UC Berkeley
Dissertations, Department of Linguistics

Title
Tzutujil Grammar

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4cx9t9b1

Author
Dayley, Jon

Publication Date
1981

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

Tzutujil Grammar

By

Jon Philip Dayley
A.B. (Idaho State University) 1968
M.A. (Idaho State University) 1970
M.A. (University of California) 1973
C.Phil. (University of California) 1980

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Linguistics

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved: Wallace L. Chafe ..... August 26, 1981
Date
Mary R. Haas ..... Aug. 31, 1981
Johanna Nichols ..... August 24, 1987

DOCTORAL DEGREE CONFERRED
DECEMBER 12, 1981

.....

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To my parents: Mac and Shirley

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Acknowledgements

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

-- The members of my dissertation committee: Wallace L. Chafe, Mary R. Haas, and Johanna Nichols, who painstakingly read this work, made insightful comments and criticisms, and always provided me with intellectual stimulation.

-- Linda Coleman, who completed the arduous task of typing the final draft.

-- All of the members of the *Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín*, both North American and Guatemalan, who individually and jointly taught me virtually everything I know about Mayan languages. Of these people I would especially like to thank:

-- The Guatemalan members of the *Equipo Tzutujil*: Francisco Peréz Mendoza and Miguel Hernández Mendoza from San Juan la Laguna, and Diego Reanda Chiquival and Felipe Tuiz Vásquez from Santiago Atitlán, who at the same time were my students and teachers as well as my colleagues and friends, and who taught me virtually everything I know about their language, Tzutujil, the topic of this work.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-- Terrence Kaufman, who introduced me to Mayan languages and shared his vast knowledge of the Mayan family with me.

-- Tom Larsen, with whom I have spent literally hundreds of hours talking about Mayan languages in particular and linguistics in general, and whose encyclopedic mind has been an unceasing aid.

Finally, my deepest appreciation must go to my family: Victoria, Lucas, Nicolas, and Yolanda, whose love, support, and patience kept me going.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.
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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

focus	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.
P	positional root.
P	patient (= object); used only in combinations such as VPA = verb patient agent, AVP = agent verb patient, etc.
Pat	patient or object of a transitive verb.
perf	perfect aspect.
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 Atitlán (variety of Tzutujil).
SJ	San Juan la Laguna (variety of Tzutujil).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.
Subject	subject of a one-place predicate as well as agent of a transitive verb.
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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ii

Abbreviations and Conventions iv

0. Introduction 1

1. Phonology 16
   1.1. Phonemic Inventory and Orthography 17
   1.2. Phonetics and Phonemics 17
      1.2.1. The Consonants 17
      1.2.2. The Vowels 31
   1.3. Stress 37
   1.4. Syllable Types 39
   1.5. Juncture 43
   1.6. Morphophonemics 44
      1.6.1. Consonant Alternations 44
      1.6.2. Vowel Alternations 52
      1.6.3. Glottal Stop Alternations 66
      1.6.4. Reduplication 70
   Notes 72

2. Introduction to the Morphology 74
   2.1. Morphological Units 74
   2.2. Morphological Processes and Techniques 75
   2.3. Major Root and Word Classes 79
   Note 82

3. Pronouns and Person Markers 83
   3.1. Person Markers and the Independent Personal Pronouns 83
      3.1.1. The Independent Personal Pronouns 83
      3.1.2. The Person Markers: Absolutive (Set B) and Ergative (Set A) 84
   3.2. The Relative Pronoun 94
   3.3. Interrogative Pronouns 94
   3.4. Indefinite Pronouns 95
   3.5. Demonstrative Pronouns 97

4. Verbs 100
   4.1. Verb Inflection 100
      4.1.1. Person and Number Inflection 102
      4.1.2. Aspect, Tense, and Mode Inflection 105
         4.1.2.1. The Perfect 105
         4.1.2.2. The Nonperfect 109
      4.1.3. Verb Paradigms 117

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.1.4. The Directional Prefixes 135
4.1.5. Infinitives and Principal Parts 144
4.1.5.1. Infinitives 144
4.1.5.2. Principal Parts 148
4.1.6. Irregular Verbs 149
4.2. Verb Derivation 155
4.2.1. Affixes Deriving Intransitive Verbs 157
4.2.2. Affixes Deriving Transitive Verbs in J 174
4.2.3. Suffixes Deriving Transitive Verbs in 7 . . . 188
4.2.4. Compound Verbs 192
Notes 195

5. Nouns 196
5.1. Noun Inflection 196
5.1.1. Inflection for Plurality 196
5.1.2. Inflection for Possessor 199
5.1.2.1. Subclassification of Nouns under Possession 201
5.1.2.2. Normal vs Abnormal Possession . . . 206
5.1.2.3. Inflection for Possessor of Complex Nouns 208
5.1.3. Inflection for Abstraction 212
5.1.4. Predicate Noun Subject Inflection 213
5.2. Noun Subcategories 214
5.2.1. Relational Nouns 215
5.2.2. Numerals 224
5.2.2.1. The Numbers 224
5.2.2.2. Quantifiers 230
5.2.3. Enumeratives 231
5.2.4. Measure Words 235
5.2.5. Proper Names 237
5.2.6. Vocatives 240
5.2.7. Toponyms 241
5.3. Noun Derivation 244
5.3.1. Affixes Deriving Nouns 245
5.3.2. Nominal Compounds 263
Notes 271

6. Adjectives 272
6.1. General Features of Adjectives 272
6.1.1. Modifier Connectors 273
6.1.2. Number Agreement 275
6.1.3. Derivational Paradigms of Adjectives 277
6.1.4. Predicate Adjective Inflections 280
6.1.5. Adjectives as Nouns and Adverbs 282
6.2. Positional Adjectives 285
6.3. Comparatives and Superlatives 294
6.4. Adjective Derivation 298
6.4.1. Affixes Deriving Adjectives 298
6.4.2. Adjective Compounds 307

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. Uninflected Words: Adverbs, Particles, and Other Minor Word Classes 312
7.1. Minor Word Classes 313
7.1.1. Conjunctions 313
7.1.2. Prepositions 319
7.1.3. Relativizers and Complementizers 321
7.1.3.1. Relativizer and Clefting Particle 321
7.1.3.2. Complementizers 323
7.1.4. Interrogatives 328
7.1.5. Negatives and Affirmative 335
7.1.6. Demonstrative and Locative Particles 340
7.1.7. Some Other Particles 350
7.1.7.1. The Articles 350
7.1.7.2. Fronting Topical and Emphatic *wi7* 352
7.1.7.3. Contrasting and Topic Shifting Particles 355
7.1.7.4. The Particle *chik* 356
7.1.7.5. The Quotative Particle *cha7* 357
7.1.7.6. The Diminutive and Plural Particles 358
7.2. Adverbs 360
7.2.1. Modal Adverbs and Modal Clitic Particles . . . 360
7.2.2. The Directional Enclitic Particles 364
7.2.3. Degree Adverbs 367
7.2.4. Quantifying Adverbs 368
7.2.5. Place Adverbs 369
7.2.6. Time Adverbs 372
7.2.7. Manner Adverbs 378
Notes 381

8. Phrases and Simple Sentences 382
8.1. Phrases 382
8.1.1. Noun Phrases 382
8.1.2. Prepositional and Relational Noun Phrases . . 387
8.1.3. Predicate Phrases 401
8.2. Simple Sentences 406
8.2.1. Basic Sentence Constituents 406
8.2.2. Additional Simple Sentence Constituents . . . 411
8.2.3. Word Order 412
8.2.3.1. Word Order in Sentences with One-Place Predicates 413
8.2.3.2. Word Order in Transitive Sentences 415
8.2.3.3. Word Order in Sentences with Oblique Arguments 424
8.2.4. Existential, Locative, and Possession Sentences 432
Notes 436

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9. Principal Elaborations of Simple Sentences 441
9.1. Negation 441
9.2. Imperatives 444
9.3. Fronting 447
9.4. Interrogative Sentences 455
9.4.1. Yes/No Questions 455
9.4.2. Questions with Interrogative Words 458
9.5. Reflexives and Reciprocals 464
9.6. Voice Changes 467
9.6.1. The Passive Voices 470
9.6.1.1. The Simple Passive and the Archaic Simple Passive 471
9.6.1.2. The Completive Passive 473
9.6.1.3. Adjectival Passives 474
9.6.1.4. The Medio-Passive 476
9.6.2. The Antipassive Voices 477
9.6.2.1. The Absolutive Antipassive Voice . . 478
9.6.2.2. The Focus Antipassive Voice 480
9.6.3. The Instrumental Voice 490
Notes 496

10. Complex Sentences 497
10.1. Conjoined Sentences 497
10.1.1. Conjoined Sentences with Coordinate Conjuncts 498
10.1.2. Conjoined Sentences with Dependent Conjuncts 506
10.1.2.1. Time Adverbial Clauses 506
10.1.2.2. Causal Adverbial Clauses 509
10.1.2.3. Conditionals 511
10.1.2.4. Some Other Dependent Conjuncts 512
10.2. Complex Sentences with Embedded Clauses 515
10.2.1. Relative Clauses 516
10.2.2. Purpose Clauses 527
10.2.3. Clefts and Other Focus Clauses 533
10.2.4. Complement Clauses 542
10.2.4.1. Internal Structure of Complement Clauses 542
10.2.4.2. Grammatical Roles of Complement Clauses 549
10.2.4.3. Auxiliary Verbs 562
Notes 564

Bibliography 565

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

0. 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 which 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 in 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 15 kilometers 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is also a fairly large number of Cakchiquel speakers as this town lies on the eastern edge of the Tzutujil area. There are 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 Patzicia, but the vast majority of its inhabitants speak Tzutujil today. Quiché is also spoken in and around Santa María Visitación which actually 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 which is Santa María's sister town, lying 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 plantations 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 'nonIndian'). In addition, most Tzutujil men know Spanish to one degree or another and use it when traveling

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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, especially 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 economically because they are usually shopkeepers, tradesmen, school teachers, national policemen, doctors and nurses, and plantation owners. The overall *ladino* population comprises less than 5% in the larger towns and is virtually nonexistent in the smaller towns and villages.

There is a different variety of Tzutujil spoken in virtually every town in the area. Each variety usually contains some lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic differences, although none of these differences 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

spoken in Santiago Atitlán (SA), since this variety has innovated to a considerable degree phonologically.

Lake Atitlán is situated in a basin in the center of the mid-western highlands of Guatemala. The lake is 92 square miles in area and has an average elevation of approximately 5100 feet with seasonal fluctuations. 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; 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 two-week dry season (Sp *canículas* 'dog days') 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 15 kilometers south of the lake, the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

elevation is only a few hundred feet and the climate is tropical and hot year around.

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 of the rugged terrain and because the waters of Lake Atitlán can become extremely rough without warning. Traditionally, travel between towns was carried out either on narrow foot paths 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 in which they live. 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,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 towards the harvest of century plant or maguey from which all kinds of twine products are manufactured; Cerro de Cro is known for its tule mats.

Most Tzutujiles own their own farm lands, 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 disputes. 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 medical and educational expenses, and to buy food not grown and clothing not made at home, as well as other goods.

The basic social and economic unit of the Tzutujil is the household, which may be a nuclear family or somewhat extended nuclear

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 and 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 household has a dog and perhaps a cat, some chickens or turkeys; some households have a pig or two; and very rarely they 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

century a foreign fish was introduced into the lake which 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 traditionally are bound to religious festivals and 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 a 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 more orthodox Catholicism and tends to oppose the more syncretic ways of the *cofradía* system.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Until fairly recently both the religious and civil systems in each town were tied to the *cofradías*. However, today there is a civil government 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 a 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 (n.d.), Lothrop (1933), McBryde (1947), Mendelson (1965), Rojas Limas (1968), Stoll (1958), Tax (1937), and Tax and Hinshaw (1969).

Typologically, Tzutujil is an ergative language, as are other Mayan languages (cf. Dayley 1981, on ergativity in Mayan; and Dixon 1979, and Silverstein 1976, on ergativity in general). Tzutujil is morphologically ergative in that the agents 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

constraints on the syntactic processes which agents of transitive verbs may participate in, constraints which 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 which 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 Greenberg 1963, and Lehmann 1978, for detailed discussions of correlates of VO languages as well as 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.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-- 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 (3.)

-- reflexive pronouns (9.5.)

-- passive developed (9.6.1.)

-- no cases (5.1.)

-- complex syllables (1.4.)

-- prefixing (but also much suffixing) (2. - 6.)

Tzutujil also has a number of features which 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 modifications occur finally in words rather than initially (cf. 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; cf. Dayley 1975), and in July 1980, the author did supplementary fieldwork there, sponsored by the Survey of California and Other Indian

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 fieldnotes 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 also containing 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 (1701-1703).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

A few words 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, although 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 translation. For example, the three Tzutujil words *ma xa ko7* literally mean 'not only little' but together they are an idiomatic phrase meaning 'a lot'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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

(2) *X-in-war-i* *Inin.*
compl-B1-sleep-phrase-final 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*. 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 which 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 then 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

symbols are used instead of features because for expository purposes they are less cumbersome, and 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.).

1.1. Phonemic Inventory and Orthography

The phonemic symbols used to write Tzutujil throughout this work are presented on the following page. The symbols were chosen as a practical orthography developed by the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM) in Guatemala (cf. Kaufman 1976).[1]

1.2. Phonetics and Phonemics

1.2.1. The Consonants

The simple occlusives are a series of four voiceless stops, *p*, *t*, *k*, and *q*, and two voiceless affricates, *tz* and *ch*. They are distinguished from each other by their respective points of articulation, and in the case of *tz* from *t*, 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

PHONEMIC INVENTORY

CONSONANTS	Bilabial	Alveolar	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)	*-w"*	*-l" -r"*		*-y"*			

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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

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

Examples of Simple Occlusives:

p → [p] *pojp* [pΩhp^h] 'mat'

→ [p^h] " " "

tapq'iij [tap^{h}ǴĺːX] 'albino'

t → [t] *tut* [tʊt^h] 'palmera'

→ [t^h] " " "

tkami [t^{h}kamĺ] 'that he die'

tz → [ǿ] *tzuum* [ǿuːmm̥] 'skin'

→ [ǿ^h] *utz* [ʔʊǿ^h] 'good'

ch → [č] *chee7* [čɛːʔ] 'tree, wood'

→ [č^h] *kuuch* [kuːč^h] 'pig'

chpaan [č^{h}paːnn̥] 'in it'

k → [k] *kuuk* [kuːk^h] 'squirrel'

→ [k^h] " " "

q → [q] *qas* [qas] 'very'

→ [q^h] *saq* [saq^h] 'white'

saqb'ach [saq^{h}ɓáč^h] '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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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' → [ɓ] *b'aaq* [ɓa:q^{h}] 'bone'

→ [p'] *sib'* [sIp'] 'smoke'

d' → [ɗ] *d'ood'* [ɗo:t'] 'snail'

→ [t'] " " "

tz' → [ȼ'] *tz'i7* [ȼ'I$^{?}$] 'dog'

meetz' [me:ȼ'] 'eye brow'

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

k' → [k'] *k'iy* [k'Iy̰] 'many'

siik' [si:k'] 'tobacco'

q' → [ɢ'] ∿ [q'] *q'aaq'* [ɢa:q'] ∿ [q'a:q'] 'fire'

→ [q'] " " " "

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Both of the velar stops, *k* and *k'*, are palatalized in two different types of environments, one assimilatory, the other dissimilatory. They are palatalized before the vowel *i*, and they are also palatalized when they are followed by a nonround vowel (i.e. *i*, *e*, or *a*) which in turn is followed by a postvelar consonant (i.e. *q*, *q'*, or *j*).

(3) Velar Stop Palatalization Rule:

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

i.e.

$$k^{(')} \rightarrow [k^{(')y}]/\_\_ \left\{ i \quad \begin{Bmatrix} i \\ e \\ a \end{Bmatrix} \quad \begin{Bmatrix} q \\ q' \\ j \end{Bmatrix} \right\}$$

Examples of Palatalized Velar Stops:

k → [k^{y}] *kaq* [k^{y}aq^{h}] 'red'

kaq'ayiin [k^{y}aq'ayí:nn̥] 'cacaín plant'

keej [k^{y}e:x] 'horse'

cf. *k* → [k] *koj* [kΩx] 'jaguar'

keem [ke:mm̥] 'weaving'

k' → [k'^{y}] *k'aq* [k'^{y}aq^{h}] 'flea'

k'im [k'^{y}Imm̥] 'straw'

cf. *k'* → [k'] *k'ooj* [k'o:x] 'mask'

k'el [k'ɛl̥] 'chocoyo parrot'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Palatalization does not always occur before a nonround vowel followed by a postvelar consonant, however. For example, the *k'* in *k'ajool* [k'axo:l̥] is not palatal. Dissimilatory palatalization apparently is not 100% 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 optionally be preceded by a phonetic glottal stop. However, the absolutive proclitics (cf. section 3.1.), and the directional enclitics (cf. 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 (cf. section 3.1.) are never preceded by a phonetic glottal stop.

(4) Glottal Stop Insertion Rule:

$\emptyset \rightarrow$ [ʔ]/#__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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Examples of Phonetically Inserted [ʔ]:

ak'	[ʔak']	'chicken'	*ajq'iij*	[(ʔ)axƓí:x]	'diviner'
ooj	[ʔo:x]	'avocado'	*ojqat*	[(ʔ)Ωxqát^{h}]	'deerhunter'
utz	[ʔU¢^{h}]	'good'	*utziil*	[(ʔ)U¢í:l̥]	'goodness'
iitz	[ʔi:¢^{h}]	'hex'	*iteel*	[(ʔ)I¢é:l̥]	'bad, ugly'
eey	[ʔe:y̥]	a day name	*elaq'*	[(ʔ)ɛláq']	'robbery'

Examples of Forms Which Never Have a Phonetically Inserted [ʔ]:

in winaq	[In βInáq^{h}]	'I am a person'
xel eel	[šɛl̥ é:l̥]	'he went out'
aatz'ii7	[a:¢'í:ʔ]	'your dog'

The initial glottal stop occurring phonetically on monosyllabic forms may become phonemic via certain derivational processes. For example, if the characterizing prefix *aj-* is added to a monosyllabic form, then the phonetic glottal stop remains and becomes phonemic (e.g. *aj7iitz* 'hexer, witch' < *iitz* 'hex'). On the other hand, if *aj-* is added to a form with more than one syllable, then the glottal stop does not occur (e.g. *ajaq'a7l* 'coalvender, coalminer' < *aq'a7l* 'coal').

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 separate sets of ergative prefixes (cf. section 3.1.), one for vowel initial stems and one for consonant initial stems (e.g. *wooj* 'my avocado' < *w-* prevocalic A1, *ooj* 'avocado'; *nuuchee7* 'my

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

tree' < *nuu-* preconsonantal A1, *chee7* '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. *n7óoro* < *n-* preconsonantal A1, *(7)óoro* < Sp *oro*), and there are a handful of native forms which 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 (cf. discussion and examples in section 3.1.).

Examples of Phonemic *7*:

chee7	[čɛ:ʔ]	'wood'
chila7	[čɪlá ʔ]	'there'
jo7	[xΩʔ]	'let's go'
jo7q	[xΩʔq^{h}]	'corn sheath'
ja7ee7	[xaʔɛ́:ʔ]	'they'
si7ooj	[sɪʔó:x]	'to row'
tza7n	[ɸaʔnn̥]	'point'
che7ewi7	[čɛʔɛwɪ́ʔ]	'because of this'
ki7	[kɪʔ]	'sweet'
ki7iil	[kɪʔí:l̥]	'sweetness'
sa7y	[saʔy̥]	'type of banana'
che7axik	[čɛʔašík^{h}]	'to put sticks in the ground'
(7)o7on	[ʔΩʔ´nn̥]	'iguana'
n7o7on	[nʔΩʔ´nn̥]	'my iguana'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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'

b'iis [ɓi:s] 'sadness'

x → [š] *xa7r* [ša$^{?}$r̥] 'jar'

ixix [IšíIš] 'you all'

xtu7x [štU$^{?}$š] 'female turkey'

j → [h] *ojb'* [$^{?}$Ωhp'] 'phlegm'

ch'ajt [č'aht^{h}] 'bed'

→ [x] *jamooj* [xamó:x] 'to empty'

ojoj [Ωxó̰x] '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 voiceless before consonants. In word-final position, the two

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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:

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

Examples of Resonants:

y → [y]	*ya7* [ya?]	'water'
→ [y̥]	*Moysees* [mΩy̥sé:s]	'Moses'
	way [way̥]	'tortilla'
w → [w]	" "	"
→ [ɸ]	*kow* [kΩɸ]	'hard' (SA)
	tewlaj [tɛɸláx]	'very cold' (SA)
l → [l]	*laq* [laq^h]	'cup'
→ [l̥]	*jul* [xUl̥]	'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]	" "	"

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

w is [β] before front vowels, and [w] before other vowels.

(7) *W* Allophonic Rule:

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

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

Examples of *w*:

w → [β] *wii7* [βi:ʔ] 'myself'

weey [βe:y̥] 'my teeth'

→ [w] *way* [way̥] '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 *b*'s 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* [ð] occurs in one native word in Santiago Atitlán: *ndta7* [nðta?] '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: *bîiblya* 'Bible' < Sp *biblia*
aláambre 'wire' < Sp *alambre*
glóobo 'hot air baloon' < Sp *globo*
garbáanso 'garbanzo bean' < Sp *garbanzo*

d: *dîisko* '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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from native Tzutujil *w, y, l,* and *r,* since the borrowed resonants do not devoice (cf. 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'

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ch ≠ ch' ≠ k' ≠ m

chooy 'lake'

ch'ooy 'rat'

k'ooy 'monkey'

mooy 'blind'

m ≠ n

mich'ili 'extirpable'

nich'ili 'squeezed up (the face)'

b' ≠ j ≠ k ≠ q ≠ w ≠ r

b'eey 'road'

jeey 'tail'

keey 'their teeth'

qeey 'our teeth'

weey 'my teeth'

reey 'his teeth'

ch ≠ tz ≠ q' ≠ q ≠ k ≠ r ≠ w

chiij 'behind it'

tziij 'word'

q'iij 'sun, day'

qiij 'our backs'

kiij 'their backs'

riij 'his back'

wiij 'my back'

7 ≠ Ø

chee7 'wood'

chee 'to it'

tz' ≠ ch

sootz' 'bat'

sooch 'rattle'

tz ≠ k' ≠ k

iitz 'hex'

iik' 'moon'

iik 'chili pepper'

k ≠ ch ≠ b'

nuutii7 'my meat'

nuuchii7 'my mouth'

nuub'ii7 'my name'

7 ≠ b' ≠ ch'

kaa7 'grinding stone'

kaab' 'honey'

kaach' 'gum'

ch' ≠ k

ch'aab' 'reflection; arrow'

kaab' 'honey'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

j ≠ x ≠ ch

jee7 'yes'

xee7 'root, bottom'

chee7 'wood'

j ≠ ch ≠ k'

jaay 'house'

chaay 'obsidian'

k'aay 'bile'

p ≠ b' ≠ d' ≠ l

xuup 'a blow'

xuub' 'whistling'

xuud' 'asshole'

xuul 'flute'

n ≠ t ≠ l

naq 'who, what'

taq 'plural'

laq 'cup'

r ≠ y

b'aar 'where'

b'aay 'gopher'

p ≠ m ≠ s

teep 'cold'

teem 'trumpline'

tees 'wild amaranth'

x ≠ s

b'iix 'song'

b'iis 'sadness'

r ≠ 7

wa7i 'he ate'

wari 'he slept'

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 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] 'chocoyo parrot'

aa → [a:] *chaaj* [ča:x] 'ash'

a → [a^] *chaj* [ča^x] 'pine'

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

u → [U] *qul* [qUl̥] '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 (cf. section 1.3. on stress).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(8) Vowel Devoicing Rule:

V → [-voice]/...V́...__#

Restricted to Spanish loanwords

Examples:

b'áaka [ɓá:kạ] 'cow' < Sp *vaca*

Páawlo [pá:wlọ] 'Paul' < Sp *Pablo*

aláambre [alá:mbrẹ] '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 1.2.1.), whereby final resonants in Spanish loans are not devoiced like native resonants. The lack of devoicing in final resonants in loans is probably due to dropping of the final vowel which followed the resonant.

