 in k'o wi7.
     here   B1 be front
     'Here I am.'

(96) Naq   nok   waawa7?
     what be-used-for this
     'What is this used for?'

Combined with the topic-shifting and contrasting particle k'aa(r)
(see section 7.1.7.3), the dem/loc particles form the following
contrastive/emphatic demonstratives:

+k'aawa7   'this'
+k'aala7   'that (pointing; emphatic)'
+k'aari7   'that (yonder; in mind)'
+k'aawaari7 'this/that in mind'

(97) Naq   k'aala7?
     what that
     'What's that?'

The dem/loc particles are used in combination with the third person
singular independent pronoun jaa(7) 'he/she/it' and the third person
plural independent pronoun ja7ee7 ~ je7ee7 'they' to form, respectively,
singular and plural demonstrative pronouns that may also be used as
adjectival demonstratives (see 3.5). The glottal stop of jaa7 is always
omitted in these forms.

jaa wa7   'this'
ja7ee7 wa7 'these'
jaa la7   'that (pointing; emphatic)'
ja7ee7 la7   'those (pointing; emphatic)'
jaa ri7   'that (yonder; in mind)'
ja7ee7 ri7   'those (yonder; in mind)'
jaa wari7   'that yonder; this/that in mind'
ja7ee7 awari7   'those yonder; these/those in mind'

jaa lale7 'that (pointing; emphatic)' < la7 reduplicated
ja7ee7 alale7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'
jaa laari7 'probably that' < la7 + ri7
ja7ee7 laari7 'probably those'

When these forms are used with a noun as demonstrative adjectives, the
dem/loc particle(s) may occur before or after the noun, and the vowel of
jaa7 is usually, but not obligatorily, shortened, e.g.

ja(a) wa7 tz'i7 'this dog'
ja(a) tz'i7 wa7 'this dog'
ja7ee7 la7 winaq 'those people'
ja7ee7 winaq la7 'those people'
Some sentence examples are given below:

(98) Jaa wa7 ja chenooj xinloq'.
     this   the field B3-A1-bought
     'This is the field I bought.'
(99) Jaa ri7 ja jaay k'ajtinaq chik.
     that   the house has-burned already
     'That is the house that had already burned down.'
(100) Ja jaay ri7 xk'ajti.
      it house that B3-burned
      'That house burned down.'
(101) Xintz'et chi jaa lale7 aachi kamsaani   ja ak'
      B3-A1-saw that that   man   B3-killed-foc the chicken
      'I saw that that man was the one who killed the chicken.'
(102) Je7ee7 wari7 juut ma xa   ko7   neeti7ooni.
      these   worm not only little B3p-bite
      'These worms bite a lot.'

The third person pronouns are also used in combination with the
contrastive demonstratives mentioned above to form contrastive demonstrative
pronouns:

        jaa k'aawa7 'this'
        ja7ee7 k'aawa7 'these'
        jaa k'aala7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
        ja7ee7 k'aala7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'
        jaa k'aari7 'that (yonder; in mind)'
        ja7ee7 k'aari7 'those (yonder; in mind)'
        jaa k'aawari7 'this/that in mind'
        ja7ee7 k'aawari7 'these/those in mind'

(103) Ma   jaa ta   k'aari7.
       not it   irreal that
       'It's not that.'

(104) Je7ee7 k'aala7 achi7aa7 xeech'eyo   wxiin.
       those   men   B3p-hit-foc of-me
       'Those men were the ones who hit me.'

(105) Ja7ee7 k'aawa7 chikop ma   xa   ko7   neeti7ooni.
       these   animal not only little B3p-bite
       'These animals (i.e. bugs) bite a lot.'

It should be stated that the distinction between the following pairs
of demonstratives (one used with jaa7 and one used without jaa7, in each
case) is not entirely clear:

        +awa7 vs. jaa wa7 'this'
        +ala7 vs. jaa la7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
        +ari7 vs. jaa ri7 'that (yonder; in mind)'
        +waari7 vs. jaa wari7 'that yonder; this/that in mind'

and similarly for the contrastive demonstratives:

        +k'aawa7 vs. jaa k'aawa7 'this'
        +k'aala7 vs. jaa k'aala7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
        +k'aari7 vs. jaa k'aari7 'that (yonder; in mind)'
        +k'aawari7 vs. jaa k'aawari7 'this/that in mind'

To a large degree the members of each pair are in complementary distribution. The forms without jaa7 usually occur immediately after interrogatives, verbs, relational nouns, and certain particles, whereas the forms with jaa7 rarely occur in these environments. On the other hand, the forms with jaa7 usually occur initially in a clause (the normal position for topics), whereas the forms without jaa7 never occur initially in a clause. The view held here is that the forms with jaa7 overtly mark topics whereas the forms without jaa7 are never topics. Further evidence supporting this view is that rarely, if ever, is there more than one demonstrative with jaa7 in a single clause.

The dem/loc particles combine with the preposition ch(i) 'at, to' forming the following two locative adverbs:

    chila7 ~ chla7 'there (yonder; pointing)'
    chiri7 ~ chri7 'there (near; in mind)'

    (106) Chila7 k'o wi7.
         there B3-be front
         'There yonder it is.'

In combination with the (otherwise unattested) particle kaa, the dem/loc particles form the following locative and/or manner adverbs.

    kaawa7 'near here, around here'
    kaala7 'there; in that manner'
    kaari7 'thusly, in that manner'
    kaawa(a)ri7 'near here, around here; in this manner'

    (107) Kaawari7 k'o wi7   ja woochooch.
         near-here be front the my-house
         'Near here is my house.'
    (108) Kaari7 nb'ajn   chee.
         thusly B3-is-done to-him
         'Thusly, it is done to him.'

When combined with the manner adverbial particle <u>kee7</u> 'thus(ly), so' the dem/loc particles form the following demonstrative manner adverbs:

ke7 waawa7 'like this'
ke7 waala7 'like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 waari7 'like that (yonder; in mind)'

(109) Anij ke7 waari7 xuub'an chee, jani xinb'ij   chee.
     always thus that   B3-A3-did to-it like B3-A1-told to-him
     'Always like that he did it to it, like I told him to.'

The contrastive demonstratives mentioned above are combined with <u>kee7</u> 'thus(ly), so' to form contrastive demonstrative manner adverbs:

ke7 k'aawa7 'like <u>this</u>'
ke7 k'aala7 'like <u>that</u> (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 k'aari7 'like <u>that</u> (yonder; in mind)'

(110) Ke7 k'aawa7 xuub'an   chaqe ojoj.
     thus this   B3-A3-did to-us we
     'Like <u>this</u> he did it to us.'

The dem/loc particles combine with <u>kee7</u> 'thus(ly), so', along with <u>na</u> necessitative, <u>ta</u> irrealis, and <u>ma</u> negative, forming the following demonstrative manner adverbs:

ke7 na awa7 'it has to be like this'
ke7 na ala7 'it has to be like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 na ari7 'it has to be like that (yonder; in mind)'

(111) Kee   na   ari7 nuub'an   na ja tinaamit.
     thus nec that B3-A3-do   nec the town
     'It must be like that, that which has to happen to the town.'

ke7 ta awa7 'that it be/were like this'
ke7 ta ala7 'that it be/were like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 ta ari7 'that it be/were like that (yonder; in mind)'

(112) Ke7 ta   awa7 ja nch'aakaat.
      thus irreal this the my-chair
      'That my chair were like this.'

  ma ke7 ta awa7   'not like this'
  ma ke7 ta ala7   'not like that (pointing; emphatic)'
  ma ke7 ta ari7   'not like that (yonder; in mind)'

(113) Jaa la7 ma ke7 ta   ala7 nb'ajn   chee.
      that   not thus irreal that B3-is-done to-it
      'That is done not like that (= that isn't done like that)'

The irrealis particle <u>ta</u> and the contrastive demonstrative <u>+k'aari7</u> combine to form:

  taa k'aari7 'with respect to, as in the case of'

(114) Taa k'aari7   ja k'exooj ja   nkeeb'an....
      with respect to the cotton that B3-A3p-make
      'With respect to the cotton that they make....'

The dem/loc particles <u>le7</u> and <u>ri7</u> combine with <u>juun</u> 'one' to form:

  juun le7 'another one there'
  juun ri7 'another one here'

(115) Jaa wa7 jaay kaari7 jani7 juun le7.
      this   house so   like one   there
      'This house is so like the other one there.'

<u>Xer</u> 'only' and <u>juun</u> 'one' combine with the dem/loc particles forming:

  xer waawa7 'only this'
  xer waala7 'only that (pointing; emphatic)'
  xer waari7 'only that (yonder; in mind)'

(116) Xer   waawa7 b'atz' xya7   pi   chwe.
      only this   thread was-given come to-me
      'Only this thread was given to me.'

 xer waawa7 juun 'the (this) only thing'
 xer waala7 juun 'the (that) only thing (pointing; emphatic)'
 xer waari7 juun 'the (that) only thing (yonder; in mind)'

(117) Xer   waari7 jun xk'e7 kan   chwe ja laapis.
      only that   one was   remain to-me the pencil
      'The only thing I was left with was the pencil.'

7.1.7 Some Other Particles

In this subsection a number of other important particles are discussed
and illustrated.

7.1.7.1 The Definite and Indefinite Articles

The definite article is ja(r). Ja is used before consonants and
monosyllabic forms beginning with a vowel; jar is used before
vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable. The definite article is
probably a short form of, or at least related to, the third person
singular independent pronoun jaa7 'he/she/it'. The indefinite article is
jun 'a, an', which is a short form of the number and indefinite pronoun
juun 'one'. The plural indefinite pronoun julee7 'some' also sometimes
functions as a plural indefinite article. Both ja(r) and jun are amply
exemplified throughout this work; an example sentence of the plural
indefinite pronoun used as a plural indefinite article follows:

(118) K'o   julee7 nwaay.
      exist some   my-tortilla
      'I have some tortillas.'

There are a number of facts that should be noted about the articles:
(1) the definite article may be used before any noun indicating a definite
or identifiable referent, including possessed nouns and proper names,
especially if the latter are Subjects or topics; e.g.

(119) Ja waanaa7   k'o ch jaay.
      the my-sister be at house
      'My sister is at home.'

(120) Jar Aa   Teeko xya7o   chwe.
      the youth Diego B3-gave-foc to-me
      'Diego was the one who gave it to me.'

(2) The definite article is often used with non-third person pronouns
when they are topics or Subjects; e.g.

(121) Jar oojoj oq k'o waawe7.
      the we   Blp be here
      'We are here.'

(3) The definite article is often used before nouns referring to a class
as a whole if they are topics or Subjects; e.g.

(122) Jar iixoqii7 nkeeb'an   way.
      the women   B3-A3p-make tortilla
      '(The) women make tortillas.'

(4) The definite article and the indefinite article may be used in
conjunction to indicate a definite or identifiable referent but one that
is also not yet given information or in mind (in the sense of Chafe
1976); e.g.

(123) Ja jun taa7 xuuk'am   to   nkáaja rxin nkaxlaan.
      the a   Señor B3-A3-carried here my-box of   my-soap
      'The (identifiable but not yet mentioned) Señor brought
      me a box of soap.'

(5)   After prepositions and relational nouns the definite article is
often omitted even though the object of the preposition or relational
noun may be understood to be definite; e.g.

  (124) K'olaani ja ooj   chwach méesa.
    be-sphere the avocado on   table
    'The avocado is on (the) table.'

  7.1.7.2 Fronting Topical and Emphatic wi7

Normally, locative adverbs, and prepositional and relational noun
phrases indicating locatives, instruments, datives, and comitatives,
occur after the predicate (either verbal or stative; see section
8.2.3.3). However, whenever they are fronted (i.e. occur before the
predicate) because they are questioned, contrastive, or emphatic, the
enclitic particle wi7 (~ wir before vowels) must occur after the
predicate. Compare the examples below.

  (125) a. B'aakii7 k'o wi7   nmaachaat?
      where   be   front my-machete
      'Where is my machete?'
    b. Chri7 k'o wi7   jar amaachaat.
      there be   front the your-machete
      'There is your machete.'
    c. Ja nmaachaat k'o chri7. ~ K'o chri7 ja nmaachaat.
      the my-machete be   there
      'My machete is there.'
  (126) a. Choj chee xaab'an   wi7?
      what with B3-A2-did front
      'With what did you do it?'
    b. Inin chee xteerex xinb'an   wi7.
      I   with scissors B3-A1-did front
      'I, with scissors, did it.'

  c. Inin xinb'an chee xteerex.

     I B3-A1-did with scissors

     'I did it with scissors.'

(127) a. Choj chee xaaya7 wi7?

     whom to A3-A2-gave front

     'To whom did you give it?'

  b. Chaawe xinya7 wi7.

     to-you B3-A1-gave front

     'To you I gave it.'

  c. Xinya7   chaawe.

     B3-A1-gave to-you

     'I gave it to you.'

(128) a. Choj k'iin xaab'an wi7?

     whom with B3-A2-did front

     'With whom did you do it?'

  b. Awk'iin atet xinb'an wi7.

     with-you you B3-A1-did front

     'With you I did it.'

  c. Xinb'an awk'iin.

     B3-A1-did with-you

     'I did it with you.'

Wi7 is also required when the adverb anij 'always' is used with verbs (but not necessarily with stative predicates). Note that anij is the only time adverb that obligatorily precedes the predicate.

(129) Inin anij ntij   wi7 leeche pa taq rsaqariik.

   I always B3-A1-drink front milk in plr morning

   'I always drink milk in the mornings.'

Wi7 is also used to indicate that a preceding element is emphatic; e.g.

(130) a. Jar aachi k'in jar iixoq k'o wi7 keeq'a7

     the man and the woman exist emph their-right

     chee ja k'ulub'ik.

     to the marriage

     'The man and the woman have the right to marry.'

b.   Piki   jar iixoq xa   ryon b'atz'in b'atz' wi7
      because the woman just only handspun thread emph
      nuub'an.
      B3-A3-make
      'Because the woman makes only <u>handspun</u> <u>thread</u>.'

7.1.7.3 Contrasting and Topic-Shifting Particles

The two particles <u>k'aa</u>(<u>r</u>) and <u>k'ii</u>(<u>r</u>) are both used to indicate a
shift to a new or different topic in discourse, and they also indicate
that the new or different topic directly contrasts with one previously
under discussion. In other words, <u>k'aa</u>(<u>r</u>) and <u>k'ii</u>(<u>r</u>) contrast a
particular referent with one previously under discussion (the old topic),
and indicate that the contrasted referent is the new topic. The
contrastive new topics introduced by <u>k'aa</u>(<u>r</u>) and <u>k'ii</u>(<u>r</u>) always seem to
be ones that are definite or identifiable but not necessarily given
information (i.e. in mind; see Chafe 1976). The best translations for
both of the particles are usually 'with respect to...' or 'as for...'.
<u>K'ii</u>(<u>r</u>) is always used following the definite article <u>ja</u> and before the
noun or personal pronoun denoting the contrastive new topic. <u>K'aa</u>(<u>r</u>) is
also used following <u>ja</u> before the noun or pronoun denoting the contrastive
new topic, but it is also used with one (or more) of the dem/loc particles
to form contrastive demonstratives (see examples in 7.1.6). The variants
of <u>k'aa</u>(<u>r</u>) and <u>k'ii</u>(<u>r</u>) with <u>r</u> occur before vowel-initial forms of more than
one syllable; the variants without <u>r</u> occur before consonants and vowel-
initial monosyllabic forms. Sometimes <u>k'ii</u>(<u>r</u>) ends in a glottal stop in
preconsonantal position (i.e. <u>k'ii7</u>). Some sentence examples follow.

(131) [after talking about various peoples who have come to settle on
      and take over San Juan lands...]
      Ja k'iir   oojoj oq ajtinaamit, majun   qaxiin.
      the contrast we   Blp one-of-town nothing ours
      'With respect to us who are of town, nothing is ours.'
(132) [after talking about introduced Chinese threads...]
      Ja k'ii   b'atz'in b'atz' xel   kan pan ejqaal.
      the contrast handspun thread B3-go-out stay little-by-little
      'As for handspun thread, it went out little by little,'

(133) [after talking about women for awhile...]

Ja k'aa   kichajilaal   neeb'e pa taq juyu7   pa kisaamaaj.

the contrast their-husband B3p-go to plr mountain to their-work

'As for their husbands, they go to the mountains to their

work.'

Ja k'aar   iixoqii7 neeqa7j   kan chik chi b'anoj b'atz'.

the contrast women   B3p-descend stay again to   make   thread

'With respect to the women again, they stay down to make

thread.'

7.1.7.4 The Particle chik

The particle chik is used as an enclitic on verbs meaning 'again' or
'already'. It is also used with nouns in combination with the indefinite
article jun 'a, an' to mean 'another', and in combination with the plural
indefinite pronoun and/or article julee7 'some' to mean 'some other'.

(134) Xuuch'ey chik.
      B3-A3-hit again
      'He hit him again.'

(135) Ja kaamiik, xa nlojq'   chik ja b'atz'.
      the now   just B3-is-bought already the thread
      Now, the thread is already just bought (i.e. instead of being
      handmade).'

(136) Jun aachi chik xb'e.   ~ Jun chik aachi xb'e.
      a   man   other went
      'Another man left.'

(137) Xa   ryon kaq k'in jule7 rexk'el k'in jule7 chik tíinta.
      just only red and some greens and some other tint
      'They (i.e. the colors) were only red, and some greens, and
      some other tints.'

Note that when chik precedes either of the modal particles ta
irrealis or na necessitative, it is usually reduced to chi.

(138) Nchojmataj   chi   na.
      B3-is-arranged again nec
      'It'll have to be arranged again.'

7.1.7.5 The Quotative Particle cha7

The quotative particle cha7 is used to indicate that an immediately
preceding clause is either a direct quote, or that it is what people
generally say. Cha7 may be translated as either 'he/she said', 'they
say', or 'it is said'.

(139) 'Xb'e Aa   Teeko', cha7.
      went   youth Diego   quote
      '"Diego left," she said.'
(140) 'Ja   múundo k'olok'ik', cha7.
      the   world round   quote
      '"The world is round," they say.'

Cha7 is etymologically related to the irregular quotative intransitive
verb che7naq 'to say "..." to'.

7.1.7.6 The Diminutive and Plural Particles

The proclitic ti functions as a diminutive particle, which may also
connote affection; it is used immediately before nouns and adjectives.
Before vowel-initial stems of more than one syllable, the i of ti is
dropped and the remaining t is contracted with the following
vowel-initial stem. Ti is used with singular nouns and adjectives; it
has a plural form taq (< ti + the plural suffix -aq), which is used with
plural nouns and adjectives. Some examples follow.

    ti xten 'little girl' < xten 'girl'
        taq xtenii7 'little girls' < xtenii7 'girls'
    taalaa7 'little boy' < aalaa7 'boy'
        taq ala7ii7 'little boys' < ala7ii7 'boys'

```
ti ch'ooy  'mouse' < ch'ooy  'rat'
    taq ch'ooyaa7  'mice' < ch'ooyaa7  'rats'
ti tz'i7  'puppy' < tz'i7  'dog'
    taq tz'i7  'puppies'
ti utz  'pretty' < utz  'good'
    taq utz  plr
ti ko7li  'little, small' < ko7li  'little, small'
    taq ko7koj  plr < ko7koj  plr of ko7li     ⌐
tino7y  'little, small' < -no7y  'little, small' ⌐
    taqno7y  plr
```

Sentence examples are provided in (141)-(143).

```
(141) K'o    jun ti      nuutz'ii7 qas    ti utz.
      exist a    little my-dog    very   pretty
      'I have a puppy that is very pretty.'
(142) Ja   nuumiix xkamsaj       jun ti      ch'ooy.
      the my-cat  B3-A3-killed  a    little rat
      'My cat killed a mouse.'
(143) Ja   taq        nuumiix xeekami  qas   ee   taq utz.
      the little-plr my-cat  B3p-died very B3p plr-pretty
      'My kitties that died were very pretty.'
```

The plural diminutive particle <u>taq</u> also functions as a general plural
(proclitic) particle, often without any diminutive meaning. In fact, it
is the normal marker of plurality on nouns and adjectives that do not
have any formal plural inflection (see sections 5.1.1 and 6.1.2). It may
also redundantly mark plurality on nouns and adjectives that do have
plural inflections. Compare the examples that follow:

```
(144) a.   Ee  nimaq   taq achi7aa7.
           B3p big-plr plr men
           'The men are big.'
      b.   Nimaq   taq jaay.
           big-plr plr house
           'The houses are big.'
```

(145) Ja pa taq k'uxtuun   ma xa   ko7   chi taq
      the in plr rock-wall not only little of dim/plr
      ch'ooyaa7.
      rats
      'In the rock walls there are a lot of mice.'

7.2 ADVERBS

Adverbs of various kinds are presented and exemplified in this section.
Generally speaking, adverbs (but not clitic adverbial particles, which
are more restricted) occur in at least one of the following three
positions: clause-initial position, clause-final position, and
prepredicate position. However, topicalized noun phrases and noun
phrases in contrastive focus may occur before clause-initial adverbs.

7.2.1 Modal Adverbs and Modal Clitic Particles

Modal adverbs and modal clitic particles are used to indicate evaluations,
attitudes, and opinions on the part of the speaker toward the proposition
or situation described by the proposition.

The modal clitic particles are given below. These particles never
occur in isolation; rather, they are always loosely attached to some
other constituent in the sentence, most commonly to predicates. Some of
them may be used together if they are semantically compatible. Note that
the last modal enclitic attached to a preceding form usually takes stress,
except that the desiderative irrealis particle si is always unstressed.
(N.B. enclitics are indicated with a preceding '+' and proclitics with a
following '+'.)

Modal Clitic Particles

+na ~ +nii   'have to, must' necessitative predicate enclitic
      +nii   is used only immediately preceding jaa7 'he/she/it' and
             ja7ee7 'they', otherwise +na.
      +na   is also used in conjunction with the verbal tense/aspect/
             mode prefixes xk-/xt- for the future and with k-/t to
             form the optative (see section 4.1).

Note that when +na/+nii is used with stative predicates, they
are usually understood as in the past tense.

(146) a.   Xinb'e na.   'I had to go.'
            Bl-went nec
      b.   Ninb'e na.   'I have to go.'
            Bl-go   nec
      c.   Nb'e   nii jaa7.   'He has to go.'
            B3-go   nec he
(147) At utz   na.   'You must have been good.'
      B2 good nec

+ta irrealis, counter-to-fact, subjunctive
    Usually used as a predicate enclitic (especially with negatives;
    see examples in 7.1.5), but also as an unattached sentential
    particle.

(148) At utz   ta   na. 'You must be good.'
      B2 good irreal   nec
(149) Wi taxa   k'o   npaq   ninb'e ta.
      if irreal exist my-money Bl-go   irreal
      'If I had money I would go.'
(150) Majun ojer   winaq ja chaqe   ta   xtitz'ub'e7e.
      none old-time person who nothing-more irreal B3-would-sit
      'There was no old-time person who just would sit (and do
      nothing else).'

+waan 'certainly, surely, it's certain that...'

(151) Xwar   waan. 'It's certain that he slept.'
      B3-slept surely

+eeq 'surprisingly' counter-to-expectations predicate enclitic

(152) Xuuch'ey eeq.   'He hit him, surprisingly.'
      B3-A3-hit surprise

+si   'it would be/have been nice if...' desiderative irrealis
      predicate enclitic
      Always used in conjunction with the irrealis particle ta or the
      irrealis adverb taxa, and necessitative na. Note that this
      particle is always unstressed.

   (153) Ja   taxa   xeek'ule7   na si.
         the irreal B3p-married nec desiderative
         'It would have been nice if they had married.'

+k'a   'well, then'

   (154) Jo7 k'a! 'Let's to then! or 'Well let's go!'

laj+ 'was/were going to (but didn't)' verbal proclitic

   (155) Ja wati7t   laj   xkami rmal chooy   xa7aab'.
         the my-grandmother was-to B3-died by   diarrhea vomit
         'My grandmother was going to die from diarrhea and vomiting
         (but didn't).'

   The most common modal adverbs are listed below, followed by a number
of example sentences. These adverbs usually occur in sentence-initial
position.

Modal Adverbs

cheqe jalaal 'per chance, accidently, maybe, perhaps; quickly'
      < cheqe 'only, just', jalaal 'a little bit'
cheqe mayaj 'per chance, by accident'
      < cheqe 'only, just', mayaj (?)
taq ~ taj 'maybe, perhaps' [requires potential aspect verbal
      inflection]
taqpinaan ~ tajpinaan 'maybe, perhaps'
      < taq 'maybe, perhaps', pinaan (?)
winaan 'maybe, perhaps' < (?)
qatziij 'certain(ly), sure(ly), truly'
      < qas 'very, really', tziij 'word'

taxa   irrealis, counter-to-fact, subjunctive
     < ta   irreal, xa   'only'
makita ~ mikita   'better that it not/wouldn't be so'
     < ma   neg, ki   (?), ta   irreal
rajwaxiik   'necessarily, be necessary that/to...'
     < r-   A3, ajwa- archaic DTJ, -xik   passive infinitive
naq la   '(I) wonder what...'
     < naq   'what', la yes/no question
taqaan   '(I) wonder why...' post-predicate
     < taq   'maybe, perhaps', -aan   (?)

(156) Taq   xtb'e   chwaaq.   'Maybe he is going tomorrow.'
     maybe B3-will-go tomorrow
(157) Xb'e   taqaan ja nk'aajool?
     B3-went wonder   the my-son
     '(I) wonder why my son left.'
(158) Cheqe mayaj xinpit awk'iin.
     per chance   B1-came with-you
     'Per chance I came upon you.'

7.2.2   The Directional Enclitic Particles

The directional enclitic adverbial particles are used immediately
following finite verbs in Tzutujil, and they function much like directional
particles in English such as 'away', 'out', 'in', 'up', 'down', and 'at'
(as in 'look away', 'look out', 'look in', 'look up', 'look down', 'look
at', etc.). And, as in English, many of them are used idiomatically with
certain verbs. Nearly all of the directional enclitics are related to or
identical with the roots of common intransitive verbs of motion. A number
of them form compound directional enclitics with the necessitative modal
enclitic na. One interesting fact about the directional enclitics is
that when they are used with transitive verbs, they indicate the direction
of motion of the patient, but not necessarily that of the agent. Note
that the last vowel of the directional enclitics takes stress, not that
of the preceding verb. However, if they are followed by one of the modal
enclitics (7.2.1), then the modal enclitic takes stress.

<u>Directional Enclitic Particles</u>

+eel 'out, away, leaving, going' < eeleem 'to leave, go out'

+ook 'in, into, entering' < ookeem 'to enter'

+pi 'coming over here, (coming) back' < pejteem 'to come'

+pina 'still coming back/over here' < +pi, +na

+to 'coming over here, (coming) back' < (?)

+qaaj 'down, below, descending; humbly' < qa7jeem 'to go down,
     descend'

+qana '(down) by obligation; by necessity' < +qaaj, +na

+poon 'over there, arriving there, passing by there'
        < opooneem 'to arrive there'

+pona 'over there still, passing there awhile; ought to'
        < +poon, +na

+kaan 'remaining, staying' (cp. ka7najeem 'to stay, remain')

+kana 'still remaining/staying; staying by obligation'
        < +kaan, +na

+q'anajoj 'up, above, ascending' < (?)

An example of each of the directional enclitics is provided below.

(159) Xinujwa7   eel. 'I came to eat and left.'
      B1-came-ate leave

(160) Xinka7y   ook. 'I looked in.'
      B1-looked in

(161) Ta Mari7y ma xril   pi   ta   way.
      Miss María not B3-A3-found come irreal tortilla
      María didn't get tortillas (to bring) back.'

(162) Xinch'ey   pina.
      B3-A1-hit   still-come
      'I hit him (and he's) still coming back.'

(163) Xeerila7   to   way.
      B3-go-A3-found back tortilla
      'She went to get tortillas (and brought them) back.'

(164) Xineewar   qaaj.
      B1-go-slept down
      'I went down to sleep.'

(165) Ja toq nwari   ja nata7   nuujol   qana rtzyaq.
      when   B3-sleep the my-father B3-A3-take-off nec his-clothes
      'When my father sleeps he has to take off his clothes.'

(166) Inin nineeb'ixan poon chwaaq.
      I   B1-go-sing   there tomorrow
      'I am going to arrive there to sing tomorrow.'

(167) Nk'ol   pona ja jal chwach   jab'.
      B3-A1-put-away ought the ears in-front-of rain
      'I ought to put away the corn ears in the rain.'

(168) Xinya7   kaan.
      B1-A3-put stay
      'I left it.'

(169) Jaa7 xuuch'ey kana   keej.
      he   B3-A3-hit still-stay horse
      'He hit the horse (and it's) still there.'

(170) Ja   nb'aaluuk   xeewa7   q'anajoj ruuk'iin nata7
      the my-brother-in-law B3-go-ate up   with-him my-father
      'My brother-in-law went up to eat with my father.'

7.2.3 Degree Adverbs

Degree adverbs indicate the relative intensity of a state, process, or action. The degree adverbs in Tzutujil are listed below. Note that all but the last three are used only with predicates, which they precede.

Degree Adverbs

qas 'very, really, a lot; more, most' predicate intensifier
     [see plethora of examples in chapter 6 on adjectives]
maas 'more, most' comparative/superlative < Sp mas
mariil 'hardly, barely' < ma neg, riil (?)
ma xa ko7 'very, a lot, really; for there to be a lot'
     < ma neg, xa 'only', ko7li 'little'
ma xa ko7l ta na ~ ma xa ko7 ta na ~ max ko7 ta na
     'too much; for there to be too much'
     < ma neg, xa 'only', ko7i 'little', ta irreal,
     na nec

+laj 'very, really' modifying adjective intensive enclitic
    [see plethora of examples in chapter 6 on adjectives]
sib'alaj ~ sib'laj 'too (much)' used with predicates and nouns
jutz'iit 'a little bit' used with predicates and nouns
    < ju- 'a, one', -tz'iit 'little bit'

A few sentence examples are provided in (171)-(174).

(171) Mariil xinkoch'   xinb'ijni.
    barely B3-A1-stood B1-walked
    'I barely could stand to walk.'

(172) Ja nuuchaaq'   ma xa ko7   nwa7i.
    the my-little-brother not only little eats
    'My little brother eats a lot.'

(173) Sib'alaj najt.
    too   far
    'It's too far.'

(174) Xkeek'ax   to   jutz'iit.
    B3-A3-changed come a-little
    'They changed it a little.'

7.2.4 Quantifying Adverbs

Quantifying adverbs are used with a proposition to delimit the range
of other expected or presupposed propositions. Common quantifying adverbs
are given below with some sentence examples.

Quantifying Adverbs

xa+ 'only, just' proclitic
xer 'only, just; fixed, all at once, always'
cheqe 'only... and nothing more, just...and nothing
    more; all at once' clause-initial
nanxa 'even' clause-initial
    < nan (?), xa 'only, just'
nixta...ta 'not even' clause-initial
    < Sp ni, xa 'only', ta irreal

choqojaa7 ~ chaqajaa7 'also, too, besides' clause-initial or
        clause-final

(175) a.   Xa   xinb'e.
            just B1-went
            'I only/just left (and did nothing else).'

      b.   Xa   inin xinb'e.
            only I   B1-went
            'Only I left (and nobody else left).'

      c.   Ta   xa   at utz   na.
            irreal only B2 good nec
            'That you would only be good.'

(176) Cheqe   xinch'ey.
      nothing-more B3-A1-hit
      'I only/just hit him (and did nothing more).'

(177) Nanxa ma k'o chi   ta   toq xoqopon   ojoj.
      even not be   already irreal when B1p-arrived we
      'He wasn't even already there when we arrived.'

(178) Nixta   xtikojb'ej   ta   xkeewa7i.
      not-even B3-A3p-will-want irreal B3p-will-eat
      'They won't even want to eat.'

(179) a.   Ja b'eyoomaa7 neekami choqojaa7.
            the rich-plr   B3p-die too
            'The rich die too.'

      b.   Choqojaa7 atet natb'e.
            also   you B2-go
            'Also you are going.'

7.2.5 Place Adverbs

Place adverbs normally occur in clause-final position, but they may
also occur in clause-initial position if they are fronted because they
are topics or emphatic (in which case the fronting particle wi7 must
occur immediately after the predicate; see 7.1.7.2 and 9.3). Locative
adverbial phrases are productively formed either (1) with the prepositions
(see 7.2): pa(n) 'in, into, on, to, from', ch(i) 'at, to', or tza7 'on,

at, to'; or (2) with the prepositional relational nouns (see 5.2.1): chi
kojol 'between, among, in the middle of', chi naaqaaj 'close to', chpaan
'inside of, in', chriij in back of, behind, about', chuuchii7 'on the
edge of, in the vicinity of, around', chwach 'in front of, on the face
of, on the flat surface of', chuuxee7 'under, below, on the bottom of, at
the base of', pan ijkiq'a7 'on/to the right of', pa niik'aaj 'in the
middle/center of', pa rwi7 'on top of, over, above', pa rxkin 'on the
side of, beside', and pa xokon 'on/to the left of'. Some common place
adverbs are given below. Note that a number of the place adverbs are
based on the demonstrative/locative particles discussed in section 7.1.6,
and some others are frozen prepositional phrases.