It should be noted that the contrast between short *e* and *a* is somewhat 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'ɛ'* '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* ∿

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*, although 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'

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'

*For minimal pairs of forms with short versus long contrasts, see page 32 at the beginning of section 1.2.2.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ee ≠ ii

nuutee7 'my mother'

nuutii7 'my meat'

ee ≠ oo

kool 'basket'

Keel 'Miguel'

ii ≠ oo

piim 'thick'

poom 'incense'

oo ≠ uu

choom 'fat'

chuum 'lie'

The Santiago dialect has 12 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 'broken' long mid vowels, *ie* and *uo*, occurring only in the Santiago dialect, are cognate with long *ee* and *oo*, respectively, in other dialects of Tzutujil (cf. *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 with broken *ie* and *uo*, phonemically. In the Santiago dialect *ee* and *oo* originate from underlying and/or historical //e7// and //o7//, respectively, before glottalized occlusives (cf. morphophonemic Rule 37 in section 1.6.3.). But since the rule which 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,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

there are many forms today which 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//

(cf. *xch'o7pa* 'it was pinched')

ie [iə] *chie7* 'wood' < **chee7*

wiey 'my teeth' < **weey*

jie7 'yes' < **jee7*

tiew 'cold' < **teew*

pieq 'pataxte plant' < **peeq*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ee [e:] *ch'eech'* 'metal, car' < **ch'e7ch'*

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

(cf. *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*; cf. 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Examples of Stress in Native Forms:

wa7iim	[wa?í:mm̥]	'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'éy̥]	'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:mm̥]	'husband'
wachajiil	[wačaxí:l̥]	'my husband'
saq	[sáq^{h}]	'white'
saqireem	[saqIré:mm̥]	'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*
arôowa	[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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

kape	[kapé]	'coffee'	< Sp *café*
galoon	[galó:nn̥]	'gallon'	< Sp *galón*
lugaar	[lUgá:r̥]	'place'	< Sp *lugar*

It should be noted that directionals (cf. section 7.2.2.) and a number of verbal or adverbial enclitic particles (cf. section 7.2.1.) take the stress when they are appended to a preceding word (e.g. *na* necessitive, *ta* irrealis, *eel* 'going out'; cf. *xinwa7 ná* 'I had to eat'; *ma xinwa7 tá* 'I didn't eat'; *xinwa7 éel* '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 CV*j*C. Monosyllabic roots of the form VC, or expanded versions: VVC, V7C, and V*j*C, are also common. These basic root syllable types can be represented with the formula:

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

Examples of Basic Root Types:

CVC:	*saq* 'white'	*ki7* 'sweet'
CVVC:	*ch'aak* 'flesh'	*kuuk* 'squirrel'
CV7C:	*ch'a7k* 'a boil'	*si7k* 'lizard'
CV*j*C:	*ch'ajt* 'bed'	*kujk* 'stake'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

VC:	*ak'* 'chicken'	*o7* 'poo-poo' (baby talk for 'shit')
VVC:	*ooj* 'avocado'	*iitz* 'hex'
V7C:	*i7x* day name	
VjC:	*ajq* 'pig'	*ojb'* 'phlegm, cough'

Santiago Tzutujil has lost syllabic internal *-j-*. Syllables which historically were CV*j*C have become CV7C (cf. *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*; *reâal* '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 which begin with a consonant cluster, the first consonant normally being a sibilant and the second a stop or resonant; e.g.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

xtoq' 'burp' *spoj* 'a swelling'

xka7 'wax' *xna7m* 'doe'

Two onomatopoetic forms have been recorded which have stops as the initial consonant of the cluster (e.g. *tlintlin* 'dingding' and *tlantlan* 'dingdong'). 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which are now recognized as native forms are trisyllabic (e.g. *tinaamit* 'town' < Aztec *tenamitl* 'fortification'; *armiita* 'cofradia 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 single vowel or consonant. Many suffixes are comprised of one or more reduplicated segments of the root (cf. 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-* (∿ *-7-* ∿ *-V-*)	RTV passive

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Prefixes:

CVV-:	*nuu-*	A1
CV-:	*ki-*	A3p prepolysyllabic
C-:	*x-*	completive aspect
CC-:	*xk-*	potential aspect
VV-:	*ee-*	B3p
VVC-:	*aaw-*	A2
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 loanwords, and in the case of a few enclitic particles which take stress instead 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

immediately precedes a definite noun phrase (cf. section 4.1.2.2. for details and examples). In other words, *-i* may function like a period or semicolon indicating clause boundary on the one hand; and 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 (cf. 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 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 come to stand together they are reduced to one if they are in the same word or word plus clitic construction. This rule may optionally not apply in slow hypercareful speech.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(10) Geminate Consonant Reduction Rule (SJ):

$C_iC_i \rightarrow C_i$

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

(11) *N*-Assimilation:

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

Exception: *n-* Al

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Examples:

//ninb'e// → *nimb'e* 'I go'

//ninpeeti// → *nimpeeti* 'I come'

//in mooy// → *im mooy* 'I am blind'

cf. //nuub'aaqiil// → *nb'aaqiil* 'my body'

The *r* of the third person singular ergative prefix *ruu-* (∿ *r-*) is deleted after the preposition and complementizer *chi* (∿ *ch*) 'at, to; that'. The rule is optional when *r-* precedes a vowel initial stem (cf. sections 7.1.2. and 7.1.3.).

(12) *R*-Deletion (restricted):

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

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, *w* becomes *p* in word-final position.

(13) *W* to *P* Rule (SJ):

$$w \rightarrow p / \_\_ \#$$

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Examples:

//kow// → *kop* 'hard'

cf. *kowireem* 'to harden', *rkowiil* 'hardness'

//teew// → *teep* 'cold'

cf. *tewureem* 'to cool', *rteewuul* 'coldness'

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

The passive infix *-j-* becomes *-7-* before *j* and vowel length (-V-) before 7 (cf. 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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' (cf. 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* (cf. 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):

$$\emptyset \rightarrow r / \left\{ \begin{matrix} ja \\ ja\ k'aa \\ ja\ k'ii \\ wi(7) \end{matrix} \right\} \_\_ VC_1V$$

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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):

$$q \rightarrow [+\text{continuant}] / \_\_ C$$

Examples:

sajb'utub'uj ∿ *saqb'utub'uj* 'very white' < *saq* 'white'

naj chee ∿ *naq chee* 'why' < *naq* 'what' *chee* 'to it'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In a few forms *m* becomes *n* finally.

(18) *M* to *N* Alternation (restricted):

m → [+coronal]/__#

Examples:

//nuupaam// → *npaan* 'my shit' cp. *paamaaj* 'shit'

//ruutza7m// → *ruutza7n* 'its point', *ruutza7m* 'its nose'

cf. *tza7maaj* 'nose; point'

In a few forms *b'* alternates with *7*.

(19) *B'* to *7* Alternations (restricted):

b' → *7*/?

Cf. Examples:

q'ab'aaj 'hand' *nuuq'a7* 'my hand'

ka7i7 'two' *ruukaab'* 'second' *kab'lajuuj* 'twelve'

In a couple of forms a cluster of simple occlusives followed by a glottal stop (even if a phonetic [ʔ], not phonemic; cf. Rule 4 section 1.2.1.), becomes a glottalized occlusive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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):

$S_i \ldots S_{ii} \rightarrow S_{ii} \ldots S_i$

S = segment

Examples:

chwiley 'Chichicastenango (town)' < *chwi7* 'on top of',
yel 'stinging nettle' (Sp *chichicaste*)

tzejxik ∿ *tzojxik* //tzejoxik// 'to talk' (SA)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

1.6.2. Vowel Alternations

Root transitive verb (RTV) suffixes (cf. section 4.1.) which have a basic vowel *o*, harmonize with a preceding root vowel *u*. And the vowel of the RTV suffix *-a7* harmonizes with both root vowels *o* and *u*.

(22) RTV Suffix Vowel Harmony Rules:

(A) $\begin{bmatrix} -ooj \\ -oon \\ -ool \sim -oy \\ -V_1 yoon \\ -ow \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} -uuj \\ -uun \\ -uul \sim -uy \\ -V_1 yuun \\ -uw \end{bmatrix} / \underset{[root]}{...u...} \_\_$

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

Cf. 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!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Basic or underlying long vowels of verbs and verbal forms like participles and infinitives (cf. 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 (cf. 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 (cf. sections 1.5., 4.1.2.2., 5.1.).

(23) Vowel Shortening Before Nondefinite Phrases:

(A) $\underset{\begin{bmatrix}\text{verb}\\ \text{RN}\end{bmatrix}}{V_iV_i} \rightarrow V_i / \_\_\_ \begin{bmatrix}\text{anything which is not a}\\ \text{definite NP, and which}\\ \text{is not a clause boundary}\end{bmatrix}$

(B) $\underset{\begin{bmatrix}\text{possessed}\\ \text{noun}\end{bmatrix}}{V_iV_i} \rightarrow V_i / \_\_\_$ [indefinite possessor]

Cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. section 3.1.) have short forms which are used when they are prefixed to noun and verb stems of more than one syllable. 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:

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

Cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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', **qaapaq*).

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

(25) *UU*-Deletion (restricted):

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

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

definite article *ja* or one of the contrasting/topic shifting particles *k'ii* and *k'aa* (cf. 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):

$$V_i \rightarrow V_iV_i / \left\{\begin{matrix} ja(r) \\ ja\ k'ii(r) \\ ja\ k'aa(r) \end{matrix}\right\} \_\_ C_1V$$

'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-* (cf. section 5.3.1.). That is, the *a* of *aj-* is never lengthened (cf. *jar ajq'iij* 'the diviner').

Vowels of nouns in noun class S1A (cf. section 5.1.2.1.) are lengthened 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 Shortening Before Nondefinite Phrases.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(27) Vowel Lengthening of Possessed SlA Nouns (restricted);

$$\underset{\text{[SlA noun]}}{V_i} \rightarrow V_iV_i / \begin{bmatrix}\text{possessive}\\ \text{prefix}\end{bmatrix} \text{...}\_\text{...} \begin{bmatrix}\text{definite}\\ \text{possessor}\end{bmatrix}$$

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):

$$\underset{\text{[verb]}}{V_iV_i} \rightarrow V_i / \_\_\text{...} \begin{Bmatrix} -x \\ -(V)b'al \\ -l \\ -naq \end{Bmatrix}$$

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Examples:

//eel// 'go out'

eeleem 'to go out'

xeeli 'he went out'

elnaq 'he has gone out'

elab'al 'exit'

//k'aayi// 'sell'

k'aayiineen 'to sell' IV

xk'aayiini 'he sold'

k'aayiin 'sold'

xk'aayiij 'he sold it'

k'ayinaq 'he has sold'

k'ayixik 'to be sold'

xk'ayixi 'it was sold'

k'ayib'al 'market'

k'ayil+ 'seller of'

In the Santiago dialect, basic or underlying long vowels are shortened 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 (cf. discussion of Rule 36). It should be noted that if there is no allomorphic alternation 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 (cf. Rule 30), if a short vowel appears in a nonfinal syllable and is not word initial, one can assume that it is an underlying long vowel, or at least historically, it was a long vowel.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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'

b'ixaniem 'to sing'

< //b'iixaaniem//

jeyaaj 'tail'

< //jieyaaj//

nujiey 'my tail'

b'aaq 'bone; skinny'

b'aqiil 'body'

< //b'aaqiil//

b'aqriem 'to get skinny'

< //b'aaqiriem//

muuj 'shadow, shade'

nmujaal 'my shadow'

< //nmuujaal//

chuom 'fat'

rchomaal 'fatness'

< //rchuomaal//

chomriem 'to fatten'

< //chuomariem//

wnaq 'people'

< //winaq//

nwinaaq 'my people'

< //nwiinaaq//

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Generally speaking, in Santiago Atitlán, 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 <u>not</u> deleted before a glottal stop plus another consonant; instead the glottal stop is deleted (cf. Rule 35). 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, cf. 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 (cf. Chapter 3) are usually not deleted although they may be. (3) Vowels shortened by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 *m xtktqkmsaaj ta* while another *m xtkatqkmsaaj ta* < //m xtkatqakamsaaj ta// 'we wouldn't kill you'.

Cf. Examples:

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 a following *o* and/or *u* when there is only an intervening glottal stop.

(31) Vowel Assimilation Rule I:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} e \\ a \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} o \\ u \end{bmatrix} / \_\_ \, 7 \begin{bmatrix} o \\ u \end{bmatrix} \qquad \text{Optional}$$

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Examples:

xu7ujqalasaaj ∿ *xe7ujqalasaaj* 'we came to get them out'

yo7ool+ ∿ *ya7ool+* 'giver or'

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 underlying *ie* and *uo* if they are realized on the surface as short *e* and *o* because they are in a nonfinal syllable (cf. 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 *ie* and *uo* appear on the surface as such.

Cf. Examples:

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

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

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(33) *I*-Epenthesis (SJ):

$$\emptyset \rightarrow i / \begin{bmatrix} C\_\_xC \\ -(x)t\_\_C \\ [prfx]\_\_ \end{bmatrix}$$

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Cf. Examples:

xkin 'ear'

nixkin //nxkin// 'my ear'

axkin 'your ear'

xtikami //xtkami// 'he would die'

tikami //tkami// 'that he die/

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

1.6.3. Glottal Stop Alternations

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 may optionally 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!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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' cf. *xwa7a* 'he ate'

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

//to7jik/ → *tojik* 'to be paid' cf. *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):

$$7 \rightarrow V_i / V_i \_\_ C'(V)$$

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 cognate with the passive infix -*j*- in SJ; cf. 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 vowel. In some cases the long vowel is then shortened; in other cases the long vowel remains long. Whether or not the long vowel is

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

shortened is apparently determined by the particular morpheme involved (cf. discussion below).

(38) Glottal Stop Insertion Rule:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow 7 / V_i V_i \_\_ V$$

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 (cf. 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* (cf. 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-* (cf. 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-* (cf. 4.1.2.2.) precede first person plural absolutive *oq* (cf. 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Examples:

xe7aach'ey //xee-aach'ey// 'you hit them'

cf. *xeenuuch'ey* 'I hit them'

e7 oknaq //ee oknaq// 'they have gone in'

cf. *ee warnaq* 'they have slept'

xinee7ooki //xinee-ooki// 'I went to go in'

xinee7ejtz'aani //xinee-ejtz'aani// 'I went to play'

cf. *xineewari* 'I went to go to sleep'

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

cf. *xqoowari* < //xkoqwari// 'we would sleep'

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

cf. *qoowari* < //koqwari// 'let's sleep!'

1.6.4. Reduplication

Reduplication, as a productive process, is used only in the formation of certain suffices. 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 which 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 repeating

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the vowel and first consonant of the root plus *-ik* (e.g. *wuq* + $-V_1C_1ik$ → *wuquwik* 'hunchbacked'). The rule accounting for reduplication is given in (39).

(39) Reduplication Rule:

$$\underset{\text{[suffix]}}{\begin{bmatrix} C_x \\ V_1 \end{bmatrix}} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} C_i \\ V_i \end{bmatrix} / \underset{\text{[root]}}{\begin{bmatrix} \ldots C_i \ldots \\ \ldots V_i \ldots \end{bmatrix}} \text{——}$$

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes

[1]The symbols are phonemic in the 'taxonomic' or 'autonomous' sense (cf. 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 (cf. 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 ʔ and *h* as sonorants, which is unfounded (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nonfinal short vowels (cf. Rule 30, section 1.6.2.), drastically changing basic syllabic structure, and making it virtually impossible to generalize.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

2. Introduction to the Morphology

This chapter is an introduction to Tzutujil morphology 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 roots and affixes. Roots are the basic unanalyzable morphological and semantic nuclei of words. Affixes are nonnuclear morphological elements which 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 simple 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 stem is used to refer to a form which 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Words are holistic morphological and syntactic (and semantic?) units which are the end product of derivational and inflectional processes. Compounds are words consisting of more than one root. Clitics are little words which normally attach themselves phonologically to other words in a 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-* completive aspect, *in-* B1, *aa-* A2, *ch'ey* '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-* 'die', *-sa* causative, *-taj* completive passive, *-naq* intransitive perfect). 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-* completive, *ch'ey-* 'hit', *-j-* passive, *-i* phrase final suffix), and a couple of derivational affixes like the positional transitivizer affix *-j- . . . -e* (e.g. *xb'ojleej* 'he took a cylinder' < *x-* completive, *b'ol-* 'cylindrical', *-j- . . . -e*, *-Vj* derived transitive nonperfect).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. examples and discussion in sections 1.6.4., 4.2., 6.4.). Whole-root reduplication occurs sporadically in a number of word types, but especially 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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_1*oj* adj. suf.

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 lexical material in the language. A few examples are given below; more detailed discussion occurs in later chapters on derivation of nouns, adjectives and verbs.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'ach'iil 'his body' (cf. *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!').

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Vowel ablaut occurs in Tzutujil to the extent that: (1) nouns of class S1A have short vowels in unpossessed forms and long vowels in possessed forms (cf. Rule 27, section 1.6.2.); (2) derived transitive verbs have short vowels under certain grammatical conditions and long vowels under others (cf. Rule 28, section 1.6.2.); and (3) various vowel length alternations occur as a result of the distinction between definite vs. nondefinite (cf. Rule 23, section 1.6.2.). These systematic vowel alternations 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 which are each defined by their inflectional and syntactic properties and possibilities. There are also seven major root classes which 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	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is a fairly large number of roots which 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 which 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 $-V_1l$ (∿ *-aan* after an *l* or *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 $-V_1b'a7$ that indicates that an agent leaves an object in the position, or makes it get in the position described by the root. Many positional roots also have another adjective form in $-V_1C_1ik$ which simply characterizes or describes an object of the relevant position. Some adjectives in $-V_1C_1ik$ have also become

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 described 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Note

[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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Independent Personal Pronouns

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),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 the absolutive 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* (cf. 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* (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

of stative predicates, and (3) the patients or objects of transitive verbs. 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* '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-* completive *in-* B1 *war-* 'sleep' *-i* suffix
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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

xinkeech'ey 'they hit me'	< *x-* comp	*in-* B1 *kee-* A3p *ch'ey-*'hit'
xatkeech'ey 'they hit you'	< *x-* comp	*at-* B2 *kee-* A3p
xkeech'ey 'they hit him/her/it'	< *x-* comp	*ø* 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 of transitive verbs, and (2) the possessors of nouns. There are two sets of ergative prefixes, those occurring before stems beginning with a consonant, and those occurring before stems beginning with a vowel (cf. list of ergative prefixes below). The forms enclosed in parentheses are short forms used before stems of more than one syllable (cf. phonological Rule 24, section 1.6.2.). The first person singular allomorphic variant *in(w)-* and the third person singular variant *uu-* occur only in transitive verbs when the absolutive marker is *ø*, 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 *ø* third person singular. In addition, it should be noted that *in-* always disappears if it is immediately preceded by the incompletive aspect prefix *n-* (cf. section 4.1.2.2.). Compare the examples following the list of ergative prefixes.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The Ergative Prefixes (Set A)

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

Examples of the Ergative Prefixes (Set A):

nuutza7n 'my nose'	< *nuu-* A1 preconsonantal *tza7n* '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* '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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

wak' 'my chicken'	< *w-* A1 prevocalic *ak'* '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* '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-* completive *at-* B2 *nuu-* A1
xinchoy 'I cut it'	< *x-* comp *Ø* B3 *in-* A1
nchoy 'I cut it'	< *n-* incompletive *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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

xuuchoy 'he cut it'	< *x-* comp *Ø* B3 *uu-* A3
xqaachoy 'we cut it'	< *x-* comp *Ø* B3 *qaa-* Alp
xixqaachoy 'we cut you all'	< *x-* comp *ix-* B2p *qaa-* Alp
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-* Al
xinkuunaaj 'I cured him'	< *x-* comp *Ø* B3 *in-* Al
nkuunaaj 'I cure him'	< *n-* incomp *Ø* B3 *in-* Al [all contracted to *n-*]
xakuunaaj 'you cured him'	< *x-* comp *Ø* B3 *a-* A2
xinakuunaaj 'you cured me'	< *x-* comp *in-* Bl *a-* A2
xoqrkuunaaj 'he cured us'	< *x-* comp *oq-* Blp *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-* Alp
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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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-* A1p

xixqaajo7 'we loved you all' < *x-* comp *ix-* B2p *q-* A1p

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 you all' < *x-* comp *ee-* B2p *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 (cf. *wxiin*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'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 which in all other respects behave like vowel initial forms, but which 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 which begin with a stressed vowel always take the preconsonantal ergative prefixes (cf. section 1.2.1.).

n7óobra 'my work' < Sp *obra* 'work'
n7êera '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 which begin with an unstressed vowel usually take the prevocalic ergative prefixes (e.g. *waláambre* 'my wire' < Sp *alambre*; *werêensya* 'my inheritance' < Sp *herencia*; *wogaar*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'my home' < Sp *hogar*; *wamîigo* 'my friend' < Sp *amigo*). But some take the preconsonantal 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 preconsonantal prefixes are becoming more productive or less marked than the prevocalic 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 (cf. Rule 4, section 1.2.), is becoming phonemic, especially in pretonic position. With respect to the five native Tzutujil forms which unexpectedly require the preconsonantal prefixes, either they have phonemic initial glottal stop, in which case they are the only native forms which 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 of transitive verbs, while a different set of person markers (i.e. the ergative prefixes)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

indicate the agents 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 possessor 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 therefore 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 null.

(1) *Ee nimaq taq achi7aa7.*
B3p big-plr plr men
'The men are big.'

(2) *Nimaq taq jaay.*
big-plr plr house
'The houses are big.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3.2. The Relative Pronoun *ja*

The relative pronoun is *ja* 'that, who, which', which is identical in form to the definite article *ja*. Before vowels *ja* becomes *jar* (cf. P-Rule 16, section 1.6.1.). The use of *ja* in relative clauses seems to always be optional (cf. 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 bought meat that was rotten.'

(4) *Jar aachi (ja) xk'eje7 chila7 xkami.*
'The man who lived there died.'

(5) *Uleep sôcwra pro winaq (jar) ee pejnaq*
'Land is sufficient but people who have come (from)
najt naqaaj ee k'o chwach.
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 predicates, 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 (cf. section 5.2.1. on

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

relational nouns), which distinguishes the semantic role of the oblique argument. (Cf. 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 optionally be used 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* irrealis

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

xab'artakii7 'wherever, anywhere' < *xa* 'only' *b'aarkii7* 'where'
ta irrealis

nojeel 'everyone, everybody, all (of)' < *noj-* (?) *-eel* suffix
-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* suffix
-onojeelaal possessed form:
ronojeelaal 'all of it'
qonojeelaal 'all of us'
ewonojeelaal 'all of you all'
konojeelaal 'all of them'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The indefinite pronouns may also be used as adjectives and/or quantifiers.

3.5. Demonstrative Pronouns

Tzutujil has a fairly large number of demonstrative pronouns which 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)' (cf. section 7.1.6. on the demonstrative/locative particles). The forms preceded by '+' enclosed in parentheses are short forms used immediately 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)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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 (cf. section 7.1.7.).

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

instead of the full form *jaa k'aala7* (cf. *naq k'aala7?* 'what is that?' but not **naq jaa k'aala7*).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4. Verbs

This chapter is on the morphology of Tzutujil verbs. Section 4.1. is primarily concerned 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.