Place Adverbs

waawe7 'here' < wa7 'here/this' reduplicated

wawari7 ~ waawri7 'right here' < wa7 reduplicated + ri7 'that/
        there in mind'

kaawa7 'near here, around here' < kaa (?) + wa7 'here/this'

kaawa(a)ri7 'near here, around here; like this'
        < kaa (?) + wa7 'here/this' + ri7 'that/there in mind'

kaala7 'there; like that' < kaa (?) + la7 'that/there (pointing;
        emphatic)'

chila7 ~ chla7 'there (yonder; pointing)'
        < ch(i) 'at, to' + la7 'that/there (pointing; emphatic)'

chiri7 ~ chri7 'there (near; in mind)'
        < ch(i) 'at, to' + ri7 'there/that (yonder; in mind)'

ajsik 'up'

chkaaj 'above; in the sky, in heaven' < ch(i) 'at, to',
        kaaj 'sky, heaven'

ikom 'below'

najt 'far'

naqaaj 'near, close'

najt naqaaj '(from) far and near'

xa b'artakii7 ~ cheqe b'artakii7 'wherever, anywhere'
        xa 'only, just' ~ cheqe 'only/just...and nothing
    more', b'aarkii7 'where', ta irreal

pujyu7   'in the mountains, out in the country'
        < pa(n) 'in, into, to, from', juyu7 'mountain, volcano'
pa rqa7jb'al q'iij '(in the) west'
        < pa(n) 'in, etc.', rqa7jb'al 'its descending place',
        q'iij 'sun, day'
pa relab'al q'iij '(in the) east'
        < pa(n) 'in, etc.', relab'al 'its exit, its coming out
        place', q'iij 'sun, day'
pa relab'al xokomeel '(in the) south'
        < pa(n) 'in, etc.', relab'al 'its coming out place',
        xokomeel 'southwind'
pa relab'al q'iiq' '(in the) north'
        < pa(n) 'in, etc.', relab'al 'its coming out place',
        q'iiq' 'northwind'

(180) Jar Aa   Te7k b'enaq   ajsik chi q'oloj kape.
      the youth Diego has-gone up   to pick   coffee
      'Diego has gone up to pick coffee.'

(181) Ja   rtinaamit wxaayiil k'a najt k'o wi7.
      the her-town   my-wife then far be front
      'My wife's town, then, is far away.'

(182) Najt naqaaj neeb'e wi7.
      far near   B3p-go front
      'Far and near they go.'

(183) Ja woochooch pa relab'al xokomeel k'o wi7   chee tinaamit.
      the my-house in south   be front to   town
      'My house is in the south of town.'

7.2.6 Time Adverbs

Generally speaking, time adverbs may occur in clause-final or
clause-initial position. When they are in clause-initial position they
seem to be somewhat more emphatic (or perhaps contrastive) than when in
clause-final position. However, anij 'always' always occurs in
prepredicate position, and verbs are followed by the fronting particle
wi7 when anij is used. And, time adverbs based on k'a 'since, until, up

to, from then up to now, then' occur in clause-initial position, never
clause-finally. A number of time adverbs are formed with the prepositions
pa(n) 'in, into, to, from' and ch(i) 'at, to' followed by nouns denoting
temporal periods. Some other time adverbs are formed by reduplicating
these nouns denoting temporal periods. A number of time adverbs are
formed with the derivational suffixes -iir 'before, ago' and -iij   -eej
'after, hence'. There are a large number of time adverbs, many of them
given below.

Time Adverbs

alagúuna '(at) one o'clock' < Sp a la una

alas [+ number] '(at) X o'clock' < Sp a las

pa [+ number] óora '(at) X o'clock' < pa(n), Sp hora

kaamiik ~ wkaamiik 'now, today'

kaamiik ri7 'right now' < ri7 'there/that (in mind; yonder)'

myeer 'a little while ago, earlier today'

oojeer 'before, formerly, in the past, long ago; ancient, old,
    antique'

ojer kaan 'before' < oojeer 'before, etc.', kaan 'remaining,
    staying'

kala7 kaan 'before' < kaala7 'there; in that manner',
    kaan 'remaining, staying'

k'a+ 'since, until, up to, from then up to now, then'

k'a jaa7 'right now; just (finished doing something)'
    < k'a 'since, etc.', jaa7 'he/she/it'

k'a ja7 k'aari7 'afterwards, later; and then'
    < k'a jaa7 'right now; just', k'aari7 'that (in mind)'

k'a jantaqna 'once in awhile, at times, occasionally'
    < k'a 'since, etc.', jantaqna (?)

k'a [predicate] na 'still' < k'a 'since, etc.', na nec

moloo7 ~ maloo7 'late'

anij (...wi7) 'always'

ke7 waala7 'always; like that' < kee7 'thusly', waala7 'that'

anij ke7 waala7 'forever'

xer 'always; all at once; only, nothing more, fixed'

xer waari7 'still' < xer   'always, etc.', waari7 'that (in mind)'

najiini 'still' (also indicates progressive aspect with following
    verbs used only with incompletive verbal prefixes)
        < -ajiin 'for an activity to be in progress' irregular IV

ma jalaal 'never' < ma neg, jalaal 'a little bit'

chik ~ chi 'again, already; another' (see 7.1.7.4)

byeen 'at times, occasionally' < Sp bien

wi 'at times, occasionally; if'

k'o k'a 'at times, occasionally' < k'ooli 'be, exist',
    k'a 'well, then'

iiwiir 'yesterday' < iiw- (?), -iir 'before, ago'

kab'ajiir 'day before yesterday' < kab'- 'two', -aj (?),
    -iir 'ago, before'

oxojiir 'three days ago' < ox- 'three', -oj (?),
    -iir 'ago, before'

juunaab'iir 'last year' < juunaa7 'year', -iir 'ago, before'

chwaaq 'tomorrow'

ka(a)b'iij 'day after tomorrow' < kab'- 'two',
    -iij 'after, hence'

ooxiij 'in three days' < ox- 'three', -iij 'after, hence'

koojeej 'in four days' < kaj- 'four', -eej ~ -iij 'after, hence'

q'iij q'iij 'daily' < q'iij 'day, sun' reduplicated

iik' iik' 'monthly' < iik' 'month, moon' reduplicated

juunaa7 juunaa7 'annually' < juunaa7 'year' reduplicated

chaaq'a7 'at night, in the night; last night'
    < ch(i) 'at, to', aaq'a7 'night'

aaq'ab'iil 'in the early morning before dawn'
    < aaq'a7 'night', -iil suf

nim aaq'ab'iil 'in the morning' < nim 'big'

nmaaq'a7 'in the morning' < nim 'big', aaq'a7 'night'

ch(i) q'iij 'by day, in the daytime' < ch(i) 'at, to',
    q'iij 'day, sun'

pa q'iij 'by day, in the daytime' < pa(n) 'in, etc.',
    q'iij 'day, sun'

pa nk'aj q'iij '(at) noon' < niik'aaj 'half, middle'

taq'ajq'iij 'in the afternoon' < taq'aaj '(southern) coast,
     plain', q'iij 'sun, day'
taq'ajq'ijaal 'in the afternoon' < -aal suf
pa taq jab' 'in the winter/rainy season'
       < pa(n) 'in, etc.', taq plr, jab' 'rain'
pa taq saq'iij 'in the summer/dry season'
       < pa(n) 'in, etc.', taq plr, saq 'white, clear',
     q'iij 'day, sun'
pa rk'isb'aal 'finally, in the end' <
     pa(n) 'in, etc.', rk'isb'aal 'its ending place'
najb'eey 'first' [see other ordinal numbers that may also be
     used as adverbs, section 5.2.2]

The following time adverbs are based on the enumeratives +muul, +tiij,
and +meej, all meaning 'time(s)' (see section 5.2.3 on enumeratives).

jumuul 'once'
     ka7i7 muul 'twice', oxi7 muul 'thrice', etc.
     ja jutaj muul 'each time' < ja 'the', jutaj 'some'
     xa jumuul 'only once, all at once' < xa 'only'
jutiij 'once'
     ka7tiij 'twice', oxtiij 'thrice', etc.
     ja jutaj tiij 'each time'
     xa jutiij 'only once, all at once'
     jutiij chik 'another time' < chik 'again, another'
jumeej 'once'
     ka7meej 'twice', oxmeej 'thrice', etc.
     ja jutaj meej 'each time'
     xa jumeej 'only once, all at once'

Sentence examples of time adverbs follow:

(184) Nkitanab'a7   pa b'eleje7 óora   o lajuj óora   xin tok
      B3-A3p-stop-work at nine   o'clock or ten   o'clock of
      aaq'a7.
      night
      'They stop working at 9 o'clock or 10 o'clock of the night.'

(185) a.   Xeeb'e   myeer.
            B3p-went a-little-while-ago
            'They left a little while ago.'

      b.   Myeer xeeb'e.
            'A little while ago they left.'

(186) a.   Kaamiik ninb'e pa saamaaj.
            today   B1-go to work
            'Today I go to work.'
            ~ Ninb'e pa saamaaj kaamiik.
            'I go to work today.'

      b.   Chwaaq   ninb'e pa saamaaj.
            tomorrow B1-go   to work
            'Tomorrow I go to work.'
            ~ Ninb'e pa saamaaj chwaaq.
            'I go to work tomorrow.'

      c.   Iiwiir   xinb'e pa saamaaj.
            yesterday B1-went to work
            'Yesterday I went to work.'
            ~ Xinb'e pa saamaaj iiwiir.
            'I went to work yesterday.'

(187) Ja nata7   ooxiij   nb'e K'oqol Keej.
      the my-father in-3-days goes Masatenango
      'My father, in three days, is going to Masatenango.'

(188) Juunaa7 juunaa7 ninb'e pa q'aloj chiij.
      annually   B1-go to pick   cotton
      'Annually, I go to pick cotton.'

(189) Waaqii7 muul xinchapari.
      six   time B1-was-scolded
      'Six times I was scolded.'

(190) K'a   xinb'e   k'a toq k'aari7 xeeb'e.
      until B1-went then   B3p-went
      'Until I left, then they left (i.e. they didn't leave
      until I left).'

7.2.7 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs commonly occur in clause-final position, but they also often occur in clause-initial position. In the latter case, they apparently are more emphatic or perhaps contrastive. Common manner adverbs are listed below, followed by some sentence examples. Note that a number of the manner adverbs are formed with the prepositions pa(n) 'in, into, to, from' and ch(i) 'at, to'.

Manner Adverbs

kee7 'thus(ly), so' [see manner demonstratives formed in kee7
      in section 7.1.6]

jani7 ~ kani7 'like, as, in the manner, in the way'

kaawa7 'thus(ly), so, in this way; near here, around here'
       < kaa (?), wa7 'here/this'

kaala7 'thus(ly), so; in that way'
      < kaa (?), la7 'there/that (pointing; emphatic)'

kaari7 'thus(ly), so; in that way'
      < kaa (?), ri7 'there/that (yonder; in mind)'

kaawa(a)ri7 'thus(ly), so; near here, around here'
      < kaa (?), wa7 'here/this', ri7 'there/that (yonder;
      in mind)'

mariil 'barely, hardly' < ma neg, riil (?)

juunaan 'together'< juun 'one', -aan (?)

juunaan wachiil 'equally, evenly' < wachiil 'faceness,
      surfaceness, character'

utz 'well, good'

chi utz 'well; better that, so that' < chi 'to, at'

chajniim 'rapidly, fast, quickly' < ch(i) 'to, at',
      ajniin- 'be fast, in a hurry; be in progress' irregular IV

ajninaq 'hurriedly, in a hurry; agilely, adeptly' past participle
      of a ajniin- [see above]

k'am ajniim 'running' < k'am (?) (cp. k'am- RTV 'take'),
      ajniin- [as above]

ejqaal 'slowly'

```
pan ejqaal   'little by little' < pa(n)   'in, etc.'
ejqaal ejqaal   'little by little'
chilajtaqil   'little by little'
xer   'all at once; only; always; fixed'
cheqe   'all at once; only, just'
cheqe jaa7   'exact(ly), even(ly)' < jaa7   'he/she/it'
cheqe jalaal   'quickly; per chance, maybe, perhaps'
     < jalaal   'a little bit'
cheqe ka7i7 ruuk'u7x   'reluctantly, without desires'
     < ka7i7   'two', ruuk'u7x   'its/his/her heart'
chi raqan   'on foot' < chi   'to, at', raqan   'its/his/her foot/leg'
d'emb'aalde   'in vain' < Sp de en valde
paqe   'humbly'
chi ju7junel   'one by one, one each' [see section 5.2.2 on
     numerals]
pa ka7ka7   '2 by 2, in twos'
pa ox7ox   '3 by 3, in threes'
pa kajkaj   '4 by 4, in fours'
pa jojtaq   '5 by 5, in fives'
pa waaqii7 taq   '6 by 6, in sixes'
     etc.
```

(191) La kaawa7   nb'ajn   chee? -- Kee7.
      Q like-this B3-is-done to-it   thus
      'Like this it's done?' -- '(Yes) thusly.'

(192) Xoqwa7i   juunaan.
      B1p-ate   together
      'We ate together.'

(193) Xuub'an   chi utz.
      B3-A3-did well
      'He did it well.'

(194) Ejqaal chik nwiniqir chik jutiij ja tinaamit.
      slowly emph B3-appear again once   the town
      'Quite slowly the town will appear once again.'

(195) K'am ajniim xinb'e.
      running   B1-went
      'I left running.'

(196) Chilajtaqil   tatija7   ja   mansa7n!
      little-by-little B3-A2-eat the apple
      'Little by little eat the apple! (i.e. not all at once)'

(197) Pa jojtaq xkeemol   kii7   ja winaq.
      in fives B3-A3p-met   each-other the people
      'In (groups of) fives the people met each other.'

1. 'Subject' with a capital 'S' indicates the subject of an intransitive verb or stative predicate and the agent of a transitive verb. However, 'subject' with a lower case 's' only indicates the single argument of an intransitive verb or stative predicate, but not the agent of a transitive verb (this usage follows Dixon 1979; see note 4, chapter 8).

8

PHRASES AND SIMPLE SENTENCES

This chapter is an informal discussion of the structure of simple sentences in Tzutujil. Section 8.1 is a presentation of the internal structure of the three major types of phrasal constituents in sentences: noun phrases (8.1.1), prepositional and relational noun phrases (8.1.2), and predicate phrases (8.1.3). Section 8.2 is on the internal structure of simple sentences. There are discussions of the basic or obligatory constituents of simple sentences (8.2.1), of additional or optional constituents (8.2.2), of word order (8.2.3), and of existential, locative, and possessive sentences (8.2.4).

8.1 PHRASES

8.1.1 Noun Phrases

Noun phrases (NPs) in Tzutujil function as subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates, agents and patients of transitive verbs, objects of prepositions, and possessor-objects of relational nouns. They may also function as predicates in stative sentences (i.e. as predicate nouns). Noun phrases may be full NPs, pronominal NPs, or embedded sentences. Pronominal NPs are discussed later on in this subsection after full NPs have been presented; sentential NPs are discussed in chapter 10 in section 10.2 on embedded clauses. The constituents of full NPs are listed below in their normal relative order. Most constituents of the NP have been discussed individually in detail in other chapters of this work; references to relevant sections on particular NP constituents are enclosed in parentheses.

280

<u>Full Noun Phrase Constituents</u>

1. Definite article (7.1.7.1), or demonstrative (3.5, 7.1.6)

2. Indefinite article (7.1.7.1), number (5.2.2), or quantifier
    (5.2.2.2)

3. Modifying adjective (6.1), or restricting noun used as a modifying
    adjective (6.1, 8.1.1)

4. Diminutive particle or plural (and diminutive) particle
    (7.1.7.6)

5. HEAD NOUN (chapter 5)

    (N.B.: head nouns may be inflected with a plural suffix
    (5.1.1) or for possessor (5.1.2) with an ergative prefix
    coreferential with the possessor NP in position 8.)

6. The particle <u>chik</u> 'other' (7.1.7.4)

7. Demonstrative/locative particle (7.1.6)

8. Possessor NP (5.1.2)

    (N.B.: the possessor NP is cross-referenced on the
    head noun with an ergative prefix.)

9. Modifying adjective (6.1), restricting noun (6.1, 8.1.1), and/or a
    prepositional phrase (7.1.2, 8.1.2) or relational noun phrase
    (5.2.1, 8.1.2)

10. Relative clause (10.2.1)

Note that there are a number of other elements that may occur in an NP that
are not strictly immediate constituents of the NP itself, for example: (1)
the adverb <u>laj</u> 'very', used with modifying adjectives preceding head nouns,
and the modifier-connector suffix -<u>V</u>, used on monosyllabic modifying
adjectives and restricting nouns that precede head nouns (see 6.1.1); (2)
the third person plural absolutive proclitic <u>ee</u>, which frequently
accompanies numbers above one in an NP; (3) quantifying adverbial particles
such as <u>xa</u> 'only, just' (7.2.4) and modal particles such as <u>ta</u> irrealis; and
(4) the contrastive/topic-shifting particles <u>k'ii</u>(<u>r</u>) and <u>k'aa</u>(<u>r</u>) (7.1.7.3),
which may occur immediately following the definite article.

    None of the NP constituents listed above, taken individually, are
obligatorily present in a given NP. Single nouns alone without other NP
constituents commonly occur as full NPs, especially: (1) if they are used

generically, referring to a class; (2) if they denote masses; (3) if they denote inanimate objects; and (4) if, in general, they do not refer to a specific individual of the class of entities they denote. The tendency for nouns to occur alone without other NP constituents seems to be strongest in prepositional and relational noun phrases indicating oblique sentential arguments, but is also not uncommon with patients of transitive verbs. E.g.

(1) Jaa7 xuumaj   ch'eyoj ak'aal.
     she   B3-A3-began to-hit   boy
     'She began to hit boy(s).'

(2) Nwaajo7   ya7;
     I-want-it   water
     'I want water.'

(3) Jar ijqa7n xuuya7   rexkeej chwe.
     the burden B3-A3-gave cramp   to-me
     'The burden gave me cramps.'

(4) In k'o pa jaay.
     B1 be   in house
     'I am in (the) house.'

(5) Jar aak'aalaa7 xkeek'aq   aab'aj pa rwi7   ja jaay.
     the boys   B3-A3p-threw rock   on top-of the house
     'The boys threw rock(s) on top of the house.'

(6) Jar ajq'iij xwajch'   ma ch'ijch'.
     the diviner was-run-over by car
     'The diviner was run over by (a) car.'

(7) Xuuchoy   chee7 tza7n ikaj.
     he-cut-it tree with ax
     'He cut tree(s) with (an) ax.'

Proper names usually do not occur with other NP constituents except that (1) they are often used with the definite article ja(r), especially if they are Subjects or topics, and (2) they require one of the four proper name proclitic elements: Aa 'youth', Ta(n) 'Miss', Taa7 'Sir, Mr.', or Naan 'Lady, Ms., Mrs.' (see section 5.2.5 on proper names). E.g.

(8) (Jar) Aa   Xwaan xb'e k'in Aa   Teeko.
     the youth Juan went with youth Diego
     'Juan went with Diego.'

(9) (Ja) Ta   Xwaana xb'e Sanpáawlo.
     the Miss Juana went San Pablo
     'Juana went to San Pablo.'

There are also NPs that occur without head nouns, such as headless relative clauses (e.g. (10)), and anaphoric elliptical constructions with an article or demonstrative and an adjective (e.g. (11)).

(10) K'aja7 k'aari7 xtipeeti   ja nchojmarsaani.
      and   then   B3-will-come who B3-straighten-out-foc
      'And then will come he who will straighten it out.'

(11) a.   Nwaajo7   jun kaq.
           B3-Al-want a   red
           'I want a red (one).'

     b.   Nwaajo7   ja   kaq.
           B3-Al-want the red
           'I want the red (one).'

     c.   Nwaajo7   ala7 kaq.
           B3-Al-want that red
           'I want that red (one).'

Although no single NP has been recorded with all of the possible NP constituents at once, a given NP may contain many of them, since there are only a few co-occurrence restrictions among them. The co-occurrence re-strictions are: (1) The definite article does not occur with a demonstrative.[1] (2) The indefinite article, numbers, and quantifiers normally do not occur together.[2] (3) Rarely, if ever, does more than one modifying adjective or restricting noun precede the head noun. (4) If the head noun is an enumerative noun (see 5.2.3, and later on in this subsection), then there cannot be a preceding modifying adjective or restricting noun. (5) If the head noun is possessed, then the ergative prefix on the head noun must agree in person and number with an overt possessor NP. However, if the

possessor is given information then it is normally omitted with only the
ergative prefix on the head noun indicating the possessor. If the possessor
is non-third person, then normally it is indicated only with an ergative
prefix on the head noun; an independent non-third person pronoun usually
occurs in the possessor NP position only if it is contrastive or emphatic.
And (6), usually if there is a possessor NP (which would normally follow the
head noun), then either no modifying adjective, restricting noun, prepositional
or relational noun phrase, or relative clause follows it, or the possessor
NP is fronted to the beginning of the sentence. Apparently, this is to
avoid ambiguity, since in most cases it would be impossible to tell if the
following modifying adjective, etc., pertained to the possessor NP or to the
head noun preceding the possessor.

On the other hand, there are some notable co-occurrence possibilities.
First, the definite article or a demonstrative may occur with the indefinite
article or an indefinite quantifier. The combination of definite and indefinite
markers together indicates that the referent denoted by the head noun is
identifiable (i.e. definite) but not presently given information (i.e. in-
definite; see Chafe 1976). In other words, apparently when a speaker uses
both definite and indefinite markers together he/she assumes the hearer can
identify the referent, but also assumes that it is not presently in the
consciousness of the hearer and that he/she is introducing it into the
hearer's consciousness (see sentences (12), (14), (16) below and sentence
(123) in chapter 7).

Second, there are no restrictions on the number of possessor NPs that
may follow the head noun (i.e. head noun of NP of NP of NP, etc.; e.g.
ruutz'ii7 ruuchaaq' rxayil nnimaal nb'esíino 'dog of younger sister of wife
of older brother of my neighbor = my neighbor's older brother's wife's
younger sister's dog'; see sentence (17) below). And there are no re-
strictions on the number of modifying adjectives, restricting nouns, prep-
ositional and relational noun phrases, and relative clauses that may be
concatenated after head nouns (see sentences (15), (18), (19), and (24)
below).

Some examples of NPs in sentences follow. The NPs discussed are en-
closed in brackets. Note that some NPs occur within other larger NPs.

(12) [Jaa la7 jun aachi] najt k'o wi7   chee waawe7.
     that   a   man   far live front to   here
     'That (identifiable but not previously mentioned) man lives far
     from here.'

In (12), the NP consists of the demonstrative jaa la7, the indefinite
article jun, and the head noun aachi.

(13) [Jar ee oxi7   chom laj   taq achi7aa7] xeeb'e   iiwiir.
      the B3p three far   very plr men   B3p-went yesterday
     'The three very fat men left yesterday.'

In (13), the NP consists of the definite article jar, the number oxi7
preceded by ee B3p, the adjective chom followed by the adverb laj, the plu-
ral particle taq, and the plural head noun achi7aa7.

(14) [Jar aak'aalaa7] xkeemol   [ruuxaaq
      the boys   B3-A3p-gathered-up its-leaf
     [ja   jun chee7 la7]].
      the a   tree there
     'The boys gathered up leaves of the (identifiable but
     not previously mentioned) tree there.'

In (14), the first NP consists of the definite article jar and the plural
head noun aak'aalaa7. The second NP consists of the possessed head noun
ruuxaaq followed by a possessor NP containing the definite article ja, the
indefinite article jun, the head noun of the possessor NP chee7, and the
demonstrative/locative particle la7.

(15) Tak'ama7   eel [jar oxi7   xojt   kaq tzab'u7q]!
     B3-A2-take away the three tile   red worn-out
     'Take away the three worn-out red tiles!'

In (15), the NP contains the definite article jar, the number oxi7, the head
noun xojt, and the adjectives kaq and tzub'u7q.

(16) [ja jule7 wajkax ajkare7tii7] nimaq   [kajilaal].
     the some cow   ones-of-cart big-plr   their-price
     'Prices of cart oxen are great (= cart oxen cost a lot).'

In (16), the full NP that functions as the subject of the plural predicate adjective nimaq consists of the possessed head noun k-ajilaal and the possessor NP ja jule7 wajkax ajkare7tii7, which has been fronted to the beginning of the sentence from the normal possessor position after the possessed noun. The possessor NP consists of the definite article ja, the plural indefinite article/quantifier julee7, the head noun of the possessor NP wajkax, and the following plural restricting noun ajkare7tii7.

(17) Xinwijl   [jun rwach   [rxajab'   [rk'aajool [nb'esíino]]]].
     B3-A1-found a   its-strap his-shoe his-son   my-neighbor
     'I found a strap of my neighbor's son's shoe.'

In (17), the largest NP contains the indefinite article jun, the possessed head noun r-wach, followed by the possessor NP r-xajab', followed by another possessor NP r-k'aajool, followed by still another possessor NP n-b'esíino.

(18) Xeeqijli   [jar ee oxi7 qaakuuch chaq' ja   q'eq
     B3-Alp-found the B3p three our-pig fat   that black
     [kiij]].
      their-backs
     'We found our three fat pigs whose backs are black.'

In (18), the largest NP contains the definite article jar, the number oxi7 preceded by ee B3p, the possessed head noun qaa-kuuch followed by the adjective chaq', and the relative clause ja q'eq kiij. The relative clause contains the possessed noun kiij, the possessor of which is the relativized head qaakuuch.

(19) [Jar aachi] nuuchoy   [ja nimaq   taq chee7
      the man   B3-A3-cut the big-plr plr tree
     ja   ma   kop   ta].
      that not hard irreal

'The man cuts the big trees which are not hard.'

In (19), the first NP contains the definite article <u>jar</u> and the head noun
<u>aachi</u>. The second NP contains the definite article <u>ja</u>, the plural adjective
<u>nimaq</u>, the plural particle <u>taq</u>, the head noun <u>chee7</u> followed by the relative
clause <u>ja</u> <u>ma</u> <u>kop</u> <u>ta</u>.

> (20) K'o   [jun wajkax   xuutij   [wawan]].
>   exist   a   cow   B3-A3-ate my-cornplants
>   'There's a cow that ate my cornplants.'

In (20), the largest NP consists of the indefinite article <u>jun</u>, the head
noun <u>wajkax</u> followed by the relative clause (without the relativizer) <u>xuutij</u>
<u>wawan</u>. The relative clause contains the possessed noun <u>w-awan</u>.

> (21) [Ja   lumbriis ch[aapaan   [atet]]] qas ee   nimaq.
>   the   worm   at your-insides you   very B3p   big-plr
>   'The worms inside of you are very big.'

In (21), the largest NP consists of the definite article <u>ja</u> and the head
noun <u>lumbriis</u> followed by the prepositional-relational noun phrase <u>chaapaan</u>
<u>atet</u>, which contains the possessed relational noun <u>aa-paan</u> followed by its
possessor, the independent pronoun <u>atet</u>.

> (22) [Ja   k'ama ya71 ja   xinloq']   xelaq'axi.
>   the   twine bag   that B3-A1-bought was-robbed
>   'The twine bag that I bought was robbed.'

In (22), the NP contains the definite article <u>ja</u>, the restricting noun <u>k'aam</u>
with a modifier-connector suffix <u>-a</u>, the head noun <u>ya71</u> followed by the
relative clause <u>ja</u> <u>xinloq'</u>.

It should be stated that modifying adjectives and restricting nouns
following singular head nouns in an NP are always identical with reduced
relative clauses, since the relativizer <u>ja</u>(<u>r</u>) is apparently always optional
(see section 10.2.1 on relative clauses). For example, the adjectives in
(23a) and the restricting noun in (23b) are identical with the relative
clauses in (24) if the relativizer is omitted.

```
(23) a.    ja   kuuch  chaq'   q'eq
           the pig     fat     black
           'the fat black pig'
     b.    ja   wajkax ajkare7t
           the cow     one-of-cart
           'the cart ox'
(24) a.    ja   kuuch (ja)    chaq' (ja)  q'eq
           the pig     that  fat    that black
           'the pig that is fat that is black'
     b.    ja   wajkax  (jar)  ajkare7t
           the cow      that   one-of-cart
           'the cow that is a cart ox'
```

It is possible that even if the head noun is plural, following adjectives
and restricting nouns may be reduced relative clauses. For example, (25a)
may be a reduction of (25b).

```
(25) a.    jule7 wajkax ajkare7tii7
           some  cow    ones-of-cart
           'some cart oxen'
     b.    jule7 wajkax (jar) e7   ajkare7tii7
           some  cow    that B3p  ones-of-cart
           'some cows that are cart oxen'
```

If the relativizer ja(r) is omitted, then perhaps the third person plural
absolutive marker ee/e7 can also be omitted, thus making (25a) a reduced
form of (25b).

Prepositional and relational noun phrases following head nouns in an NP
may also be reduced relative clauses. For example, (26a) may be a reduction
of (26b).

```
(26) a.    ja    lumbriis chaapaan
           the   worm(s)  inside-of-you
           'the worms inside of you'
```

    b.   ja   lumbriis (jar) ee   k'o   chaapaan
         the worms   that B3p be   inside-of-you
         'the worms that are inside of you'

If the relativizer is omitted perhaps it is also possible to omit the plural
absolute marker ee as well as the locative predicate k'o (see section
8.2.4 on k'o).

   It may be the case, then, that all adjectives, restricting nouns, and
prepositional and relational noun phrases that follow head nouns in an NP
are reductions of full relative clauses.

   There is an important type of compound NP in Tzutujil that is comprised
of two NPs. The first NP of the compound always has an enumerative noun
(see 5.2.3) or a measure word (see 5.2.4) as its head noun, and the second
NP has some common noun as its head. Both NPs of the compound are coequal
in that neither one seems to be subordinate or superordinate to the other.
However, there are restrictions on the possible NP constituents in both NPs
of the compound NP. The first NP must always have a number or quantifier
preceding the head enumerative noun or measure word, and the second NP may
never have a number or quantifier preceding its head noun. Also, if the
head of the first NP is an enumerative, there may never be a modifying ad-
jective or restricting noun intervening between the number or quantifier and
the head enumerative noun. And neither enumeratives nor measure words are
possessed. Another important fact about these compound NPs is that if the
head noun of the second NP is plural and animate, then it triggers person
and number agreement on the verb (i.e., if the compound is a subject, agent
or patient; see sentences (33) and (34) below). Example sentences with
compound NPs are given in (27)-(34). Sentences (27) and (28) contain com-
pound NPs with measure words as heads of the first NP, and sentences (29)-(34)
contain compound NPs with enumerative nouns as heads of the first NP.

     (27) Xinloq'   jun doséena nb'áaso.
          B3-Al-bought one dozen   my-glass
          'I bought a dozen of glasses.'
     (28) Nwaajo7   kaji7 líibra nkiinaaq'.
          B3-Al-want four   pound my-bean
          'I want four pounds of beans.'

(29) Ka7i7 b'atz'aaj ja   riikiil xya7   chwe.
     two   package   the food   was-given to-me
     'Two packages of the food were given to me.'

(30) Jub'otaaj ja   wuuj   xinloq'.
     one-roll the   paper B3-Al-bought
     'I bought a roll of the paper.'

(31) Qas   poqon   ja   juk'oox aab'aj xya7   chwe.
     really painful the   one-blow rock was-given to-me
     'The rock blow (blow of rock) that was given to me was really
     painful.'

(32) Xinloq'   jutaq mook kixajajb'.
     B3-Al-bought some   pair their-shoes
     'I bought some pairs of shoes for them.'

(33) Xeenuutz'et kan   jucholaj winaq pa káampo.
     B3p-Al-saw   staying a-line   people in country
     'I saw a line of people in the country.'

(34) Iiwiir   xeenwijl   jupuq   saqa kaab'.
     yesterday B3p-Al-encountered a-swarm white bee
     'Yesterday I encountered a swarm of white bees (= stingless
     bees).'

Pronominal NPs are composed of either an independent personal pronoun
(see 3.1), a demonstrative pronoun (see 3.5, 7.1.6), or an indefinite pro-
noun (see 3.4). Pronouns normally do not occur with any other NP constituent
except that: (1) on rare occasions they are followed by relative clauses;
and (2) the non-third person independent pronouns may be preceded by the
definite article ja(r) when they are Subjects or topics. The independent
personal pronouns are usually used only to indicate contrast or emphasis.

(35) (Jar) ojoj oq   k'o waawe7.
     the   we   Blp   be here
     'We are here.'