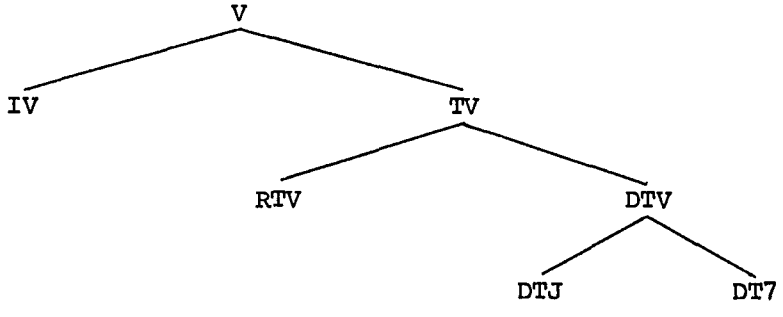
4.1. Verb Inflection

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 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 stem formative vowel which in the nonperfect (4.1.2.2.) is always followed by the suffix *-Vj* (e.g. *b'iix* N 'song' + *-a* stem formative + *-Vj* > *-b'iixaaj* 'sing (something)' DTJ nonperfect; *k'aay-* N 'sale' + *-i* stem formative + *-Vj* > *-k'aayiij* 'sell' DTJ nonperfective). Stems of DT7s always contain a derivational suffix which ends in a vowel plus glottal stop (e.g. *k'olob'a7-* 'leave a spherical object' DT7 < *k'ol-* P 'spherical' + $-V_1b'a7$ TV derivational; *k'aqak'a7-* 'stomp repeatedly' DT7 < *k'aq-* RTV 'shoot' + $-V_1C_1a7$ TV derivational).

Subclassification of Tzutujil Verbs



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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 inflected 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 inflected 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-* completive, *in-* B1, *wa7-* IV 'eat', *-i* IV phrase final

In the perfect (4.1.2.1.), where there is no aspect, tense, or mode prefix, 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:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(3) *xwa7i* 'he ate' < *x-* completive, *Ø* B3, *wa7-* 'eat',
-i IV phrase final
wa7naq 'he has eaten' < *Ø* B3, *wa7-* 'eat', *-naq* IV perf

Finite transitive verbs are always inflected for agent with the ergative prefixes, and for patient with the absolutive markers. In the nonperfect, an ergative prefix immediately precedes the TV stem; this is then preceded by an absolutive prefix, which in turn is preceded by an aspect, tense, or mode prefix:

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

In the perfect, the TV stem is preceded by an ergative prefix which 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-* completive, *Ø* B3, *kee-* A3p,
ch'ey- 'hit' RTV
kich'eyoon 'they have hit it' < *Ø* B3, *ki-* A3p, *ch'ey-* 'hit',
-oon RTV perf

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Note that one of the most obvious ways in which IVs differ morphologically 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 transitives and derived transitives also differ somewhat in that in the nonperfect RTVs take the 'long' ergative prefixes (i.e. if they do not have the suffix *-a7*; cf. section 4.1.2.2.), while DTVs always take the 'short' ergative prefixes (cf. 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-* completive, *in-* B1, *ki-* A3p, *kuuna-* 'cure', *-Vj* DTJ nonperfect

xkikuunaaj 'they cured him' < *x-* completive, *Ø* B3, *ki-* A3p, *kuuna-* 'cure', *-Vj* DTJ nonperfect

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* DTJ perf

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.1.2. Aspect, Tense, and Mode Inflections

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.

The Perfect Suffixes

IV -*naq*

RTV -*oon* (∿ -*uun* after root vowel 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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Perfect Transitive Verbs

		TV ROOT	*-oon*
absolutive proclitic	ergative prefix	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' < ∅ 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-* A1p,
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-* A1,
kuuna- 'cure', *-Vn* DTJ perf

DT7 *in rb'irib'a7oon* ∿ *in rb'irib'aan* 'he has shaken me'
< *in* B1, *r-* A3, *b'irib'a7-* 'shake',
-oon ∿ *-Vn* DT7 perf

ix qajo7oon 'we have loved you all' < *ix* B2p, *q-* A1p,
aajo7- 'love, want', *-oon* DT7 perf

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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 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 remaining neg lie irrealis
'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 you-all-have-left
'I told him that you all had left.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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

Some perfect IVs may function as adjectives (cf. Chapter 6) indicating 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' < ∅ B3, *muq-* 'bury', *-oon* RTV perf
ee kamsaan 'they are killed' < *ee* B3p, *kamsa-* 'kill',
-Vn DTJ perf
kuunaan 'he is cured' < ∅ 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.1.2.2. The Nonperfect

Verbs in the nonperfect always begin with a prefix which indicates aspect, tense, and/or mode, and which 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) nonperfect prefix is required on all verbs in the nonperfect. And further, the set of nonperfect prefixes is mutually exclusive with the perfect inflections 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

absolutive marker and a second person ergative prefix (e.g. *jakuunaaj* 'go cure him!' < *j-* 'go' imperative, ∅ B3, *a-* A2, *kuuna-* 'cure', *-Vj* nonperfect).

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 (cf. *twari* 'he must sleep' < *t-* obligative, ∅ B3, *war-* 'sleep', *-i* phrase final; *keewari* 'they must sleep' < *k-* obligative, *ee-* B3p, *war-* 'sleep', *-i* phrase final; *xtaach'ey* 'you would hit him' < *xt-* potential, ∅ 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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* phrase final) means something like 'I would sleep (if such and such)', and 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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:

Suffixes and Enclitics Used in the Nonperfect:

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

All intransitive verbs in the nonperfect require the phrase final suffix *-i* (*-a* 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 *-i* disappears. For example, in (14a) and (14b), *-i* occurs because the verb is phrase final; in (14c), *-i* occurs because the verb precedes a definite noun phrase. However, in (15a-c), *-i* disappears because the verb is not phrase final and it does not occur before a definite noun phrase.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 irrealis

c. *xwar iiwiir* 'he slept yesterday'
slept yesterday

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

With most inflections in the nonperfect, root transitive verbs do not require any suffix (e.g. *nuub'an* 'he does it' < *n-* incompletive, *∅* B3, *uu-* A3, *b'an-* 'do'; *xuub'an* 'he did it' < *x-* completive). However, in the obligative (and imperative) mode, all RTVs require the suffix *-a7* (∿ *-o7* ∿ *-u7*; cf. Rule 32, section 1.6.2.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(16) *tach'eya7* 'hit it!' < *t-* obligative, *ø* B3, *a-* A2, *ch'ey-* 'hit', *-a7*

katkich'eya7 'they must hit you' < *k-* obligative, *at-* B2, *ki-* A3p, *ch'ey-* 'hit',

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, whenever RTVs contain a directional prefix they require *-a7* (cf. 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 environments. The nonperfect suffix *-Vj* defines the DTJ class of transitive verbs. Compare the examples in (17).

(17) *xakamsaaj* 'you killed it' < *x-* completive, *ø* B3, *a-* A2, *kamsa-* 'kill', *-Vj* nonperfect

ma xakamsaj ta 'you didn't kill it' < *ma...ta* neg, and vowel shortening (cf. Rule 23, section 1.6.2.)

xakamsaj iiwiir 'you killed it yesterday' < *iiwiir* 'yesterday'

ne7akamsaaj 'you kill them' < *n-* incompletive, *e7-* B3p

xtakamsaaj 'you would kill it' < *xt-* potential

takamsaaj 'kill it!' < *t-* obligative

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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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

(18) *xakotz'ob'a7* 'you laid it down' < *x-* completive, *Ø* B3, *a-* A2, *kotz'ob'a7-* 'lay down' < *kotz'-* P 'lying', *-V_1b'a7* transitivizing

ma xakotz'ob'a7 ta 'you didn't lay it down' < *ma...ta* neg

nakotz'ob'a7 'you lay it down' < *n-* incompletive

takotz'ob'a7 'lay it down!' < *t-* obligative

xtakotz'ob'a7 'you would lay it down' < *xt-* potential

xk'aqak'a7 raqan 'she stomped her foot' < *x-* completive, *Ø* B3, *Ø* A3, *k'aqak'a7-* 'stomp' DT7 < *k'aq-* RTV 'shoot', *-V_1C_1a7* 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 <u>not</u> take the suffix *-a7* in the optative, as they do in the obligative.

(19) *katwar na* 'hope you sleep' < *k-* obligative, *at-* B2, *war-* 'sleep', *na*

twar na 'hope he sleeps' < *t-* obligative, *Ø* B3

katkeech'ey na 'hope they hit you' < *k-* obligative, *at-* B2, *kee-* A3p, *ch'ey-* 'hit', *na*

taach'ey na 'hope you hit it' < *t-* obligative, *Ø* B3, *aa-* A2

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

takamsaj na 'hope you kill it' < *t-* obligative, *ø* B3, *a-* A2, *kamsa-* 'kill', *-Vj* nonperf, *na*

ke7akamsaj na 'hope you kill them' < *k-* obligative, *e7-* B3p

takotz'ob'a7 na 'hope you lay it down' < *t-* obligative, *ø* B3, *a-* A2, *kotz'ob'a7-* 'lay down'

kinakotz'ob'a7 'hope you lay me down' < *k-* obligative, *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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Nonperfect Intransitive Verb

nonperfect prefix	absolutive prefix	IV STEM	*-i*

Nonperfect Transitive Verbs

			TV ROOT	*-a7* oblig/imp
nonperfect prefix	absolutive prefix	ergative prefix	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 so they take the preconsonantal ergative prefixes, while *ajo7xik* is a vowel initial transitive verb so it takes the prevocalic ergative prefixes (cf. section 3.1.).[2]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which agree in 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 the two intransitive verbs: *waraam* 'to sleep' and *eeleem* '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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Completive in *x-* (∿ Ø/__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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.1.3.2. Paradigm of the 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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 *n-*, the completive *x-* is replaced with *n-* 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 reflexively: *tinch'eya7 wii7* 'I must hit myself' < *wii7* 'myself'; cf. section 9.5. on reflexives.)

S2 → S1	*kinach'eya7*	P2 → S1	*kinech'eya7*
→ S3	*tach'eya7*	→ S3	*tech'eya7*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

S2 → P1	*qo7ach'eya7*	P2 → 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 optionally 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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 the derived transitive 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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

S3 → P1	*xoqrkuunaaj*	P3 → 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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.1.3.4. Paradigm of the 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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Obligative/Imperative in *k-/t-*

(N.B.: the obligative is not used with a 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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	*xke7ewaajo7*	→ P3	*xkixewaajo7*
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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 variation 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(21) *xineewari* 'I went and slept' < *x-* completive, *in-* B1, *ee-* 'go', *war-* 'sleep', *-i* phrase final

in eewarnaq 'I have gone and slept' < *in* B1, *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 directional prefixes

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(22) *xateench'eya7* 'I went and hit you' < *x-* completive,
at- B2, *ee-* 'go', *n-* A1, *ch'ey-* 'hit', *-a7*
xatujnch'eya7 'I came and hit you' < *uj-* 'come'
xateenkuunaaj 'I went and cured you' < *x-* completive,
at- B2, *ee-* 'go', *n-* A1, *kuuna-* '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-* completive,
in- B1, *a-* A2, *jr-* 'come', *ch'ey-* 'hit', *-a7*
xinejrkuunaaj 'you all came and cured me' < *x-*, *in-* B1,
e- A2p, *jr-* 'come', *kuuna-* 'cure', *-Vj* nonperf

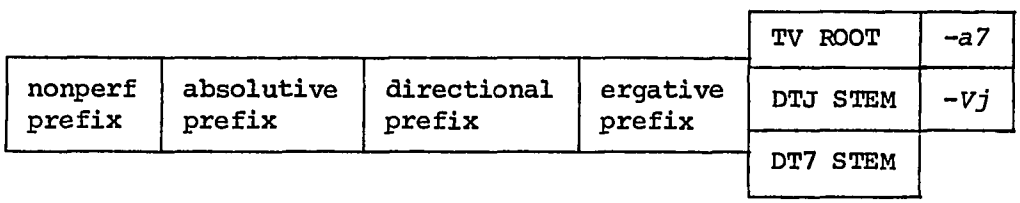
Further, whenever the transitive verb is a vowel initial stem, and the ergative prefix is prevocalic *aw-* A2 or *ew-* A2p, then the 'come' prefix *jr-* is inserted between *a-* or *e-* and the following *w-*. Compare the examples in (24) with those in (22) and (23).

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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

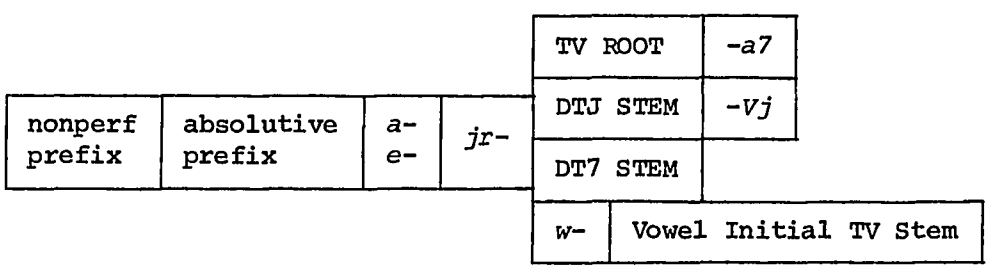
Directional prefixes have not been recorded on perfect transitive verbs.

Normal Nonperfect Directional Transitive Verb



Nonperfect Directional Transitive Verb

with Ergative *a(w)-* A2 or *e(w)-* A2p



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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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-*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*
→ P1	*xixeeqach'eya7*	*xixujqach'eya7*
→ P3	*xe7eeqach'eya7*	*xe7ujqach'eya7*
	∿ *xeeb'eeqach'eya7*	∿ *xu7ujqach'eya7*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*	

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*	*xoqejrkuunaaj*
→ P3	*xe7eekuunaaj*	*xe7ejrkuunaaj*
	∿ *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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 basically intransitive verb has an infinitive in *-ik*, rather than the more normal *-eem*; and one IV has infinitives in both *-eem* and *-ik*. In addition, simple passive stems (cf section 9.6.1. on passives),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

which are always morphologically intransitive and derived from transitive verbs, have infinitives in *-ik*, never in *-eem*.

Intransitive Infinitives

-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 which are formally intransitive: (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* varying with *-uun* after root vowel *u* (cf. section 9.6. on voice formation).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 infinitive. However, DTVs do have an active infinitive in *-n* which 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 which 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 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'
jat 'go!'	∿ *xpi(t)+* (nonphrase 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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 would 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 (cf. *xinpeeti* 'I came', *xinpit iiwiir* 'I came yesterday', *xinpi na* 'I had to come').

There is a fairly large number of deficient verbs (especially IVs), which lack one or more principal parts. Thus, focus anti-passive 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 $-V_1C_2$, $-V_1C_1o7$, and $-V_1C_1ot$, often lack an infinitive and/or perfect form. For example the IVs *setet-* 'for a discoid object to roll' (< *set-* P 'discoid', $-V_1C_2$) and *wach'awo7-* 'break up rapidly' (< *wach'-* RTV 'break', $-V_1C_1o7$), 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 *-Vl* have infinitival forms in *-eem* which 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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*; cf. 7.1.7.5.). *Che7-* has no infinitive form and has the irregular allomorphic alternations illustrated below. Note that the phrase final suffix *-i* assimilates to *-e* after the stem vowel *e* (e.g. *xatche7e* < //xatche7-i//).

Che7- ∿ chi- ∿ e7- ∿ i- 'say':

che7naq 'have said'

xatche7e 'you said'

xatchi chee 'you said to him'

natche7e 'you say'

natchi chee 'you say to him'

xche7e 'she said'

xchi chee 'she said to him'

ne7e 'she says'

ni chee 'she says 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 unexpected form *e7-* (e.g. *n-∅-e7-e*); while in nonphrase final position before anything but a definite noun phrase the stem has the unexpected form *i-* (e.g. *n-∅-i chee*). Also, the irregular stem *chi-* occurs in nonphrase final position before anything but definite noun

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

phrases when the subject is nonthird 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 deficient. For example, *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 which does not formally 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

has the allomorph *ijl-* instead of the expected *il-*. The *ijl-* allomorph is homophonous with the passive stem as seen in *ijlik*. However, if directional 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 inflected for agent (cf. section 9.6.1. on passives).

The root transitive verb *meel-* 'take' is irregular in that it neither 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 which 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

longer. The alternate forms with *7* make *b'i7xik* look like a DT7, except in the nonperfect. Historically, this verb probably comes from the root *b'ii7* 'name' plus the stem formative vowel *-i*, and then the DTJ stem *b'ii7i* irregularly collapsed 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-* completive, 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 which are in the process 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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) heard, 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 is a large number of derivational affixes which derive verb stems. In fact, all verb stems which 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 which otherwise, without derivational affixes, do not occur as stems of any word class. In the latter case, the process is productive with positional roots which always must have a derivational affix in order to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

participate as a stem of any word class, whether it be verb, adjective, or some other. There is also a number of other roots which 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 which 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 designated 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), and 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4.2.1. Affixes Deriving Intransitive Verbs

1) 1. -7- mediopassive

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. -7- also occurs as an allomorph of the passive infix -*j*- (cf. affix 4).

2) 1. -*at* intransitivizer

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 adjective 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 lexically determined, not phonologically determined, as is the alternation of allomorphs in the passive (cf. *-7-* affix 1). Cf. *-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 which it derives (cf. 5.3.1.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. Cf. *-ko7ri* (34) DTV transitivizer.

7) 1. *-ku7t* intransitivizer

3. Derives the one IV given below.

4. Unproductive.

5. Example:

xtz'unku7ti 'it twisted' < *tz'un-* (?)

6. Cf. *-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. Cf. *-kati* (36) DTJ transitivizer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9) 1. *-ma7y* slow motion intransitivizer

2. *-ma7y* ∿ *-V_1ma7y*: 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 movement is related to the position or form indicated by a positional 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'; *tik-* RTV 'plant (plants)'

xtikma7yi 'he went around looking down'

6. Cf. *-mayi* (38) DTJ transitivizer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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. Cf. $-V_1n$ (20) which derives antipassives from DTVs. On a very few transitive roots *-oon* derives IVs which may be understood (medio)passively. For example,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 alternates with *u* (i.e. *-uw* and *-u*) occur only after a root vowel *u*. The alternates without *w* (i.e. *-o* and *-u*) occur whenever the intransitive phrase final suffix, *-i*, is absent; that is, phrase medially before anything but a definite NP (cf. 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 (cf. section 9.6.2. on antipassive voices); also derives IVs from a few other monosyllabic 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. section 9.6.2. on antipassive voices).

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

13) 1. *-q'o7t* <u>intransitivizer</u>

3. Derives the one IV given below.

4. Unproductive.

5. Example:

b'olq'o7teem 'to get twisted' < *b'ol-* RTV 'twist strands together in rope-making'

xb'olq'o7ti 'it got twisted'

6. Cf. *-q'oti* (41) DTJ transitivizer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. Cf. $-V_1C_2V_1$ (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 occasionally from other monosyllabic roots. Usually, forms from RTVs indicate either that a normally transitive activity occurred without an agent or that an activity makes a certain sound, normally only once.

4. Semiproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. $-V_1C_1ot$ <u>lentitive and repetitive intransitivizer</u>

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

3. Derives IVs from positional and transitive roots, and occasionally 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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

xjilojoti 'he was groaning'

matz'amoteem 'to be eating (crunchy things)' < *matz'-* P 'crunchy' RTV 'eat crunchy things'

xmatz'amooti 'he was eating (crunchy things)'

6. Cf. $-V_1C_1a7$ (52) DT7 transitivizer.

17) 1. *-Vj* intransitivizer

2. *-aj* ∿ *-ij* ∿ *-oj*: the vowel is lexically determined; the *-aj* 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

18) 1. *-V_1lo7j* intransitivizer

2. *-V_1lo7j* ∿ *-lo7j* ∿ *-ulu7j*: *-ulu7j* occurs after a preceding root vowel *u*; the variation of *-V_1lo7j* ∿ *-lo7j* 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' P 'clinking'

xtzinlo7ji 'it was clinking'

19) 1. *-V_1maj* intransitivizer

2. *-V_1maj* ∿ *-maj*: the alternation is lexically determined.

3. Derives IVs only from the two forms below.

4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. Cf. *-Vmaji* (47) DTJ transitivizer.

20) 1. $-V_1n$ 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 (cf. suffix 45, 4.2.2.), and to DT7 stems. The allomorph used on DT7 stems is *-n*. When $-V_1n$ is added to DTJ stems the stem formative vowel is doubled or lengthened (e.g. *kuuna-* DTJ 'cure' + $-V_1n$ > *kunaan-*). In other words, 'V_1' here indicates a vowel identical with the stem formative vowel.

3. Derives focus and absolutive antipassive stems (cf. 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 $-V_1n$.

4. Productive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

jab'iineem 'to rain' < *jab'* N 'rain' *-i* stem formative

xjab'iini 'it rained'

6. Note that when $-V_1n$ is added to DTJ stems, the first stem vowel is shortened.

Cf. *-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 (cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. $-V_1taj$ completive passive

2. $-V_1taj \sim -taj$: 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 (cf. section 9.6.1.) from transitive stems, and derives IVs with a passive or medio-passive 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

xajo7xi 'it was wanted' < *aajo7-* DT7 'want, love'

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

6. Cf. *-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'

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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 referential 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'

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-* RTJ '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 transitive 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. Examples:

jijtz'axik 'to hang (as in executing)' < *jitz'*- P 'tied tightly' 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* carrying transitivizer

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_1C_1V transitivizer

3. Derives only the form given below. Note that this form is an IV derived with -V_1n from a DTJ stem which is otherwise unattested.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4. Unproductive.

5. Example:

mujqumiineem 'to participate in a funeral'

< *mujqumi-* DTJ (?) + $-V_1n$ < *muq-* 'bury'

xmujqumiini 'she participated in a funeral'

31) 1. *-ka, -k'a, -qa, -q'a, -q'i* transitivizers

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 helped 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. Example:

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. Example:

pasko7rixik 'to make a ruckus' < *pas-* (?)

xpasko7riij 'he made a ruckus'

6. Cf. *-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. Cf. *-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_1ma*: the alternation is lexically determined.

3. Derives the two DTJs below.

4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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_1mayi*: the latter allomorph occurs only in one form, the former in many.

3. Derives DTJs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and transitive roots, which 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. Cf. *-ma7y* (9) intransitivizer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

39) 1. *-na* transitivizer

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* transitivizer

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* transitivizer

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. Cf. *-q'o7t* (13) intransitivizer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

42) 1. *-sa* causative

2. *-sa* ∿ *-si*: *-si* occurs only in a single form, otherwise *-sa*.

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*; cf. other examples in (44)).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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] RTV 'unroll, unwrap, untie'

xsolojtaaj 'it shed its skin'

44) 1. *-ti* causative (?)

3. Derives stems from IVs to which causative *-sa* (44) 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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

45) 1. *-V* stem formative transitivizer

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

meloxik 'to return, give back' < *meel-* RTV 'take'

xmeelooj 'he returned it'

xakajluxik 'to mount' < *xakajl* N 'crotch'

(x)xakajluuj 'he mounted it'

tzyaquxik 'to dress' < *tzyaq* N 'clothes, rags'

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. $-V_1C_2V_1$ celeritive and simulfactive transitivizer

2. $-V_1C_2V_1 \sim -C_2V_1$: $-C_2V_1$ occurs after DTJ stems, otherwise $-V_1C_2V_1$.

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nich'ich'ixik palaj 'to scrunch up the face completely'

< *nich'*- P 'scrunched up (the face)' RTV 'scrunch up (the 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. Cf. $-V_1C_2$ (14) intransitivizer.

47) 1. $-V_1maji$ transitivizer

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. Cf. $-V_1maj$ (19) intransitivizer.

48) 1. $-V_1pi$ transitivizer with force

2. $-V_1pi \sim -pi$: the alternation is lexically determined.

3. Derives DTJ stems from monosyllabic roots which usually mean to do something with (an extra amount of) force.

4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* transitivizer

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* transitivizer

2. *-a7* ∿ *-o7*: the vowel is lexically determined.

3. Derives the two DT7s given below.

4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. $-V_1b'a7$ positional transitivizer

2. $-V_1b'a7 \sim -b'a7$: forms without V_1 are rare but occur after roots ending in *7* and sometimes after roots ending in resonants.