(36) (Jar) atet xatkamsaani   ja ak'.
     the   you B2-killed-foc the chicken
     'You are the one who killed the chicken.'

(37) Je7ee7 qas   ee jani7 xpeq.
     they   really B3p like toad
     'They are really like toads.'

(38) (Jar) ixix   xixkunax   wmaal inin.
      the you-all B2p-were-cured by-me I
     'You all were cured by me.'

(39) Jaa wa7 ja   chenooj xinloq'.
     this   the   field   B3-A1-bought
     'This is the field I bought.'

(40) Xink'aq   juun choqojaa7.
     B3-A1-shot one too
     'I shot one too.'

8.1.2 Prepositional and Relational Noun Phrases

Prepositional phrases, relational noun phrases, and prepositional-relational
noun phrases are used to indicate oblique arguments (or oblique case relations)
such as locatives, datives, benefactives, instruments, agentives (e.g., in
passives), and so on (see 5.2.1, 7.1.3, 8.2).

Prepositional phrases consist of one of the four prepositions discussed
in section 7.1.2 plus a following noun phrase that functions as the object
of the preposition (as in (41)-(43) below; also see the examples in 7.1.2).

(41) Xinkoj   ja wuuj pa nuuya7l.
     B3-A1-put the paper in my-bag
     'I put the paper in my bag.'

(42) Ee   k'o chi koochooch.
     B3p be   at   their-house
     'They are at their house.'

(43) Xkeechoy   sii7   tza7n ikaj pa taq juyu7.
     B3-A3p-cut firewood with axe in plr mountain
     'They cut firewood with an axe in the mountains.'

Relational noun phrases are much like prepositional phrases. They
consist of a relational noun (relational nouns (RNs) are discussed in 5.2.1)

that functions like a preposition, and they are normally followed by a noun
phrase that functions as the 'object' of the relational noun. However,
formally, the RN is possessed by its object (e.g. ruuk'iin jar aachi 'with
the man' < r- A3, -uuk'iin RN 'with, and', jar 'the', aachi 'man').
Although the RN is normally followed by its object (i.e. possessor), the
object NP of the RN may be omitted if it is given information (e.g. ruuk'iin
'with him'). And further, if the object of the RN is non-third person, then
usually it is manifested only as a possessive ergative prefix on the RN
(e.g. wk'iin 'with me' < w-A1, -(uu)k'iin). Non-third person independent
pronouns are used with an RN normally only to indicate contrast or emphasis
(e.g. wk'iin inin 'with me' < inin 'I'). Object NPs of RNs may also be
fronted under certain conditions (e.g. je7ee7 is fronted in (47a) below; see
section 9.3 on fronting). Some sentences with RN phrases follow (also see
the examples in 5.2.1 and 8.2.3.3).

>
> (44) Awxiin atet   ja   chenooj   ja   xjosq'ixi.
>   of-you you   the   field   that was-cleaned
>   'The field that was cleaned (for planting) is yours.'
>
> (45) Jaa7 xuub'an   way   wk'iin.
>   she B3-A3-made tortilla with-me
>   'She made tortillas with me.'
>
> (46) Xinch'eytaj   inin awmaal atet.
>   B1-got-beat-up I   by-you you
>   'I got beat up by you.'
>
> (47) a.   Je7ee7 konojeel   xeeb'e   pa wa7iim.
>   they   all-of-them B3p-went to eat
>   'They all went to eat.'
>
>   b.   Konojeel   je7ee7 xeeb'e   pa wa7iim.
>   all-of-them they   B3p-went to eat
>   'All of them went to eat.'
>
>   c.   Konojeel   xeeb'e pa wa7iim.
>   'All of them went to eat.'

Prepositional-relational noun phrases consist of one of the two prepo-
sitions, pa(n) 'in, into, on, to, from' or ch(i) 'at, to, with (instr), plus

a following RN (see 5.2.1) that is then followed by a noun phrase that
functions as the 'object' of the prepositional-relational noun phrase. As
in simple RN phrases, the RN in a prepositional-relational noun phrase is
possessed by the object (e.g. pa rk'axwaach jar aachi 'instead of the man'<
pa 'in', r- A3, k'axwaach 'stead, substitute', ja 'the', aachi 'man'). The
object NP (i.e. the formal possessor of the RN) may be omitted if it is
given information (e.g. pa rk'axwaach 'instead of him'). And normally, if
the object is non-third person, then it is realized only as a possessive
ergative prefix on the RN (e.g. pa nk'axwaach 'instead of me' < n- A1). The
independent personal pronouns are used in prepositional-relational noun
phrases only to indicate contrast or emphasis (e.g. pa nk'axwaach inin 'in-
stead of me' < inin 'I'). Object NPs of prepositional-relational noun
phrases may be fronted under certain conditions (e.g. inin is fronted in
(48); see section 9.3 on fronting). Some examples of preposition-
al-relational noun phrases are provided below (also see the examples in
5.2.1).

(48) Inin k'o   chi npaan.
     I   B3-be at my-insides
     'It's inside of me.'

(49) Inin xinya7   ja   kotoon chaawe   rxin   awaanaa7.
     I   B3-A1-gave the huipil to-you for-her your-sister
     'I gave the huipil to you for your sister.'

(50) Xintz'ub'e7 pa rxkin   ja   q'apooj.
     B1-sat   on her-side the girl
     'I sat beside the girl.'

(51) Ja   tzyaq   k'o pa rwi7   (jaay).
     the clothes be   on its-top house
     'The clothes are on top of it (on top of the house).'

8.1.3 Predicate Phrases

Predicate phrases in Tzutujil are either verb phrases or stative
predicate phrases. The possible constituents of both types are presented
below in their relative order.

<u>Constituents of Verb Phrases</u>

1. Prepredicate adverb (7.2)
2. Negative particle (7.1.5, 9.1)
3. VERB with inflections (chapter 4, 8.2)
4. Directional enclitic particle (7.2.2)
5. <u>Chik</u> 'again, already' (7.1.7.4)
6. Modal enclitic particle (7.2.1)
7. Fronting particle <u>wi7</u> (7.1.7.2, 9.4)

<u>Constituents of Stative Predicate Phrases</u>

1. Prepredicate adverb (7.2)
2. Negative particle (7.1.5, 9.1)
3. Absolutive person marker (3.1)
4. STATIVE PREDICATE (8.2.1); i.e. a predicate adjective
    (6.1.4), or a predicate noun (5.1.4) or noun phrase
5. <u>Chik</u> 'again, already' (7.1.7)
6. Modal enclitic particle (7.2.1)
7. Fronting particle <u>wi7</u> (7.1.7.2, 9.4)

The only obligatory constituent in a verb phrase is the verb itself,
along with its requisite person/number and tense/aspect/mode inflections.
The internal structure of the verb is discussed in detail in chapter 4 and
is not dealt with further here.

A stative predicate phrase minimally contains an absolutive person
marker followed by a predicate adjective or predicate noun (e.g. <u>at</u> <u>utz</u> 'you
are good' < <u>at</u> B2, <u>utz</u> 'good'; <u>in</u> <u>winaq</u> 'I am a person' < <u>in</u> B1, <u>winaq</u>
'person, people'; see chapter 5 on nouns and chapter 6 on adjectives).
Predicate adjectives are like other adjectives except they are never
followed by the modifier-connector suffix -<u>V</u> or by <u>laj</u> 'very' (see 6.1.1),
and predicate nouns are indistinguishable from other nouns. It should be
noted that if a noun or adjective has a plural form, then the plural form is
used when the noun or adjective functions as a stative predicate, if the
subject is semantically plural (e.g. <u>oq</u> <u>achi7aa7</u> 'we are men' < <u>oq</u> B1p,
<u>achi7aa7</u> 'men' plr of <u>aachi</u> 'man'; <u>ee</u> <u>nimaq</u> 'they are big' < <u>ee</u> B3p, <u>nimaq</u>
'big' plr of <u>nim</u> 'big').

Technically, predicate nouns are actually predicate noun phrases, since
other NP constituents may occur along with the noun in a predicate (e.g. qas
at utz laj winaq 'you are a very good person' > qas 'very, really', at B2,
utz 'good', laj 'very', winaq 'person, people', with utz laj winaq being an
NP; in rachb'iil Aa Xwaan 'I am a companion of Juan's' < in B1, r-achb'iil
'his companion', Aa Xwaan '(youth) Juan', with rachb'iil Aa Xwaan being an
NP (N of NP)). However, normally, articles are not used with predicate
nouns or noun phrases. The only cases where articles occur with predicate
nouns are when the predicate noun has specific reference; that is, when it
denotes an identifiable entity. For example, compare (52a) with (52b).

(52) a.   Jaa   la7 chenooj.
           that   field
           'That's a field.'

     b.   Jaa la7 ja   chenooj (ja)   xinloq'.
           that   the field   that B3-A1-bought
           'That is the field (that) I bought.'

In (52a), the predicate noun chenooj is not referential; rather it simply
tells what jaa la7 'that' is. In (52b), where the definite article ja is
used before the predicate noun chenooj, chenooj is referential, specifically
denoting the particular field 'that I bought.'

Both verb phrases and stative predicate phrases share a number of possible
constituents. Both verbs and stative predicates may be preceded by a
prepredicate adverb such as qas 'very', really, a lot', laj 'was/were going
to (but didn't)', or anij 'always', and/or a negative such as ma 'not',
majalaal 'never', or maja7ni 'still not'. And both verbs and stative
predicates may be followed by chik, modal enclitics (e.g. ta irreal, na nec,
eeq counter-to-expectations, etc.), and the fronting particle wi7 used when
certain constituents normally occurring after the predicate phrase are
fronted to a position before the predicate phrase. (N.B.: with respect to
relative order of particles, chik normally occurs before modal particles,
but on rare occasions it has been recorded after a modal particle; see
sentence (61) below)

On the other hand, there are important distinctions between predicate
phrases containing verbs and those containing stative predicates. Only

verbs may be followed by a directional enclitic; stative predicates are never followed by a directional. And, as discussed in section 4.1, verbs are inflected: (1) for aspect/tense/mode with either a perfect suffix or one of the nonperfect prefixes (see 4.1.2); (2) for subject with an absolutive person marker if they are intransitive, and for agent with an ergative prefix and for patient with an absolutive person marker if they are transitive (see 4.1.1); and (3) optionally for direction with the 'coming' and 'going' prefixes (see 4.1.4). Stative predicates are only inflected for subject with a proclitic absolutive person marker; they are never inflected for aspect/tense/mode, nor for direction.

Examples of predicate phrases occur throughout this work; in fact, virtually all the numbered sentence examples given here are full sentences containing predicate phrases. A few others are provided below, primarily to illustrate the relative order of predicate phrase constituents. (53)-(57) have verb phrases and (58)-(62) have stative predicate phrases.

(53) Anij   ma kik'axoon   ta   wi7.
     always   not B3-A3p-have-changed   irreal front
     'They haven't ever changed it.'

(54) Nu7ujqa7j   chi(k) na.
     B3-come-descend   again nec
     'They have to come down again.'

(55) Neeqa7j   kan   chik.
     B3p-descend   stay again
     'They descend and stay again (= they stay down again).'

(56) Xa   ryon   jaa7 qas   nwaajo7.
     only alone she   really B3-A1-love
     'Only her alone I really love.'

(57) Ta   Mari7y ma   ril   pi ta   rwaay   Ta   Leen.
     Miss María   not B3-A3-get come irreal her-tortilla Miss Elena
     'María didn't get tortillas from Elena.'

(58) Ixix   qas   ix   q'oolaa7.
     you-all very B2p proud-plr
     'You all are very proud.'

(59) At winaq o   mat   winaq ta?
     B2 person or not-B2   person irreal
     'Are you a person or are you not a person?'

(60) Inin oojeer in ajch'a7ool.

    I   before B1 fighter

    'Before, I was a fighter.'

(61) a.   Pa jaay ma k'o chi(k) ta   wi7. [usual order]

         in house not be already irreal front

   b.   Pa jaay ma k'o ta   chik   wi7. [unusual order]

         in house not be irreal already front

         'In the house there already isn't any.'

(62) Jaa lale7 anij ajb'iis   wi7.

    that one   always one-of-sadness front

    'That one is always sad (is one characterized by sadness).'

8.2   SIMPLE SENTENCES

8.2.1   Basic Sentence Constituents

In their most basic form, declarative sentences in Tzutujil contain the following essential constituents:

    (1)   a predicate or predicate phrase,

    (2)   one or two arguments in direct relationship with the predicate, and

    (3)   a tense/aspect/mode indicator in verbal sentences.

All predicates in Tzutujil are basically either one-place or two-place predicates.[3] Intransitive verbs and stative predicates are one-place predicates and require one argument, a subject, in direct relationship with them. Transitive verbs are two-place predicates and require two arguments, an agent (i.e. 'doer') and a patient (i.e. 'nondoer'),[4] in direct relationship with them.

Direct arguments of simple sentences are referenced in the predicate phrase itself: the absolutive person markers reference subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates, and patients of transitive verbs; the ergative prefixes reference agents of transitive verbs. Tense, aspect, and mode are referenced on verbs with a perfect suffix or a nonperfect prefix, and with modal enclitics. In their simplest form, stative sentences require

no overt marking of tense, aspect, or mode. However, unless there is an
overt time or modal adverb or modal enclitic indicating otherwise, stative
sentences are interpreted as being in indicative mode, and incompletive
aspect or aorist tense. In other words, in stative sentences it is assumed,
other things being equal, that the subject has been in the state indicated
by the predicate for some time, is presently in the state, and will be in
the state for some time.

Since direct arguments of sentences are referenced in the predicate
phrase itself, a complete sentence in Tzutujil may be simply a predicate
phrase without overt noun phrases if the direct arguments are non-third
person (i.e. first or second person). That is, if the direct arguments are
non-third person, then overt noun phrases (i.e. non-third person independent
pronouns) outside of the predicate phrase are unnecessary, since they are
unambiguously indicated in the predicate phrase. In fact, non-third person
independent pronouns are normally used only emphatically or contrastively.
And further, in transitive sentences with two non-third person direct
arguments, it is stylistically bad, if not ungrammatical, to have more than
one independent pronoun. In the sentences below, the forms in (a) are
complete sentences consisting of predicate phrases alone; the forms in (b),
(c), and (d) have overt independent personal pronouns.

(63) a.   In aachi.   'I am a man.'
           B1 man

     b.   Inin in aachi.   '_I_ am a man.'
           I   B1 man

(64) a.   Xinejtz'aani.   'I played.'
           B1-played

     b.   Inin xinejtz'aani.   '_I_ played.'
           I   B1-played

(65) a.   Xatnuutz'at.   'I saw you.'
           B2-A1-saw

     b.   Inin xatnuutz'at.   '_I_ saw you.'
           I   B2-A1-saw

     c.   Xatnuutz'at atet.   'I saw _you_.'
           B2-A1-saw   you

    d.   Jar aatet xatnuutz'at.   '<u>You</u>, I saw.'
          the you   B2-A1-saw

If the direct arguments of a sentence are third person, and if their referents are not given information, then overt noun phrases must appear in the sentence, since third person referencing in the predicate phrase alone would be potentially infinitely ambiguous. On the other hand, if the referents of third person direct arguments are given information, then overt noun phrases need not appear and are often omitted, referencing of the direct arguments being left to person marking within the predicate. For example, in (66a)-(68a) overt noun phrases occur because they are new information; in (66b)-(68b) they are omitted because they are given information. (N.B.: absolutive third person singular is null; see 3.1)

(66) a.   Aa   Xwaan ma   nuuchaaq'   ta.
          youth Juan not   my-little-brother irreal
          'Juan is not my little brother.'

     b.   Ma nuuchaaq'   ta.
          not my-little-brother irreal
          'He isn't my little brother.'

(67) a.   Xwar   nuuchaaq'.
          B3-slept my-little-brother
          'My little brother slept.'

     b.   Xwari.
          B3-slept
          'He slept.'

(68) a.   Xkeetij   ntzyaq   ch'ooyaa7.
          B3-A3p-ate my-clothes rats
          'Rats ate my clothes.'

     b.   Xkeetij.
          B3-A3p-ate
          'They ate it.'

It is important to note that overt direct argument noun phrases appearing in Tzutujil sentences are not explicitly marked for their semantic-syntactic

(case) relations of subject, agent, or patient. That is, there are no case
inflections or particles that distinguish overt subject, agent, and patient
noun phrases from each other. The fact that subject noun phrases are un-
marked for their semantic syntactic relation does not pose a problem, since
a subject noun phrase is the only possible direct argument that may occur
with a one-place predicate. And, in a sentence with a transitive verb, if
one of the direct arguments is non-third person and the other third person,
then no problem arises, since the absolutive and ergative person inflections
on the transitive verbs unambiguously indicate whether the third person or
the non-third person is agent or patient. On the other hand, when there are
two third person direct arguments in a transitive sentence, the absolutive
and ergative person inflections on the transitive verb cannot by themselves
disambiguate which noun phrase is the agent and which is the patient, since
in this situation both the absolutive and ergative inflections are third
person. Of course in Tzutujil, as in any language, distinguishing which
noun phrase in a transitive sentence is agent and which is patient is cru-
cial for interpretation of the sentence. In Tzutujil, distinguishing the
semantic-syntactic relations of third person agents and patients is accom-
plished by means of three mechanisms working in combination with each other:
(1) word order, (2) the semantics of the particular verb and its two direct
arguments, and (3) by discourse phenomena such as which argument is or is
not the topic of the discourse, or which one (if any) is in contrastive
focus. These mechanisms are discussed and exemplified in section 8.2.3.

8.2.2 Additional Simple Sentence Constituents

In addition to the essential sentence constituents (i.e. a predicate
and its direct arguments: subject, or agent and patient), there are other
major constituents that optionally occur in simple sentences. These are
adverbs and adverbial particles, and oblique sentential arguments.

Adverbs and particles are discussed and exemplified in chapter 7, and
they are not dealt with further here. However, it should be remembered that
adverbs normally occur either at the end of a sentence, at the beginning of
a sentence, or in prepredicate position.

Oblique arguments in Tzutujil are noun phrases in a sentence that are
in an indirect or oblique relationship with the predicate, and therefore

they are not referenced in the predicate phrase (e.g. with affixes like the absolutive and ergative person markers). Oblique argument NPs are overtly marked as such with prepositions (see 7.1.2), and relational nouns or prepositional-relational nouns (see 5.2.1).[5] The prepositions, relational nouns, and prepositional-relational nouns indicate the semantic-syntactic roles of oblique arguments, such as dative, instrumental, locative, benefactive, topical, comitative, indirect agentive, agentive (in passives; see 9.6.1), patient (in antipassives; see 9.6.2), as well as others (see section 7.1.2 for the semantic-syntactic roles indicated by particular prepositions; section 5.1.2 for the semantic-syntactic roles indicated by particular relational nouns and prepositional-relational nouns; and section 8.1.2 for the internal structure of prepositional and relational noun phrases; and see each of these sections for example sentences of each of the prepositions, relational nouns, and prepositional-relational nouns; also see section 8.2.3.3 for more example sentences with oblique arguments).

8.2.3 Word Order

In this section a general characterization is given of the word order of major constituents in simple sentences. These constituents are predicate (V);[6] direct arguments such as subject (S), agent (A), and patient (P); and various oblique arguments such as dative (Dat), instrumental (Instr), benefactive (Ben), and locative (Loc). At the outset, it should be stated that Tzutujil is basically a verb-first (i.e. predicate-first) language. Nevertheless, there are a number of situations in which major constituents precede the verb. Many of these situations are discussed in this section; some others are discussed in chapter 9. Word order changes are primarily due to discourse factors, as will be shown, although the details of some of these factors deserve further study.

8.2.3.1 Word Order in Sentences With One-Place Predicates

In sentences with overt noun phrases and with one-place predicates such as intransitive verbs and stative predicates, there are two possible word orders of the basic constituents:

            I.   Predicate   Subject   (VS)
           II.   Subject   Predicate   (SV)

VS order is the most basic in Tzutujil. It is always used (1) when the existence of the subject is not presupposed, and (2) when the subject is presupposed but is being introduced into the conversation. It is also often used (3) when the subject is new (i.e. not given) information, especially if the subject is not human. It should be noted that in the latter case, (3), the subject may be definite (i.e. identifiable) even though it is not already given information in the speech context. For example, one may use VS order when first talking about ja nuutee7 '(the) my mother' or wxaayiil 'my wife', who may be definite but not necessarily given information (see sentence (71) below).

(69) Ee k'o winaq waawe7.
     B3p be   people here
     'There are (some) people here.'

(70) Xpi   jun aachi   Xelaju7.
     came a   man   Quetzaltenango
     'A man came from Quetzaltenango.'

(71) Ajnawala7   ja wxaayiil.
     one-of-Nahuala the my-wife
     'My wife is from Nahualá.'

(72) Xkami ja nuutz'ii7 rmal   b'enéena.
     died   the my-dog   because-of poison
     'My dog died because of poison.'

Subject-first order is also frequent in Tzutujil. It is used (1) when the subject is the topic of the discourse in general, (2) when the subject is contrastive or in any way emphatic, and (3) generally, when the subject is given information. If the subject is given information, then often an overt noun phrase referring to it will not appear in the sentence. However, an overt subject noun phrase is used whenever there is a possibility of ambiguity as to which previously mentioned noun phrase might be the subject. For example, if the speaker has just mentioned two or more individuals,

especially if they are human or animate, then it is not unusual for an overt subject noun phrase to appear in the sentence clarifying which one is the subject of the present sentence. Also, independent personal pronouns indicating subjects most frequently occur preceding the predicate since they are usually contrastive or emphatic. In fact, third person independent pronouns never occur after the predicate when they are subjects; however, non-third person independent pronouns do occasionally follow the predicate even though they are emphatic.

(73) Je7ee7 wa7 ch'uu7 qas   ee   utz.
     these   fish   very B3p   good
     'These fish are very good.'

(74) Ja   nuuchaaq'   xajnamaji ja toq laj   xch'ejyi.
     the my-little-brother fled   when   was-to B3-was-hit
     'My little brother fled when he was going to be beaten.'

(75) Jar Aa   Max   wa7naq   chik.
     the youth Tomás has-eaten already
     'Tomás has already eaten.'

(76) Inin oojeer in ajch'a7ool.
     I   before B1 fighter
     'I used to be a fighter.'

8.2.3.2   Word Order in Transitive Sentences

In simple sentences with transitive verbs and with overt direct argument noun phrases there are a number of possible word orders each with a different 'meaning' with respect to discourse notions such as topic, definiteness, and new, given, and contrastive information (see Chafe 1976).
The possible word orders are listed below and then discussed and exemplified individually.

Word Orders in Transitive Sentences

I.		Verb	Patient	Agent	(VPA)
	Ia.		Verb	Agent	(VA)
II.		Agent	Verb	Patient	(AVP)
	IIa.		Verb	Patient	(VP)
	IIb.		Agent	Verb	(AV)
III.		Patient	Verb	Agent	(PVA)
IV.		Agent	Patient	Verb	(APV)
	IVa.		Patient	Verb	(PV)
V.		Patient	Agent	Verb	(PAV)

[in focus antipassive constructions only]

First, note that there is only one logically possible word order that
does not occur or that is always grammatically unacceptable: *Verb Agent
Patient (*VAP). Also, PAV order is ungrammatical with active transitive
verbs but does occur with transitive verbs in the focus antipassive voice
(discussed below and in section 9.6.2).

VPA order is the most basic, neutral, or unmarked word order with respect
to the discourse notions mentioned at the beginning of this subsection. VPA
order is used simply to convey information that some agent acts on some
patient. The patient is usually new information and cannot be overtly marked
as definite with the definite article ja(r) (cp. the ungrammatical sentences
in (77) and (78)). However, the patient may be 'understood' as definite
when no article occurs with it (as in (77)). The agent is usually either
definite (as in (78) and (80), or unmarked for definiteness (as in (77) and
(79)). The patient and the agent cannot both be overtly marked as
indefinite (i.e. as new information) with the indefinite article jun (cp.
ungrammatical (78c)). If the patient is not third person, then normally no
overt patient noun phrase appears in the sentence, the non-third person
patient being marked only on the verb with an absolutive person marker (as
in (81) and (82)); this situation results in a transitive sentence with VA
order (Ia. above). On the other hand, since patients in VPA sentences are
usually new information, only very rarely are overt patient noun phrases
omitted if they are third person. Sentences (83) and (84), taken from
texts, are the only recorded instances where overt third person patient noun

phrases have been omitted from VPA (> VA) sentences. In both (83) and
(84), what is actually omitted is a whole series of events discussed previ-
ously in the texts.

(77) a.   Xkeetij   tzyaq   ch'ooyaa7.
           B3-A3p-ate clothes rats
           'Rats ate (the) clothes.'
     b.   *Xkeetij ja tzyaq (ja) ch'ooyaa7.

(78) a.   Xuuch'ey jun ixoq   jar aachi.
           B3-A3-hit a   woman the man
           'The man hit a woman.'
     b.   *Xuuch'ey jar iixoq $\begin{cases} jar \\ jun \end{cases}$ aachi.
     c.   *Xuuch'ey jun ixoq jun aachi.

(79) Xuuloq'   ka7i7 líibra chuum nuutee7   iiwiir.
     B3-A3-bought two   pound lime my-mother yesterday
     'My mother bought two pounds of lime yesterday.'

(80) Nraajo7   awóono   ja nkape.
     B3-A3-needs fertilizer the my-coffee
     'My coffee needs fertilizer.'

(81) Xinruuti7 jun ajqaaq xe7   weey.
     B1-A3-bit a   wasp   under my-teeth (= on cheek)
     'A wasp bit me on the cheek.'

(82) At rayab'een   ja nata7   kaamiik.
     B2 A3-has-waited-for the my-father today
     'My father has been waiting for you today.'

(83) Chi utz   kib'anoon   ja winaq.
     well   B3-A3p-have-done the people
     'The people have done it well.'

(84) Kaari7 rb'iin   ja ti   Taa7 Pala7s   Sojwe7l.
     thusly B3-A3-has-said the little Sir Francisco Sojhuel
     'Thusly, Sir Francisco Sojhuel has said it.'

In texts and in extended conversations AVP order is the statistically
most frequent word order when two overt noun phrases appear in transitive
sentences. This order is used when the agent is the main topic of the dis-
course. When the agent topic is both given and definite information, an

overt noun phrase referring to it often does not appear in the sentence
(i.e. IIa. above; e.g. (85b)-(88b)). That is, after the agent topic has
been introduced, any transitive sentence that follows usually does not have
an overt noun phrase referring to the agent topic, unless omitting the overt
agent noun phrase would result in ambiguity, or unless there is a change in
topic. Thus, sentences with VP order without an overt agent noun phrase are
alternate attenuated forms of AVP sentences. In addition, if the patient is
not third person, then usually no overt patient noun phrase appears in the
sentence, the patient being indicated only with a non-third person
absolutive marker on the verb. Thus, AVP sentences without overt (non-third
person) patient noun phrases result in the attenuated order AV (i.e. IIb.
above; e.g. (89a) and (90a)), or in simply V if the topic agent noun phrase
is also omitted (e.g. (89b) and (90b)).[7] The only restriction on AVP order
is that the agent may not be indefinite if the patient is definite (cp.
ungrammatical (86c)).[8]

(85) a.   Jar iixoq xuub'an   way.
          the woman B3-A3-made tortilla
          'The woman made tortillas.'

     b.   Xuub'an   way.
          'She made tortillas.'

(86) a.   Ja ch'ooyaa7 xkeetij   ja tzyaq.
          the rats   B3-A3p-ate the clothes
          'The rats ate the clothes.'

     b.   Xkeetij   ja tzyaq.
          'They ate the clothes.'

     c.   *Jun ch'ooy xuutij   ja tzyaq.
          a   rat   B3-A3-ate the clothes

(87) a.   Inin xink'ul   jun ajch'ajo7m.
          I   B3-A1-met a   washerwoman
          'I met a washerwoman.'

     b.   Xink'ul jun ajch'ajo7m.
          'I met a   washerwoman.'

(88) a.   Jar Aa   Teeko xb'ach'u7yirsaaj ja wuuj pa ruuq'a7.
          the youth Diego B3-A3-wrinkled-up the paper in his-hand
          'Diego wrinkled up the paper in his hand.'

      b.   Xb'ach'u7yirsaaj ja wuuj pa ruuq'a7.

          'He wrinkled up the paper in his hand.'

(89) a.   Ja b'aaq d'isomb'al xinruusok.

          the needle for-sewing B1-A3-hurt

          'The sewing needle hurt me.'

      b.   Xinruusok.

          'It hurt me.'

(90) a.   Ja xten xinruuch'ap.

          the girl B1-A3-pinched

          'The girl pinched me.'

      b.   Xinruuch'ap.

          'She pinched me.'

PVA order is not common. It is used to contrast the patient. Sentences with PVA order are much like English sentences with fronted objects or like cleft sentences where the object is in the cleft. PVA sentences are potentially ambiguous with AVP sentences but usually the semantic features of the verb and those of the agent and patient noun phrases make PVA sentences interpretable in only one direction (e.g. (91)-(93)). For example, in (91), where the verb is tijooj 'to eat', only the animal ch'ooyaa7 'rats' can be interpreted as the agent, and only tzyaq 'clothes' can be interpreted as the patient, since clothes do not eat but can be eaten. However, a few cases have been recorded where (out of context) true ambiguity might arise. For example, sentence (94) seems potentially ambiguous since both agent and patient are human. However, this sentence was taken from a text where ja jwees 'the judge' had been talking to various other people earlier in the text, and then later talks to najb'ey martooma 'first steward'. The context makes clear who is talking to whom. It is possible that sentence (94) is not syntactically ambiguous with AVP order even out of context, since normally AVP order does not allow an agent that is not marked as definite (with ja(r) to occur with a definite patient, as would have to be the case if (94) were interpreted as AVP order.

(91) Ja tzyaq   xkeetij   ja ch'ooyaa7.

    the clothes B3-A3p-ate the rats

    'The clothes, the rats ate (= the clothes were what the rats

    ate).'

(92) Ja k'atan nuuna7   Aa   Toor.
     the heat   B3-A3-feel youth Salvador
     'The heat, Salvador feels (= it's the heat that Salvador feels).'

(93) Ch'ujtb'al nraajo7   jar aab'aj.
     wedge   B3-A3-require the rock
     'A wedge, the rock requires (= it's a wedge that the rock
     requires).'

(94) Najb'ey martooma nq'ijla7   ja jwees.
     first   steward B3-A3-talks-to the judge
     '(The) first steward, the judge talks to (= (the) first steward is
     the one the judge talks to).'

APV order is rather uncommon. It merges the functions of both PVA
order and AVP order. That is, APV order is used (like PVA order) to con-
trast the patient, when the agent is the main topic of the discourse (as the
agent is in AVP order). Since the agent is the main topic, it is usually
definite and given, and therefore an overt noun phrase referring to it often
does not appear in the sentence. When an overt agent noun phrase is omitted,
PV order results (i.e. IVa. above; e.g. (95) and (96b).

(95) a.   Jar ajnawala7   kaxlaway nk'aayiij.
          the one-of-Nahuala bread   B3-A3-sells
          'It's bread that the one from Nahualá sells.'

     b.   Kaxlaway nk'aayiij.
          'Bread, she sells (= it's bread that she sells).'

(96) a.   Jar iinin xa   itzeeneem nsamaajiij.
          the I   only sorcery   B3-A3-work
          'Only sorcery, I work (= it's only sorcery that I work).'

     b.   Xa   itzeeneem nsamaajiij.
          'Only sorcery, I work (= it's only sorcery that I work).'

(97) Ja gáarsa cheqe ch'uu7 neeruutij.
     the heron only fish   B3p-A3-eats
     'Only fish, the heron eats (= it's only fish that the heron
     eats).'

PAV order does not occur with normal active transitive verbs. It is
used only with transitive verbs in the focus antipassive voice. The function
of PAV order in conjunction with the focus antipassive voice is to contrast
both the patient and the agent. (N.B.: focus antipassive verbs are
morphologically intransitive, but the sentences in which they occur are
always transitive, and focus antipassive verbs have rather peculiar person
marking; see section 9.6.2 on the focus antipassive voice for details.)

(98)   Jar iixoq jun aachi xch'eyowi.
       the woman a   man   B3-hit-foc
       'The woman, it was a man who hit her (= it was a man who hit the
       woman).'

(99)   Ja tzyaq   ch'ooyaa7 xeetijowi.
       the clothes rats   B3p-ate-foc
       'Rats were the ones who ate the clothes.'

(100) Ja wari7 inin in chojmarsanaq.
       that   I   B1 have-fixed-foc
       'That, I fixed (= I was the one who fixed that).'

8.2.3.3 Word Order in Sentences With Oblique Arguments

In sentences with oblique arguments such as datives, benefactives,
instruments, comitatives, and locatives, as well as others (see sections
5.1.2, 7.1.2, 8.1.2, 8.2.2), the oblique arguments normally follow the pred-
icate and any direct arguments (i.e. subject, agent, and/or patient) that
occur after the predicate. Thus, when there are oblique arguments in sen-
tences with one-place predicates, either the subject follows the predicate,
and then the subject is followed by the oblique argument(s); or the subject
precedes the predicate, which is then followed by the oblique argument(s).
Of course an overt subject noun phrase may be omitted if it is definite and
given information (see section 8.2.1), in which case the oblique arguments
immediately follow the predicate.