3. Derives DT7s from positional roots, which 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

52) 1. $-V_1C_1a7$ lentitive and repetitive transitivizer

2. $-V_1C_1a7 \sim -V_1C_1o7 \sim -C_1a7 \sim -C_1o7$: by far the most common allomorph is $-V_1C_1a7$. However, in a few forms, $-V_1C_1o7$ occurs when this suffix is followed by another suffix, for example, in the passive (and infinitive), absolutive, and perfective stems, while $-V_1C_1a7$ occurs in the nonperfective where no other suffix follows (cf. *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 without 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'

RTV 'stain, spot'

xtz'ajtz'a7 'he massaged her'

6. Cf. $-V_1C_1ot$ (16) intransitivizer.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

53) 1. *-V_1la7* celeritive transitivizer

2. *-V_1la7* ∿ *-V_1lo7* ∿ *-la7* ∿ *-lo7*: The forms without *V_1* occur after DTJ stems and occasionally after stems ending in a continuant consonant. The forms with *o* (as opposed to *a*) occur when another suffix follows, for example, in the passive, absolutive, and perfective stems (cf. *xkamsalo7xi* 'it was killed fast', *xkamsalo7ni* 'he was killing fast', *kamsalo7oon* '(have) killed fast', *xkamsala7* 'he killed it fast' < *kamsala7-* 'kill fast' < *kamsa-* DTJ 'kill').

3. Derives DT7s from transitive stems, which 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 *-V_1la7* normally do not have an infinitive. In the examples a perfective or past participle form has been substituted for the (nonexistent) infinitives.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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' RTV 'raise up; guard' + *chii7* 'mouth' *-i* stem formative

xyakchi7iij 'he demanded it'

k'ulwachixik 'to happen to' < *k'ul-* P 'married' RTV 'encounter' + *wach* 'face' *-i* stem formative

xk'ulwachiij 'it happened to him'

(N.B.: with this verb the experiencer is marked ergatively, while the event is marked absolutively; e.g. *xak'ulwachiij* 'it happened to you' with ∅ B3 *a-* A2)

Adjective + Positional

saqmuqe7- 'get a little cloudy' < *saq* 'white' *muq-* 'cloudy'

-e7 positional intransitivizer

xsaqmuqe7e 'it got a little cloudy'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* plural 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* plural diminutive + *no7y* 'small' *-ir* inchoative *-sa* causative

xtaqno7yirsaaj 'he made them smaller'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes

[1]The distinction between prefixed absolutive markers in the nonperfect, 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 (cf. 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'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'; *Ajsanpaawlo7ii7* 'persons from San Pablo' < *Ajsanpáawlo* 'person from San Pablo'), and the forms without initial *7* are used after consonants (e.g. *ajq'iijaa7*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'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 exceptions 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 which 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 preconsonantal glottal stop, sometimes with compensatory lengthening of the vowel preceding the glottal stop (e.g. *Ajpasuumii7* plr. of *Ajpasu7m* 'person from Patzun'); 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Singular	Plural
meem 'mute'	*meemaa7*
ch'eyooneel 'hitter'	*ch'eyooneelaa7*
alk'waalaxeel 'child of man'	*alk'walaxeelaa7*
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 which are never inflected for plurality: (1) nouns which 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). However, plurality may always be indicated with the plural particle *taq* (cf. 7.1.7.6.) in those

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 they-died

5.1.2. Inflection for Possessor

Most common nouns may be inflected for possessor with the ergative prefixes (cf. 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 nonthird 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 nonthird

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 nonfinally before anything but a definite noun phrase. Sentences which 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* literally means 'there is (a) my dog' or '(a) my dog exists', but a more idiomatic 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)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 unpossessed) form. These subclasses are outlined and exemplified in the next several paragraphs. As is common in Mayan studies, each of the subclasses is given an arbitrary letter/number designation (e.g. 'S1' means 'substantive 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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* (cf. 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* (cf. 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 which is added has the form *-VVl* (i.e. *-aal* ∿ *-iil* ∿ *-eel* ∿ *-uul*). The particular vowel used in the suffix is lexically

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

determined. Nouns of this class are not common, and they probably are all instances of abnormal 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 suffixes 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 absolutive 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 is a fairly large number of nouns which must always be possessed; that is, they are inalienable. Inalienable nouns most commonly are: (1) kinship terms, (2) body parts, (3) abstract nouns

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is a fairly large number of nouns which 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* 'chocoyo parrot'
sanik 'ant'	*saqb'ach* 'hailstone'
kunaaneel 'curer'	*jaaj* 'arm's reach'
q'isaaneel 'witch'	*b'ajlam* 'jaguar'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5.1.2.3. Normal Versus Abnormal Possession

In Tzutujil there is an important distinction between normal (or unmarked) and abnormal (or marked) possession. The distinction is manifested 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[2] whereby a human has or owns something which is alienable; 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 which would normally be owned only by a human, then the possessed noun is marked with *-VVl* as abnormal. Or when a human possesses something which is normally alienable, but possesses it in an inalienable way, then the possessed noun is marked with *-VVl* as abnormal. Some examples 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'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 which may be possessed by humans both in a normal and in an abnormal way, with respect to prototypical ownership. Thus, for example, the nouns *b'aaq* 'bone', *kik'* 'blood', and *tz'uum* 'hide, leather' may all be possessed normally with respect to prototypical ownership, as in *nuub'aaq* 'my bone' (e.g. to make an awl with), *nuukiik'* 'my blood' (e.g. to make blood sausages with), and *nuutz'uum* '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 *-VVl*, as in *nb'aaqiil* 'my bone (of my body)', *nkik'eel* 'my blood (of my body)', and *ntz'uumaal* '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 prototypical 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is a large number of complex nouns which are composed of two or more roots, and which may be either simple compounds or phrasal compounds (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 grandparent(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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 nuuchee7 'my 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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 abstract 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 possessive prefix is always deleted after the presposition *chi* (cf. Rule 12 in section 1.6.1.). Virtually all

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

nouns in Tzutujil which denote generic entities (i.e. those which may be of various kinds) have abstract forms. Nouns which 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 *-VVl* forming abstract nouns is identical with the suffix used in abnormal possession (cf. 5.1.2.3.). Thus, at least formally, there is a relationship between abstract nouns and abnormally possessed nouns. The full nature of this relationship is unclear, but certainly 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 absolutive person markers (cf. section 3.1. on the absolutive person markers, 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. *inin in winaq* 'I am a person' and *jaa7 winaq* 'he/she is a person'). And in the third person an overt noun may occur as subject (e.g. *Jar Aa Xwaan winaq* '(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, syntactic, and semantic properties (and may cross-cut the subclassification of nouns based on their behavior under possession, discussed in 5.1.2.1.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5.2.1. Relational Nouns

There is an important set of nouns in Tzutujil which 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 relational nouns (RNs), and they occur in relational noun phrases (RNPs). Normally, RNs are followed by their 'object' noun phrases and are possessed by them (e.g. *rumaal jar aachi* 'by the man' < *r-* A3 *-umaal* 'by' *jar* 'the' *aachi* 'man'). However, object (i.e. possessor) noun phrases of RNs may be omitted if they are given information (e.g. *rumaal* 'by him'), and under certain conditions they may be fronted if they are topicalized. If the object noun phrase is nonthird person, then it is usually only manifested as a possessive prefix on the RN (e.g. *wmaal* 'by me' < *w-* A1 *-(u)maal* 'by'), unless it is contrastive or emphasized in which case the independent pronoun occurs (e.g. *wmaal inin* 'by me'). Some RNs have short forms used without possessive prefixes when there is a following overt object noun phrase (e.g. *ma(l)* is the short form of *-umaal* in *mal aachi* 'by a man'). Some RNs, aside from their grammatical function, are also common nouns (e.g. *-umaal* also means 'cause, fault'); others like *-uuk'iin* '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 (cf. *rumaal jar aachi* 'by the man' and *rmal jun aachi* 'by a man'; cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 somewhat irregular, so these are simply listed, unless the paradigm is regular. 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 came from Panajachel.'

(8) *Ewonojelaal ixix nixb'e pa tz'a7neem.*
'All of you are going to play.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

rii7iil 'self' Reflexive/Reciprocal

wii7, aawii7, rii7, qii7, eewii7, kii7

(9) *Xintz'at wii7 pan espéeja*

'I saw myself in the mirror.'

(10) *Jar aachi7oo7 xkikamsaj kii7.*

'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.*

'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 went with you.'

(13) *Inin k'in atet xoqb'e*

I and you we 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 a car.'

(16) *Wmaal inin xajnamaji ja tz'i7.*

because of me I fled the dog

'Because of me the dog took off.'

-*Vxiin* (*xiin*) 'of, for' Possessive, Benefactive, Patient

wxiin, awxiin, rxiin, qaxiin, 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.*

'I did it for John.'

(19) *Inin xinch'eyo awxiin.*

I I-hit of you

'I was the one who hit you.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

-yoon 'alone; solitude' Solitary

nuuyoon, aayoon, ruuyoon, etc.

(20) *Nuuyoon xinb'an ja jaay.*

I-alone I-made the house

'I alone built the house.'

Besides the set of RNs presented above, there is another set which 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 grammatical unit, even though they each may have independent meaning and function (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; and normally, if the object (i.e. possessor) 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

are given or old information (e.g. *chpaan* 'inside of it', *pa rxkin* 'beside it'), and if they are nonthird 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 which occur without possessive prefixes. Enclosed in parentheses after each entry is the common noun related to the PRN.

Prepositional-Relational Nouns

chee (< *-e* ?) 'to, with' — Dative, Instrumental

chwe, chaawe, chee, chaqe, cheewe, chike

(21) *Xab'ij chwe.*
'You said it to me.'

(22) *Nkeeya7 paq chaqe.*
'They'll give money to us.'

(23) *Jar aachi xuuchoy chee7 chee machat.*
'The man cut trees with a machete.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.*

'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.*

'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.*

'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.*

'I am in back of you.'

(28) *Qootzijon chriij nojeel ja naquun.*

'Let's talk about all the things.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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-the-edge-of a lake I live particle

'I live on the edge of a lake.'

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.*

'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.*

'It's in front of us.'

(32) *Xinchup ja léetra chwach wuuj.*

'I erased the letters on the surface of (the) paper.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

pan ijkiq'a7 (< *ijkiq'a7* 'right hand' ?) Locative

'on/to the right of'

pa wijkiq'a7, pan awijkiq'a7, pa rijkiq'a7, etc.

(33) *In k'o pan awijkiq'a7.*

'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*

'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.*

'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 top of (the) rock I sat down.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 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 down on my left.'

pa yooniil (< *-yoon* 'solitude') Solitary

'alone, in solitude'

pa nyooniil, pan ayooniil, pa ryooniil, etc.

(39) *In k'o pa nyooniil.*

'I am alone.'

5.2.2. Numerals: Numbers and Quantifiers

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, *juun,* also functions as the indefinite article (e.g. *xinkamsaj*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

jun masaat 'I killed a/one deer' and *xinkamsaj juun choqoja7* 'I killed one too'). Like the numbering systems of other Mayan languages (and Mesoamerican 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 (cf. below). In preconquest and early postconquest times, the Tzutujil numbering system was quite complex with root numbers as high as 8000 and perhaps higher (cf. Ximénez 1701-03 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 below in their cardinal, ordinal, distributive, and root or short combining forms. The (absolute) cardinal numbers from 2-9 have an absolutive suffix: *-i7* ∿ *-ii7* ∿ *-ee7* ∿ *-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* '20'); some of the short combining forms have irregular stem changes (cf. *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 suppletive and does not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 four 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 five. The distributive *chi ju7junel* 'one 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 'one each', but its primary meaning is 'some (distributively)', although it has a secondary meaning 'one 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').

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

syéenta '100' (< Sp *'ciento'*):	*jun syéenta* '100'
	ka7i7 syéenta '200'
miil '1000' (< Sp *'mil'*):	*jun miil* '1000'
	ka7i7 miil '2000'

The numbers above ten 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 50's have alternate forms built on *nik'aj syéenta* '50' literally meaning 'half (of a) hundred'.

NUMBERS ABOVE 10

11	*ju7lajuuj* ∿ *julajuuj*	20	*juwinaq* ∿ *junwinaq*
12	*kab'lajuuj*	21	*juwinaq juun*
13	*oxlajuuj*	22	*juwinaq ka7i7*
14	*kajlajuuj*	23	*juwinaq oxi7*
15	*jo7lajuuj*	24	*juwinaq kaji7*
16	*waqlajuuj*	25	*juwinaq jo7oo7*
17	*wuqlajuuj*	26	*juwinaq waaqii7*
18	*wajxaqlajuuj*	27	*juwinaq wuquu7*
19	*b'e(e)lejlajuuj*	28	*juwinaq wajxaqii7*
		29	*juwinaq b'elejee7*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

30 *juwinaq lajuuj*

31 *juwinaq ju7lajuuj*

32 *juwinaq kab'lajuuj*

33 *juwinaq oxlajuuj*

34 *juwinaq kajlajuuj*

35 *juwinaq jo7lajuuj*

36 *juwinaq waqlajuuj*

37 *juwinaq wuqlajuuj*

38 *juwinaq wajxaqlajuuj*

39 *juwinaq b'eelejlajuuj*

40 *ka7winaq*

41 *ka7winaq juun*

42 *ka7winaq ka7i7*

43 *ka7winaq oxi7*

etc.

50 *ka7winaq lajuuj*

51 *ka7winaq ju7lajuuj*

52 *ka7winaq kab'lajuuj*

53 *ka7winaq oxlajuuj*

etc., or

50 *nik'aj syéenta*

51 *nik'aj syéenta juun*

52 *nik'aj syéenta ka7i7*

53 *nik'aj syéenta oxi7*

etc.

60 *oxk'ajl*

61 *oxk'ajl juun*

62 *oxk'ajl ka7i7*

63 *oxk'ajl oxi7*

etc.

70 *oxk'ajl lajuuj*

71 *oxk'ajl ju7lajuuj*

72 *oxk'ajl kab'lajuuj*

73 *oxk'ajl oxlajuuj*

etc.

80 *jumuch'*

81 *jumuch' juun*

82 *jumuch' ka7i7*

83 *jumuch' oxi7*

etc.

90 *jumuch' lajuuj*

91 *jumuch' ju7lajuuj*

92 *jumuch' kab'lajuuj*

93 *jumuch' oxlajuuj*

etc.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

100	*jun syéenta*	1000	*jun miil*
200	*ka7i7 syéenta*	2000	*ka7i7 miil*
300	*oxi7 syéenta*	3000	*oxi7 miil*
400	*kaji7 syéenta*	4000	*kaji7 miil*
500	*jo7o7 syéenta*	5000	*jo7o7 miil*
600	*waaqi7 syéenta*	6000	*waaqi7 miil*
700	*wuqu7 syéenta*	7000	*wuqu7 miil*
800	*wajxaqi7 syéenta*	8000	*wajxaqi7 miil*
900	*b'eleje7 syéenta*	9000	*b'eleje7 miil*

5.2.2.2. Quantifiers

The quantifiers are listed below. Most of them are based on one form or another of the number 'one' (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* plural

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* irrealis

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 limited 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-* 'one', 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-* 'two' or *ox-* 'three' (e.g. *jutaas* '1st (ground) floor, room', *ka7taas* '2nd floor, room', *oxtaas* '3rd floor, room'), and a few may be used with the short forms of the numbers up to *b'elej-* 'nine' (e.g. *juk'ulaaj* 'a pair', *b'elejk'ulaaj* 'nine pairs'). Most of them, however, when used with a number above one, only occur with the absolute cardinals (e.g. *jumuul* 'one time, once', but *ka7i7 muul* 'two

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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' P 'perforated'), or by adding the noun formative suffix *-aaj* (e.g. *juch'anaaj* 'a naked child or naked fat person' < *ch'an-* P 'naked', *juk'ulaaj* 'a pair, couple' < *k'ul-* RTV 'meet' 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 predictable from the meanings of their

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 following 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* 'two blows (with a) whip', *oxi7 d'oyaj nuutii7* 'three chunks of my meat'), but enumeratives are not obligatory in counting 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 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 specifically rolls (cf. 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)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(41) a. *Xintij jub'iiq' ya7.*

'I took a drink of water/liquor.'

b. *Xintij ju7jun b'iiq'.*

'I took some drinks (of liquor).'

(42) a. *Qas poqon ja juk'oox aab'aj xya7 chwe.*

really hurts the blow rock was given to me

'The blow with a rock that was given to me really hurts.'

b. *Xinya7 juk'oox chee.*

'I gave a blow to him.'

Like other nouns, enumeratives may function as stative predicates (cf. section 8.1.3.).

(43) *Ja kaxlan qas jusiraaj.*

'The soap is really a sphere.'

(44) *Ja nee7 qas jub'oq'aaj.*

'The child is really a fat one.'

5.2.4. Measure Words

Besides the subset of enumerative nouns which function as temporary or qualitative measures, there is another set of nouns which are also measure words (but not enumeratives). Some of these are standard measures (e.g. *líitro* 'liter' (< Sp *'litro'*), *k'aam*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'chord of land (approximately 25 sq. 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.*
'I bought two glasses of (my) liquor.'

(46) *Xinloq' jun doséena nb'áaso.*
'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'*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

oktáawo 'eighth of a liter' < Sp *octavo*

trâago '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*

arôowa '25 lbs.' < Sp *arroba*

5.2.5. Proper Names

Virtually all given or Christian names in Tzutujil have been borrowed 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*

Ku7 < Sp *Domingo*

Kox < Sp *Lucas*

Kus < Sp *Marcos*

Li7p < Sp *Felipe*

Lu7 ∿ *Luch* < Sp *Pedro*

Li(i)x < Sp *Andrés*

Páawlo < Sp *Pablo*

Cho7r < Sp *Melchora*

Lóoyda < Sp *Loida*

Luuka < Sp *Maruca*

Lu7s < Sp *Lucía*

Luuxa < Sp *Luisa*

Mari7y < Sp *María*

Naana ∿ *No7t* < Sp *Ana*

Palas < Sp *Francisca*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pala7s < Sp *Francisco*

Ra7p < Sp *Rafael*

Sme7eel < Sp *Ismaél*

Spiryáano < Sp *Cipriano*

Stéewa < Sp *Esteban*

Sa7ak < Sp *Isáac*

Sakari7y < Sp *Zacarias*

Sayi7s < Sp *Isaías*

Se7n < Sp *Vicente*

Teeko ∿ *Te7k* < Sp *Diego*

Xep < Sp *José*

Xwaan < Sp *Juan*

Roosa < Sp *Rosa*

Ro7n < Sp *Petrona*

Rewéeka < Sp *Rebeca*

Sako7r < Sp *Socorro*

Saanto < Sp *Santa*

Séelya < Sp *Celia*

Se7p < Sp *Josefa*

Sóoyla < Sp *Soila*

Teere7s < Sp *Teresa*

Xwaana < Sp *Juana*

On the other hand, many surnames are native, e.g.

Chikib'al 'Chiqival'

Tuwis 'Tuiz'

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(47) *Jar Aa Xwaan xb'e Yab'akoj.*

'(The youth) 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 to San Pablo.'

(50) *Ja Tan Palas. xb'e pa loq'oj kaxlanway.*

'(The) Miss Francisca went to buy bread.'

(51) *Ja Taa7 Lix xkam iiwiir.*

'(The) Sir Andrés died yesterday.'

(52) *Ja Naan Cho7r qas nb'isooni.*

'(The) Lady Melchora is very sad.'

When names are used vocatively, they may occur 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]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'

Tzolola7 'Sololá'

B'ookoo7 'Chimaltenango'

Yab'akoj 'Cuyotenango'

K'wa7 'Cua River'

Chuchuk 'San Pedro Volcano'

Xelaju7 'Quetzaltenango'

K'iilaaj 'Quilá Hill'

Others are loanwords from Spanish:

Armîita 'Guatemala City' < Sp *ermita* 'hermitage'

B'isitasyoon 'Santa María Visitación' < Sp *visitación*

Palestîina 'Palestine Village' < Sp *Palestina*

Santyâago 'Santiago Atitlán' < Sp *Santiago*

The majority of toponyms are phrases:

K'oqol Keej 'Masatenango'

< *k'oqool* 'hunter' *keej* 'horse' (archaic meaning 'deer')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 'Patzicia' < *sya7* (?)

Pasu7m 'Patzun' < *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 which 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 toponum takes *pa(n)* or not is determined by the particular lexical item. Compare the sentences below.

(53) a. *Chwaaq ninb'e pa Nawala7.*

'Tomorrow I go to Nahualá.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is 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 which 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 (cf. 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5.3.1. Affixes Deriving Nouns

1) 1. *aj-* characterizer

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, that someone comes from that particular place.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

ajq'iij 'diviner, astrologer' < *q'iij* 'day, sun'

aj7iitz 'hexer' < *iitz* 'hex'

ajtinaamit 'citizen' < *tinaamit* 'town, city'

ajtziij 'counselor' < *tziij* 'word'

ajchame7y 'constable' < *chame7y* 'club, nightstick'

ajk'aay 'vender, seller' < *k'aay-* 'sale'

ajkuum 'witch, sorcerer' < *kuum-* (?)

(cf. *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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* '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 ultimately be derived from verbs, but first the verbs must be nominalized with the agentive suffixes: *-ool* used on TVs, and *-eel* used on IVs (cf. last few examples). Sometimes nouns in *aj-* formed from toponyms beginning with *chi* 'to, at' lose *chi* when *aj-* is added and sometimes not (cf. *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 (cf. Rule 26, section 1.6.2.).

2) 1. *x-* <u>feminizer</u>

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which are both basically transitive and positional. In a few cases, *-V-* derives enumeratives from positional roots which are not also transitive, and in one case it derives a nonenumerative noun from a transitive root (cf. 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'
P 'lined up'

juluub' 'a wet thing' < *lub'-* P 'wet'

tzook 'beak' < *tzok-* RTV 'peck'

4) 1. *-j-...-o7m* deverbal noun formative

2. *-j-...-o7m* ∿ *-j-...-u7m* ∿ *-V-...-o7m*: the alternations are lexically determined, the first one being the most common.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* 'black'

6. Note that this affix not only derives verbal nouns from RTVs, but also IVs (cf. section 4.2.1.).

5) 1. *-aaj* enumerative formative

3. Derives enumerative nouns from positional and transitive roots (cf. section 5.2.3. on enumeratives).

4. Semiproductive.

5. Examples:

juch'araaj 'a slice of meat or kindling' < *ch'ar-* RTV 'cut wood' P 'hoarse'

juk'ulaaj 'a pair' < *k'ul-* P 'married' RTV 'meet'

jumokaaj 'a bush' < *mok-* P 'grouped together (plants)'

jusiraaj 'a sphere' < *sir-* P 'spherical'

6. Note that *-aaj* is also an allomorph of the general noun formative *-VVj* (cf. affix 22).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6) 1. *-at* noun formative

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'-* 'hand'

tz'aqat 'completion, adjustment' < *tz'aq-* RTV 'do' (archaic)

6. Cf. the intransitivizer *-at* in section 4.2.1.

7) 1. *-b'al* locative/instrumental

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 *V* 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

k'ayib'al ∿ *k'ayb'al* 'market' < *k'aayi-* DTJ 'sell' and *k'aay-* '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-* 'mother'

tata7b'al 'stepfather' < *tata7-* 'father'

6. Note that with a few forms in *-b'al*, when they are possessed, an epenthetic (underlying?) vowel occurs between the stem and the suffix (cf. *ntz'ub'uliib'aal* 'my seat' < *tz'ub'ulb'al*).

8) 1. $-C_1V_1C_2$ noun formative

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* absolute agentive

2. *-eel* ∿ *-aal* ∿ *-iil*: the latter two alternates only occur in one form each, the former in hundreds.

3. Derives agentive nouns from intransitive verb stems, especially including absolutive intransitives from transitive verbs (in *-oon* ∿ *-Vn*; cf. section 4.2.1.).

4. Productive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. Examples:

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* (cf. affix 24).

10) 1. *-eem* intransitive infinitive marker

2. *-eem* ∿ *-neem* ∿ *-aam* ∿ *-naam* ∿ *-iim*: *-neem* occurs after stems ending in glottal stop; the last three alternates 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 (cf. sections 4.1.5.1. and 6.2.).

4. Productive (with IVs only).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 *-eem* are never possessed.

11) 1. *-ik* passive infinitive marker

3. Derives verbal nouns or infinitives from the intransitive passive stems of transitive verbs; also derives infinitives from a couple of other (nonpassive) intransitive verbs (cf. section 4.1.5.1.).