               Word Order of Oblique Arguments
            in Sentences With One-Place Predicates

	Predicate	Subject	Oblique(s)
I.	Predicate	Subject	Oblique(s)
II.	(Subject)	Predicate	Oblique(s)

(101) a. K'ooli ja b'eey pa rixkin   woochooch.
          be   the road on its-side my-house
          'The road is beside my house.'

     b. Ja b'eey k'o pa rixkin   woochooch.
         the road be   on its-side my-house
         'The road is beside my house.'

     c. K'o   pa rixkin woochooch.
         'It's beside my house.'

(102) a. Xb'e Aa   Liix   pa rk'axwaach Aa   Xwaan.
          went youth Andrés in his-stead   youth Juan
          'Andrés went instead of Juan.'

     b. Aa   Liix   xb'e pa rk'axwaach Aa   Xwaan.
         youth Andrés went in his-stead youth Juan
         'Andrés went instead of Juan.'

     c. Xb'e   pa rk'axwaach Aa Xwaan.
         'He went instead of Juan.'

(103) a. Xkam ja nutz'ii7 rmal   b'enéena.
          died the my-dog   because-of poison
          'My dog died because of poison.'

     b. Ja nuutz'ii7 xkam rmal   b'enéena.
         the my-dog   died because-of poison
         'My dog died because of poison.'

     c. Xkam   rmal   b'enéena.
         'It died because of poison.'

When there are oblique arguments in transitive sentences, usually the
agent precedes the verb, which is followed by the patient, which is then
followed by the oblique argument(s). However, under the conditions outlined
in section 8.2.3.2, overt agent and/or patient noun phrases may be omitted.

<u>Word Order of Oblique Arguments</u>
<u>in Transitive Sentences</u>

(Agent)   Verb   (Patient)   Oblique(s)

(104) a.   Inin xinya7   jun kotoon chee   Aa   Xwaan rxin raanaa7.
           I   B3-A1-gave   a   huipil to   youth Juan for his-sister
           '<u>I</u> gave a huipil to Juan for his sister.'

      b.   Xinya7 chee Aa Xwaan rxin raanaa7.
           'I gave it to Juan for his sister.'

      c.   Xinya7   chee   rxiin.
           B3-A1-gave to-him for-her
           'I gave it to him for her.'

(105) a.   Jar aachi xuuchoy   chee7 tza7n machat   pujyu7.
           the man   B3-A3-cut tree with machete in-mountain
           'The man cut trees with a machete in the mountains.'

      b.   Xuuchoy tza7n machat.
           'He cut it with a machete.'

(106) a.   Ja nnimaal   xuuloq'   ixiim rxin qaatee7
           the my-older-brother B3-A3-bought corn for our-mother
           pa k'ayib'al.
           in market
           'My older brother bought corn for our mother in the
           market.'

      b.   Xuuloq'   rxin   pa k'ayib'al.
           B3-A3-bought for-her in market
           'He bought it for her in the market.'

Note that no occurrences of the order VPA Oblique have been recorded. How-
ever, if the patient is not third person and is referenced only in the verb
(i.e. no independent personal pronoun is also used to reference the patient),
then the agent may follow the verb and then be followed by the oblique argument(s):

                    Verb   Agent   Oblique(s)

(107) Xinruuti7 jun ajqaaq xe7   weey.
      B1-A3-bit a   wasp   under my-teeth (= on cheek)
      'A wasp bit me on the cheek.'

Despite the fact that oblique arguments normally follow verbs and direct
arguments, there are a number of situations in which they may precede them.

First, datives may immediately precede patients after the verb. As far as
is known, no other argument may intervene between a verb and its patient.
Compare (108) with (104).

> (108) Inin xinya7   chee Aa   Xwaan jun kotoon rxin raanaa7.
>   I   B3-Al-gave to   youth Juan a   huipil for his-sister
>   'I gave Juan a huipil for his sister.'

Second, oblique arguments (except benefactives) may be fronted to a position
before the verb when they are contrastive. When an oblique argument is
fronted, the verb must be followed by the fronting particle wi7 (see section
7.1.7.2). If there is an overt agent noun phrase in preverbal position,
then the fronted oblique argument occurs after the agent before the verb.
No more than one oblique argument may be fronted at a time:

> (Agent) Oblique Verb + wi7 (Patient) (Oblique(s))

Fronting of oblique arguments is exemplified and discussed in detail in
section 9.3 of the following chapter. The example sentences provided below
should be compared with (104)-(106).

> (109) (Inin) chee Aa   Xwaan xinya7   wi7   jun kotoon
>   I   to   youth Juan B3-Al-gave front a   huipil
>   rxin raanaa7.
>   for his-sister
>   'To Juan, I gave a huipil for his sister.'
> (110) Jar aachi tza7n machat xuuchoy   wi7   chee7 pujyu7.
>   the man   with machete B3-A3-cut front tree in-mountain
>   'The man, with a machette, cut trees in the mountains.'
> (111) Ja nnimaal   pa k'ayib'al xuuloq'   wi7
>   the my-older-brother in market   B3-A3-bought front
>   ixiim rxin qaatee7.
>   corn for our-mother
>   'In the market, my older brother bought corn for our mother.'

It should be stated that benefactives are never fronted before the verb by themselves. However, they may occur following a patient that precedes the verb. E.g.

(112) Jar iixiim rxin qaatee7   xinloq'   pa k'ayib'al.
      the corn   for our-mother B3-A1-bought in market
      'The corn for our mother I bought in the market.'

Finally, with verbs in the instrumental voice (see section 9.6.3), instruments may precede the verb but must follow an overt agent noun phrase if one occurs (cp. (113) with (105) and (110)).

(113) Jar aachi machat xchoyb'ej   chee7 pujyu7.
      the man   machete B3-A3-cut-with tree in-mountain
      'It's with a machete that the man cut trees in the mountains.'

Usually, no more than two oblique arguments occur in a single clause, and clauses with more than three have not been recorded. Not all of the possibilities of the relative order of oblique arguments used together are known. Most frequently datives occur before other oblique arguments and locatives follow other ones, but benefactives have been recorded before datives, and locatives before benefactives. Compare the two examples below as well as the preceding ones in this subsection.

(114) a. Xinya7   jun kotoon chee Aa   Xwaan rxin raanaa7.
         B3-A1-gave a   huipil to   youth Juan for his-sister
         'I gave a huipil to Juan for his sister.'
      b. Xinya7   jun kotoon rxin raanaa7   chee Aa Xwaan.
         'I gave a huipil for his sister to Juan.'
(115) a. Xinloq'   ixiim rxin nuutee7   pa k'ayib'al.
         B3-A1-bought corn for my-mother in market
         'I bought corn for my mother in the market.'
      b. Xinloq' ixiim pa k'ayib'al rxin nuutee7.
         'I bought corn in the market for my mother.'

The normal marker of a dative argument is the prepositional-
relational noun chee (see section 5.1.2). However, there is another common
periphrastic construction that is also frequently used to indicate dative
arguments. In this construction chee is not used; rather, the patient noun
is possessed and its possessor is interpreted as the dative argument.
Compare the sentences below. In the (a) examples, chee is used to indicate
the dative argument; while in the (b) examples, the possessor of the patient
is the semantic dative. Native Tzutujil speakers say these two kinds of
dative marking are synonymous.

(116) a.   Ja taa7 ma tuuya7   paq   chee rxaayiil.
           the Señor not B3-A3-give money to   his-wife
      b.   Ja Taa7 ma tuuya7   rpaq   rxaayiil.
           the Señor not B3-A3-give her-money his-wife
           'The Señor doesn't give money to his wife.'
(117) a.   Jar aachi xuuk'am   to   ka7i7 awan   chwe.
           the man   B3-A3-carry hither two   corn-plant to-me
      b.   Jar aachi xuuk'am   to   ka7i7 wawan.
           the man   B3-A3-carry hither two   my-corn-plant
           'The man brought two corn plants to me.'

8.2.4 Existential, Locative, and Possession Sentences

Before leaving simple sentences, special note should be made of the
(irregular) stative positional adjective k'ooli 'exist, there is/are; be
located; have', which has the short form k'o used other than phrase-finally
before anything but definite noun phrases, and which also has the irregular
inchoative verb: k'e7naq perfective, xk'e7e ~ xk'eje7e completive third
person singular.

    K'ooli is used to predicate the existence of something; e.g.

(118) a.   K'o   paq.
           exist money
           'There is money (= money exists).'

   b. Ee k'o   jule7 winaq xeenuutz'et.
       B3p exist some people B3p-A1-saw
       'There're some people that I saw.'

   c. K'e7naq   jun mooso waawe7.
       has-existed a   Ladino here
       'There has been a Ladino here.'

   K'ooli is also used to indicate that someone or something is located
somewhere; e.g.

   (119) a. B'aar k'o wi7   ja paq?
             where be front the money
             'Where's the money?'

         b. Ja paq   k'o chpaan   nb'óorsa.
             the money be inside-of my-pocket
             'The money is inside of my pocket.'

         c. B'aar ee k'o wi7   ja winaq?
             where B3p be front the people
             'Where are the people?'

         d. Ee k'o waawe7 ~ Waawe7 ee   k'o wi7.
             B3p be here   here   B3p be front
             'They're here.'   'Here they are.'

         e. B'aar at k'o wi7   atet?
             where B2 be front you
             'Where are you?'

         f. Pa jaay   in k'o wi7   ~ In k'o pa jaay.
             in house B1 be front   B1 be in house
             'In the house (I am).'   'I am in the house.'

         g. La at k'ooli, Xwaana?
             Q B2 be   Juana
             'Are you (here/there), Juana?'

         h. In k'ooli.
             B1 be
             'I am.'

And finally, k'ooli is used to predicate possession. In sentences
predicating possession, the possessed entity is the subject of k'ooli, and
it is inflected for possessor with an ergative prefix. If an overt
possessor noun phrase occurs in the sentence, it is usually fronted to
initial position preceding k'ooli, and the subject (i.e. possessed entity)
follows K'ooli; e.g.

> (120) a. (Inin) k'o   npaq.
>   I   exist my-money
>   'I have money.'
>   b. Ja winaq k'o   kipaq.
>   the people exist their-money
>   'The people have money.'
>   c. K'o kipaq.
>   'They have money.'
>   d. (Atet) k'o   jun aatz'ii7.
>   you   exist a   your-dog
>   'You have a dog.'

The negative of k'ooli is ma k'o ta (< ma 'not', ta irreal) 'not exist,
there isn't/aren't any; not be located; doesn't/don't have'. However, majuun
'none, nothing, nobody' is also used as a negative of k'ooli in negative
existential and possession sentences; e.g.

> (121) a. Ma   k'o   ta   paq.   ~ Majun paq.
>   not exist irreal money   none   money
>   'There isn't any money.'
>   b. Ja   winaq   mee   k'o ta   waawe7.
>   the people not-B3p be irreal here
>   'The people aren't here.'
>   c. (Inin) ma k'o   ta   npaq.
>   I   not exist irreal my-money
>   ~(Inin) majun npaq.
>   I   none my-money
>   'I don't have any money.'

1.   In some sense this statement may be misleading since the definite article ja(r) is related to, or is a short form of, the third person independent pronoun jaa7 'he/she/it', and some of the demonstratives are composed of jaa7 plus a demonstrative/locative element (e.g. jaa wa7 'this', jaa la7 'that (pointing/emphatic)', jaa ri7 'that (yonder; in mind)' etc.; see sections 3.5 and 7.1.6).

2.   In some sense this statement is also misleading since the indefinite article jun is a short form of the number juun 'one', and many quantifiers are composed of ju(un) plus some other element(s) (e.g. ju7jun 'some (distributively)', julee7 'some (of a group)', jutaq 'some (used with enumeratives)', junalik 'all of', jun ka7i7 'a couple', etc.; see section 5.2.2.2).

3.   There are no basically three-place predicates in Tzutujil. Even verbs like ya7ooj 'to give' and b'i7xik 'to tell' are not basically three-place predicates requiring a dative argument as well as an agent and a patient. The basic meaning of ya7ooj is 'to put, place, locate', and the basic meaning of b'i7xik is 'to say (something)'. Compare the examples below.

    (i) a.   Xuuya7.
             'He put/placed/located it.'
        b.   Xuuya7 chee.
             'He gave it to him' (or perhaps more literally:
             'He placed it to/at him').
    (ii) a.   Xb'iij.
             'He said it.'

b.   Xb'ij chee.

'He said it to him (= he told it to him).'

4.   The terms 'agent', 'patient', and 'subject' (of IV; abbreviated 'S'),
as well as 'Subject' (unabbreviated with a capital S) are used herein as
defined in Dayley (1981):

The choice of the term agent for the 'doer' participant in
a transitive activity reflects the view held here that there is a
central or core meaning to the term: agents par excellence are
human (or at least animate) and volitional, and they initiate and
control activities.   However, in natural languages the notion of
agent is usually extended to include experiencing participants as
well as inanimate and nonvolitional participants which do some-
thing to something else or cause some effect in something else.
The term patient also has a central or core meaning: patients par
excellence are inanimate, nonvolitional, noncontrolling, and non-
initiating, and they normally receive, suffer, or are affected by
the action of some agent.   However, in natural languages the notio
of patient is extended to include any 'nondoer' participant, animate
or inanimate, in a transitive activity, as well as to things per-
ceived or experienced (which usually are not affected by being
experienced).   (Dayley 1981:7)
     The term S (of IV) has no particular central meaning since it
is the only participant in an intransitive activity and may be
either a 'doer' or a 'nondoer'.   However, some languages, perhaps,
assign meaning to S by aligning it with either A[gent] or
P[atient]   (Dayley 1981:8, brackets added)
. . . The view held here is that Subject [not to be confused with
'S' = subject of IV] is not a fundamental term (like A, P, and S),
although it is a universal category which primarily has syntactic
relevance.   Thus, in the languages of the world the S of intransitive
verbs and A of transitive verbs are usually treated alike in construct
ions like: (1) imperatives where both A and S are second persons;
(2) jussives (e.g. I order you to X) where the P of the main verb

is coreferential with an A or S of the subordinate verb, and
therefore one of them is usually deleted; (3) those with verbs
like 'can', 'try', 'begin', and 'finish', where the A (or S?) of
the main verb is coreferential with the A or S of the subordinate
verb and therefore is usually omitted under Equi-deletion; and (4)
'make do X' causatives where the P of the main clause is
coreferential with the A or S of the subordinate verb, and there-
fore one is usually deleted. A and S are treated alike (i.e. as
Subjects) in constructions like these probably because A is a
'doer' and S <u>may</u> be a 'doer'. (Dayley 1981:9, brackets added)

The use of the terms 'agent', 'patient', 'S' (= subject of IV), and 'Sub-
ject' in Dayley (1981) closely parallels that of Dixon (1979), except that
Dixon uses 'O' (= object) instead of 'patient'.

5.   Actually, there are some exceptions to this statement: a number of
place names are inherently locative, and therefore do not take overt prepo-
sitions or relational nouns marking them as oblique (see section 5.2.7).

6.   In this section 'V' is used as a general cover symbol for any type of
predicate, whether a verb proper or a stative predicate.

7.   Sentences with overt agent noun phrases, but without overt third person
patient noun phrases, usually do not occur in the order AV, if the verb is
an active transitive verb. However, sentences without overt third person
patient noun phrases do occur in AV order with transitive verbs in the focus
antipassive voice (see section 9.6.2).

8.   If the agent is indefinite and the patient is definite, then normally
either a passive or focus antipassive construction is used (see sections
9.6.1 and 9.6.2).

9

PRINCIPAL ELABORATIONS OF SIMPLE SENTENCES

This chapter is a description of the most important kinds of variations, permutations, and/or elaborations of simple sentences. The topics discussed are negation (9.1), imperatives (9.2), fronting (9.3), interrogatives (9.4), reflexives and reciprocals (9.5), and voice changes (9.6).

9.1 NEGATION

Negation of major constituents in a sentence is accomplished with the general negative proclitic particle ma 'not, no' (see section 7.5), usually used in combination with the irrealis enclitic particle ta (see section 7.2.1). These two particles surround the negated constituent (e.g. ma utz ta 'it's not good' < ma 'not, Ø B3, utz 'good', ta irreal). However, when verbs in the present and future tenses and the optative mode are negated, ma alone is used without ta (e.g. ma tuub'an 'he doesn't do it; he won't do it; hope he doesn't do it' < ma 'not', t-optative/oblig, Ø B3, uu- A3, b'an- 'do, make'). As the preceding example illustrates, the present and future tenses and optative mode are inflectionally collapsed together in the negative, all being indicated with the optative/obligative verbal prefixes t-/k- (see sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 on verbal tense/aspect/mode inflections, and section 7.5 for examples of how the positive and negative inflections of verbs differ).

In the following sentence examples the predicates are negated with ma...ta or with ma alone in the negative present/future/optative.

320

(1) a.   Ma   tib'e jar Aa   Lu7.
          not B3-go the youth Pedro
          'Pedro isn't going/won't go; hope Pedro doesn't go.'

    b.   Ma   xb'e   ta   jar Aa   Lu7.
          not B3-went irreal the   youth Pedro
          'Pedro didn't go.'

(2) a.   Ja nata7   ma qooruutaq   pa saamaaj.
          the my-father not B1p-A3-send to work
          'My father isn't sending/won't send us to work; hope my
          father doesn't send us to work.'

    b.   Ja nata7   ma xoqruutaq   chik   ta   pa saamaaj.
          the my-father not B1p-A3-sent already irreal to work
          'My father didn't already send us to work.'

(3) a.   Ja ch'ooy ma tuutij   ja kéeso.
          the rat   not B3-A3-eat the cheese
          'The rat isn't eating/won't eat the cheese; hope the rat
          doesn't eat the cheese.'

    b.   Ja ch'ooy ma xuutij   ta   ja kéeso.
          the rat   not B3-A3-ate irreal the cheese
          'The rat didn't eat the cheese.'

(4) Ja taalaa7   ma xpa7j   ta.
    the little-boy not B3-fell   irreal
    'The little boy didn't fall down.'

(5) Ja woochooch ma   nim   ta.
    the my-house   not big   irreal
    'My house isn't big.'

(6) Mat   utz ta   atet.
     not-B2 good irreal you
     'You aren't good.'

Other major constituents besides predicates may also be negated with
ma...ta. For example, in (7) and (8) adverbs are negated.

(7) Ma utz ta   at tz'atoon rmal atata7.
    not well irreal B2 treated by   your-father
    'You are not treated well by your father.'

(8) Jar aak'aalaa7 ma   qas   ta   neewa7i.
    the children   not really irreal B3p-eat
    'The children don't really eat (i.e. they don't eat very
    much).'

When nouns or noun phrases are negated, ma...ta surround the head
noun if it is indefinite (e.g. (9a) and (10a)). But if the noun is
definite then ma...ta surround the third person independent pronoun jaa7
(optionally >ja), which is then followed by the definite noun phrase
(e.g. (9b) and (10b)). Negated noun phrases are fronted and sentences
containing them behave much like cleft sentences in English. Note that
if the agent noun phrase is negated then the verb must be in the focus
antipassive voice (e.g. (10); see section 9.8.2).

(9) a.   Ma jaay ta   nqaajo7.
         not house irreal B3-Alp-want
         'It's not a house that we want.'
    b.   Ma ja(a7) ta   ja jaay nqaajo7.
         not it   irreal the house B3-Alp-want
         'It's not the house that we want.'
(10) a. Ma ch'ooy ta   xtijowi   ja kéeso.
         not rat   irreal B3-ate-foc the cheese
         'It wasn't a rat that ate the cheese.'
    b.   Ma ja(a7) ta   ja ch'ooy xtijowi   ja kéeso.
         not it   irreal the rat   B3-ate-foc the cheese
         'It wasn't the rat that ate the cheese.'

9.2 IMPERATIVES

Generally speaking, imperative sentences with verbal predicates are
syntactically indistinguishable from other sentences. They are distin-
guished from nonimperative sentences solely by morphological marking on
the verb (see section 4.1.2): (1) Imperative verbs require the
obligative/imperative/optative prefixes k-/t-, and root transitive verbs
additionally require the suffix -a7 (~ -o7 ~ -u7) in positive
imperatives. (2) Transitive verbs may optionally take the 'go'

imperative prefix j- instead of k-/t-, if the agent is second person and
the patient is third person singular (indicated with absolutive null).
And (3) a few verbs have irregular imperatives (e.g. jat 'go!', jix 'you
all go!', jo7 'let's go!', cp. b'eenaam 'to go', katajo7 'come!', kixajo7
'you all come!', cp. pejteem 'to come'), and a few have contracted or
short forms (e.g. tya7 'put/give it!' short form of taya7a7 'put/give
it!'). Some examples of imperative sentences with verbal predicates are
provided below.

(11) a.   (Atet) katwa7i!   Katwa7 atet!
           you   B2-eat   B2-eat you
           '(You) eat!'

     b.   (Ixix)   kixwa7i! ~ Kixwa7   ixix!
           you-all B2p-eat   B2p-eat you-all
           '(You all) eat!'

     c.   (Ojoj) qoowa7i! ~ Qoowa7 ojoj!
           we   B1p-eat   B1p-eat we
           'Let's eat!'

     d.   Twa7i   ja ch'uuch'!
           B3-eat   the baby
           'Let the baby eat!'

     e.   Keewa7i ja ch'uuch'aa7!
           B3p-eat   the babies
           'Let the babies eat!'

(12) Ejqaal katb'ijni piki   lawalo7   ja b'eey!
     slowly B2-walk   because dangerous the road
     'Walk slowly because the road is dangerous!'

(13) Tya7 (~ Taya7a7) rpaq   Aa'   Xwaan!
     B3-A2-give   his-money youth Juan
     'Give John his money!'

(14) Tek'ama7   to   oxi7 líiwra nuutii7!
     B3-A2p-carry hither three pound my-meat
     'You all bring me three pounds of meat!'

(15) Ma ke7aak'am   el   ta   ja ch'uuch'aa7!
     not B3p-A2-carry away irreal the babies
     'Don't take the babies away!'
(16) Tajuub'iij ja chi7 jaay!
     B3-A2-close the mouth house (= door)
     'Close the door!'

Imperative sentences with stative predicates are formed either with
the irrealis particle ta and the necessitative particle na (~ nii)
following the predicate word (i.e. adjective or noun), or with the
irrealis adverb taxa preceding the predicate with na following it.

(17) a.   At utz ta   na!
           B2 good irreal nec
     b.   Taxa   at utz na!
           irreal B2 good nec
           'Be good!'
(18) a.   Utz ta   nii jaa7!
           good irreal nec he
     b.   Taxa   utz nii jaa7!
           irreal   good nec he
           'Let him be good!'

9.3 FRONTING

As discussed in the previous chapter (8.2.3), Tzutujil is basically
a verb-first language in that major constituents normally occur after the
verb or predicate, except that both subjects of one-place predicates and
agents of transitive verbs normally occur before the verb or predicate
when they are given information and/or the main topic of the discourse.
There are also a number of adverbial and syntactic particles that
normally occur in prepredicate position (see chapter 7).

Despite the fact that Tzutujil is basically a verb-first language,
most major constituents may precede the verb or predicate when they are
in contrastive focus or are emphatic in some other way, such as when they
are questioned (see section 9.4) or relativized (see section 10.2.1).   In

other words, contrastive or emphatic constituents are <u>fronted</u> to
prepredicate position. When certain constituents are fronted under
contrastive focus or emphasis, special syntactic operations or markers
are required; when others are fronted no special marking is necessary.
The constituents that are commonly fronted under contrast or emphasis
are: subjects, agents, patients, possessors, prepositional and
relational noun phrases, object-possessors of relational nouns, and
adverbs. Major constituents that cannot be fronted are objects of
prepositions, benefactives,[1] individual constituents within noun phrases
(e.g. articles, demonstrative and modifying adjectives), and individual
constituents within verb phrases (e.g. directional and modal clitic
particles).

In addition to fronted contrastive or emphatic constituents,
possessors and objects of relational nouns may be fronted when they are
main discourse topics.

It should be noted that if some noun phrase argument (direct or
oblique) is fronted in a transitive sentence where the agent precedes the
verb because it is given information, then the fronted argument occurs
between the agent and the verb. In other words, fronted arguments
precede the verb but not the agent. The only exception to this is when
the agent is fronted because it is contrastive or emphatic and the verb
is in the focus antipassive voice (see below and 9.6.2). In this case
other fronted contrastive/emphatic arguments precede the agent as well as
the verb. When constituents are fronted in sentences with one-place
predicates, the subject normally follows the verb. (N.B.: in the
example sentences that follow the fronted constituents are underlined and
in some cases the symbol [*] is used to indicate where a fronted
constituent would normally occur.)

When subjects are fronted under contrast of emphasis, they are
normally preceded by a contrastive or emphatic demonstrative (see 7.1.6).

    (19) <u>Ja la7 jaay</u> pinta7iin chee kaq.
           that   house painted   in   red
           '<u>That</u> house is painted in red (= it's that house that is
           painted in red).'

(20) <u>Ja k'aala7 jaay</u> xk'ajti.
     that   house burned
     'That house burned down (= it's that house that burned down).'

Sentences like those above with contrastive subjects are best viewed as
clefts (see 10.2.3), and they are usually translated as such into Spanish
by native Tzutujil speakers.

    Fronted patients occur before verbs without any special marking (see
more examples in section 8.2.3.2). These sentences are also often
translated as clefts.

(21) <u>Ja</u> <u>nchiib'aal</u>   xuutij   [*] tz'i7.
     the my-leftover B3-A3-ate   dog
     '(Some) dog ate <u>my leftovers</u> (= it's my leftovers that some
     dog ate).'

When agents are fronted because they are contrastive or emphatic,
the verb must be in the focus antipassive voice (see section 9.6.2 for
details and more examples).

(22) <u>Jaa ri7</u> xeeto7owi   ja winaq.
     this-one B3p-helped-foc the people
     'This is the one who helped the people.'
(23) <u>Ajmaq'anya7</u>   xb'anowi ja saamaaj.
     one-of-Totonicapan B3-did-foc the work
     'It was one from Totonicapan who did the work.'

When agents and patients are both contrastive or emphatic, then the word
order is PAV and the verb is in the focus antipassive voice (see more
examples in sections 8.2.3.2 and 9.6.2).

(24) <u>Ja paq'b'al   sajkiiy naq</u> la   xelaq'aani.
     the smasher-of maguey who wonder B3-stole-foc
     'Wonder who was the one who stole the maguey smasher.'

When agents are main topics (but not necessarily contrastive or
emphatic) they may also be fronted from a position in an embedded clause

to the beginning of the complex sentence containing the embedded clause. This type of fronting requires no special marking, and it usually only occurs when the predicate of the main clause is one-place.

(25) Jar Aaxiimoon qas   nimaq   rajil   ja tzyaq
     the Maximón   really big-plr its-price the clothes
     [*] nuukoj.
         B3-A3-uses
     'Maximón, prices of the clothes he uses are great (= prices of the clothes Maximón uses are great).'

(26) Ja tz'i7 anij   juun ja ak'   [*] xuutij.
     the dog always one the chicken   B3-A3-ate
     'The dog, the chicken it ate was whole (= the chicken the dog ate was whole).'

When possessors are contrastive or emphatic, or when they are main topics, they are fronted without special marking.

(27) Jar iixoq ja xb'in   chwe chi ninb'e xpi
     the woman who B3-told-foc   to-me that B1-go B3-came
     rayeewaal [*].
     her-anger
     'The woman who told me to go, her anger came' or
     'the anger of the woman who told me to go came'
     (i.e. 'the woman who told me to go got angry').
     ['the woman who told me to go' is main topic or
     contrastive/emphatic]

(28) Ja ti   xten chitoon ti   rujq   [*].
     the little girl pleated little   her-skirt
     'The little girl, her little skirt is pleated' or
     'the little skirt of the little girl is pleated'.
     ['the little girl' is main topic or contrastive/emphatic]

(29) Ja nata7   k'o jun ruukeej [*].
     the my-father exist a   his-horse
     'My father has a horse.'
     ['my father' is main topic]

(30) <u>Jar ajjach'ii7</u>   <u>Tan Palas</u>   xb'ano   keewaay   [*].
     the corn-harvesters Miss Francisca B3-made-foc their-food
     'The corn harvesters, Francisca was the one who made their
     food.'
     ['the corn harvesters' are main topics or contrastive/emphatic;
     'Francisca' is also contrastive here]

Objects of relational nouns are also fronted when they are
contrastive or emphatic and when they are main topics. There is no
special marking of fronted objects of relational nouns. It should be
noted that 'objects' of relational nouns are formally possessors of the
relational nouns (see 5.2.1 and 8.1.2).

(31) <u>Ja</u> <u>ya7</u> xinyawaj   rmaal   [*].
     the water B1-got-sick because-of-it
     'The water, I got sick because of it' or
     'it's the water that I got sick because of.'
(32) <u>Inin</u> xyaa7i   ja paq   chwe   [*].
     I   B3-was-given the money to-me
     'The money was given to <u>me</u>' or 'I was given the money.'
(33) <u>Jar Aa   Léencho</u> b'iis   xkamsan   rxiin [*].
     the youth Lencho   sadness B3-killed-foc of-him
     'Lencho, it was sadness that killed him' or
     'it was sadness that killed <u>Lencho</u>.'
     [here, the object of the relational noun, 'Lencho', is either
     contrastive or the main topic; the agent, 'sadness', is also
     contrastive]

When prepositional phrases and whole relational noun phrases (i.e.
not just their possessor-objects) are fronted under contrastive focus or
emphasis, then the fronting and emphatic particle <u>wi7</u> (see 7.1.7.2) must
occur after the verb or stative predicate. <u>Wi7</u> must also occur after the
verb or predicate when locative adverbs are fronted whether or not they
are in prepositional or relational noun phrases. And finally, <u>wi7</u> must
occur after verbs when <u>anij</u> 'always' is used. It should be noted that
<u>anij</u> is always fronted to prepredicate position.

(34) (Inin pa k'ayib'al xinloq'   wi7   jun kotoon [*].
     I   in market   B3-A1-bought front a   huipil
     'In the market, I bought a huipil.'

(35) (Inin) chee   jaa7 xinya7   wi7   ja kotoon [*].
     I   to-him he   B3-A1-gave   front the huipil
     'To him, I gave the huipil.'

(36) Awk'iin atet xinb'e wi7   [*].
     with   you B1-went front
     'With you, I went.'

(37) Waawe7 in k'o wi7   [*].
     here   B1 be front
     'Here I am.'

(38) Anij   ninb'e wi7
     always B1-go   front
     'I always go.'

When other adverbs are fronted then no special marking is required.

(39) Aaq'ab'il myeer   xinb'e [*] pa ya7aaneem.
     in-morning earlier-today B1-went   to water
     'In the morning earlier today I went to water.'

(40) Ejqaal katb'ijni [*]!
     slowly B2-walk
     'Walk slowly!'

9.4 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

9.4.1 Yes/No Questions

Interrogative sentences requesting a 'yes' or 'no' response are
formed in Tzutujil by placing the particle la (see section 7.1.4) at the
beginning of an otherwise normal declarative sentence. However, if the
subject of a one-place predicate or the agent of a transitive verb occurs
in initial position because it is given information and/or the main
topic, then la follows the subject or agent but precedes the verb or

predicate. Note that in transitive yes/no questions, the word order
normally is (A)VP; no transitive questions with VPA word order have been
recorded.

(41) a.   La k'ol Aa   Teeko chjaay?
           Q be   youth Diego at-home
           'Is Diego at home?'

     b.   (Aa   Teeko) la k'o chjaay?
            youth Diego Q be at-home
            '(Diego,) is he at home?'

(42) a.   La xwari ja ch'uuch'?
           Q slept the baby
           'Did the baby sleep?'

     b.   (Ja ch'uuch') la xwari?
            the baby   Q slept
            '(The baby,) did he sleep?'

(43) a.   (Aa   Teeko) la xuuch'ey Aa   Li7p?
            youth Diego Q B3-A3-hit youth Felipe
            '(Diego,) did he hit Felipe?'

     b.   La xuuch'ey?
           'Did he hit him?'

     c.   (Aa   Teeko) la xatruuch'ey?
            youth Diego Q B2-A3-hit
            '(Diego,) did he hit you?'

     d.   (Atet) la xaach'ey Aa   Li7p?
            you   Q B3-A2-hit youth Felipe
            '(You,) did you hit Felipe?'

     e.   La xaach'ey?
           'Did you hit him?'

(44) a.   (Aa   Teeko) la nraj   siik'?
            youth Diego Q B3-A3-want cigarette
            '(Diego,) does he want a cigarette?'

     b.   La nraaj?
           'Does he want it?'

c. (Atet) la nawaj   siik'?
    you   Q B3-A2-want cigarette
    '(You,) do you want a cigarette?'

d. La nawaj?
    'Do you want it?'

When the agent of a transitive sentence is being questioned
contrastively, then the verb is in the focus antipassive voice (see
9.6.2) and la precedes the agent.

(45) a. La Aa   Teeko xch'eyo   Aa   Li7p?
         Q youth Diego B3-hit-foc youth Felipe
         'Was it Diego who hit Felipe?'

     b. La Aa Teeko xch'eyowi?
         'Was it Diego who hit him?'

     c. La Aa   Teeko xatch'eyowi?
         Q   youth Diego B2-hit-foc
         'Was it Diego who hit you?'

     d. La atet xatch'eyo Aa   Li7p?
         Q you B2-hit-foc youth Felipe
         'Was it you who hit Felipe?'

     e. La atet xatch'eyowi?
         'Was it you who hit him?'

9.4.2 Questions With Interrogative Words

Interrogative sentences in which a particular major constituent is
questioned are formed by placing the appropriate interrogative word (see
3.3 and 7.1.4) at the beginning of the sentence, and by leaving a
syntactic 'gap' in the position where the questioned constituent would
normally occur. However, when some constituents are questioned, further
syntactic operations or marking are required.

The interrogative naq 'who, what, which' is used to question direct
arguments such as subjects (e.g. (46)-(48)), patients (e.g. (49)), and
agents (e.g. (50)-(52)); and it is also used to question instruments

(e.g. (53)). When subjects and patients are questioned no further
marking is necessary. On the other hand, when agents of transitive
activities are questioned the verb must be in the focus antipassive voice
(see 9.6.2). When instruments are questioned with naq the verb must be
in the instrumental voice (see 9.6.3). When naq means 'which' in the
sense of 'which NOUN' of a possible set, then the questioned noun
immediately follows naq at the beginning of the sentence (e.g. (47)).

(46) Naq   awa7?
     what this
     'What's this?'

(47) Naq   jaay k'aari7?
     which house that
     'Which house is that?'

(48) Naq   npit   chwaaq?
     who/what B3-come tomorrow
     'Who/what is coming tomorrow?'

(49) a.   Naq   nawaajo7?
          what B3-A2-want
          'What do you want?'

     b.   Naq   nawaajo7   chwe?
          what B3-A2-want to-me
          'What do you want of/from me?'

     c.   Naq   nawaajo7 nb'ij   chaawe?
          what B3-A2-want B3-A1-say to-you
          'What do you want me to say to you?'

(50) Naq najo7ni?
     who B3-want-foc
     'Who wants it?'

(51) Naq   xtijowi   ja wajaache7l?
     who/what B3-ate-foc the my-white-zapote
     'Who/what ate my white zapote?'

(52) Naq neechajiini   jar aak'aalaa7?
     who B3p-care-for-foc the children
     'Who is going to care for the children?'

(53) Naq neechoyb'eej   ja q'aayiis?
     what B3-A2p-cut-with the weed
     'What do you all cut the weeds with?'

The interrogative choq (~ choj) 'whom, what' is used in combination
with certain relational nouns (see 5.2.1) to question oblique arguments:
(1) choq chee 'to whom, with what' to question datives and instruments;
(2) choq k'iin 'with whom' to question comitatives; and (3) choq xiin
~ naq choq xiin 'for whom, of whom, whose' to question benefactives and
possessors. Note that when choq is used to question datives,
instruments, and comitatives, the fronting/emphatic particle wi7 (~ wir
before vowels; see 7.1.7.2) must follow the predicate or verb (just as it
must when these oblique arguments are fronted; see 9.3).

(54) a.   Choq chee xab'ij   wi7?
          whom to   B3-A2-said front
          'To whom did you say it?'
     b.   Choq chee naachoy   wi7   ja q'aayiis?
          what with B3-A2-cut front the weed
          'With what did you cut the weeds?'
(55) Choq k'iin xatb'e wi7?
     whom with B2-went front
     'With whom did you go?'
(56) (Naq) choq xiin   awa7 sijp   ri7?
     what whom of/for this present here
     'For whom/whose is this present here?'

The interrogative b'aarkii7 (~ b'aakii7 ~ b'aa) 'where' is used to
question locatives. The fronting particle wi7 (~ wir) must follow the
verb or predicate when locatives are questioned (just as it must when
locatives in contrastive focus are fronted; see 9.3).

(57) a.   B'aarkii7 k'o wir   awan?
          where   be front corn-field
          'Where's the corn field?'

b. B'aarkii7 neepi   wi7?'
    where   B3p-come front
    'Where do they come from?'

c. B'aarkii7 neeb'e wi7?
    where   B3p-go front
    'Where are they going?'

d. B'aarkii7 xaaya7   wi7?
    where   B3-A2-put front
    'Where did you put it?'

B'ajan 'when' is used to question time in general. Naq plus a
following noun denoting a time period is used to question time more
specifically (e.g. naq óora 'what time' < óora 'hour'; naq q'iij 'what
day' < q'iij 'day, sun'; naq iik' 'what month' < iik' 'month, moon'; naq
juunaa7 'what year' < juunaa7 'year').

(58) B'ajan natpeeti?
     when   B2-come
     'When are you coming?'

(59) a. Naq óora xeeb'e?
         what hour B3p-went
         'What time did they go?'

     b. Naq q'iij xaab'an   ja saamaaj?
         what day   B3-A2-did   the work
         'What day did you do the work?'

Manner adverbial notions are questioned with either of the two dis-
continuous interrogatives: naq...chee 'how' or jani7...chee
(~ kani7...chee) 'how'. With both of these forms, the first element,
naq 'what' or jani7 (~ kani7) 'as, like', begins the interrogative
sentence, and the second element, chee 'to, with', follows the predicate.

(60) a. Naq nkeeb'an chee? ~ Jani7 nkeeb'an chee?
         what B3-A3p-do to-it   like
         'How do they do it?'

     b.   Naq nb'i7x   chee ale7? ~ Jani7 nb'i7x chee ale7?

          what B3-is-said to   that   like

          'How is that said?'

     c.   Naq nb'ajn   chee q'oor?

          what B3-is-made to   corn-dough

           ~ Jani7 nb'ajn chee q'oor?

             like

          'How is corn dough made?'

The reason for doing something is questioned with naq chee 'why'.
Note that in the case of naq chee 'why' (as opposed to naq...chee 'how'),
chee immediately follows naq.

    (61) a.   Naq chee xb'e?

          why   B3-went

          'Why did she go?'

     b.   Naq chee ma xaab'an   ta   ala7?

          why   not B3-A2-did irreal that

          'Why didn't you do that?'

Quantities are questioned with jaru7 '(for) how much, how many'. If
the quantity in question is of animate beings, then the third person
plural absolutive proclitic, ee, is used along with jaru7 (i.e. ee jaru7
'how many animates'). Note the use of the fronting/emphatic particle wi7
in (62b) to distinguish its meaning from that of (62a).

    (62) a.   Jaru7   xaaya7   ja   xampare7m?

          how-much B3-A2-gave the   hat

          'How much did you give for the hat?'

     b.   Jaru7   xaaya7   wi7   ja   xampare7m?

          how-much B3-A2-gave emph the hat

          'For how much did you give the hat? (i.e. how much did you

          sell the hat for?).'

     c.   Jaru7   q'iij xatsamaji?

          how-many day   B2-worked

          'How many days did you work?'

d.   Ee   jaru7   xeekam   kaamiik?

     B3p how-many B3p-died today

     'How many died today?'

9.5 REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCALS

Reflexives and reciprocals in Tzutujil are both indicated with the
relational noun -ii7 (rii7iil absolutive form) 'self, each other' (e.g.
wii7 'myself', aawii7 'yourself', rii7 'him/her/itself', qii7 'ourselves,
each other', eewii7 'yourselves, each other', kii7 'themselves, each
other'; see 5.2.1). Reflexive and reciprocal constructions only occur
with active transitive verbs. The transitive verb is inflected with the
appropriate ergative prefix indicating the reflexive or reciprocal agent,
but the absolutive person marker on the verb is always third person sin-
gular null. The reflexive and reciprocal relational noun -ii7 follows
the transitive verb in the normal patient position, and is always
inflected for possessor with an ergative prefix identical in person and
number with the ergative prefix on the verb. Compare the examples below,
with the transitive verb tz'atooj 'to see, look at' in the completive
aspect in x-. Note that the semantic distinction between reflexives and
reciprocals in the plural persons can only be differentiated from
context.

Reflexives and Reciprocals With Tz'atooj 'to see, look at'

xintz'at wii7	'I saw myself'
xaatz'at aawii7	'you saw yourself'
xuutz'at rii7	'he/she/it saw him/her/itself'
xqaatz'at qii7	'we saw ourselves/each other'
xeetz'at eewii7	'you saw yourselves/each other'
xkeetz'at kii7	'they saw themselves/each other'

Some sentence examples with reflexives and reciprocals follow:

(63) Ja kumatz qas   nuusil   rii7.

     the snake really B3-A3-move itself

     'The snake really moves itself.'

(64) Inin xintzyaquj   na   wii7   chi   utz.
     I   B3-A1-dressed nec myself   well
     'I had to dress myself well.'

(65) Xtur   ari7, k'aja7 k'aari7 nkipaxij   kii7
     finished that   then   B3-B3p-break themselves
     ja winaq.
     the people
     'When that is finished, then the people break (themselves) up
     (i.e. they separate from each other).'

(66) Ja   jun aachi k'in jun ixoq: ja toq nkojb'ej
     the a   man   and a   woman when B3-A3p-love
     kii7,   nkuk'aj   kii7   neekeeya7
     each-other B3-A3p-take each-other B3p-A3p-give
     kalk'waal   i   neekik'ijtisiij.
     their-children and B3p-A3p-raise
     'It's a man and a woman: when they love each other, they take
     each other, and they give children and raise them.'

There are a few transitive verbs that commonly occur in reflexive
constructions, some of which are rather idiomatic; e.g.

    siloj rii7iil 'to move (oneself)'
         < silooj 'to move (something)'
    tzyaquxik rii7iil 'to dress (oneself)'
         < tzyaquxik 'to dress (another)'
    xib'en rii7iil 'to be afraid'
         < xib'exik 'to frighten (someone)'
    ye7en rii7iil 'to hurry'
         < ye7exik 'to make hurry'
    yonaxik rii7iil 'for a young married couple to
         separate from parent's home'
         < yonaxik 'to separate'
    b'atataxik rii7iil 'to run'
         < b'atataxik 'to chase, pursue'
    k'aqoj rii7iil 'to jump'
         < k'aqooj 'to shoot'

9.6 VOICE CHANGES

Tzutujil has a rather complex voice system that includes an active
voice, several passive voices, two antipassive voices, and an
instrumental voice.[2] Before actually describing the various voices in
Tzutujil, a few words are in order about voice in general. As viewed
herein, voice is an overt grammatical category basically pertaining to
transitive verbs. The function of voice is to indicate the status of the
relationship(s) the verb has with its arguments. The active voice is the
normal (unmarked) voice, and it manifests the fundamental transitive
relationship in which there are two arguments, agent and patient (see
note 4, chapter 8), in direct relationship with a transitive verb:

<u>Normal Active Voice</u>

TV	Pat	Agt

It should be reiterated that in Tzutujil transitive verbs in the active
voice are inflected both for agent with the ergative prefixes and for
patient with the absolutive person markers (3.1 and 4.1.1). Active tran-
sitive verbs are not discussed further in this section, but the reader
may wish to consult section 4.1 on verb inflection, and especially
sections 8.2.3.2 and 8.2.3.3 for a large number of example sentences with
active transitive verbs.

A change in voice involves a modification or disruption of the fun-
damental transitive relationship, along with overt morphological and/or
syntactic marking of such a change.

One important kind of voice change is that which makes possible the
omission of one of the basic arguments of a TV. This is a discourse
device that allows the speaker to talk about a transitive activity
without mentioning one of the basic arguments because it is unknown or
irrelevant, or because the speaker wants to withhold such information.
However, since omitting one of the basic arguments disrupts the
fundamental transitive relationship, some sort of grammatical marking is
necessary in order to overtly indicate the disruption, and to indicate
which argument, agent or patient, is omitted and, of course, which one is
not omitted. When one of the arguments is omitted the normally

transitive verb becomes a (derived) intransitive and the remaining argument is usually treated like any other subject of an intransitive verb. In terms of verb inflection in Tzutujil, this means that since the remaining argument, whether agent or patient, is the subject of an intransitive verb, it is referenced on the verb with an absolutive person marker (and there is no person marking on the verb for the omitted argument).

Thus, for example, when the agent is omitted from a transitive sentence, the verb becomes intransitive and occurs in the <u>absolutive passive voice</u>, and the patient becomes the subject (see 9.6.1).

Active Voice				Absolutive Passive Voice	
TV	Pat	Agt	→	IV	Subj (= Pat)

It is important to understand that in the absolutive passive voice, the agent is simply not specified lexically or referentially, although a nonspecific agent is implied in this construction. The <u>medio-passive voice</u> differs from the absolutive passive only in that no agent is implied. In other words, the medio-passive voice is used to indicate that an activity that might normally be viewed as transitive occurs without an agent.

Another example of a voice change where there is an omitted argument is the <u>absolutive antipassive voice</u> (see 9.6.2), which is the obverse of the absolutive passive. The absolutive antipassive is used when the patient is omitted from the discussion of a transitive activity. In this case, the verb becomes intransitive and the agent becomes subject. It is important to remember that since the agent becomes subject of an intransitive verb (albeit derived), it is referenced on the verb with an absolutive person marker, and not with an ergative prefix as it would be on a normal active transitive verb.

Active Voice				Absolutive Antipassive Voice	
TV	Pat	Agt	→	IV	Subj (= Agt)

Another important kind of voice change is that which makes possible the rearrangement of the arguments in relationship with a transitive

verb. In a rearranging voice change none of the arguments basic to a transitive activity are omitted from the sentence, but rather the status of their relationship to the verb is modified by promotional and demotional processes. These rearrangements are usually motivated by syntactic constraints (e.g. what may or may not be syntactic pivot; see Dixon (1979)), and by discourse requirements or restrictions (e.g. what may or may not be topic, or what may or may not be in contrastive focus).

Thus, for example, in Tzutujil (as in many other languages) there is a constraint such that the patient of an active transitive verb may never be the topic of the discourse. Therefore, if the topic of the discourse is a semantic patient in a transitive activity, then the status of the patient must be modified. This is done by means of a rearranging passive voice (in Tzutujil there are several; see 9.6.1). In a rearranging passive voice, the agent of the transitive activity is demoted to an oblique relationship (or case), the verb becomes intransitive, and the patient is its subject (which may be a discourse topic).

Active Voice				Rearranging Passive Voice			
TV	Pat	Agt	→	IV	Subj (= Pat)	Oblique Agt

Other rearranging voices in Tzutujil include the focus antipassive discussed in section 9.6.2.2, and the instrumental voice discussed in section 9.6.3.

9.6.1 The Passive Voices

Tzutujil has several passive voices. All of them have absolutive function such that a transitive activity may be discussed without mention of the agent. And all but the medio-passive also function as rearranging passives, which are used when the patient is the discourse topic and/or when the patient is given or definite information and the agent is new information. The agent in a passive sentence in Tzutujil occurs in an oblique relationship with the verb marked with the relational noun -umaal 'by; because of, on account of' (~ ma(l); see 5.2.1).

9.6.1.1 The Simple Passive and the Archaic Simple Passive

The simple passive is formed with the infix -j- (> -7- before j and -V- before 7) on root transitive verbs (see affix 4, section 4.2.1), and with the suffix -x on derived transitive verbs (see affix 24, section 4.2.1). The simple passive is essentially like the 'be + past participle' passive in English. Note that virtually all transitive verbs in Tzutujil have a passive infinitive in -j-...-ik or -x-ik (see section 4.1.5).

(67) a.   Jar iixoq xch'ejy   rmal jun aachi.
           the woman B3-was-hit by   a   man
           'The woman was hit by a man.'

     b.   Jar iixoq xch'ejyi.
           'The woman was hit.'

     c.   Xch'ejy   wmaal (inin).
           B3-was-hit by-me   I
           'She was hit by me.'

     d.   Inin xinch'ejyi (rmaal jar iixoq).
           I   B1-was-hit by   the woman
           'I was hit (by the woman).'

     e.   (Inin) xinch'ejy awmaal.
           I   B1-was-hit by-you
           'I was hit by you.'

(68) a.   Ja tzyaq xti7j   kumal   ch'ooyaa7.
           the clothes B3-was-eaten by-them rats
           'The clothes were eaten by rats.'

     b.   Ja   tzyaq   xti7ji.
           'The clothes were eaten.'

(69) a.   Jar iib'ooy xkamsax   kumaal   ja tz'i7.
           the armadillo B3-was-killed by-them the dog
           'The armadillo was killed by the dogs.'

     b.   Jar iib'ooy   xkamsaxi.
           'The armadillo was killed.'

(70) a.   Xjech'eb'a7xi   ja   jaay   (rumaal ja
           B3-was-made-uneven the   house   by-him the
           b'anol   jaay).
           maker-of house
           'The house was built uneven (by the carpenter).'
     b.   Xjech'eb'a7xi.
           'It was built uneven.'

In addition to the simple passive in -j-, a handful of root
transitive verbs (e.g. k'amooj 'to carry', tojooj 'to pay', and chapooj
'to grab, catch; scold') have another passive in the suffix -Vr (see
affix 21, section 4.2.1). In meaning and function the passive in -Vr is
exactly like the regular passive in -j-. In Dayley (1978, 1981), this is
called the 'archaic' passive because it is cognate with the simple
passive in some closely related languages (see section 4.1 in Dayley
1981), and because it is not productive in Tzutujil.

(71) Ja   nuukeej xk'amar   eel   rmal
     the   my-horse B3-was-carried away   by
     b'ijnel ya7.
     walker water (= river)
     'My horse was carried away by a river.'
(72) Waaqii7 muul xinchapari.
     six   time B1-was-scolded
     'I was scolded six times.'

9.6.1.2 The Completive Passive

The completive passive is formed with the suffix -(V)taj (see affix
22, section 4.2.1). It differs in meaning from the simple passive in
that it emphasizes the result of the transitive activity on the patient
as well as the termination of the activity. The simple passive simply
defines or describes the activity. Depending on the context the
completive passive is best translated as (1) 'be finished being Xed', (2)
'be already Xed', or (3) 'get Xed' (where 'X' is the meaning of the verb
stem).

(73) Xch'eyetaji jar iixoq rmal rachajiil.

     B3-got-hit   the woman by   her-husband

     'The woman got beaten up by her husband.'

(74) Toq k'a nk'ototaj   kaan   ja jul,

     when then B3-is-already-dug staying the hole

     neepit   ch k'amariik ja kamnaq.

     B3p-come to take   the deceased

     'Then when the hole is already dug/is finished being dug,

     they come to take the deceased.'

(75) Xtz'etetaj   el míisa rumaal.

     B3-already-be-seen out mass by-him

     'Mass was already seen (i.e. given) by him (the priest).'

(76) Jaqatajnaq   ja b'eey rxin Tzolola7.

     B3-has-been-opened-already the road of   Sololá

     'The Sololá road has already been opened up.'

9.6.1.3 Adjectival Passives

As mentioned in section 4.1.2.1 on verbs in the perfect aspect, the perfect stems of active transitive verbs also function as past passive participial adjectives. In other words, the perfect suffixes (i.e. -oon (~ -uun) on RTVs, -Vn on DTJs, and -oon ~ -Vn on DT7s) also form past participles from transitive verbs (see affix 3, section 6.4.1). These past participles are one-place stative predicates whose subjects are always identical with the patient of the corresponding perfect active transitive verb. Past participles from transitive verbs function much like a passive voice, even though they are formally adjectives (not intransitive passive verbs). However, past passive participles differ slightly in meaning from true verbal passives in that they emphasize the state (of the patient) resulting from the transitive activity, and semantically they are always in the perfect aspect. For example, ee ch'eyoon (< ee B3p, ch'ey- RTV 'hit', -oon perf) may be translated as either 'they are hit' or 'they have been hit, and similarly, in kuunaan (< in B1, kuuna- DTJ 'cure', -Vn perf) may be translated as 'I am cured' or 'I have been cured'. It should be noted that, like other passives in Tzutujil, participial passives may be used absolutively without an

expressed agent, or as rearranging passives where the agent is expressed
in an oblique case marked with -umaal. Compare the following examples.

    (77) Ja ti   nuuchaaq'   chajil   jaay ya7oon
        the little my-little-brother guarder-of house put
        kan   (rmal nuutee7).
        staying by   my-mother
        'My little brother has been made house watcher
        (by my mother).'

    (78) Ji7oon wiij   (rumaal ja q'apooj).
        rubbed my-back by   the girl
        'My back has been rubbed (by the girl).'

    (79) Inin in atzeelaan (rmal njiinaan).
        I   B1 hated   by   my-father-in-law
        'I am/have been hated (by my father-in-law).'

    (80) Ee b'aqirsaan ja ch'uu7 (rumaal ja   q'iiq').
        B3p made-thin the fish   by   the   northwind
        'The fish have been made thin (by the wind).'

9.6.1.4 The Medio-Passive

There is no productive medio-passive voice in Tzutujil. However,
there are a dozen or so intransitive verbs that are based on monosyllabic
roots plus an infixed -7- or -j-. All of these verbs denote an activity
or process that has an effect on some semantic patient, but there is
never an implied agent in the activity or process; e.g.

Medio-Passive Verbs
b'o7seem 'to crack (of walls, wood, rock, etc.)' < b'os- (?)
ko7seem 'to get tired' < kos- (?)
k'i7seem 'to come to an end, stop' < k'is- RTV 'stop, finish'
no7jeem 'to get full/filled up' < noj- (?)
pa7jeem 'to fall down' < paj- (?)
pa7xeem 'to break, split (of wood, rock)' < pax- root in DTJ
      paxixik 'to break, split' (N.B.: in Quiche pax- is RTV.)

qu7reem ~ qu7weem 'for food to burn too much while cooking'
    < qur- ~ quw- (?)

jijq'ik 'to drown' < jiq'- root in several verbs having to do
    with gasping, sighing, exhaling, and also jiiq' 'whooping
    cough'

k'ajteem 'to burn' < k'at- root in k'atan 'hot' (N.B.: in
    Quiche k'at- RTV 'to burn')

k'ijyeem 'to grow' < k'iy 'many, much'

tzajqeem 'to fall down' < tzaq- RTV 'drop, lose'

tz'ujkeem 'to bud (of plants)' < tz'uk- (?)

It should be noted that -7- and -j- are both allomorphic variants of the
simple passive infix, and that in some other Mayan languages -7- and/or
-j- are productive medio-passive markers (see Dayley 1981, especially
table 9). It is perhaps the case that an earlier stage of Tzutujil (and
perhaps even Proto-Mayan) had a productive mediopassive in -7- or -j that
has developed into a productive simple passive in Tzutujil (and other
Quichean languages), but has left vestiges of its earlier function in at
least the verbs above.

9.6.2 The Antipassive Voices

Tzutujil has two antipassive voices: the absolutive antipassive
(9.6.2.1) and the (agent) focus antipassive (9.6.2.2). It also has an
agent focus perfect participle that functions like the focus antipassive
voice and is discussed along with it. Only the absolutive antipassive
has (as the name implies) absolutive function such that a transitive
activity may be discussed without mention of the patient. The focus
antipassive is a rearranging voice.

9.6.2.1 The Absolutive Antipassive Voice

The absolutive antipassive is formed with -oon (~ -uun) on root
transitive verbs (see affix 11, section 4.2.1), with -Vn on derived tran-
sitives in j, and with -n on derived transitives in 7 (see affix 20,
section 4.2.1). Virtually all transitive verbs have absolutive

infinitives formed with the verbal noun suffix -eem added to the
absolutive stem (see section 4.1.5). As noted at the beginning of this
section (9.6), the function of the absolutive antipassive is to make
possible the discussion of a transitive activity without any mention of
the patient. It is primarily used (1) to discuss a transitive activity
when the patient is unknown or irrelevant, or when the speaker does not
wish to mention the patient, and (2) when describing a transitive
activity typically performed by some agent. The absolutive antipassive
always implies some patient or patients, but they are always nonspecific.
That is, no specific patient is ever semantically recoverable from the
speech context.

> (81) a.   Jaa7 ma xa ko7 nchapooni.
>   he   a lot   B3-scolds/grabs
>   'He scolds/grabs a lot.'
>
>   b.   Jaa7 ma xa ko7 xchapon   iiwiir.
>   he   a lot   B3-scolded/grabbed yesterday
>   'He scolded/grabbed a lot yesterday.'
>
> (82) Inin xinch'apooni ja toq xinchajpi.
>   I   B1-pinched   when   B1-was-grabbed
>   'I pinched when I was grabbed.'
>
> (83) Ja d'oktoor ja xuuli   qas utz nq'omaani.
>   the doctor   who arrived-here very well B3-cures
>   'The doctor who arrived here cures very well.'
>
> (84) Ja nuutee7   b'aráata nk'ayin wi7.
>   the my-mother cheaply B3-sells emph
>   'My mother sells cheaply (i.e. at low prices).'

There are a number of facts that should be mentioned about the
absolutive antipassive. First, although most transitive verbs have
absolutive antipassive forms, there are a few that do not (e.g. elasaxik
'to take out'). Second, a few absolutive antipassive forms always seem
to have reflexive meaning (e.g. ch'ajooneem 'to wash oneself' < ch'ajooj
'to wash'). Third, there are a number of lexicalized intransitive verbs
derived from transitive verbs that are formally identical with the
absolutive antipassives of those same transitive verbs. However, the

subjects of the lexicalized intransitives are semantically the patients
of the transitive verbs from which they are derived, not the semantic
agents as are the subjects of the absolutive antipassives. Compare the
meanings of the intransitive verbs below, all of which are ambiguous as
to whether the patient is the subject in the lexical intransitive
reading, or the agent is the subject in the absolutive antipassive
reading.

> paxiineem (< paxixik DTJ) 'for some patient to break' or
>   'for some agent to be breaking (something)'
>
> raquuneem (< raquxik DTJ) 'for some patient to burst' or 'for
>   some agent to be breaking (something) by applying pressure
>   from within'
>
> chijkalo7neem (< chijkalo7xik DT7) 'for a liquid or grains to
>   spill, splash' or 'for an agent to be spilling/splashing
>   (liquid or grains)'
>
> puliineem (< pulixik DTJ) 'for a liquid to spill over' or 'for
>   an agent to be knocking over/spilling (liquid)'
>
> pajooneem (< pajooj RTV) 'for something to weigh a certain
>   amount' or 'for an agent to be weighing (something)'

And finally, the absolutive antipassive forms of a few transitive verbs
have specialized meanings not necessarily associated with the transitive
verbs (e.g. ch'eyooneem 'to be fighting, hitting' < ch'eyooj 'to hit';
b'anooneem 'to be fucking; making, doing' < b'anooj 'to make, do').

9.6.2.2 The Focus Antipassive Voice

The (agent) focus antipassive voice is marked with the suffix -ow
(~ -uw after root vowel u) on root transitive verbs (N.B.: -ow and -uw
become, respectively, -o and -u when not in phrase-final position and
when not occurring before a definite noun phrase; see affix 12, section
4.2.1). On derived transitive verbs in j, the focus antipassive is
marked with -Vn, and with -n on derived transitive verbs in 7 (see affix
20, section 4.2.1). Note that on derived transitive verbs the suffixes
marking the focus antipassive voice are the same as those marking the

absolutive antipassive voice, but on root transitive verbs the two voices
are marked with different suffixes.

The focus antipassive is a rearranging voice whose primary function
is to indicate that the agent of a transitive sentence is highlighted or
in focus. More specifically, the focus antipassive is used: (1) when
the agent is in contrastive focus or highly emphatic, (2) when the agent
is questioned, and (3) when the agent is relativized. When the agent is
in contrastive focus or is questioned, the focus antipassive voice is
obligatory; active transitive verbs are never used in these con-
structions. The focus antipassive is almost always used when agents are
relativized; however, very rarely in texts, active transitive verbs have
been recorded when their agents are relativized.

Verbs in the focus antipassive voice are morphologically
intransitive and therefore they have most of the inflectional
characteristics of other intransitive verbs (see section 4.1). On the
other hand, the sentences in which they occur are always semantically
transitive, containing both an agent and a patient (although an overt
patient noun phrase may be omitted if it is given information). Since in
focus antipassive sentences the agent is always in focus, there is always
an overt noun phrase in the sentence indicating the agent (whether it be
a full noun phrase or a pronoun: personal, demonstrative, interrogative,
or relative), and the agent noun phrase always precedes the verb. The
normal word order in focus antipassive sentences is: Agent + Verb +
Patient; but when the patient is also contrastive (as well as the agent),
then the order is: Patient + Agent + Verb (see section 8.2.3.2 on word
order, and section 9.3 on fronting). Note that PAV word order in
Tzutujil only occurs with focus antipassive verbs, never with active
transitive verbs.

Since focus antipassive sentences are semantically transitive but
morphologically intransitive, they are in general somewhat peculiar, and
person marking in these constructions reflects this situation. Person
marking is accomplished in two different ways. The first method of
person marking is based on the person hierarchy: Non-third Person >
Third Person Plural > Third Person Singular. In this method of person
marking, the absolutive person marker on the (intransitive) focus
antipassive verb agrees with whichever direct argument, agent or patient,

is higher on the person hierarchy. The direct argument lower on the
person hierarchy is therefore not referenced on the verb since
intransitive verbs reference only one argument. The roles of agent and
patient are distinguished in focus antipassive sentences solely with word
order. Compare the sentences below.

(85) a.   Inin xinch'eyowi jar   aachi.
           I   B1-hit-foc   the   man
           'I was the one who hit the man.'

     b.   Inin xinch'eyowi.
           'I was the one who hit him.'

(86) a.   Jar aachi   xinch'eyowi.
           the man   B1-hit-foc
           'The man was the one who hit me.'

     b.   Jaa7 xinch'eyowi.
           he   B1-hit-foc
           'He was the one who hit me.'

(87) Inin xinch'eyowi jar iixoqii7.
     I   B1-hit-foc   the women
     'I was the one who hit the women.'

(88) a.   Jar iixoqii7 xinch'eyowi.
           the women   B1-hit-foc
           'The women were the ones who hit me.'

     b.   Ja7ee7 xinch'eyowi.
           they   B1-hit-foc
           'They were the ones who hit me.'

(89) a.   Jar iixoqii7 xeech'eyowi   jar aachi.
           the women   B3p-hit-foc   the man
           'The women were the ones who hit the man.'

     b.   Jar iixoqii7 xeech'eyowi.
           'The women were the ones who hit him.'

(90) a.   Jar aachi xeech'eyowi   jar iixoqii7.
           the man   B3p-hit-foc   the women
           'The man was the one who hit the women.'

(91) a.   Jar aachi xch'eyowi   jar iixoq.
           the man   B3-hit-foc   the woman
           'The man was the one who hit the woman.'

      b.   Jar aachi xch'eyowi.
          'The man was the one who hit her.'

(92) a.   Jar iixoq xch'eyowi   jar aachi.
          the woman B3-hit-foc   the man
          'The woman was the one who hit the man.'

      b.   Jar iixoq xch'eyowi.
          'The woman was the one who hit him.'

In the second method of person marking in focus antipassive con-
structions, the agent is always referenced on the verb with an absolutive
person marker and the patient is demoted to an oblique relationship
marked with the relational noun -Vxiin 'of, for' see section 5.2.1).
This method of person marking is always used when both the agent and the
patient are non-third person (e.g. (93)), but may be used with other
person-number combinations as well (e.g. (94)-(97); in the (a) examples
-Vxiin is used; in the (b) examples the first method following the person
hierarchy is used). However, -Vxiin is rarely used when both agent and
patient are third person singular, unless the patient is higher than the
agent on the animacy hierarchy: Human > Animate > Inanimate (e.g. (97)).

    (93) a.   Inin xinch'eyo   awxiin.
           I   B1-hit-foc   of-you
           'I was the one who hit you.'

        b.   Atet xatch'eyo   wxiin.
           you B2-hit-foc   of-me
           'You were the one who hit me.'

    (94) a.   Inin xinlasan   rxiin jar aak'aal
           I   B1-got-out-foc   of-him the child
           pan ajtiijaal.
           from school

        b.   Inin xinlasan   jar aak'aal pan   ajtiijaal.
           I   B1-got-out-foc   the child   from school
           'I was the one who got the child out of school.'

    (95) a.   Jaa7 nilin   wxiin.
           she B3-serves-foc   of-me

    b.   Jaa7 niniliini.

        she   Bl-serve-foc

        'She is the one who serves me.'

(96) a.   Ee ka7i7 ajsantyáago   xeetz'uju   wxiin.

        B3p two   one-of-Santiago B3p-mistreated-foc of-me

    b.   Ee ka7i7 ajsantyáago   xintz'ujuwi.