4. Productive (as passive infinitive marker only).

5. Examples:

ch'ejÿik 'to be hit' < *ch'ejy-* 'be hit' < *ch'ey-* RTV 'hit'

b'ajnik 'to be done, made' < *b'ajn-* 'be done, made'

< *b'an-* 'do, make'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'irib'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 (cf. 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 a root vowel *u*, otherwise the former.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Derives active infinitives from root transitive verbs (cf. 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, indefinite 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* (cf. affix 22).

14) 1. *-ool* active agentive

2. *-ool* ∿ *-ol* ∿ *-uul* ∿ *-ul* ∿ *-l*: the alternate *-l* occurs after derived transitive stems; the alternates in *u* occur only after a root vowel *u*. Alternates with short vowels occur before indefinite nouns. Alternates 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 (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'ijlo7l 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', *ch'eyol wxiin* 'hitter of me').

In Santiago, there is also a form *-oy*, which is functionally identical to *-ool* (e.g. *ch'yoy wnaq* 'hitter of people' (SA)).

15) 1. *-oom* noun formative

2. *-oom* ∿ *-oon*: the alternation is lexically determined but the latter form is rare, occurring only in a couple of forms.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Forms a dozen or so nouns from various roots and stems. *-oom* also forms absolutive nouns of noun class S3 (cf. section 5.1.2. and examples therein).
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:

   alaq'oom 'thief' < *alaq'* 'theft'

   ajnoom 'fugitive' < *ajn-* IV 'be in progress'

   q'ojoom 'marimba' < *q'oj-* (?)

   aq'oom 'medicine' < *aq'-* (?)

   kamsoon 'assassin' < *kamsa-* DTJ 'kill'

16) 1. *-tal* noun formative

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 that *-tal* normally derives adjectives (cf. section 6.4.).

17) 1. *-V7* noun formative

2. *-a7* ∿ *-o7* ∿ *-u7*: the alternations are lexically determined.
3. Forms a dozen or so nouns from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. Examples:

k'ala7 'string holding warp onto loom' < *k'al-* RTV 'tie'

P 'tied'

kemo7 'wooden blade used in weaving' < *kem-* RTV 'weave'

tz'alu7 'a plant' < *tz'al-* (?)

18) 1. *-VV7* noun formative

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'* noun formative

2. *-ab'* ∿ *-aab'* ∿ *-eb'* ∿ *-ob'*: the alternates are lexically determined.

3. Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.

4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. Examples:

   jichab' ∿ *jicheb'* 'comb' < *jich-* (?)

   tzorob' 'a vine' < *tzor-* (?)

   piixaab' 'counciling' < *piix-* (?)

6. The suffixes in 17), 18), and 19) are probably all etymologically related going back to an old Mayan instrumental suffix **-(V)Vb'*. The instrumental/locative suffix *-(V)b'al* (affix 7), in contemporary Tzutujil, also goes back to **-(V)Vb'* with the addition of noun formative *-al*.

20) 1. $-V_1C_2$ noun formative

3. Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

   poqoq 'dust' < *poq-* (?)

   ch'upup 'tule' < *ch'up-* RTV 'pick fruits and vegetables'

   tzok'ok' 'tostada' < *tzok'-* P 'be left on top of; crunchy'

21) 1. *-Vj* noun formative

2. *-aj* ∿ *-oj* ∿ *-uj*: the alternation is lexically determined.

3. Forms about a dozen nouns from monosyllabic roots.

4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. Examples:

sik'aj 'apozote plant' < *sik'-* RTV 'pick up'

soochoj 'rattlesnake' < *sooch* 'rattle'

tz'utuj 'flower of corn' < *tz'ut-* (?)

[N.B.: the name 'Tzutujil' comes from this word with the addition of the noun formative *-iil*: *Tz'utujiil*.]

22) 1. *-VVj* general noun formative

2. *-aaj* ∿ *-eej* ∿ *-iij* ∿ *-ooj*: the particular vowel is lexically determined, forms in *a* and *o* are the most common.

3. Derives nouns from various roots and stems. Also forms absolutive nouns of noun class S3 (cf. 5.1.2. on noun possession 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 that *-ooj* is also the active infinitive marker on RTVs (cf. affix 13), and that *-aaj* is an enumerative formative (cf. affix 5).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

23) 1. *-Vjl* noun formative

2. *-ajl* ∿ *-ujl*: the alternates 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. *-VVl* general noun formative

2. *-aal* ∿ *-eel* ∿ *-iil* ∿ *-ool* ∿ *-uul*: the alternates are lexically determined.

3. Derives nouns from various roots and stems. Derives abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns. Note that abstract nouns, with only a few exceptions, must be possessed (cf. sections 5.1.3. and 6.1.1.). Also, marks nouns as being abnormally possessed (cf. 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* 'leather, hide'

rq'eqaal 'blackness' < *q'eq* 'black'

kamnaqeel 'person who has been dead for some time'

< *kamnaq* 'dead'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

k'uleel 'enemy' < *k'ul-* RTV 'encounter' P 'married'

yaab'iil 'illness' < *yaab'* (∿ *yaw-*) 'sick'

muuniil 'delicacy' < *muun* 'glutton'

(r)saqiil 'whiteness, clarity' < *saq* 'white, clear'

rtziijool 'announcement, saying' < *tziij* 'word'

ch'aakuul 'flesh, muscle' < *ch'aak* 'boneless meat'

rteewuul 'cold(ness)' < *teep* //teew// '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* '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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* 'carrier of'

ch'alo7n 'chicken without feathers on neck' < *ch'al-* (?)

28) 1. *-Vq* noun formative

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* 'big'

-iil N formative

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

29) 1. *-V7y* noun formative

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 thousands, 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 which may or may not ever become established or lexicalized (much like spur-of-the-moment nominal compounds in English or German; cf. Zimmer 1971).

Morphologically, there are two basically different kinds of nominal compounds: simple and phrasal. Simple compounds are composed of two or more roots or stems, which are joined or fused

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which function together as a single lexical unit, but which continue 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 (possible) historical result of the productive process of phrasal compounding. In other words, once a phrasal compound has become established as a lexical 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* 'green' *kaab'* 'sweet (edible thing such as honey, unrefined sugar, candy)'

nrexkaab' 'my honey'

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

nsmaachii7 'my beard'

Phrasal Compounds

rex kinaq' 'green beans' < *rex* 'green' *kinaq'* 'beans'

rex nkiinaaq' 'my green beans'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

smal wii7aaj 'head hair' < *smaal* 'hair' *wii7aaj* 'head'

smal nwi7 'my heard hair'

With the simple compounds above, the possessive prefix, *n-* (A1), is attached at the beginning of each compound, whereas, with the phrasal compounds 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 *l* 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* 'monkey'), 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

'a disease where the skin peels off' *-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'

P 'squeezed'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. example above and those in 5.1.2.3.). However, there

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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)' < *ramool* 'cutter' (< *ram-* RTV 'cut with an axe' *-ool* 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, it also seems to be due to the tendency to shorten vowels before anything but definite noun phrases (cf. 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 'Quiascasguan 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Head Noun + Restricting Noun

sanik ajxiik 'flying ant' < *sanik* 'ant' *ajxiik'* 'one characterized by wings'

sachol paq 'squanderer' < *sachool* 'spender' *paq* 'money'

k'olol paq 'treasurer' < *k'olool* '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'atool* '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* 'terpentine' *-a* connector *k'im* 'straw'

ajtij mooso 'teacher' < *ajtiij* 'student' *mooso* 'ladino (= non-Indian)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 + Adjective + Head Noun

sali kaqa k'aam 'a vine' < *saal* 'skin disease' *-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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes

[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 (p.c.) 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').

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. section 8.1.3. on stative predicates). These two functions are illustrated in the sentences below with the adjectives *chaq'* 'ripe' and *k'aten* '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.*
there-is 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 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 *k'ay* 'bitter' and *nimaq* 'big (plr)' do in (3a) and (4a). However, no more than one adjective may precede a head noun (cf. the discussion on noun phrases in 8.1.1.).

(3) a. *Jar iixoq ma tr̈aajo7 naq̈uun k'ay.*
the woman not like thing bitter

b. *Jar iixoq ma traajo7 k'ayi naquun.*
the woman not like bitter thing
'The woman doesn't like bitter things.'

(4) a. *Jar aachi nuuchoy chee7 nimaq.*
the man cuts tree big-plr

b. *Jar aachi nuuchoy nimaq taq chee7.*
the man cuts big-plr plr tree
'The man cuts big trees.'

6.1.1. Modifier Connectors

When monosyllabic adjectives function as modifiers and precede their head nouns, they are normally followed by a connecting suffix *-V* (i.e. *-a* ∿ *-i* ∿ *-o* ∿ *-u*). The particular connecting vowel following an adjective is lexically determined, but the most common one by far is *-a*. It should be noted that this connecting vowel is always unstressed unlike other final vowels in Tzutujil which are always

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

stressed (cf. 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 occasionally omitted. Note that when the connecting vowel is added to an adjective with a long vowel, the long vowel is shortened (e.g. *tz'iil* 'dirty' plus *-i* > *tz'ili*). In sentences (5)-(8), the adjectives *kaq* 'red', *tz'iil* 'dirty', *looq'* 'esteemed', and *teep* //teew// 'cold', all have connecting vowels.

(5) *Inin xinchoy ja kaqa chee7.*
'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 I-felt the cold very metal
'I felt the very cold metal.'

The modifier connector suffix *-V* is sometimes also used with monosyllabic nouns when they function (like adjectives) as restricting nouns (cf. 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 ya7l* 'twine bag' < *k'aam* 'twine' *-a* connector *ya7l* 'bag').

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

To a certain degree, the adverbial particle *laj* 'very' also functions as a modifier connector in that a number of adjectives virtually require *laj* to follow them when they modify and precede head nouns (cf. 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 which 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 near 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 intensifier (cf. 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*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(3) The adjective *ko7li*, also meaning 'small, little', has the plural form *ko7koj* (∿ *kookoj*). The singular form is formally a stative positional adjective (cf. 6.2.) built on the positional root *ko7* 'small, little' plus the stative positional adjective suffix *-(V)l* and the phrase final suffix *-i*; the plural form is built on the root *ko7* plus the derivational suffix *-$(V_1)C_1oj$*. Both the singular and plural forms are commonly used in conjunction with the diminutive proclitics: *ti ko7li* and *taq ko7koj*. And (4), most characterizing positional adjectives (cf. 6.2.) formed from positional roots with the suffix *-$(V_1)C_1ik$* 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.*
was-cut the big tree
'The big tree was cut (down).'

b. *Xchojyi ja nimaq chee7.*
was-cut the big-plr tree
'The big trees were cut down.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(10) a. *Ja wuluwik sanayi7 xinrpajsaaj.*
'The ovoid sand/pumice made me fall down.'

b. *Ma xa ko7 chi wuluwaq xaq pa b'eey.*
there's a lot 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 *-VVl* (N.B.: most abstract nouns are obligatorily possessed with one of the ergative possessive prefixes; citation forms are in *r-* A3); (2) an inchoative intransitive verb 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* (cf. 4.2.1.); (3) a causative transitive verb 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; cf. 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. section 8.1.3. on stative predicates, and section 3.1. on the absolutive person markers). Stative positional adjectives (cf. 6.2.) and adjectives derived with the suffix *-tal* (cf. 6.3.1.), also require the phrase final suffix *-i* (N.B.: *-i* normally only occurs on intransitive verbs in the nonperfect; cf. 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.

utz 'good'

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'

pa7li 'standing' stative positional adj with *-i*

in pa7li 'I am standing'

at pa7li 'you are standing'

pa7li 'he/she/it is standing'

oq pa7li 'we are standing'

ix pa7li 'you all are standing'

ee pa7li 'they are standing'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ojtaqitali 'famous, well known' adj in *-tal* with *-i*

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'

nim 'big' with plural form *nimaq*

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 particle *ti* (*taq* plr) plus some other stem, then the plural form of the diminutive is used in the plural persons.

ti utz 'pretty' < *ti* diminutive *utz* 'good'

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Predicate adjectives (perhaps with the exception of stative positional adjectives) very often occur with the adverbial particle *qas* '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 *qas* with predicate adjectives seems to be to unambiguously mark adjectives as predicates, as opposed to modifiers. *Qas* only occurs with predicates in Tzutujil, never with modifiers. That *qas* 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 is a fairly large number of words which 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)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 down.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(13) a. *Ja tz'ili laj tzyaq xinch'aj.*
the dirty very clothes I-washed
'I washed the very dirty clothes.'

b. *Jar iixoq anij ma tuuch'aj ja tz'iil ch palaj.*
the woman always not washes 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 serve (= are useful).'

Many words which are both adjectives and nouns have full morphological paradigms in both word classes. For example, *mooy* 'blind (one)' may be possessed like a noun: *nuumooy* 'my blind one', and it has a nominal plural form: *mooyaa7* 'blind ones'. But it also has a typical adjectival 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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(15) *Xinwaajo7 xinb'an utz chee nméesa.*
I-wanted I-did-it well to my-table
'I wanted to do it well to my table (i.e., build it well).'

(16) *Ja xkooyaa7 xto7taji xinb'an kaan*
the tomatoes were-left-over I-did remaining
chatachik chee.
in-bundles to-them
'I left the tomatoes (plants) which were left over in bundles.'

6.2. Positional Adjectives

There are two kinds of positional adjectives: (1) stative positional 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 $-V_1l$, 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 continuant. 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 $-V_1l$ (cf. the examples below). Stative positionals

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* (cf. 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* (cf. affix 10, section 5.3.1.). Thus, stative positionals are a rather unique subcategory of adjectives in that they display a number of verblike 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'

keteli 'discoid, wheel-shaped'

seteli 'circular, discoid'

jaqali 'open'

kotoli 'curved, rounded, sinuous'

ch'anali ∿ *sanali* 'naked'

kupuli 'short'

wukuli 'bent over'

sowoli 'floating'

tikili 'sloping; cultivated'

jutz'uli 'pointed'

ch'ukuli 'squatting, shitting'

b'aqali 'torpid, weak'

raqali 'torn'

rimili 'stagnant'

tzitili 'containerlike'

k'ooli 'be located; exist, there is/are; have'

(this form is irregular, cf. 5.1.2. and 8.2.4.)

siraani 'spherical'

b'oraani 'in bunches; candle-shaped'

peraani 'wide and flat'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 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 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*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'little, small'. At least sometimes, when stative positionals function as modifiers 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.*
'There's a lot of rock lined-up in (the) road.'

(22) *Xintz'at jun ko7lik jaay.*
'I saw a small house.'

As noted in section 2.3., there is a fairly large number of monosyllabic roots in Tzutujil which are basically both positional and transitive, 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 $-V_1l$ ∿ *-aan*.

k'ul- *k'uluuj* 'to meet'
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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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'. Cf.

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)')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 characteristically or permanently, and not just the particular state that an entity happens to be in for the time being (as stative positionals indicate). 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

lik'ilik (*lik'ilaq*) 'spread out (of fabric)'

setesik (*setesaq*) 'circular, discoid'

wukuwik (*wukuwaq*) 'hunchbacked, crooked (of backs)'

Characterizing positionals are commonly used as both 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 paan
'You are a fat belly.'

b. *Ch'irich'ik aapaan.*
fat your-belly
'Your belly is fat.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(25) *Xinb'ol jun d'oyd'ik tii7iij.*

I-boiled 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 derivational paradigms (cf. 6.1.2.). Rather, the positional roots from which they are derived typically have a paradigmatic set of forms derived from them (cf. 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 characterizing adjective in $-V_1C_1ik$. With only a handful of exceptions, positional roots have an inchoative intransitive verb in *-e7* which 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 $-V_1b'a7$ which 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* which 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 positional 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 adjective 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

from Spanish *'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* {*qas* / *maas*} *nim chi nwach* *inin.*

he {very / more} big in front-of-me I

'He is bigger than me.'

b. *Inin* {*qas* / *maas*} *in nim chwach* *jaa7.*

I {very / more} B1 big in-front-of-him he

'I am bigger than him.'

(28) a. *Je7ee7* {*qas* / *maas*} *ee kokoj chi qaawach* *ojoj.*

they {very / more} B3p little in front-of-us we

'They are littler than us.'

b. *Ojoj* {*qas* / *maas*} *oq kokoj chi keewach* *je7ee7.*

We {very / more} 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 (cf. section 3.1. on the function of independent

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 Bl 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 which 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(30) a. *Jaa7* {*qas* / *maas*} *ti utz.*

she {very / most} pretty

'She is the prettiest.'

b. *Je7ee7* {*qas* / *maas*} *ee taq utz.*

they {very / most} B3p pretty-plr

'They are the prettiest.'

(31) a. *Inin* {*qas* / *maas*} *in nim.*

I {very / most} B1 big

'I am the biggest.'

b. *Ojoj* {*qas* / *maas*} *oj nimaq.*

we {very / most} B1p 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 latter 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6.4. Adjective Derivation

There are about a dozen suffixes used to form adjectives. They are discussed and exemplified in 6.4.1. The information about them is presented 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.

6.4.1. Affixes Deriving Adjectives

1) 1. *-C_1oj* '-ish' adjective formative

2. *-C_1oj* ∿ *-C_1uj*: the form with *u* occurs after a root vowel *u* only.

3. Derives adjectives from monosyllabic adjective roots meaning to be sort of like 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* 'red'

q'eqq'oj 'blackish' < *q'eq* 'black'

saqsoj 'whitish, clearish' < *saq* 'white, clear'

teptoj 'coldish' < *teep* 'cold'

raxroj 'greenish' < *rax* 'green'

q'anq'oj 'yellowish' < *q'an* 'yellow'

maq'moj 'warm' < *maq'-* P 'hot'

tz'iltz'oj 'gray, dirtyish' < *tz'iil* 'dirty'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

b'aqb'oj 'skinnyish' < *b'aaq* 'bone; skinny'

k'isk'oj 'urine smelling' < *k'is-* RTV 'spend, finish'

ch'uuch'uj 'slippery' < (?) *ch'uu7* 'fish' or

ch'u7- P 'cured (of hides)'

ya7yoj 'watery' < *ya7* 'water'

paq'poj 'insipid, tasteless' < *paq'-* P 'split' RTV 'split'

6. Cf. adjective compound stem forming suffix $-V_1C_1oj$ discussed in 6.4.2.

2) 1. *-naq* intransitive participle

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 (cf. 4.1.2.1.).

3) 1. *-oon* past participle

2. *-oon* ∿ *-uun* ∿ $-V_1n$: *-uun* is used on RTVs with a 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Derives past passive participial adjectives from transitive verb stems which 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_1n* is also the regular perfect aspect marker on transitive verbs (cf. 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 a root vowel *u*; *-uyuun* 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 which is not a definite noun phrase.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Derives participles from transitive stems which indicate the one who has done what is denoted by the transitive stem. These participles always require an overt subject noun phrase which is the semantic agent of the transitive stem and which is always in contrastive focus.
4. Productive.
5. Examples:

jaa7 ch'eyoyoon 'he is the one who hit it'

< *ch'ey-* RTV 'hit'

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 sold it'

< *loq'-* RTV 'sell'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

6. Agent focus perfect participles are antipassive in nature and have peculiar person marking like intransitive focus antipassive verbs in *-ow* and *-V_1n* (cf. section 4.2.1. on verb derivation and section 9.6.2.2. on the focus antipassive voice).

5) 1. *-u7t* adjective formative

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'* adjective formative

3. Forms the one adjective below.

4. Unproductive.

5. Example:

muqub' 'cloudy' < *muq-* P 'cloudy'

7) 1. *-V_1C_2* adjective formative

2. *-V_1C_2* ∿ *-$V_1$7C_2*: the alternation is lexically determined.

3. Forms a handful of adjectives from monosyllabic roots.

4. Unproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. $-V_1C_1ik$ characterizing positional adjective

2. $-V_1C_1ik \sim -C_1ik$: forms without V_1 commonly occur after roots ending in a glottal stop, and sometimes after roots ending in continuants.

3. Forms characterizing positional adjectives from positional roots (cf. 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 $-V_1C_1ik$ have plural forms in $-V_1C_1aq$ (cf. examples in parentheses above and those in 6.2.).

9) 1. $-V_1C_1o7$ adjective formative

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

3. Forms the two adjectives given below.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

lawalo7 'dangerous; despicable' < *law-* (?)

k'ask'o7 'surprising' < *k'as-* P 'alive, awake'

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 *u* occurs after a root vowel *u*, otherwise the form with *o*; after glottal stop $-V_1$ is omitted.

3. Forms stems from monosyllabic roots which are used to form adjective compounds (cf. examples and discussion in 6.4.2.).

4. Unproductive (Semiproductive?).

5. Examples:

saqperepoj 'whitish' < *saq* '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) $-C_1oj$.

11) 1. *-VVj* adjective formative

2. *-aaj* ∿ *-iij* ∿ *-ooj* ∿ *-oj*: the alternations are lexically determined.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

3. Forms a dozen or so adjectives.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:

q'aalaaj 'visible' < *q'al-* (?)

aalaaj 'little' < *aal* 'child of woman'

chaqiij 'dry' < *chaq-* (?) [cf. form below]

chaqooj 'not well ground' < *chaq-* RTV 'grind not very well'

ch'ijch'oj 'smelling of metal or rubber' < *ch'ijch'* 'metal'

12) 1. $-V_1l$ stative positional adjective

2. $-V_1l \sim -l \sim -aan$: *-aan* occurs after roots containing an *l*, or after a root ending in *r*; otherwise $-V_1l$. $-V_1$ is usually omitted after glottal stop and sometimes after a continuant.

3. Forms stative positional adjectives from positional roots (cf. discussion and examples in 6.2.).

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

jaqali 'open' < *jaq-* P

keteli 'discoid, wheel shaped' < *ket-* P

kotz'oli 'lying' < *kotz'-* 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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*

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' [cf. *k'ajteem* 'to burn']

poqon 'painful, sore' < *poq-* (?)

14) 1. *-V_1tal* completive passive

stative adjective

2. *-V_1tal* ∿ *-tal*: *-V_1tal* occurs on RTVs and *-tal* occurs on DTJs and some RTVs.

3. Derives completive passive stative adjectives from transitive stems which indicate that a patient is already in the state of having been affected by the action denoted by the transitive stem.

4. Semiproductive.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. Examples:

jamatali 'already occupied' < *jam-* RTV 'occupy'

kuyatali '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 $-V_1tal$ require the phrase final suffix *-i* normally used on intransitive verbs in the nonperfect (cf. section 4.1.2.2.). Cf. the completive passive suffix $-V_1taj$ (affix 22 in section 4.2.1.).

6.4.2. Adjective Compounds

There are a number of phrasal compounds which function semantically as adjectives but which are formally composed of an adjective plus a possessed 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')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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: '<u>Your</u> belly is big.')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 possessed 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 possessed nouns of the compounds are the semantic topics of the sentences and therefore are fronted, as topics normally are in Tzutujil (cf. section 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 *atet* 'you' were the subject then the predicate would have to be marked with the second person singular absolutive marker *at*; similarly, in (34) if *aak'aalaa7* 'children' were subject

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

then the predicate would have to be marked with the third person plural absolutive marker *ee*.

There is another set of adjective compounds which are built on the monosyllabic color terms: *saq* 'white, clear', *q'eq* 'black', *rax* ∿ *rex* 'green', and *kaq* 'red' (but apparently not *q'an* ∿ *q'en* 'yellow'). Compounded with these color terms are bound stems formed with a monosyllabic root (usually positional or transitive) plus the suffix $-V_1C_1oj$ (cf. 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 *par excellence*), 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

+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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7. Uninflected Words:
Adverbs, Particles, and Other Minor Word Classes

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 (cf. 7.2.). Morphological analyses or etymologies are provided if they are known, when the forms are first presented in the chapter.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.[1] However, many of them are discussed and exemplified further in the chapters that follow on syntax. References to relevant discussions in subsequent chapters are made in the subsections on each of the minor word classes.

7.1.1. Conjunctions

The conjunctions which have been recorded so far are listed below. Note that a number of them are preceded by the definite article *ja(r)* (cf. 7.1.7.1.).

Conjunctions

k'iin 'and' < *-uuk'iin* RN 'with, and' cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* irrealis

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 which they conjoin to some other clause. All clauses introduced with a conjunction may occur following the clause to which they are conjoined, and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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 discussed and exemplified in section 10.1. of chapter 10 on complex sentences. One sentence example of each of the conjunctions is provided below.

(1) *Jaa7 nb'ano juun chike k'in neertzursaaj.*
'It is what makes them one and straightens them out.'

(2) *Neekeeya7 kalk'waal i neekik'ijtisiij.*
'They give (their) children and raise them.'

(3) *Inin ninb'e pro jaa7 ma traajo7 nb'e.*
'I am going but she doesn't want to go.'

(4) *Newojb'eej nixb'e oo ma kan ta?*
'Do you all want to go or not?'

(5) *Ja toq nb'ojb'ej kii7 nkuk'aj kii7 chee ka7i7.*
'When they love each other they take each other, the two of them.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(6) *Ja wi k'a k'o jun kamnaq chee ajsanjwaan neeb'i7x kan wi7*

'When there is a dead person (i.e. a death) the one (i.e. the leader) of San Juan is advised

rmaal ja rajawal kamnaq.

by the owner (i.e. relative) of the dead person.'

(7) *Ja sakraméento rxiin ja k'ulub'ik neeto7o*

'It's the sacrament of the marriage that helps them

rmaal jar uutziil rxiin Dyoos,

by the goodness of God,

ja chi utz k'a nkojb'ej kii7.

so that then they'll love each other.'

(8) *Neekiq'aateej ja ch'uu7, neeb'eekimina7 to,*

'They used to trap the fish, they used to push them in,

jani7 nkeeb'an winaq wkaamiik.

like people do now.'

(9) *Maanaan xkinb'e ma k'o ta neenb'ana7 chik.*

'Even though I'll go there's nothing I'll go do, really.'

(10) *Maaski xtib'e majun nuub'an.*

'Even though he'll go he won't do anything.'

(11) *Xa nkikee7eej ja keetz'oo7 chwa kaa7*

'They only ground their grits on a metate

piki ma k'o ta máakina b'anol ke7eem.

because there weren't any machine grinders.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(12) *Kómo jar oojeer ma k'o ta 'boláada',*

'Since before there were no 'voladas',

k'o k'a jule7 'káamra'.

there were then some 'cámaras'.'

['volada' = type of fireworks, 'cámara' = another type of fireworks]

(13) *Wi jaa7 nb'e, inin ninb'e.*

'If he goes, I go.'

(14) *Ma ya7tal ta chi kiij chi xkeeruuya7 kan ta,*

'They are not deserving of him abandoning them,

o wi xtikeetij ta rpoqonaal wa7iijaal.

nor of them experiencing pain of hunger.'

(15) *Ma k'o ta móoda xtuuch'ey ta,*

'There is no way that he should hit her,

nixta k'a xtuutz'uj ta, o xtuuyaq' ta jar iixoq.

nor even maltreat her, nor molest the woman.'

(16) *Ma k'o ta píila oojeer, che7ewi7*

'There were no basin-fountains before, because of that

k'a najt neek'amar wi7 ja ya7.

from far away water was fetched.'

(17) *Ja k'aar aachi, nb'e najt naqaaj*

'As for the man, he goes far and near (to work)

xa rmaal ari7 nojeel ja nuuch'ak ee ka7i7 chriij.

only because of that all that he earns is both of theirs.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(18) *. . . k'a ja7 k'a ja taq'ajq'iij nujrtija7*

'. . . and then in the afternoon he came to drink

jutz'iit ti q'oor.

a little bit of atol (= thick corn drink).'

(19) *. . . k'a ja7 k'aari7 xok chik*

'. . . and then another entered,

jun Presidêente Jeneraal Uwîiko,

one President General Ubico,

k'a ja7 k'aari7 xeerlasaaj ja winaq pa taq pîinka.

and then he took the people off of the plantations.'

(20) *B'antaj julee7 b'atz',*

'On finishing making some thread,

pa lîibra k'olok'aq nkeeb'an chee,

by the pound into balls they made it,

k'a jaari7 nkeeq'in k'in nkeemaj rkejmiik.

and then they warped it and began to weave it.'

(21) *Toq xwinaqir to jule7 b'atz' chîina,*

'When some Chinese thread appeared,

k'a toq k'aari7 xkeek'ax to jutz'iit.

they they changed them (huipils) a little.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7.1.2. Prepositions

There are four prepositions in Tzutujil which 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 nonpostvelar 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,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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 which indicate dative, instrumental, locative, substitutive, solitary, and topical relations (cf. section 5.2. on relational nouns). And finally, both *pa* and *ch(i)* are used as complementizers introducing embedded clauses (cf. 7.1.3.).

(22) *Qas xinchuq' tza7 rchaq jun wajkax chi chee7.*

'I really poked on the butt of a cow with a stick.'

(23) *Xuuchoy tza7n machat.*

'He cut it with a machete.'

(24) *In k'o ch(a) jaay.*

'I am at home.'

(25) *Xinb'e ch(a) jaay.*

'I went (to) home.'

(26) *Qas xuupoq chi tz'uum.*

'He really hit her with a whip.'

(27) *In k'o pa jaay.*

'I am in (the) house.'

(28) *Xinkoj pa kaxoon.*

'I put it in (the) crate.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(29) *Jar aaloq'oom xok pan awoochooch.*

'The burglar entered into your house.'

(30) *Jun iik' xineesamaj pa taq'aaj.*

'For one month I went to work on the coast.'

(31) *Iiwiir xinb'e pa Nawala7.*

'Yesterday I went to Nahualá.'

(31) *Iiwiir xinpi pa k'ayib'al.*

'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; cf. Rule 16 in 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 (cf. section 10.2.1. on relative clauses and section 3.2.). Examples of sentences with relative clauses are provided in (33)-(38).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(33) *Neeqaatzu7 ja winaq ja neesamaj*
'We are looking at the people who work
chwach ja loq'o laj uleep.
on the face of the very sacred earth.'

(34) *Xa ryon paas ja kaq k'in rexa tíinta oknaq.*
'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 hit Miguel left.'

(36) *Jar aachi ja xuuch'ey Aa Keel xb'e.*
'The man who Miguel hit left.'

(37) A prophecy:
Taa k'aari7 jar ee kab'lajuj tyooxaa7 jar ee rb'anoon,
'With respect to the twelve images that he had made,
ja neeq'a7x na pa taq q'atb'al tziij, xkeetz'aqat ari7
which will pass to the (12) presidencies, they will finish,
k'aja7 k'aari7 xtipeeti ja nchojmarsaani.
and then will come he who will straighten it all out.'

(38) *Xajrb'ij waawe7 chike juun ka7i7 winaq*
'He came here to tell something to a couple of people
pa tinaamit ja b'aar nujk'eje7 wi7.
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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'it's . . . ' or 'it's the case that . . .' (cf. section on clefting). Examples of cleft sentences occur in (39)-(42).

(39) *Jar oojoj jar ooq k'o waawe7 pa tinaamit.*
'It's us who are here in town.'

(40) *Ja jun masaat ja xinkamsaj iiwiir qas nim.*
'It's the case that a deer that I killed yesterday is very big.'

(41) *Ja pa tinaamint waawe7 San Jwaan*
'It's the case that in town here, San Juan,
k'o jun ti taa7 ja xujk'eje7e.
there is a little *Señor* who came to stay.'

(42) *Ja chi ja Ta Mari7y nb'e anij qatziij wi7.*
'It's the case that that María is going is true.'
[cf. (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 (cf. section 10.2. for a more detailed discussion of embedded clauses).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Complementizers

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 *ch(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 (cf. 7.1.3.1.). *Naq*, *naq óora*, *b'ajan*, and *b'aarkii7* are also interrogatives (cf. 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[2] are omitted under identity with the Subject of the higher clause. When the patients of transitive verbs in infinitival clauses introduced with *ch(i)* are not definite,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

then the active infinitive is used. When the patients are definite then 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.*

'He came to hit.'

b. *Xpi chi ch'eyoj winaq.*

'He came to hit people.'

c. *Xpi chi kich'ejyiik ja winaqii7.*

'He came to hit the people.'

d. *Xpi ch aach'ejyiik.*

'He came to hit you.'

(44) a. *Xinok chi wa7iim.* [*wa7iim* IV 'to eat']

'I began to eat.'

b. *Xinok chi tijoj tii7iij.* [*tijooj* RTV 'to eat']

'I {began / entered} to eat meat.'

c. *Xinok chi ti7jiik ja tii7iij.*

'I {began / entered} to eat the meat.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(45) a. *Nintajin chi wa7iim.*

'I am eating.'

b. *Nintajin chi tijoj tii7iij.*

'I am eating meat.'

c. *Nintajin chi ti7jiik ja tii7iij.*

'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.*

'Juan said that María didn't want it.'

(47) *Nwaajo7 chi jaa7 nb'e.*

'I want him to go.' (literally: 'I want that he go.')

(48) *Ja Ta Mari7y nuuch'ob' chi jar Aa Xwaan xb'e.*

'María believes that Juan left.'

(49) *Anij qatziij wi7 chi ja Ta Mari7y nb'e.*

'It's true that María is going = That María is going is true.' cf. (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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which may never be definite.

(50) *Xinb'e pa wa7iim.*

'I came (in order) to eat.'

(51) *Ja Tan Cho7r b'enaq pa k'ayiineem.*

'Melchora has gone to sell.'

(52) *Xpi pa k'ayin ixiim.*

'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.*

'For you to sin is not good.'

b. *Itzeel ari7 ja natmajkuuni.*

'For you to sin, that's ugly.'

(54) a. *Utz ja npit Aa Xwaan.*

'For Juan to come is good.'

b. *Utz ari7 ja npit Aa Xwaan.*

'For Juan to come, that's good.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.*
'They do what(ever) they want.'

(56) *Nkikaanooj naq nkeeb'an.*
'They're looking for what(ever) they'll do.'

(57) *Xtinb'ij na chaawe b'ajan nu7uuli.*
'I'll tell you when they're coming.'

(58) *Najiini nqaach'ob' naq óora rajwaxiik noqb'e wi7 chwaaq.*
'We are thinking about what time we need to go tomorrow.'

(59) *Nkikaanooj b'aar neeb'e wi7 chi ch'ojkiik.*
'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 (cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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?*

'Who are you?' (literally: 'what is your face/character?')

b. *Naq rwach?*

'What/who is it?' (literally: 'what is its/his/her face/character?')

(61) *Naq xeeli?*

'Who/what left?'

(62) *Naq xaatz'at?*

'What/who did you see?'

(63) *Naq xattz'atowi?*

'Who saw you?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 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?*

'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?*

'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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 it 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)?'

(cf. section 7.1.6. on the demonstrative/locative particles)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Choq is always used in conjunction with a relational noun (cf. 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 *naq* may optionally be used along with *choq xiin*: *naq choq xiin* ∿ *naq choj xiin* 'for whom, of whom, whose'. Note also that when datives, instruments, and comitatives are questioned the fronting enclitic particle *wi7* is required after the predicate (cf. section 7.1.7.2.).

(67) a. *Choq chee xaaya7 wi7?*
'To whom did you give it?'

b. *Choq chee xaachoy wi7?*
'With what did you cut it?'

(68) a. *Choq k'iin xaab'an wi7?*
'With whom did you do it?'

b. *Choq kuuk'iin xaab'an wi7?*
'With who all did you do it?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(69) a. *Choq xiin ja jaay?*

'Whose house is it?' or 'For whom is the house?'

b. *Choq xiin xaab'an?*

'For whom did you do it?'

Examples of *b'ajan* and *b'aarkii7* are given in (70) and (71). Note that questioned locatives also require that the fronting enclitic particle *wi7* occur after the predicate.

(70) *B'ajan natb'e?*

'When do you go?'

(71) a. *B'aarkii7 natpi wi7?*

'Where do you come from?'

b. *B'aarkii7 at k'o wi7?*

'Where are you?'

c. *B'aarkii7 natb'e wi7?*

'Where are you going?'

When *jaru7* is used to question the number of humans or animals, then it must be preceded by the third person plural absolutive proclitic *ee*. *Ee* is not used with inanimates.

(72) *Jaru7 aab'aj?*

'How many rocks are there?' or 'How much rock is there?'

(73) *Ee jaru7 achi7aa7?*

'How many men are there?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(74) *Jaru7 rajil?*

'How much is it?' (literally: 'how much is its price?')

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?*

'How did you do it?'

The particle *la* is used to mark questions requesting a 'yes' or 'no' response.

(76) *La natwari?*

'Are you going to sleep?'

(77) *La xe7aach'ey Aa Pala7s k'in Aa Teeko?*

'Did you hit Francisco and Diego?'

(78) *La utz aawach?*

'How are you?' (literally: 'Is you face/character good?')

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(79) *B'aar la qas neepi wi7?*

'I wonder where they come from?'

(80) *Ma xkinrkamsaj la?*

'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 which are not built on *ma* are based on *ni* which probably has been borrowed from Spanish *ni* 'neither, not even'. (Cf. 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* irrealis.]

majalaal 'never' < *jalaal* 'little bit'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* irrealis

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* irrealis

ma kan ta 'no' < *kaan* 'staying, remaining' *ta* irrealis

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-*;

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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. (Cf. sections 4.1.2. and 4.1.3. on verb inflections.)

Positive		Negative
utz	stative	*ma uta 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Positive		Negative
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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Some example sentences of negatives are provided below.

(81) *Ma tinb'an ja chenooj.*

'I don't do (the) fieldwork.'

(82) *Je7ee7 majalaal xeewa7i.*

'They never ate.'

(83) *Ja winaq maja7n keeb'e.*

'The people still haven't gone.'

(84) *Nixta nkaajo7 ta neepeeti.*

'They don't even want to come.'

(85) *Nixta k'a xqoob'e ta.*

'We won't go either.'

(86) a. *Majuun xintz'at.*

'I didn't see anything/I saw nothing.'

b. *Majuun nuuk'aay.*

'I don't have any sales.'

(literally: 'my sales don't exist')

(87) a. *Ma k'o ta jaay.*

'There aren't any houses.'

b. *Ma k'o ta woochooch.*

'I don't have a house.'

(literally: 'my house doesn't exist')

c. *Ma k'o ta xpeeti.*

'No one came.'

(88) *'Ma kan ta', xinchi chee jar iixoq.*

'"No", I said to the woman.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(89) *'Ma kan ta wi7', ne7e ja q'apooj chwe.*

'"Never", said the girl to me.'

(90) *Mani7, ma xinsamaj ta.*

'No, I didn't work.'

The affirmative particle is *jee7* '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 warrants further study. Nevertheless, there are a number of generalizations which can be made. The system is based on three important particles which have both demonstrative and locative functions, and which, 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)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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?*
'Whose is this house here/there?'

(92) *Iiwiir xink'ayij ala7 tz'i7.*
'Yesterday I sold that dog.'

(93) *Toq nb'antaji le7 nkeemaj b'anoj b'atz'.*
'When that is done they begin to make thread.'

(94) *Naq ari7 nooq'i?*
'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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 I am.'

(96) *Naq nok waawa7?*
'What is this used for?'

Combined with the topic shifting and contrasting particle *k'aa(r)* (cf. section 7.1.7.3.), the dem/loc particles form the following contrastive/emphatic demonstratives:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

+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'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 which may also be used as adjectival demonstratives (cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is the field I bought.'

(99) *Jaa ri7 ja jaay k'ajtinaq chik.*
'That is the house that had already burned down.'

(100) *Ja jaay ri7 xk'ajti.*
'That house burned down.'

(101) *Xintz'et chi jaa lale7 aachi kamsaani ja ak'.*
'I saw that that man was the one who killed the chicken.'

(102) *Je7ee7 wari7 juut ma xa ko7 neeti7ooni.*
'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:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.*

'It's not that.'

(104) *Je7ee7 k'aala7 achi7aa7 xeech'eyo wxiin.*

'Those men were the ones who hit me.'

(105) *Ja7ee7 k'aawa7 chikop ma xa ko7 neeti7ooni.*

'These animals 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:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

+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 yonder it is.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is my house.'

(108) *Kaari7 nb'ajn chee.*

'Thusly, it was done to him.'

When combined with the manner adverbial particle *kee7* '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 like that he did it to it, like I told him to.'

The contrastive demonstratives mentioned above are combined with *kee7* 'thus(ly), so' to form contrastive demonstrative manner adverbs:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ke7 k'aawa7 'like this'

ke7 k'aala7 'like that (pointing; emphatic)'

ke7 k'aari7 'like that (yonder; in mind)'

(110) *Ke7 k'aawa7 xuub'an chaqe ojoj.*

'Like this he did it to us.'

The dem/loc particles combine with *kee7* 'thus(ly), so', along with *na* necessitative, *ta* irrealis, and *ma* 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.*

'It must be like that what 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.*

'That my chair were like this.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 is done not like that = That isn't done like that.'

The irrealis particle *ta* and the contrastive demonstrative *+k'aari7* 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 they made. . . .'

The dem/loc particles *le7* and *ri7* combine with *juun* 'one' to form:

juun le7 'another one there'

juun ri7 'another one here'

(115) *Jaa wa7 jaay kaari7 jani7 juun le7.*

'This house is so like the other one there.'

Xer 'only' and *juun* 'one' combine with the dem/loc particles forming:

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 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 lâapis.*

'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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.*
'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 is at home.'

(120) *Jar Aa Teeko xya7o chwe.*
'(The) Diego was the one who gave it to me.'

(2) The definite article is often used with nonthird person pronouns when they are topics or Subjects; e.g.

(121) *Jar oojoj oq k'o waawe7.*
'(The) we are here.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 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 (identifiable but not yet mentioned) *Señor* brought a box of (my) 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.*
'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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

comitatives, occur after the predicate (either verbal or stative; cf. 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 is my machete?'

b. *Chri7 k'o wi7 jar amaachaat.*

'There is your machete.'

c. *Ja nmaachaat k'o chri7.* ∿ *K'o chri7 ja nmaachaat.*

'My machete is there.'

(126) a. *Choj chee xaab'an wi7?*

'With what did you do it?'

b. *Inin* {*chee* / *tza7n*} *xteerex xinb'an wi7.*

'I, with scissors, did it.'

c. *Inin xinb'an* {*chee* / *tza7n*} *xteerex.*

'I did it with scissors.'

(127) a. *Choj chee xaaya7 wi7?*

'To whom did you give it?'

b. *Chaawe xinya7 wi7.*

'To you I gave it.'

c. *Xinya7 chaawe.*

'I gave it to you.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(128) a. *Choj k'iin xaab'an wi7?*

'With whom did you do it?'

b. *Awk'iin atet xinb'an wi7.*

'With you I did it.'

c. *Xinb'an awk'iin.*

'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 lêeche pa taq rsaqariik.*

'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 chee ja k'ulub'ik.*

'The man and the woman <u>have</u> the right to marry.'

b. *Piki jar iixoq xa ryon b'atz'in b'atz' wi7 nuub'an.*

'Because the woman made only <u>handmade</u> <u>thread</u>.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

7.1.7.3. Contrasting and Topic Shifting Particles

The two particles *k'aa(r)* and *k'ii(r)* 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, *k'aa(r)* and *k'ii(r)* 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 *k'aa(r)* and *k'ii(r)* always seem to be ones which are definite or identifiable but not necessarily given information (i.e. in mind; cf. Chafe 1976). The best translations for both of the particles are usually 'with respect to . . .' or 'as for . . .'. *K'ii(r)* is always used following the definite article *ja* and before the noun or personal pronoun denoting the contrastive new topic. *K'aa(r)* is also used following *ja* 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 (cf. examples in 7.1.6.). The variants of *k'aa(r)* and *k'ii(r)* with *r* occur before vowel initial forms of more than one syllable; the variants without *r* occur before consonants and vowel initial monosyllabic forms. Sometimes *k'ii(r)* ends in a glottal stop in preconsonantal position (i.e. *k'ii7*). Some sentence examples follow.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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.

'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.

'As for handmade 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.

'As for their husbands, they go to the mountains to their work.'

Ja k'aar iixoqii7 neeqa7j kan chik chi b'anoj b'atz'.

'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.*

'He hit him again.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(135) *Ja kaamiik, xa nlojq' chik ja b'atz'.*

'Now, the thread is already just bought.'

(i.e. instead of being handmade)

(136) *Jun aachi chik xb'e.* ∿ *Jun chik aachi xb'e.*

'Another man left.'

(137) *Xa ryon kaq k'in jule7 rexk'el k'in jule7 chik tíinta.*

'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.*

'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.*

'"Diego left", she said.'

(140) *'Ja múundo k'olok'ik', cha7.*

'"The world is round", they say.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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, doggie' < *tz'i7* 'dog'

taq tz'i7 'puppies, doggies'

ti utz 'pretty' < *utz* 'good'

taq utz plr

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

ti ko7li 'little, small' < *ko7li* 'little, small'

taq ko7koj plr < *ko7koj* plr of *ko7li*

tino7y 'little, small' < *-no7y* (?)

taqno7y plr

Sentence examples are provided in (141)-(143).

(141) *K'o jun ti nuutz'ii7 qas ti utz.*

'I have a puppy that is very pretty.'

(142) *Ja nuumiix xkamsaj jun ti ch'ooy.*

'My cat killed a mouse.'

(143) *Ja taq nuumiix xeekami qas ee taq utz.*

'My kitties that died were very pretty.'

The plural diminutive particle *taq* 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 which do not have any formal plural inflection (cf. sections 5.1.1. and 6.1.2.). It may also redundantly mark plurality on nouns and adjectives which do have plural inflections. Compare the examples that follow:

(144) a. *Ee nimaq taq achi7aa7.*

B3p big-plr plr men

'The men are big.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 towards 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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.'

b. *Ninb'e na.* 'I have to go.'

c. *Nb'e nii jaa7.* 'He has to go.'

(147) *At utz na.* 'You must have been good.'

+ta irrealis, counter-to-fact, subjunctive

Usually used as a predicate enclitic (especially with negatives; cf. examples in 7.1.5.), but also as an unattached sentential particle.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(148) *At utz ta na.* 'You must be good.'

(149) *Wi taxa k'o npaq ninb'e ta.*
'If I had money I would go.'

(150) *Majun ojer winaq ja chaqe ta xtitz'ub'e7e.*
'There was no old 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.'

+eeq 'surprisingly' counter-to-expectations predicate enclitic

(152) *Xuuch'ey eeq.* 'He hit him, surprisingly.'

+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.*
'It would have been nice if they had married.'

+k'a 'well, then'

(154) *Jo7 k'a!* 'Let's go then!' or 'Well let's go!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

laj+ 'was/were going to (but didn't)' verbal proclitic

(155) *Ja wati7t laj xkami rmal chooy xa7aab'.*
'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* irrealis *xa* 'only'

makita ∿ *mikita* 'better that it not/wouldn't be so'
< *ma* neg *ki* (?) *ta* irrealis

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.'

(157) *Xb'e taqaan ja nk'aajool?*

'(I) wonder why my son left.'

(158) *Cheqe mayaj xinpit awk'iin.*

'Per chance I came upon (with) 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Directional Enclitic Particles

+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' cf. *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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(159) *Xinujwa7 eel.* 'I came to eat and left.'

(160) *Xinka7y ook.* 'I looked in.'

(161) *Ta Mari7y ma xril pi ta way.*

'María didn't get tortillas (to bring) back.'

(162) *Xinch'ey pina.*

'I hit him (and he's) still coming back.'

(163) *Xeerila7 to way.*

'She went to get tortillas (and brought them) back.'

(164) *Xineewar qaaj.*

'I went down to sleep.'

(165) *Ja toq nwari ja nata7 nuujol qana rtzyaq.*

'When my father sleeps he has to take off his clothes.'

(166) *Inin nineeb'ixan poon chwaaq.*

'I am going to arrive there to sing tomorrow.'

(167) *Nk'ol pona ja jal chwach jab'.*

'I ought to put away the corn ears in the rain.'

(168) *Xinya7 kaan.*

'I left it.' (literally: 'I put it (and it) stayed.')

(169) *Jaa7 xuuch'ey kana keej.*

'He hit the horse (and it's) still there.'

(170) *Ja nb'aaluuk xeewa7 q'anajoj ruuk'iin nata7.*

'My brother-in-law went up to eat with my father.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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
[cf. 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' *ko7li* 'little' *ta* irrealis
na necessitative

+laj 'very, really' modifying adjective intensive enclitic
[cf. 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

A few sentence examples are provided in (171)-(174)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(171) *Mariil xinkoch' xinb'ijni.*

'I barely could stand to walk.'