        B3p two   one-of-Santiago Bl-mistreated-foc

        'Two people from Santiago were the ones who mistreated

        me.'

(97) a.   Ja wajkax xtoq'o   rxin Aa   Lu7.

        the bull   B3-gored-foc of-him youth Pedro

    b.   Ja wajkax xtoq'o   Aa   Lu7.

        the bull   B3-gored-foc youth Pedro

        'It was the bull that gored Pedro.'

The structure of focus antipassive sentences is illustrated diagrammatically below. The circle around the agent indicates that the agent is in focus, and the optional oblique element indicates that the patient may or may not be demoted to an oblique relationship depending on which method of person marking is used. It should be noted that native Tzutujil speakers normally translate focus antipassive sentences into Spanish with the agent clefted (as in the English translations herein). This fact is evidence that the agent is clefted in Tzutujil, and it may explain why focus antipassive verbs are intransitive while the sentences themselves are semantically transitive. That is, to some degree the agent is raised out of the matrix sentence and occurs under a higher sentence node. However, the agent is not entirely removed from the matrix sentence since it is always referenced on the verb when the patient is demoted with -Vxiin, and when the patient is not demoted, the agent is referenced on the verb if it is higher on the person hierarchy than the patient.

Active Voice				Agent Focus Antipassive Voice			
TV	Pat	Agt	→	(Agt)	IV	(Oblique)	Pat

Examples of the focus antipassive with questioned agents occur in
(98)-(100), and with relativized agents in (101)-(103). (Other examples
of the focus antipassive with questioned agents occur in (63) of section
7.1.4 and in (50)-(52) of section 9.4.2, and with relativized agents in
(35) of section 7.1.3 and in (52)-(56a) in section 10.2.1.)

> (98) a. Naq   xsokowi?
>   who/what B3-hurt-foc
>   'Who/what hurt him?'
>
>   b. Naq   xeesokowi?
>   who/what B3p-hurt-foc
>   'Who/what hurt them?'
>
>   c. Naq   xatsokowi?
>   who/what B2-hurt-foc
>   'Who/what hurt you?'
>
> (99) Naq xb'ojten   eel ja wuuj?
>   who B3-carried-roll-of-foc away the paper
>   'Who carried away the roll of paper?'
>
> (100) Naq xb'ak'ab'a7ni   ja sii7?
>   who B3-tied-up-foc   the firewood
>   'Who tied up the firewood?'
>
> (101) Jar iixoq ja xloq'o   ixiim xuuya7   chwe.
>   the woman who B3-bought-foc   corn B3-A3-gave   to-me
>   'The woman who bought (the) corn gave it to me.'
>
> (102) Ajkata71   jar iixoq ja nk'ayiini   ja kaa7.
>   one-of-Nahualá the woman who B3-sells-foc the metate
>   'The woman who sells the metates is of Nahualá.'
>
> (103) Inin xeenuutz'et ja k'el   ja   xeetz'ilo7ni
>   I   B3p-A1-saw   the parakeet that B3p-ruined-foc
>   jar awan.
>   the cornplant
>   'I saw the parakeets that ruined the cornplants.'

In addition to the focus antipassive voice there is also an <u>agent
focus perfect participle</u>, which is formally an adjective derived from

transitive verbs with -oyoon (~ -uyuun after root vowel u) on root tran-
sitives and -yoon on derived transitives (see affix 4, section 6.4.1).
The agent focus perfect participle is functionally and semantically like
the focus antipassive voice. It is used to highlight an agent or put an
agent in focus, and sentences in which agent focus perfect participles
occur are always semantically transitive, containing both an agent and a
patient. However, agent focus perfect participles are stative
predicates, and their meaning in general is 'Y is the one who has Xed Z',
where 'Y' is the agent, 'X' is the transitive verb, and 'Z' is the
patient. Word order and person marking are also like that with focus
antipassive verbs. Person marking is either based on the person
hierarchy (e.g. (104), (105a)-(107a), (108)), or the patient is in a
relational noun phrase with -Vxiin (e.g. (105b)-(107b)).

(104) Inin in ch'eyoyoon   (jar aachi).
      I   B1 have-hit-foc   the man
      'I am the one who has hit him (the man).'

(105) a.   Jar aachi in ch'eyoyoon.
           the man   B1 have-hit-foc
      b.   Jar aachi ch'eyoyon   wxiin.
           the man   have-hit-foc of-me
           'The man is the one who has hit me.'

(106) a.   Ojoj oq kamsayoon   ch'ooyaa7
           we   B1p have-killed-foc rats
           'We are the ones who have killed rats.'
      b.   Ojoj oq kamsayon   kixiin.
           we   B1p have-killed-foc of-them
           'We are the ones who have killed them.'

(107) a.   Nmama7   ee   tzuquyuun   (ja meeb'a7ii7).
           my-grandfather B3p have-fed-foc   the orphans
      b.   Nmama7   tzuquyun   kixiin
           my-grandfather   have-fed-foc of-them
           (ja meeb'a7ii7).
           the orphans
           'My grandfather is the one who has fed them (the
           orphans).'

(108) a. Jaa7 k'ayiyon   ixiim.
           she   have-sold-foc corn
           'She is the one who has sold corn.'

       b. Jaa7 k'ayiyoon.
           she   have-sold-foc
           'She is the one who has sold it.'

9.6.3 The Instrumental Voice

The instrumental voice is marked with the suffix -b'e on all verbs
(see affix 27, section 4.2.2). A verb stem in -b'e is formally a derived
transitive verb in j (i.e. a DTJ stem, see section 4.1), no matter
whether -b'e is appended to a root transitive verb or to a derived
transitive verb.

The instrumental voice is a rearranging voice whose primary function
is to indicate that the instrument used in a transitive activity is high-
lighted or in focus (much like the focus antipassive is used to indicate
that the agent is in focus). Specifically, the instrumental voice may be
used: (1) when the instrument is in contrastive focus or highly
emphatic, (2) when the instrument is questioned, and (3) when the
instrument is relativized. It should be noted that the instrumental
voice is not necessarily obligatory in these situations. Instruments may
be contrasted or questioned by fronting the instrumental (prepositional
or relational noun) phrase and placing the fronting/emphatic particle wi7
after the verb (see section 7.1.7.2 and 9.3). However, no examples of
relativized instruments have been recorded without the verbs being in the
instrumental voice (see section 10.2.1).

What the instrumental voice does is promote the instrument out of an
oblique relationship indicated with a relational noun or preposition(e.g.
chee, tza7n, or chi; see sections 5.2.1, 7.1.2, and 8.1.2), and front it
to a position preceding the verb but following an agent noun phrase if
one overtly appears in the sentence preceding the verb.

Active Voice					Instrumental Voice			
TV	Pat	Agt	Oblique Instr	→	(Instr)	TV-b'e	Pat	Agt
				or				
(Agt)	TV	Pat	Oblique Instr	→	(Agt)	(Instr)	TV-b'e	Pat

The instrument noun phrase then appears in the sentence like a direct argument since it is not marked with a preposition or relational noun. However, it is not referenced on the verb as the agent and patient are.[3] Native Tzutujil speakers usually translate sentences with verbs in the instrumental voice into Spanish with the instrument in a cleft sentence (as they are in the English translations below).

(109) Jar aachi machat xchoyb'eej   ja chee7.
      the man   machete B3-A3-cut-with the tree
         'It was a machete that the man cut the tree with.'

(110) Tz'uum xch'eybej   jun ixoq   jar aachi.
      whip   B3-A3-hit-with a   woman the man
      'It was a whip that the man hit a woman with.'

(111) (Jaa7) tz'uum xinrch'eyb'eej.
      he   whip   B1-A3-hit-with
      'It was a whip that he hit me with.'

(112) Kaxlaan xinb'aqb'ej   nwi7.
      soap   B3-A1-washed-with my-head
      'It was soap that I washed my head with.'

(113) Kuchi7l xinsokb'ej   wii7.
      knife   B3-A1-hurt-with myself
      'It was a knife that I hurt myself with.'

Verbs in the instrumental voice have most characteristics of other derived transitive verbs, and therefore they may also at the same time occur in the simple passive voice in -x or as past passive participles in -Vn. However, no verbs have been recorded in the instrumental voice and in the focus antipassive voice at the same time, and instrumental voice stems do not have passive infinitives in -x-ik. Compare (114)-(115) with (109)-(111) above.

(114) a. Machat   xachoyb'ej   chee7.
         machete B3-A2-cut-with wood
         'It was a machete that you cut wood with.'

  b. Machat achoyb'een   chee7.
    machete B3-A2-have-cut-with wood
    'It was a machete that you have cut wood with.'

  c. Machat xchoyb'ex   chee7.
    machete B3-was-cut-with wood
    'It was a machete that wood was cut with.'

  d. Machat choyb'een   chee7.
    machete B3-has-been-cut-with wood
    'It's a machete that wood is/has been cut with.'

(115) a. Jar iixoq tz'uum xch'eyb'exi (rumaal jar aachi).
    the woman whip B3-was-hit-with by the man
    'It was a whip that the woman was hit (by the man) with.'

  b. Tz'uum xinch'eyb'exi (rumaal jar aachi).
    whip B1-was-hit-with by the man
    'It was a whip that I was hit (by the man) with.'

(116) Ja rii7aal pinyoon utz nkunab'ex   sokotajik.
  the its-liquid piñon well B3-is-cured-with wound
  'It is piñon sap that wounds are cured well with (i.e. piñon
  sap is good to cure wounds with).'

Examples of the instrumental voice with questioned instruments occur
in (117)-(118), and with relativized instruments in (119)-(120). (Other
examples of the instrumental voice used with questioned instruments occur
in (64) of section 7.1.4 and (53) of section 9.4.2, and with relativized
instruments in (65)-(68) of section 10.2.1.)

 (117) a. Naq xab'anb'eej?
    what B3-A2-did-with
    'What did you do it with?'

  b. Naq ab'anb'een?
    what B3-A2-have-done-with
    'What have you done it with?'

  c. Naq xb'anb'exi?
    what B3-was-done-with
    'What was it done with?'

(118) a. Naq xinach'eyb'eej?
          what B1-A2-hit-with
          'What did you hit me with?'

      b. Naq xinch'eyb'exi?
          what B1-was-hit-with
          'What was I hit with?'

(119) Nwaajo7   jun palangáana nya7ab'ej   nisb'o7y.
      B3-A1-want a   basin   B3-A1-water-with my-onions
      'I want a basin with which I (can) water my onions.'

(120) Ja nuutee7   xuuloq'   kokop nb'anb'ej   chaqijya7.
      the my-mother B3-A3-bought cocoa B3-A3-make-with chocolate.'
      'My mother bought cocoa with which she makes (to make)
      chocolate.'

As stated at the beginning of this subsection, instruments may be
put into contrastive focus either with the instrumental voice or by
fronting the whole instrumental phrase with the contrastive particle wi7.
It is a noteworthy fact that both of these methods for contrasting the
instrument may be used together. In this construction the instrument is
not promoted out of an oblique relationship. Rather, the preposition or
relational noun indicating the instrumental relation remains in the
sentence and is fronted with the instrumental noun phrase (just as in wi7
fronting alone), but the verb has the -b'e instrumental voice suffix;
e.g.

(121) Jar aachi chee tz'uum xch'eyb'ej   wi7   jar iixoq.
      the man with whip   B3-A3-hit-with front the woman
      'It's with a whip that the man hit the woman.'

(122) Chee ala7 machat xinb'anb'ej   wi7.
      with that machete B3-A1-did-with front
      'It's with that machete that I did it.'

It is not known how the three methods for contrasting the instrument
differ semantically or functionally, if at all.

Notes to Chapter 9

1. Actually, as discussed in 8.2.3.3, benefactives may be fronted along with fronted contrastive patients, but benefactives are never fronted by themselves.

2. Much of the discussion of voice herein follows Dayley (1978, 1981).

3. In the instrumental voice in <u>Quiché</u>, a language closely related to Tzutujil, the instrument is not only promoted out of an oblique relation but is promoted to the absolutive position on the transitive verb and the patient is demoted to an oblique relation (see Norman 1978, Dayley 1981).

10

COMPLEX SENTENCES

This chapter is a presentation of the most important kinds of complex sentences in Tzutujil. Complex sentences are sentences that are comprised of two or more other sentences or clauses. They may be either conjoined sentences (10.1) or sentences with embedded clauses (10.2). Conjoined sentences are comprised of a series of two or more sentences that are syntactically linked together (with or without a conjunction). Complex sentences are sentences that contain one or more subordinate clauses embedded within them.

10.1 CONJOINED SENTENCES

Conjoined sentences may be formed by linking two or more conjunct sentences together with one of the conjunctions presented in section 7.1.1. These conjunctions occur at the beginning of the conjunct sentence that they conjoin to some other sentence. If a series of sentences are conjoined by the same conjunction, then the conjunction may be omitted before all but the last or next to last conjunct sentence. The conjunction may also occur before all of the conjuncts, except the first.

Conjoined sentences may also be formed by simply concatenating the conjunct sentences (without a conjunction). A string of completely independent (i.e. unconjoined) sentences differs intonationally from a series of conjunct sentences without conjunctions. In a string of independent sentences the intonation falls markedly at the end of each sentence, whereas in the case of a series of concatenated conjunct sentences, the intonation falls markedly only at the end of the last conjunct.

359

In some cases, the individual conjunct sentences of a larger con-
joined sentence are syntactically coordinate with each other; that is,
none of the conjuncts are dependent on any of the other conjuncts
(10.1.1). In other cases one or more conjuncts may be dependent on one
of the other conjuncts (10.1.2). Nevertheless, in all conjoined
sentences, the internal structure of each of the conjuncts is that of a
syntactically complete sentence, whether or not the individual conjunct
is coordinate or dependent. The dependency relation of a dependent
conjunct is not indicated by its internal structure, but rather by the
conjunction linking it to another sentence, or in one case by its
semantics (see 10.1.2.1).

It should be noted that in section 7.1.1, one example conjoined
sentence is given for each of the conjunctions. In the present section
not all of the conjunctions are exemplified again.

10.1.1 Conjoined Sentences with Coordinate Conjuncts

Conjoined sentences in which the individual conjuncts are coordinate
may simply be concatenated without conjunctions as in (1)-(4). In con-
joined sentences of this type with one or more concatenated conjuncts,
the adverb choqojaa7 ~ chaqajaa7 'also, too' commonly (although by no
means always) occurs at the beginning or at the end of any of the
conjuncts except the first (e.g. (4)).

(1) Ja karmiita   nkeewiq   chi utz,
     the their-brotherhood-house B3-A3p-adorn well
     nkeeloq'   kotz'i7j,
     B3-A3p-buy flower
     nkikaanooj   naq qas   nkeeb'an chee.
     B3-A3-look-for what really B3-A3p-do to-it
     'Their brotherhood house they adorn well, they buy
     flowers, (and) they look for what they can really do to it.'
(2) Nkeeb'an   tantyaar   cheqe ju7jun   nimaq   kwáarta
     B3-A3p-do measure-out   only one-each big-plr handspan
     raqan,   nkich'uupiij, nkeekoj   tza7n b'atz'ib'al,
     its-length B3-A3p-cut   B3-A3p-use with spindle

```
         b'atz'ib'al nkeekoj,      nkeemaj      b'anoj b'atz'.
         spindle     B3-A3p-use   B3-A3p-begin to-make thread
```
'They measure out only one big handspan length (of cotton
fibers) each, they cut them, they use them with a spindle,
a spindle they use, (and then) they begin to make thread.'

(3) Nkeek'am   ch'ab'aq, nkeek'aq   chkiij   ja taq
     B3-A3p-take mud   B3-A3p-throw on-backs-of the plr
     ch'uu7, ja taq ch'uu7 neeqa7j   xe7   ya7,
     fish   the plr fish   B3p-descend bottom water
     neetz'are7e.
     B3p-turn-on-side

'They take mud (and) throw it on the fish, (and then) the
fish go down to the bottom of the water, (and) turn on
their sides.'

(4) Jar aachi k'in jar iixoq k'o   wi7 keeq'a7   chee ja
     the man   and the woman exist emph their-right to   the
     k'ulub'ik; choqojaa7 k'o   kisaamaaj chi kiju7junel
     marriage   also   exist their-work to each-of-them
'The man and the woman have the right to marriage; also
each of them have their own work.'

Sentences may also be conjoined with the following coordinating
conjunctions: <u>k'iin</u> 'and', <u>i</u> ~ <u>ii</u> 'and', <u>pro</u> 'but', <u>o</u> ~ <u>oo</u> 'or', <u>o wi</u>
'or, neither, nor', <u>nixta k'a</u>...<u>ta</u> 'nor even, neither', <u>k'a ja7 k'a</u>
'thus, therefore, and then', <u>k'a ja7 k'aari7</u> 'and then; afterwards,
later', <u>k'a jaa ri7</u> 'and then', <u>k'a toq k'aari7</u> '(and) then' (see 7.1.1
for example sentences of each of these conjunctions and see (5)-(7)
below).