(172) *Ja nuuchaaq' ma xa ko7 nwa7i.*

'My little brother eats a lot.'

(173) *Sib'alaj najt.*

'It's too far.'

(174) *Xkeek'ax to jutz'iit.*

'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* irrealis

choqojaa7 ∿ *chaqajaa7* 'also, too, besides' clause initial or clause final

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(175) a. *Xa xinb'e.*

'I only/just left (and did nothing else).'

b. *Xa inin xinb'e.*

'Only I left (and nobody else left).'

c. *Ta xa at utz nạ.*

'That you would only be good.'

(176) *Cheqe xinch'ey.*

'I only/just hit him (and did nothing more).'

(177) *Nanxa ma k'o chi ta toq xoqopon ojoj.*

'He wasn't even already there when we arrived.'

(178) *Nixta xtikojb'ej ta xkeewa7i.*

'They won't even want to eat.'

(179) a. *Ja b'eyoomaa7 neekami choqojaa7.*

'The rich die too.'

b. *Choqojaa7 atet natb'e.*

'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; cf. 7.1.7.2. and 9.3.). Locative adverbial phrases are productively formed either (1) with the prepositions (cf. 7.2.): *pa(n)* 'in, into, on, to, from', *ch(i)* 'at, to', or *tza7* 'on, at, to'; or (2) with the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

prepositional relational nouns (cf. 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)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* irrealis

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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(180) *Jar Aa Te7k b'enaq ajsik chi q'oloj kape.*

'Diego has gone up to pick coffee.'

(181) *Ja rtinaamit wxaayiil k'a najt k'o wi7.*

'My wife's town is far away.'

(182) *Najt naqaaj neeb'e wi7.*

'Far and near they go.'

(183) *Ja woochooch pa relab'al xokomeel k'o wi7 chee tinaamit.*

'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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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* necessitative

moloo7 ∿ *maloo7* 'late'

anij (. . . *wi7*) 'always'

ke7 waala7 'always; like that' < *kee7* 'thusly' *waala7* 'that'

anij ke7 waala7 'forever'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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' cf. 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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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' [cf. other ordinal numbers which may also be used as adverbs; section 5.2.2.]

The following time adverbs are based on the (formally) enumeratives, *+muul*, *+tiij*, and *+meej*, all meaning 'time(s)'.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 aaq'a7.*
'They stop working at 9 o'clock or 10 o'clock of the night.'

(185) a. *Xeeb'e myeer.*
'They left a little while ago.'

b. *Myeer xeeb'e.*
'A little while ago they left.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(186) a. *Kaamiik ninb'e pa saamaaj.*

'Today I go to work.'

∿ *Ninb'e pa saamaaj kaamiik.*

'I go to work today.'

b. *Chwaaq ninb'e pa saamaaj.*

'Tomorrow I go to work.'

∿ *Ninb'e pa saamaaj chwaaq.*

'I go to work tomorrow.'

c. *Iiwiir xinb'e pa saamaaj.*

'Yesterday I went to work.'

∿ *Xinb'e pa saamaaj iiwiir.*

'I went to work yesterday.'

(187) *Ja nata7 ooxiij nb'e K'oqol Keej.*

'My father, in three days, is going to Masatenango.'

(188) *Juunaa7 juunaa7 ninb'e pa q'aloj chiij.*

'Annually, I go to pick cotton.'

(189) *Waaqii7 muul xinchapari.*

'Six times I was scolded.'

(190) *K'a xinb'e k'a toq k'aari7 xeeb'e.*

'Until I left, then they left.'

(i.e. 'They didn't leave until I left.')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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' [cf. 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, character'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 *ajniin-* cf. above

k'am ajniim 'running' < *k'am* (?) cf. *k'am-* RTV 'take'

ajniin- cf. 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' [cf. section 5.2.2. on numerals]

pa ka7ka7 '2 by 2, in twos'

pa ox7ox '3 by 3, in threes'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.*

'Like this it's done?' -- (Yes) thusly.'

(192) *Xoqwa7i juunaan.*

'We ate together.'

(193) *Xuub'an chi utz.*

'He did it well.'

(194) *Ejqaal chik nwiniqir chik jutiij ja tinaamit.*

'Quite slowly the town will appear once again.'

(195) *K'am ajniim xinb'e.*

'I left running.'

(196) *Chilajtaqil tatija7 ja mansa7n!*

'Little by little eat the apple!' (i.e. not all at once)

(197) *Pa jojtaq xkeemol kii7 ja winaq.*

'In (groups of) fives the people met each other.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes

[1]Interlinear, morpheme-by-morpheme or word-for-word translations are not provided for the sentences in this chapter. The translations are, however, as literal as possible.

[2]'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; cf. footnote 4, Chapter 8).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (NPs)

Noun phrases 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Full Noun Phrase Constituents

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 (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 *chik* '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.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which may occur in an NP that are not strictly immediate constituents of the NP itself, for example: (1) the adverb *laj* 'very' used with modifying adjectives preceding head nouns, and the modifier connector suffix *-V* used on monosyllabic modifying adjectives and restricting nouns that precede head nouns (cf. 6.1.1.); (2) the third person plural absolutive proclitic *ee* which frequently accompanies numbers above one in an NP; (3) quantifying adverbial particles such as *xa* 'only, just' (7.2.4.) and modal particles such as *ta* irrealis; and (4) the contrastive/topic-shifting particles *k'ii(r)* and *k'aa(r)* (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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(1) *Jaa7 xuumaj ch'eyoj ak'aal.*

'She began to hit boy(s).'

(2) *Nwaajo7 ya7.*

'I want water.'

(3) *Jar ijqa7n xuuya7 rexkeej chwe.*

the burden gave cramp to-me

'The burden gave me cramps.'

(4) *In k'o pa jaay.*

'I am in (the) house.'

(5) *Jar aak'aalaa7 xkeek'aq aab'aj pa rwi7 ja jaay.*

'The boys threw rock(s) on top of the house.'

(6) *Jar ajq'iij xwajch' ma ch'ijch'.*

'The diviner was run over by (a) car.'

(7) *Xuuchoy chee7 tza7n ikaj.*

'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 always require one of the four proper name proclitic elements: *Aa* 'youth', *Ta(n)* 'Miss', *Taa7* 'Sir, Mr.', or *Naan* 'Lady, Ms., Mrs.' (cf. 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.'

(9) *(Ja) Ta Xwaana xb'e Sanpáawlo.*

'(The Miss) Juana went to San Pablo.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

There are also NPs which 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 will come he who will straighten it out.'

(11) a. *Nwaajo7 jun kaq.*
'I want a red (one).'

b. *Nwaajo7 ja kaq.*
'I want the red (one).'

c. *Nwaajo7 ala7 kaq.*
'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 cooccurrence restrictions among them. The co-occurrence restrictions 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 (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 nonthird person, then normally it is indicated only with an ergative prefix on the head noun; and independent nonthird 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 cooccurrence 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. indefinite; cf. 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 (cf. sentences (12), (14), (16) below and sentence (123) in Chapter 7).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'; cf. sentence (17) below). And there are no restrictions on the number of modifying adjectives, restricting nouns, prepositional and relational noun phrases, and relative clauses, that may be concatenated after head nouns (cf. sentences (15), (18), (19), and (24) below).

Some examples of NPs in sentences follow. The NPs discussed are enclosed 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 identified) 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 aachi7aa7] xeeb'e iiwiir.*
the B3p three fat very plr men went yesterday
'The three very fat men left yesterday.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 plural particle *taq*, and the plural head noun *aachi7aa7*.

(14) *[Jar aak'aalaa7] xkeemol [ruuxaaq*
the boys 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]!*
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*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(16) *[Ja jule7 wajkax ajkare7tii7] nimaq [kajilaal].*
the some cow ones-of-cart big-plr their-price(s)
'Prices of cart oxen are great = Cart oxen cost a lot.'

In (16), the full NP which 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]]]].*
I-found a its-strap his-show 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*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 *k'iij*, the possessor of which is the relativized head *qaakuuch*.

(19) *[Jar aachi] nuuchoy [ja nimaq taq chee7*
the man cuts the big-plr plr tree
ja ma kop ta]
that not hard irrealis
'The man cuts the big trees which are not hard.'

In (19), the first NP contains the definite article *jar* and the head noun *aachi*. The second NP contains the definite article *ja*, the plural adjective *nimaq*, the plural particle *taq*, the head noun *chee7* followed by the relative clause *ja ma kop ta*.

(20) *K'o [jun wajkax xuutij [wawan]]*.
exist a cow ate my-cornplants
'There's a cow that ate my cornplants.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In (20), the largest NP consists of the indefinite article *jun*, the head noun *wajkax* followed by the relative clause (without the relativizer) *xuutij wawan*. The relative clause contains the possessed noun *w-awan*.

(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 *ja* and the head noun *lumbriis* followed by the prepositional-relational noun phrase *chaapaan atet* which contains the possessed relational noun *aa-paan* followed by its possessor, the independent pronoun *atet*.

(22) *[Ja k'ama ya7l 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 *ja*, the restricting noun *k'aam* with a modifier connector suffix *-a*, the head noun *ya7l* followed by the relative clause *ja xinloq'*.

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 *ja(r)* is apparently always optional (cf. section 10.2.1. on relative clauses). For example, the adjectives in (23a) and the restricting noun in

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 are inside-of-you
'the worms that are inside of you'

If the relativizer is omitted perhaps it is also possible to omit the plural absolutive marker *ee* as well as the locative predicate *k'o* (cf. 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 (cf. 5.2.3.) or a measure word (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 adjective 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; cf. sentences (33) and (34) below). Example sentences with compound NPs are given in (27)-(34). Sentences (27) and (28) contain compound 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'aaso.*
I-bought one dozen my-glass
'I bought a dozen of glasses.'

(28) *Nwaajo7 kaji7 líibra nkiinaaq'.*
I-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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(30) *Jub'otaaj ja wuuj xinloq'.*
one-roll the paper I-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'.*
I-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 one-line people in country
'I saw a line of people in the country.'

(34) *Iiwiir xeenwijl jupuq saqa kaab'.*
yesterday B3p-Al-encountered one-swarm white bee(s)
'Yesterday I encountered a swarm of white bees
(= stingless bees).'

Pronominal NPs are composed of either an independent personal pronoun (cf. 3.1.), a demonstrative pronoun (cf. 3.5., 7.1.6.), or an indefinite pronoun (cf. 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 nonthird 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(35) *(Jar) ojoj oq k'o waawe7.*
the we B1p are here
'We are here.'

(36) *(Jar) atet xatkamsaani ja ak'.*
the you B2-killed-focus 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 I-bought
'This is the field I bought.'

(40) *Xink'aq juun choqojaa7.*
I-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 (cf. 5.2.1., 7.1.3., 8.2.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.*
'I put the paper in my bag.'

(42) *Ee k'o chi koochooch.*
'They are at their house.'

(43) *Xkeechoy sii7 tza7n ikaj pa taq juyu7.*
they-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.) which 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 nonthird 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*). Nonthird person independent pronouns are used with an RN normally only to indicate contrast or

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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; cf. 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 made tortillas with me.'

(46) *Xinch'eytaj inin awmaal atet.*
I-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 went to eat
'They all went to eat.'

b. *Konojeel je7ee7 xeeb'e pa wa7iim.*
all-of-them they 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 prepositions, *pa(n)* 'in, into, on, to, from' or *ch(i)* 'at, to, with (instr.)', plus a following RN (cf. 5.2.1.) which is then followed by a noun phrase that functions as the 'object' of the prepositional-

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 nonthird 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* 'instead of me' < *inin* 'I'). Object NPs of prepositional-relational noun phrases may be fronted under certain conditions (e.g. *inin* is fronted in (48); cf. section 9.3. on fronting). Some examples of prepositional-relational noun phrases are provided below (also see the examples in 5.2.1.).

(48) *Inin k'o chi npaan.*
I is at my-insides
'It's inside of me.'

(49) *Inin xinya7 ja kotoon chaawe rxin awaanaa7.*
I 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.*
I-sat on her-side the girl
'I sat beside the girl.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(51) *Ja tzyaq k'o pa rwi7 (jaay).*

the clothes are 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.

Constituents of Verb Phrases

1. Prepredicate adverb (7.2.).
2. Negative particle (7.1.5., 9.1.).
3. VERB (4., 8.2.2., 8.2.3.) with inflections (4.1.).
4. Directional enclitic particle (7.2.2.).
5. *Chik* 'again, already' (7.1.7.4.).
6. Modal enclitic particle (7.2.1.).
7. Fronting particle *wi7* (7.1.7.2., 9.4.).

Constituents of Stative Predicate Phrases

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

5. *Chik* 'again, already' (7.1.7.4.).

6. Modal enclitic particle (7.2.1.).

7. Fronting particle *wi7* (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. *at utz* 'you are good' < *at* B2, *utz* 'good'; *in winaq* 'I am a person' < *in* B1, *winaq* 'person, people'; cf. 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 *-V* or by *laj* 'very' (cf. 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. *oq achi7aa7* 'we are men' < *oq* B1p, *achi7aa7* 'men' plr of *aachi* 'man'; *ee nimaq* 'they are big' < *ee* B3p, *nimaq* 'big' plr of *nim* '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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 I-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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

enclitics (e.g. *ta* irrealis, *na* necessitative, *eeq* counter-to-expectations, etc.), and/or 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; cf. 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 (cf. 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 (cf. 4.1.1.); and (3) optionally for direction with the 'coming' and 'going' prefixes (cf. 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 example sentences given a preceding number in parentheses 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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.*
B3p-come-descend again necessitative
'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*
Miss María not B3-A3-get come irreal her-tortilla
Ta Leen.
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 irrealis
'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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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; and 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 nonthird person (i.e. first or second person). That is, if the direct arguments are nonthird person, then overt noun phrases (i.e. nonthird person independent pronouns) outside of the predicate phrase are not required and are unnecessary, since they are unambiguously indicated in the predicate phrase. In fact, nonthird person independent pronouns are normally used only emphatically or contrastively. And further, in transitive sentences with two nonthird person direct arguments, it is stylistically bad, if not ungrammatical, to have more than one independent pronoun. In the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

(62) a. *In aachi.* 'I am a man.'
Bl man

b. *Inin in aachi.* 'I am a man.'
I Bl man

(63) a. *Xinejtz'aani.* 'I played.'
Bl-played

b. *Inin xinejtz'aani.* 'I played.'
I Bl-played

(64) a. *Xatnuutz'at.* 'I saw you.'
B2-Al-saw

b. *Inin xatnuutz'at.* 'I saw you.'
I B2-Al-saw

c. *Xatnuutz'at atet.* 'I saw you.'
B2-Al-saw you

d. *Jar aatet xatnuutz'at.* 'You, I saw.'
the you B2-Al-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 infinitely ambiguous. On the other hand, if the referents of third person direct arguments are given

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

information, then overt noun phrases need not appear and they are often omitted, referencing of the direct arguments being left to person marking within the predicate. For example, in (65a)-(67a) overt noun phrases occur because they are new information; in (65b)-(67b) they are omitted because they are given information. (N.B.: absolutive third person singular is null; cf. 3.1.)

(65) a. *Aa Xwaan ma nuuchaaq' ta.*
youth Juan not my-little-brother irrealis
'Juan is not my little brother.'

b. *Ma nuuchaaq' ta.*
not my-little-brother irrealis
'He isn't my little brother.'

(66) a. *Xwar nuuchaaq'.*
B3-slept my-little-brother
'My little brother slept.'

b. *Xwari.*
B3-slept
'He slept.'

(67) a. *Xkeetij ntzyaq ch'ooyaa7.*
B3-A3p-ate my-clothes rats
'Rats ate my clothes.'

b. *Xkeetij.*
B3-A3p-ate
'They ate it.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 unmarked 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 nonthird 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 nonthird 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 crucial for interpretation of the sentence. In Tzutujil, distinguishing the semantic-syntactic relations of third person agents and patients is accomplished 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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 which 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 (cf. 7.1.2.), and relational nouns or prepositional-relational nouns (cf. 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; cf. 9.6.1.), patient (in antipassives; cf. 9.6.2.), as well as others (cf. section 7.1.2. for the semantic-syntactic roles indicated by

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. sentence (70) below).

(68) *Ee k'o winaq waawe7.*
B3p be people here
'There are (some) people here.'

(69) *Xpi jun aachi Xelaju7.*
came a man from Quetzaltenango
'A man came from Quetzaltenango.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(70) *Ajnawala7 ja wxaayiil.*
one-of-Nahualá the my-wife
'My wife is from Nahualá.'

(71) *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, nonthird person independent pronouns do occasionally follow the predicate even though they are emphatic.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(72) *Je7ee7 wa7 ch'uu7 qas ee utz.*

these fish very B3p good

'These fish are very good.'

(73) *Ja nuuchaaq' xajnamaji ja toq laj xch'ejyi.*

the my-little-brother fled when going to B3-was-hit

'My little brother fled when he was going to be beaten.'

(74) *Jar Aa Max wa7naq chik.*

the youth Tomás has-eaten already

'Tomás has already eaten.'

(75) *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 (cf. Chafe 1976). The possible word orders are listed below and then discussed and exemplified individually.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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)* (cf. the ungrammatical sentences in (76b) and (77b)). However, the patient may be 'understood' as definite when no article

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

occurs with it (as in (76a)). The agent is usually either definite (as in (77a) and (79)), or unmarked for definiteness (as in (76a) and (78)). The patient and the agent cannot both be overtly marked as indefinite (i.e. as new information) with the indefinite article *jun* (cf. ungrammatical (77c)). If the patient is not third person, then normally no overt patient noun phrase appears in the sentence, the nonthird person patient being marked only on the verb with an absolutive person marker (as in (80) and (81)); 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 (82) and (83), taken from texts, are the only recorded instances where overt third person patient noun phrases have been omitted from VPA (> VA) sentences. In both (82) and (83), what is actually omitted is a whole series of events discussed previously in the texts.

(76) a. *Xkeetij tzyaq ch'ooyaa7.*
B3-A3p-ate clothes rats
'Rats ate (the) clothes.'

b. **Xkeetij ja tzyaq (ja) ch'ooyaa7.*

(77) a. *Xuuch'ey jun ixoq jar aachi.*
B3-A3-hit a woman the man
'The man hit a woman.'

b. **Xuuch'ey jar iixoq* $\begin{Bmatrix} jar \\ jun \end{Bmatrix}$ *aachi.*

c. **Xuuch'ey jun ixoq jun aachi.*

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(78) *Xuuloq' ka7i7 líibra chuum nuutee7 iiwiir.*
B3-A3-bought two pound lime my-mother yesterday
'My mother bought two pounds of lime yesterday.'

(79) *Nraajo7 awôono ja nkape.*
B3-A3-needs fertilizer the my-coffee
'My coffee needs fertilizer.'

(80) *Xinruuti7 jun ajqaaq xe7 weey.*
B1-A3-bit a black-wasp under my-teeth (= on cheek)
'A black-wasp bit me on the cheek.'

(81) *At rayab'een ja nata7 kaamiik.*
B2 A3-has-waited-for the my-father today.
'My father has been waiting for you today.'

(82) *Chi utz kib'anoon ja winaq.*
well B3-B3p-have-done the people
'The people have done it well.'

(83) *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 discourse. 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. (84b)-(87b)). That is, after the agent topic has been introduced any transitive sentence

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 nonthird person absolutive marker on the verb. Thus, AVP sentences without overt (nonthird person) patient noun phrases result in the attenuated order AV (i.e. IIb. above; e.g. (88a) and (89a)), or in simply V if the topic agent noun phrase is also omitted (e.g. (88b) and (89b)).[7] The only restriction on AVP order is that the agent may not be indefinite if the patient is definite (cf. ungrammatical (85c)).[8]

(84) a. *Jar iixoq xuub'an way.*
the woman B3-A3-made tortilla
'The woman made tortillas.'

b. *Xuub'an way.*
'She made tortillas.'

(85) 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(86) 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.'

(87) a. *Jar Aa Teeko xb'ach'u7yirsaaj ja wuuj*

the youth Diego B3-A3-wrinkled-up the paper

pa ruuq'a7.

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.'

(88) 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.'

(89) 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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. (90)-(92)). For example, in (90), 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 (93) 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 (93) 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 (93) were interpreted as AVP order.

(90) *Ja tzyaq xkeetij ja ch'ooyaa7.*
the clothes B3-A3-ate the rats
'The clothes, the rats ate = The clothes were what the rats ate.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(91) *Ja k'atan nuuna7 Aa Toor.*
the heat B3-A3-feels youth Salvador
'The heat, Salvador feels = It's the heat that Salvador feels.'

(92) *Ch'ujtb'al nraajo7 jar aab'aj.*
wedge B3-A3-requires the rock
'A wedge, the rock requires = It's a wedge that the rock requires.'

(93) *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 contrast 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. (94b) and (95b)).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(94) a. *Jar ajnawala7 kaxlaway nk'aayiij.*
the one-of-Nahualá 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.'

(95) 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.'

(96) *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; cf. section 9.6.2. on the focus antipassive voice for details.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(97) *Jar iixoq jun aachi xch'eyowi.*

the woman a man B3-hit-focus

'The woman, it was a man who hit her = It was a man who hit the woman.'

(98) *Ja tzyaq ch'ooyaa7 xeetijowi.*

the clothes rats B3p-ate-focus

'Rats were the ones who ate the clothes.'

(99) *Ja wari7 inin in chojmarsanaq.*

that I B1 have-fixed-focus

'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 (cf. sections 5.1.2., 7.1.2., 8.1.2., 8.2.2.), the oblique arguments normally follow the predicate and any direct arguments (i.e. subject, agent, and/or patient) that occur after the predicate. Thus, when there are oblique arguments in sentences 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 (cf. section 8.2.1.), in which case the oblique arguments immediately follow the predicate.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Word Order of Oblique Arguments in Sentences with One-Place Predicates

I. Predicate Subject Oblique(s)

II. (Subject) Predicate Oblique(s)

(100) a. *K'ooli ja b'eey pa rixkin woochooch.*
be the road beside my-house
'The road is beside my house.'

b. *Ja b'eey k'o pa rixkin woochooch.*
the road be beside my-house
'The road is beside my house.'

c. *K'o pa rixkin woochooch.*
'It's beside my house.'

(101) a. *Xb'e Aa Liix pa rk'axwaach Aa Xwaan.*
went Andrés instead of Juan
'Andrés went instead of Juan.'

b. *Aa Liix xb'e pa rk'axwaach Aa Xwaan.*
Andrés went instead of Juan
'Andrés went instead of Juan.'

c. *Xb'e pa rk'axwaach Aa Xwaan.*
'He went instead of Juan.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(102) 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'enéeno.*
'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.

Word Order of Oblique Arguments
in Transitive Sentences

(Agent) Verb (Patient) Oblique(s)

(103) a. *Inin xinya7 jun kotoon chee Aa Xwaan*
I B3-Al-gave a huipil to Juan
rxin raanaa7.
for his-sister
'I gave a huipil to Juan for his sister.'

b. *Xinya7 chee Aa Xwaan rxin raanaa7.*
'I gave it to Juan for his sister.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c. *Xinya7 chee rxiin.*
B3-A1-gave to-him for-her
'I gave it to him for her.'

(104) 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.'

(105) a. *Ja nnimaal xuuloq' ixiim*
the my-older-brother B3-A3-bought corn
rxin qaatee7 pa k'ayib'al.
for our-mother 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. However, 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)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(106) *Xinruuti7 jun ajqaaq xe7 weey.*
B1-A3-bit a black-wasp under my-teeth (= on cheek)
'A black 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 (107) with (103).

(107) *Inin xinya7 chee Aa Xwaan jun kotoon rxin raanaa7.*
I B3-A1-gave to 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* (cf. 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))

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (103)-(105).

(108) *(Inin) chee Aa Xwaan xinya7 wi7 jun kotoon*
I to Juan B3-A1-gave front a huipil
rxin raanaa7.
for his-sister
'To Juan, I gave a huipil for his sister.'

(109) *Jar aachi tza7n machat xuuchoy wi7 chee7 pujyu7.*
the man with machete B3-A3-cut front tree in-mountain
'The man, with a machete, cut trees in the mountains.'