(5) Ja tati7xeelaa7 kixiin neekipixaab'aaj k'in neekeeto7,
     the parents   of-them B3p-A3p-instruct and B3p-A3p-help
     pro ma k'o   ta   móodo xtikeekoj   ta   kii7
     but not exist irreal way   B3-A3p-stick irreal themselves
     chi kikojol.
     in between-them
```

'The parents of them (newlyweds) instruct them, and they
help them, but there is no way that they should stick
themselves in between them.'

(6) Nb'e   San Antóonyo, nb'e K'oqol Keej, nb'e Xelaju7,
     B3-go San Antonio   B3-go Masatenango B3-go Quetzaltenango
     oo nb'e   Chi Maq'an Ya7.
     or B3-go Totonicapan
     'He goes to San Antonio, he goes to Masatenango, he goes
     to Quetzaltenango, or he goes to Totonicapan.'

(7) Toq xwinaqir   to   jule7 b'atz' chíina,
     when B3-appeared hither some thread Chinese
     k'a toq k'aari7 xkeek'ax   to   jutz'iit;
     then   B3-A3p-changed hither a-little
     k'a ja k'aari7 xkeetun   chik rwach ja b'atz'.
     and then   B3-A3p-united emph kinds the thread
     'When some Chinese thread appeared here, then they changed
     it (huipil) a little, and then they put together (a number
     of) kinds of thread.'

It should be noted here also that major constituents within a single
sentence or clause may be conjoined with the following conjunctions:
k'iin 'and', i(i) 'and', and o(o) 'or', as well as with the adverb
choqojaa7 'also, too'. (N.B.: the other coordinating conjunctions
listed above have not been recorded conjoining constituents within a
single sentence or clause.) Major constituents within a single sentence
or clause may also be conjoined by simple concatenation. For example, in
(8), k'iin conjoins verbs and in (10), it conjoins nouns. In (10), the
names of the holidays are simply concatenated without conjunctions; and
in (12), nouns, verbs, as well as clauses are conjoined without con-
junctions.

(8) Jar iixoq njosq'iij   k'in nuumes   pa roochooch.
     the woman B3-A3-cleans and B3-A3-sweeps in her-house
     'The woman cleans and sweeps in her house.'

(9) Xin píispra rxiin ja nmaq'iij konojeel ja martoma7ii7
     of eve   of   the fiesta   all   the stewards
     choqojaa7 ja jwees nkeeya7   ju7jun   kuku7 maatz'.
     also   the judge B3-A3p-put one-each jug   atol
     'On the eve of the fiesta all of the stewards, also the
     judge, place one jug each of atol (= thick corn drink).'

(10) Ja maatz' neekitija7   ja prinsipaalii7, alkaala
     the atol   B3-go-A3p-drink the principals   mayor
     k'in jwees ja toq neemojl   sáanto ja pa taq
     and judge when B3p-are-united saints the in plr
     nmaq'iij jani7 nmaq'ij San Jwaan, Kiq'iij Sáanto,
     holiday like festival San Juan   their-day saint
     Byéernes Sáanto, Alaxb'al.
     Friday   Holy   Christmas.
     'It's the atol that the principals, mayor, and judge go
     drink when the saints are united on holidays like the
     festival of San Juan, All Saints Day, Holy Friday, (and)
     Christmas.'

(11) Jaa ri7 ja kijqa7n   oo kisaamaaj ja nkeeb'an.
     this   the their-charge or their-work that B3-A3p-do
     'This is their charge or their work that they do.'

(12) Nixkeeb'an jodeer   nixkitz'ila7   na,
     B2p-A3p-do fuck-over B2p-A3p-injure nec
     neekiq'axaj na keej   wajkax cheewiij.
     B3p-A3p-pass nec horse cow   on-your-backs
     'They'll fuck over and injure you all, (and) they'll
     pass horses and cows over your backs.'

The verb of a coordinate conjunct may be omitted, or gapped, if it
is a repetition of a verb in a preceding conjunct, and if the Subjects of
the verbs are different (e.g. (13b)-(16b). In a transitive coordinate
conjunct, if the patient is (lexically) identical with the patient in a
preceding conjunct, then it must be omitted as well, if the verb is
gapped. In other words, the gapping of a transitive verb is precluded
unless its patient is also omitted if the patient is identical with the

patient in the preceding conjunct (see ungrammatical (15c)). Similarly
with verbs of motion and direction, and locations: a verb of motion and
direction may not be gapped unless the location in the clause is omitted
as well, if the location is identical with the location in the preceding
conjunct (see ungrammatical (13c)).

(13) a.　Aa　　Xwaan xb'e Armíita,
　　　　　youth Juan　went Guatemala-City
　　　　　choqojaa7 Ta　Mari7y xb'e　Armíita.
　　　　　also　　　Miss María　went　Guatemala-City
　　　　　'Juan went to Guatemala City, and also María
　　　　　went to Guatemala City.'

　　　b.　Aa Xwaan　xb'e Armíita, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y.
　　　　　'Juan went to Guatemala City, and María did too.'

　　　c.　*Aa Xwaan xb'e Armíita, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y Armíita.
　　　　　*'Juan went to Guatemala City, and María to Guatemala
　　　　　City.'

(14) a.　Jar Aa　　Xwaan xb'e Armíita,
　　　　　the youth Juan　went Guatemala-City
　　　　　ja k'aa　　Ta　Mari7y xb'e Chi Maq'an Ya7.
　　　　　the contrast Miss María　went Totonicapan
　　　　　'Juan went to Guatemala City, but María went to
　　　　　Totonicapan.'

　　　b.　Jar Aa　Xwaan xb'e Armíita, ja k'aa Ta Mari7y
　　　　　Chi Maq'an Ya7.
　　　　　'Juan went to Guatemala City, but María to
　　　　　Totonicapan.'

(15) a.　Aa　　Xwaan xuutij　　rwaay,　　　choqojaa7
　　　　　youth Juan　B3-A3-ate his-tortilla also
　　　　　Ta　Mari7y xuutij　　rxiin.
　　　　　Miss María　B3-A3-ate hers
　　　　　'Juan ate his tortillas and María also ate hers.'

　　　b.　Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y.
　　　　　'Juan ate his tortillas and María did too.'

　　　c.　*Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y rxiin.
　　　　　*'Juan ate his tortillas and María hers.'

(16) a.   Jar Aa   Xwaan xuutij   rwaay,
            the youth Juan B3-A3-ate his-tortilla
            ja k'aa   Ta Mari7y xuutij   kaxlanway.
            the contrast Miss María B3-A3-ate bread
            'Juan ate his tortillas but María ate bread.'
     b.   Jar Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, ja k'aa Ta Mari7y kaxlanway.
            'Juan ate his tortillas but María bread.'

Note that in conjuncts with gapped verbs, usually either the adverb
choqojaa7 occurs, or the Subject is preceded by the contrasting/
topic-shifting particle k'aa(r) (see 7.1.7.3). Choqojaa7 occurs when
everything but the Subject is identical with that in the preceding
conjunct. K'aa(r) occurs when some constituent besides the Subject is
different from the same constituent in the preceding conjunct (e.g. in
(14b) the locations are different, and (16b) the patients are different).

It is also noteworthy that verbs may be gapped even if they are not
identical with the verb in the preceding clause, as long as they are
semantically included within the scope of the verb of the preceding
clause. For example, in (17b) the verb muruuj 'to eat crunchy things' is
gapped since it falls within the scope of tijooj 'to eat (in general)'
even though, normally tijooj would not be used with awux 'toasted broad
beans'.

(17) a.   Jar Aa   Xwaan xuutij   way,
            the youth Juan B3-A3-ate tortilla
            ja k'aa   Ta   Mari7y xuumur
            the contrast Miss María B3-A3-ate-crunchies
            awux.
            toasted-broad-bean
            'Juan ate tortillas, but María ate toasted broad beans.'
     b.   Jar Aa Xwaan xuutij way, ja k'aa Ta Mari7y awux.
            'Juan ate tortillas, but Mariá toasted broad beans.'

10.1.2 Conjoined Sentences With Dependent Conjuncts

In this subsection I discuss conjoined sentences that have dependent conjuncts such as time adverbial clauses (10.1.2.1), causal adverbial clauses (10.1.2.2), and conditionals (10.1.2.3), as well as a few others (10.1.2.4).

10.1.2.1 Time Adverbial Clauses

There are two types of time adverbial clauses. The first type is essentially like the English 'when' clause. It is normally introduced with the conjunction toq 'when', which is often preceded by the definite article ja, and is often followed by the particle k'a 'well, then' (i.e. toq ~ ja toq ~ toq k'a ~ ja toq k'a 'when'). Occasionally, this type of time adverbial clause is also introduced with the combination of particles ja wi k'a 'when' (< ja 'the', wi 'if', k'a 'well, then'). Toq (or ja wi k'a) clauses may precede or follow the sentence to which they are conjoined.

(18) Toq nok   q'ojoom pan armiita,   neeq'ab'ari.
      when B3-begin marimba in brotherhood-house B3p-get-drunk
      'When the marimba begins in the brotherhood house, they
      get drunk.'

(19) Ja toq nb'e pujyu7,   nuuk'am   el ti   rwaay.
      when   B3-go to-mountain B3-A3-carry out little his-food
      'When he goes to the mountains, he takes a little food.'

(20) Toq k'a nk'ototaj   kaan   ja jul, neepit
      when   B3-be-dug-comp staying the hole B3p-come
      chi k'amariik ja kamnaq.
      to take   the deceased
      'When the hole (grave) is finished being dug, they
      come to take the deceased.'

(21) Qas kiki7kooj   ja toq neekijl   kajkaj
      very their-happiness when   B3p-A3p-get four-each
      taq chakach.
      plr basket
      'They are very happy when they get four baskets each.'

(22) Ja wi k'a ee k'o   keji7 o   jo7oo7 chrij   jun koraal,
      when   B3p exist four or five on-back-of a   corral

      neekeejach   ja keech'uu7   chi keewach.
      B3p-A3p-divide the their-fish to their-faces
      'When there are four or five (women) per each (fishing)
      corral, they divide their fish among them.'

With the second type of time adverbial clause there is no overt
syntactic marking indicating that clauses of this type are conjoined to
and dependent on some other sentence. That is, there is no conjunction
such as toq that conjoins them; rather, they are conjoined by simple
concatenation to some other sentence. Structurally, time adverbial
clauses of this type are identical with concatenated coordinate sen-
tences, but semantically they are adverbial clauses, and they are always
translated as such into Spanish. They are most commonly translated into
Spanish as 'al + infinitive' constructions comparable to English 'on +
present participle' constructions; however, they are also not uncommonly
translated as simple 'when' (cuando) clauses. This type of time
adverbial clause may precede or follow the clause to which it is con-
joined.

(23) Choqojaa7 nkuk'aaj   ne7el   pa prosesyoon.
      also   B3-A3p-take B3p-exit to procession
      'Also they take it on going out to a procession
      (when they go to a procession).'

(24) Kongáana   q'ab'arik nb'ajni k'o   q'ojoom.
      tremendous drinking   is-done exist marimba
      'Tremendous drinking is done on there being a marimba
      (when there is a marimba).'

(25) Rtejleen   rajsaroom nb'e,
      B3-A3-has-put-on-shoulder his-hoe   B3-go
      choqojaa7 rtejleen   nmeloj   to.
      also   B3-A3-has-put-on-shoulder B3-return back
      'Having put his hoe on his shoulder he leaves,
      also having put it on his shoulder he comes back.'

(26) Xalasataj   kumaal, k'a toq k'aari7
      B3-was-taken-out-comp by-them then
      nkeewis   nojeel ja k'exooj.
      B3-A3p-clean all   the cotton
      'When they (seeds) are finished being taken out by them,
      they clean all the cotton.'

10.1.2.2 Causal Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses indicating the cause of, or reason for, something
are conjoined to other sentences with the following conjunctions: piki
'because', kómo 'since', che7ewi7 'because of the preceding', rmaal ari7
~ rmaal k'aari7 'because of that (the preceding)'. Clauses introduced
with piki and kómo may precede or follow the sentences to which they are
conjoined, but those introduced with che7ewi7 and rmaal ari7/rmaal
k'aari7 only follow them.

(27) Piki   ja rb'iin   kaan   anij   qatziij
      because that B3-A3-has-said staying always true
      wi7   keewaari7 rb'anoon   ja tinaamit.
      front so/thus   B3-A3-has-done the town
      'Because that which he had said was true, the town has
      done it so (i.e. thus it has happened to the town).'

(28) Anij   ma k'o   ta   tzyaq   ari7 ja   cheqe ta
      always not exist irreal clothes that which just   irreal
      xtikitz'iila7   piki   k'aayeep niltaj
      B3-A3p-would-waste because difficult B3-is-obtained
      wi7 jun sentáawo, rmaal   ari7 looq' nkeena7.
      emph a   cent   because-of that sacred B3-A3p-feel
      'There never were (any of) those clothes which they would
      just waste because it was difficult to obtain a cent,
      because of that they esteemed them (clothes).'

(29) Kómo jar oojeer ma k'o   ta   'boláada'
      since the before not exist irreal volada
      k'o   k'a jule7 'káamra' ja   nb'ajni.
      exist then some   cámara   that B3-is-made

'Since before there were no 'voladas',

there were 'cámaras' that were made.'

[N.B.: 'volada' and 'cámara' are types of fireworks.]

(30) Ja kumatz xinruuti7 che7ewi7   xinkamsaaj.

the snake B1-A3-bit because-of-that B3-A1-killed

'The snake bit me, because of that I killed it.'

10.1.2.3 Conditionals

Conditionals are introduced with the conjunction wi 'if', which is often preceded by the definite article ja. Usually conditional clauses precede the (conclusion) sentences they are conjoined to:

(31) Wi k'o   npaq   ninb'e.

if exist my-money B1-go

'If I have money, I'll go.'

(32) Ja wi k'o   lugaar chike   jar iixoqii7

the if exist time   to-them the women

neeb'eekichapa7 ch'uu7 pa ya7.

B3p-go-A3p-catch fish   in water

'If there is time for the women (i.e. if they have

time), they go catch fish in the water.'

Conditional clauses may also occur as indirect yes/no questions much like 'if/whether' clauses in English:

(33) Inin ma xintz'et ta   wi xlaq'aaj.

I   not B3-A1-saw irreal if B3-A3-stole

'I didn't see if/whether he stole it.'

(34) Xrak'axaj   chwe ja wi ixix   nixkowiini nixpeeti.

B3-A3-asked to-me the if you-all B2p-can   B2p-come

'He asked me if/whether you all can come.'

Counter-to-fact conditionals are usually introduced with wi plus the irrealis adverb taxa (see 7.2.1), and the verb in the conclusion clause is optionally followed by the irrealis enclitic ta. However, in coun-ter-to-fact conditionals, wi may be optionally omitted.

(35) (Wi) taxa   k'o   npaq   ninb'e (ta).
      if   irreal exist my-money B1-go   irreal
      'If I had money, I would go.'

(36) (Wi) taxa   ninrojb'eej ntz'ub'aj (ta)   ruuchii7
      if   irreal B1-A3-love B3-A1-kiss irreal   her-mouth
      Ta   Mari7y.
      Miss María
      'If she loved me, I would kiss María.'

10.1.2.4 Some Other Dependent Conjuncts

Manner adverbial clauses indicating similarity are introduced with
jani7 (~ kani7) 'like, as'. These clauses may precede or follow the
sentences they are conjoined to.

(37) Jani7 xab'ij   chwe kaari7 xinb'an   chee ja d'iiso7m.
      as   B3-A2-told to-me thus   B3-A1-did to-it the sewing
      'As you told me (to do it), thus I did the sewing.'

(38) Neekiq'aataaj ja ch'uu7, neeb'eekimina7 to
      B3p-A3p-trap the fish   B3p-go-A3p-push hither
      jani7 nkeeb'an winaq wkaamiik.
      as   B3-A3p-do people now
      'They used to trap the fish and push them in, like
      people do now.'

Concessive clauses are introduced with maanaan or maaski, both
meaning 'even though, nevertheless, although, nonetheless'. These
clauses have only been recorded preceding the sentences they are
conjoined to.

(39) Pro jaa ri7 jar oojeer; maaski   teexeel
      but that   the before even-though female-member-
                                            of-brotherhood
      juun, toq nok   q'ojoom pa armiita
      one   when B3-begin marimba in brotherhood-house
      neeq'ab'ari.
      B3p-get-drunk

'But that was before; even though one was a female member
of the brotherhood, when the marimba started in the
brotherhood house, they got drunk.'

(40) Maanaan   xtipeeti   jar Aa   Lu7, majun   nuub'an.
      even-though B3-might-come the   youth Pedro nothing B3-A3-do
      'Even though Pedro might come, he won't do anything.'

Clauses indicating result(s) are introduced with the preposition and
complementizer chi 'at, to; that'. In result clauses, chi is usually
followed by utz 'good' and may be preceded by the definite article ja
(i.e. chi ~ chi utz ~ ja chi ~ ja chi utz all used to mean 'so that').

(41) Ja sakraméento rxiin ja k'ulub'ik neeto7o
      the sacrament   of   the marriage B3p-help-foc
      rmaal jar uutziil rxin Dyoos, ja chi utz k'a
      by   the goodness of   God   so that   then
      nkojb'ej   kii7   nojel kik'asleemaal,
      B3-A3p-love each-other all   their-life
      ja chi utz k'a nkeek'ut   ja utz laj taq naquun
      so that   then B3-A3p-show the good very plr thing
      chi keewach   ja kalk'waal,   chi utz k'a
      to their-face the their-children so that then
      neekeetzuq   choqojaa7 nkeeya7   taq kitzyaq.
      B3p-A3p-feed also   B3-A3-give plr their-clothes
      'It's the sacrament of marriage that helps them by the
      goodness of God so that then they love each other all
      their lives, so that then they teach very good things to
      their children, so that then they feed them and also give
      them clothes.'

(42) Dyoos xya7o   chee   k'in Jaa7 xcha7owi
      God   B3-give-foc to-him and He   B3-chose-foc
      ja chi nrojb'eej k'in nkeeto7   kii7
      so that B3-A3-love and B3-A3p-help each-other
      k'in nkuk'aj   kii7   k'in ja chi utz k'a
      and B3-A3p-take each-other and so that   then
      pa ki7koteemaal neek'eje7 wi7   chee ka7i7.
      in peace   B3p-live front in   two

'God is the one who gave her to him and He is the one
who chose her so that he loves her and they help each
other and take each other and so that then in peace they
live, the two of them'

10.2   COMPLEX SENTENCES WITH EMBEDDED CLAUSES

In this section the most important kinds of clauses embedded within
other larger (matrix) sentences are presented, namely: relative clauses
(10.2.1), purpose clauses (10.2.2), clefts (10.2.3), and complement
clauses (10.2.4). Embedded clauses may either contain fully inflected
finite verbs, or infinitives or verbal nouns, depending on the particular
construction involved. One important feature that usually distinguishes
complex sentences with embedded clauses is that either the embedded
clause is not a complete sentence in itself, or the matrix sentence into
which the clause is embedded is not a complete sentence without the em-
bedded clause. In the latter case, the embedded clause fills the
syntactic role of a major constituent (e.g. a noun phrase) in the matrix
sentence.

10.2.1   Relative Clauses

Generally speaking, relative clauses are distinguished structurally
by the fact that they are 'missing' a noun or noun phrase that is refer-
entially identical to a noun in the matrix sentence (except in the case
of 'headless' relative clauses; see below). The noun in the matrix sen-
tence is the head of the relative clause. In Tzutujil, relative clauses
usually immediately follow their head nouns, and they are normally in-
troduced with the relativizer or relative pronoun ja(r) 'who, what,
which, that' (see sections 3.2, 7.1.3).[1] However, relative clauses may
be shifted to the end of the matrix sentence if no other noun in the
matrix sentence intervenes between the head noun and the shifted relative
clause (e.g. (64c) and (67) with shifted relative clauses). And, the
relativizer ja(r) may optionally be omitted except: (1) in headless
relative clauses, (2) in shifted relative clauses, and (3) when the
'missing' noun in the relative clause is (would be) an object of a
preposition.

Any noun in a matrix sentence may be the head of a relative clause,
and sentences in which relative clauses are embedded have no
extraordinary grammatical properties (except the existence of the
relative clause itself). Relative clauses, on the other hand, aside from
lacking a particular noun constituent, may have special grammatical
features depending on the semantic-syntactic role that the relativized
(i.e. 'missing') noun plays in the relative clause. These special
features are discussed in the following paragraphs.

There is no special grammatical marking in a relative clause in
which the relativized noun is a subject of an intransitive verb or a
stative predicate, a patient of a transitive verb, or a possessor of a
noun. The relativized noun is simply missing from the relative clause.
It should be noted, however, that the relativized noun is still refer-
enced in the relative clause with normal person marking on the verb,
predicate, or possessed noun, as the case may be. Examples of relative
clauses with relativized subjects occur in (43)-(45), with relativized
patients in (46)-(48), and with relativized possessors in (49)-(50).

(43) Jar aachi (ja) xk'eje7 chila7 xkami.
      the man   who B3-lived there B3-died
      'The man who lived there died.'

(44) Jo7   pan aldéeya (ja) k'o kaala7 chuuchii7
      let's-go to village that be there on-edge-of
      raqan   ya7.
      its-leg water (= river)
      'Let's go to the village that is there on the edge of
      the river.'

(45) Cheqe chik neekeetzu7   ja winaq ja neesamaj
      just emph B3p-A3p-look-at the people who B3p-work
      ja neewa7 chwach   jar uuleep.
      who B3p-eat on-face-of the land
      'They'll just look at the people who work and who eat
      on the face of the land.'

(46) a. Jar aachi (ja) xaach'ey xb'e.
          the man   who B3-A2-hit B3-went
          'The man who you hit took off.'

b.   Jar aachi (ja) xuuch'ey Aa   Keel   xb'e.
     the man   who B3-A3-hit youth Miguel B3-went
     'The man who Miguel hit took off.'

(47) Jar aachi xkamsaaj   ja tz'i7 ja   xkib'atataaj
      the man   B3-A3-killed the dog   that B3-A3p-chased
      ak'aalaa7.
      children
      'The man killed the dog that (the) children chased.'

(48) Ja toq nb'e pujyu7   nuuk'am   el ti   rwaay
      when   B3-go to-mountain B3-A3-carry out little his-food
      ja   nuutij   pa nk'ajq'iij, choqojaa7 nuuk'am
      which B3-A3-eat at midday   also   B3-A3-carry
      el jun tzujy ruuyaa7 ja   nuutij.
      out a   gourd his-water which B3-A3-consume
      'When he goes to the mountains he takes a little food
      which he eats at midday; also he takes a gourd of water
      which he drinks.'

(49) Xqaatz'at jar aachi ja   xk'ajti   roochooch.
      B3-A1p-saw the man   who(se) B3-burned his-house
      'We saw the man whose house burned down.'

(50) Ee k'iy ja winaq ja   anij   ma k'o   ta
      B3p many the people who(se) always not exist irreal
      jun k'aam kuuleep, ma k'o   ta   jutz'iit ti
      a   cord their-land not exist irreal a-little little
      kixooraal.
      their-housesite
      'The people are many who never have a cord of land and
      don't have even a little housesite.'
      [literally: 'The people are many whose cord of land
      never exists and whose little housesite doesn't exist.']

There is a restriction on the relativization of patients: a patient
cannot be relativized if it is the possessor of the agent of an active
transitive verb in the relative clause (see ungrammatical (51b)). In
this situation a passive verb is used instead (e.g. (51a)).

(51) a.   Xqaak'am   eel jar aak'aal ja   xch'ejy
            B3-Alp-carry away the child   who B3-was-hit
            rumal rtata7.
            by   his-father
            'We took away the child who was beaten by his father.'
      b.   *Xqaak'am eel   jar aak'aal ja rtata7 xuuch'ey.
            *'We took away the child whose father hit him.'

When the agent of a transitive verb in a relative clause is
relativized, the verb usually must be in the focus antipassive voice
(e.g. (52)-(56a); see section 9.6.2 on the focus antipassive). Rarely,
in texts, relativized agents are encountered where the verb in the
relative clause is active rather than in the focus antipassive (e.g.
(56b)). The circumstances in which active transitive verbs are permitted
with relativized agents instead of focus antipassive verbs are not known.

(52) a.   Jar aachi ja   xatch'eyowi xb'e.
            the man   who B2-hit-foc   B3-went
            'The man who hit you took off.'
      b.   Jar aachi ja   xch'eyo   Aa   Keel   xb'e.
            the man   who B3-hit-foc youth Miguel B3-went
            'The man who hit Miguel took off.'
(53) Jar aachi xkamsaaj   ja tz'i7 ja   xeeb'atataani
      the man   B3-A3-killed the dog   that B3p-chased-foc
      jar aak'aalaa7.
      the children
      'The man killed the dog that chased the children.'
(54) Jaa ri7 xeeto7owi   ja winaq, jar iindíijena,
      that   B3p-helped-foc the people the Indian
      pa keeq'a7   ja mosa7ii7 ja xeeb'ano   jodeer   qaxiin.
      from their-hand the Ladinos who B3p-did-foc fuck-over of-us
      'That is the one who helped the people, the Indians, from
      the hands of the Ladinos who fucked over us.'

(55) Jar iixoq ja xb'i7n   chwe chi ninb'e
      the woman who B3-told-foc to-me to B1-go
      xpi   rayeewaal.
      B3-came her-anger
      'The woman who told me to go got angry.'
      [literally: 'The anger of the woman who told me to go came.']

(56) a.   Ja tijooneel ja xintijon   chee sik'in
           the teacher   who B1-taught-foc to   call
           rwach   wuuj   najt k'o wi7   chee waawe7.
           face-of paper (= read) far live front to   here

      b.   Ja tijooneel ja xinrtijoj   chee sik'in
           the teacher   who B1-A3-taught to   call
           rwach   wuuj najt k'o wi7   chee waawe7.
           face-of paper far live front to   here
           'The teacher who taught me to read lives far from here.'

When the objects of locative prepositions such as pa(n) 'in, to,
from' or ch(i) 'at, to; (see 7.1.2 and 8.12) are relativized, not only is
the object of the preposition missing from the relative clause but also
the preposition itself. Verbs in locative relative clauses are followed
by the fronting particle wi7 (see 7.1.7.2). The relative clause is
either introduced with ja(r) optionally followed by b'aarkii7 (~ b'aa(r)
~ b'aakii7) 'where' (e.g. (57)-(59)), or ja(r) may be omitted, in which
case b'aarkii7 or one of its variants, is obligatory (e.g. (60)).

(57) Xq'ipitaji   ja ch'akat ja   (b'aakii7) xtz'ube7
      B3-got-broken the chair   that where   B3-sat
      wi7   nuuchaaq'.
      front my-little-brother
      'The chair in which (where) my little brother sat broke.'

(58) Xujrb'iij   waawe7 chike juun ka7i7 winaq pa
      B3-come-A3-told here   to   one two   people in
      tinaamit ja   (b'aar) nujk'aje7   wi7.
      town   that where   B3-come-live front
      'He came here to tell it to a couple of people in town
      in which (where) he came to live.'

(59) Nkeeb'an   pa ruuchii7   ja   (b'aar)
      B3-A3p-made in its-mouth (= opening) that where
      ne7ok   wi7   ja ch'uu7.
      B3p-enter front the fish
      'They made an opening into which (where) the fish enter.'

(60) Nb'e   Chi Maq'an Ya7 b'aar neek'ayin wi7.
      B3-go Totonicapan   where B3-go-sell front
      'He goes to Totonicapan where he goes to sell.'

Normally, when the possessor-objects of relational nouns (see 5.2.1
and 8.1.2) are relativized, the relational noun remains in the relative
clause in its usual syntactic position, but the possessor-object is
missing under identity with the head noun in the matrix sentence (e.g.
(61)-(64a)). However, when the relational noun is -uuk'iin 'with', it
may be omitted, and the fronting particle wi7 must occur after the verb
in the relative clause (e.g. (64b); N.B. (64c) is an example of a
relative clause shifted to the end of the sentence).

(61) K'o   k'a jule7 k'ama ya7l (*ja) kib'aaliin
      exist then some twine bag   B3-A3p-have-stuffed
      jule7 jo7q   chi paan.
      some cornhusk in side-of-it
      'There were then some twine bags that they had stuffed
      some cornhusks into.'

(62) K'o   jun ya7l jo7q   b'aaliin (*ja) nkeeya7
      exist a   bag cornhusk stuffed   B3-A3p-put
      jun tz'uum   chwach.
      a   leather on-face-of-it
      'There was a bag stuffed with cornhusks that they put
      a (piece of) leather on.'

(63) Nyak   ja ch'ajt ja nwar   tz'i7 chuuxee7.
      B3-A1-lift the bed   that B3-sleep dog   under-it
      'I'll lift the bed that the dog is sleeping under.'

(64) a.   Jar aachi ja xinb'e ruuk'iin k'o chila7.
           the man   who B1-went with-him be there
           'The man who I went with is there.'

b. Jar aachi ja xinb'e wi7   k'o chila7.
    the man   who B1-went front be   there
    'The man who I went with is there.'

c. Jar aachi k'o chila7 ja xinb'e ruuk'iin.
    the man   be there who B1-went with-him
    'The man is there that I went with.'

When instrumental nouns are relativized, the transitive verb in the
relative clause is in the instrumental voice (see 9.6.3), and therefore
no instrumental relational noun occurs in the relative clause (e.g.
(65)-(68). No examples have been recorded of instruments relativized in
the manner that other possessor-objects of relational nouns are
relativized, as described in the previous paragraph. (N.B.: in (67) the
relative clause has been shifted to the end of the sentence; (68) is an
example of a headless relative clause.)

(65) Inin xintz'at jar aachi ja xchoyowi   ja chee7
      I   B3-A1-saw the man   who B3-cut-foc the tree
      (ja) xb'anb'ej   rtz'aalaam.
       which B3-A3-made-with his-boards
      'I saw the man who cut the tree with which he made his
      boards.'

(66) Nkeeya7   chik   jun chi7 rwach   chíina
      B3-A3p-put already a   fiber kind-of Chinese
      k'in b'atz'in b'atz' ja   nkib'anb'eej   chik
      with handspun thread   which B3-A3p-made-with emph
      ja tzyaq.
      the clothes
      'They already put a fiber of a kind of Chinese (thread)
      with handspun thread with which they made the clothes.'

(67) Nb'ij   chee   naq kotz'i7j nkeekoj
      B3-A3-tell to-him what flower   B3-A3p-use
      ja   nkikotz'i7jab'eej ja koochooch.
      which B3-A3p-adorn-with the their-house
      'He tells him what flowers to use to adorn their house
      with.' [literally: 'He tells him what flowers they (can)
      use with which they (can) adorn their house.']

(68) Pro k'in poqonaal kich'akoon   wi7
      but with suffering B3-A3p-have-earned front
      ja   kib'anb'een   piki   neesamaji.
      which B3-A3p-have-made-with because B3p-work
      'But with suffering they have earned that with which
      they have built it (house) because they work.'

In sentence (68), there is an example of a headless relative clause.
Headless relative clauses are not uncommon in texts. They are introduced
either with the normal relativizer ja(r) (e.g. (68)-(71), or with the
interrogative naq 'what, who, which, that' (e.g. (72)). Headless
relative clauses are especially common in (pseudo-) cleft sentences (see
10.2.3 on clefting).

(69) Ma xinch'ij   ta   ja   xuub'an   jar Aa   Teeko chwe.
      not B3-Al-stand irreal that B3-A3-did the youth Diego to-me
      'I couldn't stand that which Diego did to me.'

(70) Nawaajo7   chi nb'ij   chaawe ja   xb'ij   chwe?
      B3-A2-want that B3-Al-tell to-you that B3-A3-told to-me
      'Do you want me to tell you that which he told me?'

(71) Ja   rb'iin   kaan   ma ya7oj tziij ta.
      that B3-A3-has-said remain   not lie   irreal
      'That which he has said is not a lie.'

(72) Ja wkaamiik utz majuun chik ya7,
      the today   good none   emph liquor
      majuun chik naq nti7ji.
      none   emph what B3-is-consumed
      'Today it's good that there isn't any liquor, that
      there isn't (anything) which is consumed.'

There is an interesting fact about relative clauses following the
subjects of the stative positional adjective k'ooli (~ k'o) 'exist,
there is/are; be located; have', when it is used to predicate the exis-
tence of something. The normal relativizer ja(r) may never be used to
introduce such relative clauses; rather, they simply follow the head noun
(i.e. subject of k'ooli without a relativizing particle (e.g. (61)-(62),

. However, ja(r) may be used to introduce relative clauses after subjects of k'ooli when their existence is not being predicated, for example in predications of possession (e.g. .

(73)   K'o   jun masaat (*ja) xinkamsaaj.
       exist a   deer   B3-A1-killed
       'There's a deer that I killed.'

(74)   Ma k'o   ta   jun winaq (*ja) cheqe ta   xtik'eje7e.
       not exist irreal a   person   just irreal B3-would-be
       'There wasn't any person who would just be (and not do
       anything).'

(75)   K'o   jule7 keechee7 (ja) nkeekoj.
       exist some their-wood that B3-A3p-use
       'They have some wood that they use.'

Purpose Adverbial Clauses

Purpose adverbial clauses are infinitive clauses containing verbal nouns instead of fully inflected finite verbs (see section for affixes forming verbal nouns, and section on infinitives). Structurally, purpose clauses are always lacking a Subject (i.e. subject of IV or agent of TV), which is obligatorily omitted under identity with the Subject of the main clause in which they are embedded. Purpose clauses are introduced with either of the two prepositions: pa(n) 'in, on, to, from, in order to' and ch(i) 'at, to, in order to' (see sections and .

Pa(n) introduces intransitive purpose clauses (e.g.). These intransitive purpose clauses include not only clauses with infinitives of basically intransitive verbs (e.g. , but also those with detransitivized absolutive infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. , and those with detransitivized passive infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. . Purpose clauses with absolutive infinitives of transitive verbs may never contain a patient. It should be carefully noted that in purpose clauses introduced with pa(n) containing passive infinitives, the subject of the passive verb (omitted under identity with the Subject of the main clause) is always interpreted

(93) B'enaq   chi   k'axaxiik   rsaamaaj ruuk'iin
      B3-has-gone to (its)being-asked-about his-work with
      Aa   Lu7.
      youth Peter
      'He has gone to ask about his work with Peter.'

It should be noted that purpose clauses may be fronted like other
prepositional phrases, and when they are, the verb in the main clause
must be followed by the fronting particle wi7.

(94) Xa   pa ya7aaneem b'enaq   wi7 ja Tan Cho7r.
      just to water   B3-has-gone front the Miss Melchora
      'Just to water Melchora has gone.'

(95) Pa chupuj b'ii7aaj xinpi   wi7.
      to erase   name   B1-came front
      'In order to erase a name (of a deceased in the
      courthouse) I came.'

10.2.3 Clefts and Other Focus Clauses

    This subsection is a brief sketch of the syntactic processes that
bring major constituents of a sentence into contrastive focus by essen-
tially making predicates of them. In general, the other constituents of
the sentence not in contrastive focus occur in a clause following the
contrastive constituents (although subjects and agents may be fronted
(9.3) before contrasted constituents). These sentences are much like
'it's X that...' sentences in English where 'X' is the contrasted
constituent in focus, and the 'that' clause contains the constituents not
in focus (e.g. 'it's John that I saw' or 'it's today that we are going').
It should be noted that in English the subject of the predicate
containing the contrasted constituent is the dummy 'it'; whereas in
Tzutujil there is no dummy subject since the third person absolutive
marker is null anyway. In Tzutujil major constituents like direct and
oblique noun phrases, adverbs, and even full clauses may be contrasted by
making predicates of them. As far as is known, the verb or predicate
phrase itself is the only major constituent that cannot be contrasted in

(88) Ja nuutee7   xb'e   chi k'ayin askol Tzolola7.
      the my-mother B3-went to sell   sugar Sololá
      'My mother went to sell sugar in Sololá.'

The second type of transitive purpose clause introduced with ch(i)
contains a passive infinitive of a transitive verb. The passive
infinitive is inflected with an ergative possessive prefix referencing
the <u>patient</u>, which may be definite or indefinite. The purpose clause
itself contains no overt agent noun phrase, but the agent is always
understood to be the Subject of the verb in the main clause. In other
words, despite the fact that the infinitive in the purpose clause is
morphologically passive, the purpose clause in combination with the main
clause has an overall active interpretation. (N.B.: the <u>r</u>- of the third
person singular ergative possessive prefix is always deleted after ch(i);
see rule 12, section 1.6.1)

(89) a.   Xinpit   ch atz'ejtiik.
           B1-came to your-being-seen
           'I came to see you.'
      b.   Xinpit   chi   tz'ejtik   nuutee7.
           B1-came to (her)being-seen my-mother
           'I came to see my mother.'
(90) a.   Xe7el   chi qach'ejyiik.
           B3p-arrived to   our-being-hit
           'They arrived to hit us.'
      b.   Xe7el   chi   ch'ejyiik ja nnimaal.
           B3p-arrived to (his)being-hit the my-older-brother
           'They arrived to hit my older brother.'
(91) Ja nnimaal   b'enaq   chi   poroxiik
      the my-older-brother B3-has-gone to (its)being-burned
      ja patz'am.
      the cornstalk
      'My older brother has gone to burn the cornstalks.'
(92) Qas   at néesyo chi   b'ajniik.
      really B2 stupid to (its)being-done
      'You are really stupid to do it.'

(82) Ja   nata7   b'enaq   pa tikoj chiij.
      the my-father B3-has-gone to plant cotton
       "   "   "   " chupuj q'aaq'.
                                     put-out fire
       "   "   "   " kamsan masaat.
                                     kill   deer
       "   "   "   " k'ayin ixiim.
                                     sell   corn

      'My father has gone to plant cotton (put out (the) fire,
      kill deer, sell corn).'

(83) Xb'e   waanaa7   pa loq'oj aq'a71   pa k'ayib'al.
      B3-went my-sister to buy   charcoal in market
      'My sister went to buy charcoal in the market.'

(84) Inin xinpi   pa   kanon   b'ooxoom pa
      I   B1-came from look-for cilantro in
      k'acheelaaj.
      woods
      'I came back from looking for cilantro in the woods.'

(85) Ja   nwiinaaq ee b'enaq   pa ch'akooj.
      the my-people B3p have-gone to earn
      'My people have gone to earn (something/money).'

Ch(i) introduces transitive purposes clauses only.[2] They are of two
types. The first type is like transitive purpose clauses introduced with
pa(n). They contain active infinitives and patients that may never be
definite or referentially specific. E.g.

(86) Ja   nata7   b'enaq   chi loq'oj aq'oom.
      the my-father B3-has-gone to buy   medicine
      'My father has gone to buy medicine.'

(87) Junaab'iir xinwichb'iilaaj Aa   Lu7 chi b'anoj jaay.
      last-year B3-A1-accompanied youth Pedro to make   house
      'Last year I accompanied Pedro to build houses (in making
      houses).'

as the semantic patient of the verb, as one might expect. However, this
situation contrasts with purpose clauses introduced with ch(i) containing
passive infinitives (see the discussion on ch(i) purpose clauses below).

(76) Ja wxaayiil b'enaq   pa waraam.
      the my-wife B3-has-gone to sleep
      'My wife has gone to go to sleep.'

(77) Xin Domíingo xoqpit   pan atiineem pa chooy.
      of Sunday   B1p-came to bathe   in lake
      'On Sunday we came to bathe in the lake.'

(78) Inin chaaq'a7 xinpit   pa ya7aaneem.
      I   at-night B1-came to water
      'I came to water at night.'

(79) Jar Aa   Péelis xb'e   pa k'ayiineem pa taq'aaj.
      the youth Felix B3-went to sell   on coast
      'Felix went to sell on the coast.'

(80) Xatb'e pa ch'ejyik.
      B2-went to be-hit
      'You went to be hit.'

(81) Xeeb'e   pa kamsaxik.
      B3p-went to be-killed
      'They went to be killed.'

Pa(n) also introduces transitive purpose clauses with active
infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. (82)-(85)). These clauses may
contain an overt patient noun phrase, but it may never be definite or
referentially specific.

this way. In most cases, contrasted constituents that have been made
predicates are introduced either with ja(r) (see note 1), or with one of
the clause-initial demonstratives beginning in ja(a7) (See sections 3.5
and 7.1.6), but with certain contrasted constituents other more
specialized means are employed.

   When noun phrases (direct or oblique) are contrasted by making pred-
icates of them, the clause in which they occur is usually called a cleft,
and the following clause containing the constituents not contrasted
usually resembles a relative clause, in certain cases introduced with
ja(r) in its relativizer function. However, in Tzutujil, the details of
cleft constructions differ somewhat depending on the syntactic-semantic
roles of the clefted noun phrases.

   When agents and instruments are clefted the transitive verb in the
following clause must be in a special voice: clefted agents require the
focus antipassive voice (e.g. (96)-(97)), and clefted instruments require
the instrumental voice (e.g. (98)-(99)). (N.B.: these two voices are
discussed in detail in sections 9.6.2 and 9.6.3, respectively, and many
more examples are provided therein.) As far as is know, the relativizer
particle ja(r) is not used to introduce the clauses following clefted
agents or instruments.

(96) Oojeer ixoqii7 neeb'anowi   neechapo   ch'uu7.
      before women   B3p-do-foc   B3p-catch-foc fish
      'Before it was women who did it, who caught fish.'

(97) a. Ja ch'ooy xtijowi   ja kéeso.
          the rat   B3-ate-foc the cheese
          'It was the rat that ate the cheese.'

      b. Ma jaa7 ta   ja ch'ooy xtijowi   ja kéeso.
          not it   irreal the rat   B3-ate-foc the cheese
          'It wasn't the rat that ate the cheese.'

(98) Machat xinrchoyb'eej jar Aa   Xwaan.
      machete B1-A3-cut-with the youth Juan
      'It's a machete that Juan cut me with.'

(99) Jaa7 eskopéeta xk'aqb'eej   ja chikop.
      he   shotgun   B3-A3-shot-with the animal
      'It was a shotgun that he shot the animal with.'

The clefting of subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predi-
cates, and patients of transitive verbs, is accomplished in several ways.
First, when they are definite, clefted subjects and patients may be in-
dicated with a preceding demonstrative. In this case, the clause
following the clefted subject or patient is usually not introduced with
the relativizer ja(r) (e.g. (100)-(103)), and the verb of the clause is
often followed by the (given information) demonstrative particle ri7
cross-referencing the clefted subject or patient (e.g. (102)).

(100) Je7ee7 k'aawari7 b'anol   b'eey xe7uuli.
       these   builder   road B3p-arrived
       'It's these road builders that arrived.'
(101) Ma ja ta   wa7 jaay xk'ajti.
       not it irreal this house B3-burned
       'It's not this house that burned down.'
(102) Jaa k'aawa7 ntzyaq   xinloq'   ri7 (inin).
       this   my-clothes B3-A1-bought this I
       'It's these clothes that I bought.'
(103) Ma ja ta   la7 nwaajo7   (inin).
       not it irreal that B3-A1-want I
       'It's not that that I want.'

Second, when they are definite or indefinite, clefted subjects and
patients may be designated by ja(r), used in its clefting function, and
they are followed by what is essentially a relative clause, usually but
not always introduced with ja(r) (e.g. (104)-(109)). Note that the
clefted subject in (106) is a headless relative clause.

(104) Jar   iinin jar iin k'o waawe7.
       cleft I   who B1 be here
       'It's me who's here.'

(105) Jar   oojer k'ulub'ik ja   b'anoon kaan.
      cleft old   marriage that done   staying
      'It was the old marriage (ceremony) that was/had
      been done.'

(106) Jar   ee   k'ulan pa q'atb'al tziij, ja   wi ma
      cleft B3p married in courthouse   cleft (?) if not
      ee k'ulan ta   pan iigléesya, ja   cheqe
      B3p married irreal in   church   cleft just
      kik'amoon   pon   kii7,   ma ee
      B3-A3p-have-taken humbly each-other not B3p
      q'alajinaq   ta   chwach   Dyoos.
      have-appeared irreal in-front-of God
      'It's they who are married in the courthouse, (it's)
      if they are not married in the church, it's they who
      have just taken each other that have not appeared
      before God.'

(107) Ma ja   ta   ja jaay   ja   nqaajo7
      not cleft irreal the house   that B3-Alp-want
      nqak'aayiij, ja   jun chenooj   chik.
      B3-Alp-sell cleft a   cultivated-land other
      'It's not the house that we want to sell, it's
      another (piece of) cultivated land.'

(108) Ja   kisaamaaj jar oojer   taq winaq
      cleft their-work the old-time plr people
      ja   nkeeb'an waawe7.
      that B3-A3p-do here
      'It's the work of the old-time people that they used to
      do here.'

(109) Ja   qalk'waal (ja) xrojb'eej chik   ja xten.
      cleft our-son   that B3-A3-loved already the girl
      'It's our son that the girl already loved (i.e. has
      already begun to love).'

Finally, if clefted patients are indefinite they may occur alone as
predicates followed by a relative clause introduced by ja(r).

(110) Masaat ja   xinkamsaj   iiwiir.
       deer   that B3-Al-killed yesterday
       'It was a deer that I killed yesterday.'

Objects of prepositions may not be clefted alone, but whole preposi-
tional phrases may be clefted by placing ja(r) in front of them at the
beginning of the sentence; e.g.

(111) Ja   pa taq nmaq'iij nkeeya7   keewaay
       cleft in plr festivals B3-A3p-give their-food
       ja   martooma7ii7 k'in jwees.
       the   stewards   and judge
       'It's in festivals that they give food to the
       stewards and judge.'
(112) Ja   pa taq píinka   oojeer anij   lawalo7.
       cleft in plr plantation before always dangerous
       'It was on the plantations that before it was
       always dan. rous.'

Note that when prepositional phrases are simply fronted (but not clefted)
the fronting particle wi7 must occur after the following verb (see 9.3).
But since clefted prepositional phrases are not in the same clause as the
following verb, wi7 does not occur.
     Relational noun phrases are not commonly clefted; usually, when they
are contrastive they are simply fronted with the particle wi7 (see 9.3).
In the few cases that have been recorded where relational noun phrases
are clefted (and not simply fronted), they begin the cleft clause alone,
and the following clause is usually introduced with ja(r).

(113) Rxiin jaa7 (ja)   jun kotoon xinloq'   pa k'ayib'al.
       for-her she that a   huipil B3-Al-bought in market
       'It's for her that I bought a huipil in the market.'
(114) Kumaal   je7ee7 (ja) ma xoqwa7 ta.
       because-of them   that not B1p-ate irreal
       'It's because of them that we didn't eat.'

(115) Rumaal   jaa7 (ja)   xinch'ejyi.
      by/because-of he   that B1-was-hit
      'It was by (because of) him that I was hit.'

It is of interest that relational noun phrases in -Vxiin 'of, for' cannot
be fronted with wi7, and those in -umaal 'by, because of' are fronted
with wi7 only rarely. On the other hand, these two relational nouns are
the ones clefted more than any others.

No clear cases have been recorded where possessor-objects of rela-
tional nouns are clefted alone without the relational nouns. The cases
that have been recorded that might be instances of clefting are indistin-
guishable from simple fronting (see 9.3). Thus, for example, the fronted
possessor-objects of relational nouns in (116) and (117) may actually be
clefts marked with ja(r).

(116) Jar   iinin xuuya7   chwe.
      the/cleft (?) I   B3-A3-gave to-me
      'As for me, he gave it to me' or
      'it's me that he gave it to.'
(117) Ja   ya7 xinyawaj   rumaal.
      the/cleft (?) water B1-got-sick because-of-it
      'The water, I got sick because of it' or
      'it's water that I got sick because of.'

However, ja(r) in these sentences may be functioning as the definite
article and not as a cleft marker. And since ja(r) in its relativizer
function does not occur after the fronted possessor-object, it is not
certain that they are in separate cleft clauses.

A number of cases have been recorded of so called 'pseudo-clefts'
where the clause normally following a clefted noun phrase is fronted and
occurs as its grammatical subject. These subject clauses are identical
with headless relative clauses introduced with ja(r).

(118) Pro ja   qas   xkeeb'an   jar iixoqii7 oojeer
       but that really B3-A3p-made the women   before
       xa   ryon b'atz'in b'atz'.
       just alone handspun thread
       'But that which the women really made before was
       just handspun thread alone.'

(119) Ja   nkeekoj   ja   koraal q'aayiis.
       that B3-A3p-use the corral weed
       'That which they used for the corral was weeds.'

When adverbs are put into contrastive focus by making them
predicates, they are always preceded by ja(r); the clause following them
is unmarked.

(120) Jar   oojeer k'o   kustúumbre ja   nkeeb'an
       cleft before exist ritual   that B3-A3p-do
       ja winaq pa taq nmaq'iij.
       the people in plr festival
       'It was before that there were rituals which the people
       did in festivals.'

(121) Rmaal   ari7, ja   kaamiik xa   chwach
       because-of that   cleft today   only on-face-of
       qajon taq uleep noqtijkomij   wi7.
       rented plr land B1p-cultivate front
       'Because of the preceding, it's today that only
       on rented lands we cultivate.'

In section 7.1.1 it was mentioned that a number of conjunctions are
often optionally preceded by ja(r). It seems likely that in those cases
where ja(r) occurs, the whole conjunct is itself a cleft. Compare the
following examples (and (106)).

(122) (Ja)   wi ma xtipi   ta   jaa7,
       cleft (?) if not B3-will-come irreal he
       nb'e Aa   Lu7.
       B3-go youth Pedro
       '(It's) if he won't come, Pedro'll go.'

(123) (Ja)   toq nkojb'ej   kii7,
       cleft (?) when B3-A3p-love each-other
       nkuk'aj   kii7   chee ka7i7
       B3-A3p-take each-other in   two
       '(It's) when they love each other, they take each other.'

10.2.4 Complement Clauses

10.2.4.1 Internal Structure of Complement Clauses

This subsection is an informal presentation of the most important
kinds of complement clauses in Tzutujil. In terms of their internal
structure, Tzutujil complement clauses are of four different types:
(1) simple finite complements, (2) finite complements introduced with a
complementizer, (3) simple infinitive complements, and (4) infinitive
complements introduced with a complementizer. Each of these four types
of complement clauses is illustrated below in (124)-(133). The
complement clauses are enclosed in brackets. The complementizer
particles used in introducing complement clauses are ch(i) 'that, to' and
ja(r) 'for...to, to, that' (see section 7.1.3 and note 1).[3]

I. Simple Finite Complement Clauses

(124) a.   Nraajo7   [nwari].
            B3-A3-want B3-sleep
            'He wants to sleep.'
       b.   Xraajo7   [xinruuch'ey].
            B3-A3-wanted B1-A3-hit
            'He wanted to hit me.'
       c.   Xinwaajo7   [xinwari].
            B3-A1-wanted B1-slept
            'I wanted to sleep.'
       d.   Nwaajo7   [ninch'ey].
            B3-A1-want B3-A1-hit
            'I want to hit him.'

(125) a.   Najiini   [ninwa7i].
            B3-is-in-progress B1-eat
            'I am eating.' [literally:
            'It's in progress that I eat.']

       b.   Najiini   [nakamsaaj ja tz'i7].
            B3-is-in-progress B3-A2-kill the dog
            'You are killing the dog.' [literally:
            'It's in progress that you kill the dog.']

       c.   Jar Aa   Xwaan najiini   [nuub'an   roochooch].
            the youth Juan B3-is-in-progress B3-A3-make his-house
            'Juan is making his house.' [more literally:
            'It's in progress that Juan makes his house.']

II. Finite Complement Clauses with a Complementizer

(126) a.   Xinb'ij   chaawe [chi nqaajo7   serwéesa].
            B3-A1-told to-you   that B3-A1p-want   beer
            'I told you that we want beer.'

       b.   Jar iixoq xb'ij   chwe [chi ninb'e].
            the woman B3-A3-told to-me that B1-go
            'The woman told me to go.'

       c.   Jar iixoq xb'ij   chwe [chi xkalaq'aj
            the woman B3-A3-told to-me that B3-A3p-stole
            rpaq].
            her-money
            'The woman told me that they stole her money.'

(127) a.   Nraajo7   [chi nwari].
            B3-A3-want   that B3-sleep
            'He wants her/him to sleep.'

       b.   Xraajo7   [chi xinruuch'ey].
            B3-A3-wanted that B1-A3-hit
            'He wanted her/him to hit me.'

       c.   Xinwaajo7   [chi xwari].
            B3-A1-wanted that B3-slept
            'I wanted him to sleep.'

        d.   Nwaajo7   [chi   naach'ey].
              B3-A1-want   that   B3-A2-hit
              'I want you to hit him.'

    (128) a.   Utz   [ja   ma   tipit   Aa   Xwaan].
                 good   that/for not B3-come youth Juan
                 'It's good for Juan not to come/that Juan
                 is not coming.'

           b.   Itzeel [ja   natmajkuuni].
                 evil   for B2-sin
                 'It's evil for you to sin.'

III. Simple Infinitive Complement Clauses

    (129) a.   Xqaamaj   [wa7iim].
                 B3-Alp-began   to-eat
                 'We began to eat.'

           b.   Xqaamaj   [choyoj chee7].
                 B3-Alp-began   to-cut   tree
                 'We began to cut trees.'

           c.   Xqaamaj   [rchojyiik   (ja chee7)].
                 B3-Alp-began   its-being-cut   the tree
                 'We began to cut it (the tree).'

           d.   Xqaamaj   [kich'ejyiik].
                 B3-Alp-began   their-being-hit
                 'We began to hit them.'

    (130) a.   [Tz'ijb'aaneem] nqaab'an.
                  to-write   B3-Alp-do
                 'We are writing.' [literally: 'We do writing.']

           b.   [Choyoj chee7] nqaab'an.
                  to-cut tree   B3-Alp-do
                 'We are cutting trees.' [literally:
                 'We do cutting of trees.']

IV.   Infinitive Complement Clauses with a Complementizer

(131) a.   Nintajin   [chi b'ijneem].
             Bl-be-in-act-of to to-walk
             'I am walking.' [more literally:
             'I am in the act of walking.']

       b.   Noqtajin   [chi b'anoj way].
             Blp-be-in-act-of to to-make tortilla
             'We are making tortillas.' [more literally:
             'We are in the act of making tortillas.']

       c.   Noqtajin   [chi   b'ajniik   ja way].
             Blp-be-in-act-of to (its)being-made the tortilla
             'We are making the tortilla.' [more literally:
             'We are in the act of making the tortilla.']

       d.   Nintajin   [ch atz'ijtiik].
             Bl-be-in-act-of to your-being-seen
             'I am looking at you.' [more literally:
             'I am in the act of seeing you.']

(132) a.   Xinok   [chi waraam].
             Bl-began   to to-sleep
             'I began to sleep.'

       b.   Xoqok   [chi tijoj tii7iij].
             Blp-began to to-eat meat
             'We began to eat meat.'

       c.   Xoqok   [chi   ti7jiik   (ja tii7iij)].
             Blp-began to (its)being-eaten the meat
             'We began to eat it (the meat).'

       d.   Xinok   [ch atz'ejtiik].
             Bl-began to your-being-seen
             'I began to see you.'

(133) a.   Xqaamaj   [ja wa7iim].
             B3-Alp-began the eating
             'We began the eating.'

       b.   Xqaamaj   [ja choyoj chee7].
             B3-Alp-began the cutting tree
             'We began the cutting of trees.'

       c.   *Xqaamaj ja rchojyiik ja chee7.

The type of complement clause that is used in a given sentence is
determined by the particular verb (or predicate word) of the main clause.
Usually, a given verb takes only one type of complement clause, but some
verbs take more than one type. For example, the intransitive verb ajiin-
'for an activity to be in progress' (e.g. (125)) only takes simple finite
complement clauses without a complementizer, whereas the intransitive
verb tajiin- 'for one to be in the act of doing something' (e.g. (131))
only takes infinitive complements with the complementizer chi. The tran-
sitive verb b'i7xik 'to say, tell' (e.g. (126)) only takes finite comple-
ments with chi, whereas the transitive verb ajo7xik 'to want, like, love,
need' takes finite complements without a complementizer when its Subject
is the same as that of the complement clause (e.g. (124)), but it takes
finite complements introduced with chi when its Subject is different from
that of the complement clause (e.g. (127)).

Simple finite complement clauses (as in (124)-(125)) have no struc-
tural parallels in languages like Spanish and English, but they are used
in situations where infinitive and/or 'that' clauses would be used in
these languages. Finite complement clauses introduced with chi (e.g.
(126)-(127)) are essentially like 'that' clauses in English; those in-
troduced with ja(r) (e.g. (128)) are usually more like 'for...to'
clauses in English in that they often are not factive, although some are
essentially like 'that' clauses (e.g. (128a)).

In general, Tzutujil infinitives correspond to English infinitives
in 'to' as well as to gerunds in '-ing' (see section 4.1.5). Thus, both
kinds of infinitive complement clauses (i.e. those with and those without
an introductory complementizer) are used essentially like infinitive
and/or gerund clauses in English (e.g. (129)-(133)). Infinitive comple-
ment clauses always lack an overt Subject noun phrase. However, seman-
tically the Subject of the infinitive clause is always interpreted as
being identical with a noun phrase in the main clause. In the vast ma-
jority of cases the Subject of the complement clause is omitted under
identity with the Subject of the main clause, but in the case of a few
(main) verbs, it is omitted under identity with a noun phrase other than
the Subject, such as the patient of the main clause. In other words, in
transformational terms, infinitive clauses always undergo EQUI-NP Deletion,
usually Subject-controlled EQUI, but also object (= patient)-controlled
EQUI.

There is an important point that should be noted about transitive
infinitive complement clauses. Active infinitives of transitive verbs
are used with overt patient noun phrases only when the patients are in-
definite or referentially nonspecific (e.g. (129b)-(132b)). Whenever the
patients are definite or referentially specific, passive infinitives must
be used. These passive infinitives are inflected for patient with an
ergative possessive prefix (e.g. (129c,d)-(132c,d)). Note, however, that
the r- of the third person singular ergative prefix is always deleted
after chi.

10.2.4.2 The Grammatical Roles of Complement Clauses

Complement clauses in Tzutujil fulfill a number of syntac-
tic-semantic roles in the main clauses in which they are embedded. They
may function as sentential subjects, sentential patients or objects,
sentential oblique noun phrases, and as sentential complements. Each of
these functions is discussed in turn in the next few paragraphs.

As far as is known, complements functioning as subjects of
intransitive verbs and stative predicates are always finite clauses.
Some of them are simple finite clauses, others are introduced with chi,
while still others are introduced with ja(r). For example, the auxiliary
intransitive verb ajiin- 'for an activity to be in progress' (e.g. (125))
always takes simple finite subject complements, and so do the stative
predicates jani7 waan 'surely seem' (< jani7 'like' + waan 'surely') and
jani7 taqaan 'seem' (< jani7 + taqaan 'wonder'; e.g. (134)). Stative
predicates such as qatziij '(be) true, certain' and jiik '(be) right,
correct, just, straight' take finite subject complements introduced with
chi (e.g. (135)), while utz '(be) good', ma utz ta '(be) not good, bad',
and itzeel '(be) ugly, evil, bad' take finite subject complements in-
troduced with ja(r) (e.g. (128), (136)). The stative predicate rajwaxiik
'(be) necessary' takes finite subject complements that in the
incompletive may or may not be introduced with chi (e.g. (137a)), but chi
is obligatory in the completive (e.g. (137b)).

(134) Jani7 taqan [xb'e   Aa   Xwaan].
       seem   B3-went youth Juan
       'It seems that Juan left.'

(135) a.   Anij   qatziij wi7   [chi ma   in b'ayoom ta].
                 always certain front that not B1 rich   irreal
                 'That I am not rich is certain.'

       b.   Anij   jiik [chi saamaaj nkeeb'an].
                 always right that work   B3-A3p-do
                 'That they do work is right.'

(136) Ma utz   ta   [ja npit   Aa   Xwaan].
       not good irreal for B3-come youth Juan
       'For Juan to come is not good.'

(137) a.   Rajwaxiik [(chi) ninb'e].
                 necessary   that B1-go
                 'That I go is necessary.'

       b.   Rajwaxiik [chi xinb'e].
                 necessary that B1-went
                 'That I went was necessary.'

The vast majority of complement clauses encountered in Tzutujil
function as patient (= object) complements. There are dozens of
transitive verbs that take patient complements. Structurally speaking,
patient complements may be of any one of the four types outlined in
10.2.4.1, depending on the particular transitive verb in question.
     Some transitive verbs that take simple finite patient complements
are:

     aaj- 'want, need; be about to'; e.g. (138)
     ajo7xik 'to want, need, like, love'; e.g. (124)
     ch'ijooj 'to (be able to with)stand'; e.g. (139)
     koch'ooj 'to (be able to with)stand'
     ojb'exik 'to want, love'
     ojtaq 'know (how to)'; e.g. (141)
     rayixik 'to desire, expect'
     rayib'exik 'to desire a little bit'; e.g. (140)

Simple finite patient complements are usually used with these verbs when
the Subject of the patient complement is the same as that of the main
verb. E.g.

    (138) a.   La nawaaj   [natb'e]?
                Q B3-A2-want B2-go
                'Do you want to go?'
         b.   Taq   xtraaj   [xtikami].
                maybe B3-A3-be-about-to B3-die
                'Maybe he is about to die.'
    (139) Ma xinch'ij   ta   [xintejleej jar ijqa7n].
           not B3-A1-stand irreal B3-A1-lifted the load
           'I couldn't stand to lift the load.'
    (140) Inin xinrayib'eej [xinb'e pa nmaq'iij].
           I   B3-A1-desired B1-went to fiesta
           'I desired to go to the fiesta a little bit.'
    (141) Wojtaq   [nwuk'aj   ch'ijch'].
           B3-A1-know-how B3-A1-take car
           'I know how to drive a car.'

When the Subject of the patient complement is different from the
Subject of main verbs such as aaj-, ajo7xik, ojtaq, rayib'exik, etc.,
then these verbs usually take finite patient complements introduced with
chi. Compare (124) with (127) and (141) with (142).

    (142) Wojtaq   [chi jar Aa   Xwaan nruk'aj   ch'ijch'].
           B3-A1-know that the youth Juan B3-A3-take car
           'I know that Juan drives a car.'

However, at least in some cases, even when the Subject of the patient
complement clause is different from that of the main verb, chi can be
omitted if the irrealis particle ta follows the complement verb (cp.
(127d) with (143)).

    (143) Nwaajo7   [naach'ey ta].
           B3-A1-want B3-A2-hit irreal
           'I want you to hit him.'

Verbs of perception such as tz'atooj ~ tz'etooj 'to see, look at',
ak'axaxik 'to hear; ask', and na7ooj 'to feel, perceive', normally take
simple finite patient complements when the complement clause precedes
them, but when the complement clause follows them it is introduced with
chi. E.g.

    (144)   a.   [Jaa7 xatch'eyowi] xintz'at.
                   he   B2-hit-foc   B3-A1-saw
          b.   Xintz'at [chi jaa7 xatch'eyowi].
              B3-A1-saw that he   B2-hit-foc
              'I saw that he was the one who hit you.'

   Transitive verbs such as:

   b'i7xik 'to say, tell'; e.g. (126)
   ch'ob'ooj 'to think, believe'; e.g. (145)
   kojooj 'to believe firmly; use'
   nimaxik 'to obey; believe'

only take finite patient complements introduced with chi:

    (145)   a.   Ja Ta   Mari7y nuuch'ob'   [chi   jar Aa   Xwaan
               the Miss María B3-A3-think   that the youth Juan
               xuuch'ey Aa   Teeko].
               B3-A3-hit youth Diego
               'María thinks that Juan hit Diego.'
          b.   Ja Ta   Mari7y nuuch'ob;   [chi najo7x
               the Miss María B3-A3-think   that B3-is-loved
               rmaal jar Aa   Xwaan].
               by   the youth Juan
               'María thinks that she is loved by Juan.'
          c.   Inin nch'ob'oon   [chi nixkowiini nixpeeti[.
               I   B3-A1-have-thought that B2p-can   B2p-come
               'I had thought that you all would be able to come.'

Infinitive patient complements may either be simple infinitive
clauses without a complementizer, or they may optionally be preceded by
ja(r) if the infinitive is intransitive, or if it is an active infinitive
of a transitive verb (cp. (129) with (133) and (147)). But ja(r) is not
used before passive infinitives of transitive verbs. Some transitive
verbs that normally take infinitive patient complements are listed below.
All but the last two of these verbs function essentially as auxiliary
verbs.

    majooj 'to begin, start'; e.g. (129), (133)
    majoon 'be doing'; e.g. (146)
        [this form is the perfect of majooj but functions
        as a progressive aspect auxiliary]
    k'isooj 'to stop, finish; spend'
    kajb'a7xik 'to stop'; e.g. (147)
    b'anooj 'to do, make'; e.g. (130)
        [when used with a patient infinitive complement this
        verb functions as a progressive aspect auxiliary]
    k'utuuj 'to show (how to)'; e.g. (148)
    ojtaqixik 'to learn (how to)'

In infinitive patient complements with all of the verbs above except
k'utuuj, the omitted Subject of the infinitive clause is interpreted as
or understood to be the same as that of the main verb (e.g. (129), (130),
(133), (146), (147)). With k'utuuj, the omitted Subject of infinitive
patient complements is understood to be the same as the possessor-object
of the relational noun chwach 'at/to one's face, in front of' (e.g.
(148)).

    When b'anooj takes patient complements with infinitives, it functions
as an auxiliary verb indicating progressive aspect (e.g. (130)). In
these constructions the patient infinitive complement precedes the finite
form of b'anooj. However, b'anooj is also used with Spanish infinities
that may precede or follow b'anooj (e.g. (149)). Constructions in which
b'anooj takes a Spanish infinitive are the primary way in which Spanish
verbs are productively introduced into Tzutujil. In these constructions,

the patient of a transitive Spanish infinitive is inflected on b'anooj with an absolutive person marker. Therefore, although b'anooj-plus-Spanish infinitive constructions are similar to b'anooj patient complements, they seem to be more like loosely knit verb compounds. An alternate analysis of these constructions might be that Spanish infinitives always undergo object (= patient) raising. But this analysis seems unlikely since patient raising is otherwise unattested in Tzutujil.

(146) a, Nmajoon   [b'ijneem].
           B3-A1-have-begun to-walk
           'I am walking.'

      b. Nmajoon   [tzakoj tii7iij].
           B3-A1-have-begun to-cook meat
           'I am cooking meat.'

      c. Nmajoon   [kich'ejyiik].
           B3-A1-have-begun their-being-hit
           'I am hitting them.'

(147) a. Xinkajb'a7   [(ja) b'ijneem].
           B3-A1-stopped   the to-walk
           'I stopped (the) walking.'

      b. Xinkajb'a7   [(ja) kamsan k'aq].
           'I stopped (the) killing (of) fleas.'

      c. Xinkajb'a7   [(*ja) kikamsaxiik   ja k'aq].
           B3-A1-stopped   their-being-killed the flea
           'I stopped killing the fleas.'

(148) a. Jar ajtiij   nuuk'ut   [(ja) sik'in rwach
           the teacher B3-A3-show   the to-call face-of
           wuuj]   chi nwach,
           paper (= read) to my-face
           'The teacher is showing me how to read.'

      b. Jar ajtiij xuuk'ut   [(ja) tz'ijbaaneem]
           the teacher B3-A3-showed   the to-write
           chi nwach.
           to my-face
           'The teacher showed me how to write.'

(149) a.   Nixkeeb'an na   jodeer.
            B2p-A3p-do nec   fuck-over (< Sp joder)
       b.   Jodeer nixkeeb'an na.
            'They'll fuck-over you all.'

Verbs such as ajo7xik 'to want', ch'ijooj 'to withstand', ojtaq
'know', ojb'exik 'to want', rayib'exik 'to desire a little bit', etc.,
which normally take simple finite patient complements when the Subject of
the complement is the same as that of the main verb, may also take simple
infinitive patient complements when the Subjects are the same (cp. (150)
with (124). However, infinitive patient complements with these verbs are
not common.

(150) a.   Nwaajo7   chik [waraam].
            B3-A1-want emph to-sleep
            'I want to sleep.'
       b.   Nwaajo7   [rch'ejyiik].
            B3-A1-want his-being-hit
            'I want to hit him.'

One transitive verb, tijoxik 'to teach', has been recorded that
takes an oblique infinitive complement introduced with the relational
noun chee 'to, with'; e.g.

(151) a.   Jar ajtiij xinrtiijooj chee [tz'ijb'aaneem].
            the teacher B1-A3-taught to   to-write
            'The teacher taught me to write.'
       b.   Jar ajtiij xinrtiijooj chee [sik'in rwach   wuuj].
            the teacher B1-A3-taught to   to-call face-of paper
                                                  (= read)
            'The teacher taught me to read.'

Note that the Subject of the oblique infinitive clause in chee is under-
stood to be the same as the patient of the main verb tijoxik.
     The intransitive auxiliary verb kowiineem 'to be able to, can' takes
simple finite sentential complements (e.g. (152a,b)). Kowiineem also

takes infinitive sentential complements, but these are used only rarely
(e.g. (152c,d)). The Subjects of both of these kinds of sentential com-
plements are always identical with that of kowiineem.

(152) a.   Noqkowiini [noqtz'ijb'aani].
            Blp-can   Blp-write
            'We can write.'
       b.   Noqkowiini [nqasik'ij   rwach   wuuj].
            Blp-can   B3-Alp-call face-of paper (= read)
            'We can read.'
       c.   Noqkowiini (ja) [tz'ijb'aaneem].
            Blp-can   the to-write
            'We can write.'
       d.   Noqkowiini [sik'in   rwach   wuuj].
            Blp-can   to-call face-of paper (= read)
            'We can read.'

There are a number of verbs and stative predicates that take
sentential complements introduced with chi.[4] For example, the two
intransitive auxiliary verbs

    tajiin- 'for one to be in the act of', progressive aspect
    ookeem 'to begin, start; enter'

both take infinitive sentential complements introduced with chi. The
omitted Subjects of these infinitive clauses are always understood to be
the same as those of the main verbs (e.g. (131) and (132)).

    The transitive verb peyoxik 'to ask someone to help do something'
also takes infinitive sentential complements in chi. The omitted Subject
of these clauses is always understood to be the same as the patient of
peyoxik; e.g.

(153) Ja nata7   xinrpeeyooj   iiwiir
       the my-father Bl-A3-asked-help yesterday
       [chi b'anoj roochooch].
        to   to-make his-house
       'My father asked me yesterday to help build his house.'

The following are some predicates that take finite sentential com-
plements introduced with chi.

> na7oj rii7iil 'to be anxious (about)'; e.g. (154)
>   < na7ooj 'to feel', rii7iil 'oneself'
> k'o q'ab'aaj 'to have the right (to)'; e.g. (155)
>   < k'o 'exist'; q'ab'aaj 'hand; right'
> ya7tal chriij 'to be obligated to, be deserving of'; e.g. (156)
>   < ya7tal 'already given', chriij 'on/to/in back of; about'

With na7oj rii7iil the complementizer chi is not used when the Subject of
the complement clause is the same as that of the main verb (e.g. (154b)).

> (154) a.   Ja   Ta   Mari7y cheqe nuuna7   rii7
>   the Miss María   only B3-A3-feel herself
>   [chi nb'e Aa   Xwaan].
>   that B3-go youth Juan
>   'María is anxious about Juan going.'
>   b.   Cheqe nuuna7   rii7   [nb'e].
>   only B3-A3-feel herself   B3-go
>   'She is anxious about going.'
> (155) K'o   keeq'a7   [chi neekeecha7   ja kik'uulaaj].
>   exist their-hand that B3p-A3p-choose the their-mate
>   'They have the right to choose their own mates.'
> (156) Ja   tati7xeelaa7 ya7tal   chi kiij
>   the parents   given-already on their-back
>   [chi neekipixaab'eej ja kalk'waal].
>   that B3p-A3p-educate the their-children
>   'The parents are obligated to educate their children.'

10.2.4.3 Auxiliary Verbs

Many of the verbs and stative predicates mentioned in the preceding
subsection that take complement clauses function much like auxiliary
verbs. These auxiliary-like verbs are listed below with the type of
complement(s) that they each take.

Auxiliary Verbs

ajiin- IV 'for an activity to be in progress', progressive aspect
    simple finite subject complement

tajiin- IV 'for one to be in the act of', progressive aspect
    <u>chi</u> infinitive sentential complement

ookeem IV 'to begin, start; enter'
    <u>chi</u> infinitive sentential complement

kowiineem IV 'to be able to, can'
    simple finite sentential complement,
    or rarely: (<u>ja</u>) infinitive sentential complement

rajwaxiik Stative Predicate 'it's necessary'
    (<u>chi</u>) finite subject complement

majooj$_1$ RTV 'to begin, start'
    (<u>ja</u>) infinitive patient complement

majoon Perfect RTV 'for one to be in the act of',
    progressive aspect
    (<u>ja</u>) infinitive patient complement

majooj$_2$ RTV 'for it to be possible that; may'
    simple finite patient complement

k'isooj RTV 'to stop, finish; spend'
    (<u>ja</u>) infinitive patient complement

kajb'a7xik DT7 'to stop'
    (<u>ja</u>) infinitive patient complement

b'anooj RTV 'to do, make', progressive aspect
    (<u>ja</u>) infinitive patient complement (fronted)

aaj- DTJ 'want, need, be about to'
    simple finite patient complement (same Subject);
    <u>chi</u> finite patient complement (different Subject)

ajo7xik DT7 'to want, need, love'
    simple finite patient complement (same Subject),
    or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);
    <u>chi</u> finite patient complement (different Subject)

ojb'exik DTJ 'to want, love'
    simple finite patient complement (same Subject),
    or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);
    <u>chi</u> finite patient complement (different Subject)

rayixik DTJ 'to desire, expect'

    simple finite patient complement (same Subject),

    or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);

    <u>chi</u> finite patient complement (different Subject)

rayib'exik DTJ 'to desire a little'

    simple finite patient complement (same Subject);

    or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);

    <u>chi</u> finite patient complement (different Subject)

Notes to Chapter 10

1.   It should be remembered that the particle ja(r) has several
different functions in Tzutujil; it functions as (1) the definite article
(see 7.1.7.1), (2) the relative pronoun or relativizer (see 3.2, 7.1.3,
and 10.2.1), (3) a complementizer (see 7.1.3 and 10.2.4), and (4) a
clefting particle (see 10.2.3).

2.   Infinitive purpose clauses introduced with ch(i) should be distin-
guished from finite resultative clauses also introduced with ch(i); the
latter are discussed in 10.1.2.4.

3.   Ch(i) is also a preposition meaning 'at, to, with'; see 7.1.2.

4.   Actually, these 'sentential complements' in chi could just as well
be called 'oblique complements' introduced with the preposition chi,
since chi is a preposition as well as a complementizer.

Bibliography

Andrade, Manuel J. 1946. Materials on the Quiché, Cakchiquel and Tzutujil Languages. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Cultural Anthropology, No. 11, Chicago: University of Chicago.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles E. 1961. Gramática de la lengua Quiché. Guatemala City, Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educatión Pública. (A translation of Grammaire de la langue Quichée. [Paris 1862], which in turn is a translation with omissions and emendations of Ximénez 1701 work.)

Butler, James N., and Judy G. Butler. 1977. Tzutujil Verbs. Guatemala City: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

---, and Ilah Fleming. 1976. Tzutujil Texts. In Mayan Texts, Vol. 1, ed. N. L. Furbee-Losse. Native American Texts Series, Vol. 1, No. 1. Chicago: International Journal of American Linguistics.

---, and Charles Peck. 1980. The Uses of Passive, Antipassive, and Absolutive Verbs in Tzutujil of San Pedro la Laguna. Journal of Mayan Linguistics 2 (1): 40-52.

Campbell, Lyle R. 1977. Quichean Linguistic Prehistory. University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 87. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Carlin, Ramon A. 1970. Tzutujil (Mayan) Clause Nuclei. Anthropological Linguistics 12 (4): 103-11.

Chafe, Wallace. 1976. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View. In Subject and Topic, ed. C. Li and S. Thompson, pp. 25-55. New York: Academic Press.

Chomsky, Noam, and Morris Halle. 1968. The Sound Pattern of English. New York: Harper and Row.

Comrie, Bernard.   1981.   Language Universals and Linguistic Typology.
      Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Dayley, Jon P.   1975.   A Community Oriented Approach to Technical
      Training.   In Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on
      Bilingual Education, ed. R. C. Troike and N. Modiano, pp. 298-308.
      Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics.   Also in Mayan
      Linguistics, Vol. 1, ed. M. McLaran, pp. 3-10.   Los Angeles: American
      Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1976.

---. 1978.   Voice in Tzutujil.   Journal of Mayan Linguistics 1 (1):
      20-52.   Also in Grammar Inside and Outside the Clause: Field Lin-
      guists Look at Current Issues, ed. Johanna Nichols and Anthony
      Woodbury.   Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

---. 1981.   Voice and Ergativity in Mayan Languages.   Journal of Mayan
      Linguistics 2 (2): 3-82.   Also in Studies in Mesoamerican
      Linguistics, report no. 4, Survey of California and Other Indian
      Languages, ed. Alice Schlicter, Wallace L. Chafe, and Leanne Hinton.
      Berkeley: Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, 1983.

---, Francisco Pérez Mendoza, and Miguel Hernández Mendoza.   1977.
      Diccionario del Tzutujil de San Juan la Laguna.   Computer printout.
      Guatemala City: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín.

Dixon, Robert.   1979.   Ergativity.   Language 55 (1): 59-138.

Greenberg, Joseph H.   1963.   Some Universals of Grammar with Particular
      Reference to the Order of Meaningful Elements.   In Universals of
      Language, ed. J. H. Greenberg, pp. 73-113.   Cambridge, Massachusetts:
      M.I.T.

Gross, Joseph J.   1974.   Domestic Group Structure in a Mayan Community of
      Guatemala.   Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester.

Hyman, Larry M.   1975.   Phonology: Theory and Analysis.   New York:
      Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Jones, Daniel.   1931.   On Phonemes.   In Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de
      Prague, Vol. 4, pp. 74-79.

Kaufman, Terrence.   1974.   Meso-American Languages.   In Encyclopedia
      Brittanica 11: 956-63.   (A longer version of this article appears as
      Idiomas de Mesoamérica.   Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca,

publication 33, Guatemala City: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra del
Ministerio de Educación Pública.)

---. 1976. Proyecto de Alfabetos y Ortografías para Escribir las Lenguas
Mayances. Guatemala City: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín
and Editorial José Pineda Ibarra del Ministerio de Educación
Pública.

Lehmann, Winfred P., ed.   1978, Syntactic Typology: Studies in the
Phenomenology of Language. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Lothrop, S. K. 1933. Atitlán. Carnegie Institute of Washington
Publication no. 444. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute.

McBryde, Felix W. 1947. Cultural and Historical Geography of Southwest
Guatemala. Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian
Institution, publication no."4. (Also in Spanish translation as
Geografía cultural e histórica del suroeste de Guatemala. Seminario
de Integración Social Guatemalteca, publications nos. 24 and 25.
Guatemala City: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra del Ministerio de
Educación Pública.)

Mallinson, Graham and Barry J. Blake. 1981. Language Typology.
Amsterdam: North-Holland Press.

Mendelson, E. Michael. 1965. Los Escándolos de Maximón. Seminario de
Integración Social Guatemalteca, publication no. 19, Guatemala City:
Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra del Ministerio de Educación Pública.
(Originally Religion and World View in Santiago Atitlán. Ph.D.
diss., University of Chicago, 1957.

Norman, William M. 1978. Advancement Rules and Syntactic Change: The
Loss of Instrumental Voice in Mayan. BLS 4: 458-76.

Orellana, Sandra. 1984. The Tzutujil Mayas: Continuity and Change,
1250-1630. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Postal, Paul M. 1968. Aspects of Phonological Theory. New York:
Harper and Row.

Rojas Lima, Flavio, ed. 1968. Los Pueblos del Lago de Atitlán.
Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca, publication, no. 23,
Guatemala City: Tipografía Nacional.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity. In
Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages, ed. R. Dixon, pp.
112-71. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Stoll, Otto. 1958. Etnografía de Guatemala. Guatemala City: Editorial
    del Ministerio de Educación Pública. (Originally Zur Ethnographie
    der Republik Guatemala. Zurich: Druck und Verlag von Orell Fussli,
    1884.)

Tax, Sol. 1937. The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of
    Guatemala. American Anthropologist 39:423-44.

---, and Robert Hinshaw. 1969. The Maya of the Midwestern Highlands.
    In The Handbook of Middle American Indians, part 1, Ethnology, ed.
    E. Vogt. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Vennemann, Theo. 1973. Explanation in Syntax. In Syntax and Semantics,
    Vol. 2, ed. J.P. Kimball, pp. 1-50. New York: Seminar Press.

---. 1974. Topics, Subjects, and Word Order: From SXV to SVX via TVX.
    In Historical Linguistics, pp. 339-76, ed. J.M. Anderson and C.
    Jones. Amsterdam: North-Holland Press.

---. 1975. An Explanation of Drift. In Word Order and Word Order
    Change, pp. 269-305, ed. C.Li. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ximénez, Fray Francisco. ca. 1701-3. Arte de las tres lenguas
    Cakchiquel, Quiché y Tzutujil. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts
    on Cultural Anthropology, no. 36, Chicago: University of Chicago.

Zimmer, Karl. 1971. Some General Observations About Nominal Compounds.
    Working Papers on Language Universals, no. 5. Language Universals
    Project, Stanford University.