(110) *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.

(111) *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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Finally, with verbs in the instrumental voice (cf. section 9.6.3.), instruments may precede the verb but must follow an overt agent noun phrase if one occurs (cf. (112) with (104) and (109)).

(112) *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.

(113) a. *Xinya7 jun kotoon chee Aa Xwaan rxin raanaa7.*
B3-A1-gave a huipil to 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(114) 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* (cf. section 5.1.2.). However, there is another common periphrastic construction which 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.

(115) 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.'

(116) a. *Jar aachi xuuk'am to ka7i7 awan chwe.*
the man B3-A3-carry hither two corn-plants to-me

b. *Jar aachi xuuk'am to ka7i7 wawan.*
the man B3-A3-carry hither two my-corn-plants
'The man brought two corn plants to me.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

(117) a. *K'o paq.*
exist money
'There is money = Money exists.'

b. *Ee k'o jule7 winaq xeenuutz'et.*
B3p exist some people B3p-Al-saw
'There're some people that I saw.'

c. *K'e7naq jun mooso waawe7.*
exist-perf a ladino (= nonIndian) here
'There has been a ladino here.'

K'ooli is also used to indicate that someone or something is located somewhere; e.g.

(118) a. *B'aar k'o wi7 ja paq?*
where be front the money
'Where's the money?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 B3 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

usually fronted to initial position preceding *k'ooli*, and the subject (i.e. possessed entity) follows *k'ooli*; e.g.

(119) 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* irrealis) '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.

(120) a. *Ma k'o ta paq.* ~ *Majun paq.*
not exist irreal money none money
'There isn't any money.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes

[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.; cf. 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.; cf. 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 something 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 noninitiating, and they normally receive, suffer, or are affected by the action of

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

some agent. However, in natural languages the notion of patient is extended to include any 'nondoer' participant, animate or inanimate, in a transitive activity, as well as to things perceived 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 constructions 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

> (4) 'make do X' causatives where the P of the main clause is coreferential with the A or S of the subordinate verb, and therefore 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 'Subject' 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 prepositions or relational nouns marking them as oblique (cf. 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 (cf. section 9.6.2.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

[8]If the agent is indefinite and the patient is definite, then normally either a passive or focus antipassive construction is used (cf. sections 9.6.1. and 9.6.2.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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' (cf. section 7.5.), usually used in combination with the irrealis enclitic particle *ta* (cf. section 7.2.1.). These two particles surround the negated constituent (e.g. *ma utz ta* 'it's not good' < *ma* 'not', ∅ B3, *utz* 'good', *ta* irrealis). 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/obligative, ∅ 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-* (cf. 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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

In the following sentence examples the predicates are negated with *ma . . . ta* or with *ma* alone in the negative present/future/optative.

(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 Blp-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 Blp-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 kêeso.*
the rat not B3-A3-ate irreal the cheese
'The rat didn't eat the cheese.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(4) *Ja taalaa7 ma xpa7j ta.*
the little-boy not B3-fell irrealis
'The little boy didn't fall down.'

(5) *Ja woochooch ma nim ta.*
the my-house not big irrealis
'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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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); cf. 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-focus 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-focus 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 distinguished from nonimperative sentences solely by morphological marking on the verb (cf. section 4.1.2.): (1) Imperative verbs require the obligative/imperative/optative prefixes *k-/t-* and root

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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!', cf. *b'eenaam* 'to go'; *katajo7* 'come!', *kixajo7* 'you all come!', cf. *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!'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 lîiwra 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'uch'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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(17) a. *At utz ta na!*

B2 good irreal necessitative

b. *Taxa at utz na!*

irreal B2 good necessitative

'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 (cf. 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 (cf. section 9.4.) or relativized

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(cf. section 10.2.1.). In other words, contrastive or emphatic constituents are fronted 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 which 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 (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 or emphasis, they are normally preceded by a contrastive or emphatic demonstrative (cf. 7.1.6.).

(19) *Ja la7 jaa7 pinta7iin chee kaq.*
that house painted in red
'That house is painted in red = It's that house that is painted in red.'

(20) *Ja k'aala7 jaa7 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 (cf. 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 (cf. more examples in section 8.2.3.2.). These sentences are also often translated as clefts.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(21) *Ja nchiib'aal xuutij* [*] *tz'i7.*
the my-left-over B3-A3-ate dog
'(Some) dog ate my left overs = It's my left overs that some dog ate.'

When agents are fronted because they are contrastive or emphatic, the verb must be in the focus antipassive voice (cf. section 9.6.2. for details and more examples).

(22) *Jaa ri7 xeeto7owi ja winaq.*
this-one B3p-helped-focus the people
'This is the one who helped the people.'

(23) *Ajmaq'anya7 xb'anowi ja saamaaj.*
one-of-Totonicapan B3-did-focus 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 (cf. more examples in sections 8.2.3.2. and 9.6.2.).

(24) *Ja paq'b'al sajkiiy naq la xelaq'aani.*
the smasher of maguey who wonder B3-stole-focus
'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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 Maximon really big-plr its-prices the clothes
[*] *nuukoj.*
B3-A3-uses
'Maximon, prices of the clothes he uses are great =
Prices of the clothes Maximon 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(27) *Jar iixoq ja xb'in chwe chi ninb'e xpi*
the woman who B3-told-focus 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) *Jar ajjach'ii7 Tan Palas xb'ano*
the corn-harvesters Miss Francisca B3-made-focus
keewaay [*].
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]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 5.2.1. and 8.1.2.).

(31) *Ja ya7 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) *Inin xyaa7i ja paq chwe* [*].
I B3-was-given the money to-me
'The money was given to me' or 'I was given the money'.

(33) *Jar Aa Lêencho b'iis xkamsan rxiin* [*].
the Lencho sadness B3-killed-focus of-him
'Lencho, it was sadness that killed him' or
'It was sadness that killed Lencho'.
[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 *wi7* (cf. 7.1.7.2.) must occur after the verb or stative predicate. *Wi7* must also occur after the verb or predicate when locative adverbs are

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

fronted whether or not they are in prepositional or relational noun phrases. And finally, *wi7* must occur after verbs when *anij* 'always' is used. It should be noted that *anij* is always fronted to pre-predicate position.

(34) *(Inin) pa k'ayib'al xinloq' wi7 jun kotoon* [*].
I in market B3-Al-bought front a huipil
'In the market, I bought a huipil.'

(35) *(Inin) chee jaa7 xinya7 wi7 ja kotoon* [*].
I to him B3-Al-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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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* (cf. 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 Diego at-home

'Is Diego at home?'

b. *(Aa Teeko) la k'o chjaay?*

Diego Q be at-home

'(Diego,) is he at home?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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?*

Diego Q B3-A3-hit Felipe

'(Diego,) did he hit Felipe?'

b. *La xuuch'ey?*

'Did he hit him?'

c. *(Aa Teeko) la xatruuch'ey?*

Diego Q B2-A3-hit

'(Diego,) did he hit you?'

d. *(Atet) la xaach'ey Aa Li7p?*

you Q B3-A3-hit Felipe

'(You,) did you hit Felipe?'

e. *La xaach'ey?*

'Did you hit him?'

(44) a. *(Aa Teeko) la nraj siik'?*

Diego Q B3-A3-want cigarette

'(Diego,) does he want a cigarette?'

b. *La nraaj?*

'Does he want it?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c. *(Atet) la nawaj siik'?*

you Q B3-A3-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 (cf. 9.6.2.) and *la* precedes the agent.

(45) a. *La Aa Teeko xch'eyo Aa Li7p?*

Q Diego B3-hit-focus 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 Diego B3-hit-focus

'Was it Diego who hit you?'

d. *La atet xatch'eyo Aa Li7p?*

Q you B3-hit-focus Felipe

'Was it you who hit Felipe?'

e. *La atet xatch'eyowi?*

'Was it you who hit him?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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 are questioned the verb must be in the focus antipassive voice (cf. 9.6.2.). When instruments are questioned with *naq* the verb must be in the instrumental voice (cf. 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?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(48) *Naq npit chwaaq?*

who/what come tomorrow

'Who/what is coming tomorrow?'

(49) a. *Naq nawaajo7?*

what B3-A3-want

'What do you want?'

b. *Naq nawaajo7 chwe?*

what B3-A3-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-focus

'Who wants it?'

(51) *Naq xtijowi ja wajaache71?*

who/what B3-ate-focus the my-white-zapote

'Who/what ate my white zapote?'

(52) *Naq neechajiini jar aak'aalaa7?*

who B3p-care-for-focus 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?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

The interrogative *choq* (∿ *choj*) 'whom, what' is used in combination with certain relational nouns (cf. 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; cf. 7.1.7.2.) must follow the predicate or verb (just as it must when these oblique arguments are fronted; cf. 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-A3-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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

the verb or predicate when locatives are questioned (just as it must when locatives in contrastive focus are fronted; cf. 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?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 discontinuous 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 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?'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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?')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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'; cf. 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 singular 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 necessitative 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).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 which commonly occur in reflexive constructions some of which are rather idiomatic; e.g.

siloj rii7iil 'to move (oneself)'
< *šilooj* '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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9.6. Voice Changes

Tzutujil has a rather complex voice system which 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 (cf. footnote 4 in Chapter 8), in direct relationship with a transitive verb:

Normal Active Voice

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 (cf. 3.1. and 4.1.1.). Active transitive 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 fundamental transitive relationship, along with overt morphological and/or syntactic marking of such a change.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which 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 absolutive passive voice and the patient becomes the subject (cf. 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,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

although a nonspecific agent is implied in this construction. The medio-passive voice 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 which might normally be viewed as transitive occurs without an agent.

Another example of a voice change where there is an omitted argument is the absolutive antipassive voice (cf. 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; cf. Dixon (1979)), and by discourse requirements

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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; cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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)*; cf. 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 (cf. Affix 4, section 4.2.1.), and with the suffix *-x* on derived transitive verbs (cf. 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* (cf. section 4.1.5.).

(62) 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).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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(s)
'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* (cf. affix 21, section 4.2.1.). In meaning and function the passive in *-Vr* is exactly like the regular passive in *-j-*. In

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Dayley (1978, 1981), this is called the 'archaic' passive because it is cognate with the simple passive in some closely related languages (cf. 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 times 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* (cf. 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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 (cf. affix 3 in 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 fattened the fish by the (north)wind

'The fish have been fattened/made fat (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 which are based on monosyllabic roots plus an infixed *-7-* or *-j-*. All of these verbs denote an activity or process which 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 Quiché *pax-* is RTV.)

qu7reem ∿ *qu7weem* 'for food to burn too much while cooking' < *qur-* ∿ *quw-* (?)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 Quiché *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 (cf. Dayley 1981, especially Table 9). It is perhaps the case that an earlier stage of Tzutujil (and perhaps even Proto-Mayan) had a productive medio-passive in *-7-* or *-j-* which 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 which 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

9.6.2.1. The Absolutive Antipassive Voice

The absolutive antipassive is formed with *-oon* (∿ *-uun*) on root transitive verbs (cf. affix 11, section 4.2.1.), with *-Vn* on derived transitives in *j*, and with *-n* on derived transitives in *7* (cf. 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 (cf. 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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'arâata nk'ayin wi7.*
the my-mother cheaply B3-sells emphatic
'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 which 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 which 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)'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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; cf. 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 (cf. affix 20, section 4.2.1.). Note that on derived

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 an agent is in contrastive focus or is questioned, the focus antipassive voice is obligatory; active transitive verbs are never used in these constructions. 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 (cf. section 4.1.). On the other hand, the sentences in which they occur are <u>always</u> 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

sentences is: Agent + Verb + Patient; but when the patient is also contrastive (as well as the agent), then the order is: Patient + Agent + Verb (cf. 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: Nonthird 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-focus the man
'I was the one who hit the man.'

b. *Inin xinch'eyowi.*
'I was the one who hit him.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(86) a. *Jar aachi xinch'eyowi.*

the man B1-hit-focus

'The man was the one who hit me.'

b. *Jaa7 xinch'eyowi.*

he/she/it B1-hit-focus

'He was the one who hit me.'

(87) *Inin xinch'eyowi jar iixoqii7.*

I B1-hit-focus the women

'I was the one who hit the women.'

(88) a. *Jar iixoqii7 xinch'eyowi.*

the women B1-hit-focus

'The women were the ones who hit me.'

b. *Ja7ee7 xinch'eyowi.*

they B1-hit-focus

'They were the ones who hit me.'

(89) a. *Jar iixoqii7 xeech'eyowi jar aachi.*

the women B3p-hit-focus 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-focus the women

'The man was the one who hit the women.'

b. *Jar aachi xeech'eyowi.*

'The man was the one who hit them.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(91) a. *Jar aachi xch'eyowi jar iixoq.*

the man B3-hit-focus 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-focus 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 constructions, 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' (cf. section 5.2.1.). This method of person marking is always used when both the agent and the patient are nonthird 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)).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(93) a. *Inin xinch'eyo awxiin*

I B1-hit-focus of-you

'I was the one who hit you.'

b. *Atet xatch'eyo wxiin.*

you B2-hit-focus of-me

'You were the one who hit me.'

(94) a. *Inin xinlasan rxiin jar aak'aal*

I B1-got-out-focus of-him the child

pan ajtiijaal.

from school

b. *Inin xinlasan jar aak'aal pan ajtiijaal.*

I B1-got-out-focus the child from school

'I was the one who got the child out of school.'

(95) a. *Jaa7 nilin wxiin.*

she B3-serves-focus of-me

b. *Jaa7 niniliini.*

she B1-serve-focus

'She is the one who serves me.'

(96) a. *Ee ka7i7 ajsantyáago xeetz'uju wxiin.*

B3p two one-of-Santiago B3p-mistreated-focus of-me

b. *Ee ka7i7 ajsantyáago xintz'ujuwi.*

B3p two one-of-Santiago B1-mistreated-focus

'Two people from Santiago were the ones who

mistreated me.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(97) a. *Ja wajkax xtoq'o rxin Aa Lu7.*
the bull B3-gored-focus of-him Pedro

b. *Ja wajkax xtoq'o Aa Lu7.*
the bull B3-gored focus 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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-focus
'Who/what hurt him?'

b. *Naq xeesokowi?*
who/what B3p-hurt-focus
'Who/what hurt them?'

c. *Naq xatsokowi?*
who/what B2-hurt-focus
'Who/what hurt you?'

(99) *Naq xb'ojten eel ja wuuj?*
who B3-carried-roll-of-focus away the paper
'Who carried away the roll of paper?'

(100) *Naq xb'ak'ab'a7ni ja sii7?*
who B3-tied-up-focus the firewood
'Who tied up the firewood?'

(101) *Jar iixoq ja xloq'o ixiim xuuya7 chwe.*
the woman who B3-bought-focus corn B3-A3-gave to-me
'The woman who bought (the) corn gave it to me.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(102) *Ajkata71 jar iixoq ja nk'ayiini ja kaa7.*
one-of-Nahualá the woman who B3-sells-focus the metates
'The woman who sells the metates is of Nahualá.'

(103) *Inin xeenuutz'et ja k'el ja xeetz'ilo7ni*
I B3p-Al-saw the chocoyo-parrot that B3p-ruined-focus
jar awan.
the cornplant
'I saw the chocoyo parrots that ruined the cornplants.'

In addition to the focus antipassive voice there is also an agent focus perfect participle which is formally an adjective derived from transitive verbs with *-oyoon* (∿ *-uyuun* after root vowel *u*) on root transitives and *-yoon* on derived transitives (cf. 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)).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(104) *Inin in ch'eyoyoon (jar aachi).*

I B1 hit-focus-perf the man

'I am the one who has hit him (the man).'

(105) a. *Jar aachi in ch'eyoyoon.*

the man B1 hit-focus-perf

b. *Jar aachi ch'eyoyon wxiin*

the man hit-focus-perf of-me

'The man is the one who has hit me.'

(106) a. *Ojoj oq kamsayoon ch'ooyaa7.*

we B1p kill-focus-perf rats

'We are the ones who have killed rats.'

b. *Ojoj oq kamsayon kixiin.*

we B1p kill-focus-perf of-them

'We are the ones who have killed them.'

(107) a. *Nmama7 ee tzuquyuun (ja meeb'a7ii7).*

my-grandfather B3p feed-focus-perf the orphans

b. *Nmama7 tzuquyun kixiin*

my-grandfather feed-focus-perf of-them

(ja meeb'a7ii7).

the orphans

'My grandfather is the one who has fed them

(the orphans).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(108) a. *Jaa7 k'ayiyon ixiim.*
she sell-focus-perf corn
'She is the one who has sold corn.'

b. *Jaa7 k'ayiyoon.*
she sell-focus-perf
'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 (cf. 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, cf. 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 highlighted 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 (cf.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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*; cf. 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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-cut-with-perf wood
'It was a machete that you have cut wood with.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

c. *Machat xchoyb'ex chee7.*
machete B3-cut-with-passive wood
'It was a machete that wood was cut with.'

d. *Machat choyb'een chee7.*
machete B3-cut-with-perf 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-hit-with-pass 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-hit-with-pass 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-cure-with-pass 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.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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-do-with-perf

'What have you done it with?'

c. *Naq xb'anb'exi?*

what B3-do-with-pass

'What was it done with?'

(118) a. *Naq xinach'eyb'eej?*

what B2-A2-hit-with

'What did you hit me with?'

b. *Naq xinch'eyb'exi?*

what B1-hit-with-pass

'What was I hit with?'

(119) *Nwaajo7 jun palangâana 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*

the my-mother B3-A3-bought cocoa B3-A3-make-with

chaqijya7.

chocolate

'My mother bought cocoa with which she makes (to make)

chocolate.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 with.'

(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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes

[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 Quiché, 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 (cf. Norman 1978, Dayley 1981).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 with embedded clauses 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.

In some cases, the individual conjunct sentences of a larger conjoined 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 (cf. 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 conjoined sentences of this type with one or more concatenated conjuncts, the adverb *choqojaa7* ∿ *chaqajaa7* 'also, too'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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-brotherhoodhouse 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 measuring-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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'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: *k'iin* 'and', *i ∿ ii* 'and', *pro* 'but', *o ∿ oo* 'or', *o wi* 'or, neither, nor', *nixta k'a . . . ta* 'nor even, neither', *k'a ja7 k'a* 'thus, therefore, and then', *k'a ja7 k'aari7* 'and then; afterwards, later', *k'a jaa ri7* 'and then', *k'a toq k'aari7* '(and) then' (cf. 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

'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 Kelaju7,*
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' chîina*
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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

concatenation. For example, in (8), *k'iin* conjoins verbs and in (10), it conjoins nouns. In (11), *oo* conjoins nouns, and in (9), *choqojaa7* links noun phrases. In (10), the names of the holidays are simply concatenated without conjunctions; and in (12), nouns, verbs, as well as clauses are conjoined without conjunctions.

(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 pîispra 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 sâanto ja pa taq
and judge when B3p-are-united saints the in plr
nmaq'iij jani7 nmaq'ij San Jwaan, Kiq'iij Sâanto,
holiday like festival San Juan their-day saint
Byéernes Sâanto, 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 necess
neekiq'axaj na keej wajkax cheewiij.
B3p-A3p-pass necess 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 (cf. 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 (cf. ungrammatical (13c)).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(13) a. *Aa Xwaan xb'e Armíita,*

Juan went Guatemala-City

choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y xb'e Armíita.

also 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 Juan went Guatemala-City

ja k'aa Ta Mari7y xb'e Chi Maq'an Ya7.

the cntr 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*

Juan ate his-tortilla also

Ta Mari7y xuutij rxiin.

María ate hers

'Juan ate his tortillas and María also ate hers.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 Juan ate his-tortilla

ja k'aa Ta Mari7y xuutij kaxlanway.

the cntr María 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)* (cf. 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 in (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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(in general)', even though, normally *tijooj* would not be used with *awux* 'toasted broad beans'.

(17) a. *Jar Aa Xwaan xuutij way,*
the Juan ate tortilla
ja k'aa Ta Mari7y xuumur awux.
the cntr María ate (crunchies) 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 María toasted broad beans.'

10.1.2. Conjoined Sentences with Dependent Conjuncts

In this subsection I discuss conjoined sentences which 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 of 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 sentences, 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 conjoined.

(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).'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(24) *Kongáana q'ab'arik nb'ajni k'o q'ojoom.*
tremendous drinking B3-be-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-be-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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 heppened 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-be-obtained
wi7 jun sentáawo, rmaal ari7 looq' nkeena7.
emph a cent because of that esteemed 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) *Kômo jar oojeer ma k'o ta 'boláada'*
since the before not exist irreal 'voladas'
k'o k'a jule7 'káamra' ja nb'ajni.
exist then some 'cámara' that B3-be-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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Counter-to-fact conditionals are usually introduced with *wi* plus the irrealis adverb *taxa* (cf. 7.2.1.), and the verb in the conclusion clause is optionally followed by the irrealis enclitic *ta*. However, in counter-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.
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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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, none the less'. 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 Pedro nothing B3-A3-do
'Even though Pedro might come, he won't do anything.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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-focus
rmaal jar uutziil rxin dyoos, ja chi utz k'a
by the goodness of God so that then
nkojb'ej kii7 ñojel 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-A3p-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 show very good things to their children, so that then they feed them and also give them clothes.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(42) *Dyoos xya7o chee k'in Jaa7 xcha7owi*
God B3-give-focus to-him and He B3-chose-focus
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 embedded clause. In

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 which is referentially identical to a noun in the matrix sentence (except in the case of 'headless' relative clauses; see below). The noun in the matrix sentence is the head of the relative clause. In Tzutujil, relative clauses usually immediately follow their head nouns and they are normally introduced with the relativizer or relative pronoun *ja(r)* 'who, what, which, that' (cf. 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 (cf. (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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 referenced 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(49) *Xqaatz'at jar aachi ja xk'ajti roochooch.*
B3-Alp-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 (cf. 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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); cf. 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-focus B3-went
'The man who hit you took off.'

b. *Jar aachi ja xch'eyo Aa Keel xb'e.*
the man who B3-hit-focus 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-focus
jar aak'aalaa7.
the children
'The man killed the dog that chased the children.'

(54) *Jaa ri7 xeeto7owi ja winaq, jar iindíigena,*
that B3p-helped-focus the people the Indian
pa keeq'a7 ja mosa7ii7 ja xeeb'ano jodeer qaxiin.
from their-hand the Ladinos who B3p-did fuck-over of-us
'That is the one who helped the people, the Indians, from the hands of the Ladinos (= nonIndians) who fucked over us.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(55) *Jar iixoq ja xb'i7n chwe chi ninb'e*
the woman who B3-told-focus 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-focus to call
rwach wuuj najt k'o wi7 chee waawe7.
face-of paper (= read) far live front to here
'The teacher who taught me to read lives far from 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
'ibid.'

When the objects of locative prepositions such as *pa(n)* 'in, to, from' or *ch(i)* 'at, to' (cf. 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* (cf. 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)),

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

or *ja(r)* may be omitted in which case *b'aarkii7* is obligatory (e.g. (60)).

(57) *Xq'ipitaji ja ch'akat ja (b'aakii7) xtz'ub'e7*
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 (cf. 5.2.1. and 8.1.2.) are relativized, the relational noun remains in the relative clause in its usual syntactic position but the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. 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 which 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-focus 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 he (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'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(e.g. (72)). Headless relative clauses are especially common in (pseudo-)cleft sentences (cf. 10.2.3. on clefting).

(69) *Ma xinch'ij ta ja xuub'an jar Aa Teeko chwe.*
not B3-A1-stand irreal that B3-A3-did the 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-A1-tell to-you that B3-A3-tell 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 remaining not lie irreal
'That which he has said is not a lie.'

(72) *Ja wkaamiik utz majuun chik ya7,*
the today good there-isn't emph liquor
majuun chik naq nti7ji.
there-isn't emph what B3-be-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 existence 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), (73)-(74)). However, *ja(r)* may be used to

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

introduce relative clauses after subjects of *k'ooli* when their existence is not being predicated, for example in predications of possession (e.g. (75)).

(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.'

10.2.2. Purpose Adverbial Clauses

Purpose adverbial clauses are infinitive clauses containing verbal nouns instead of fully inflected finite verbs (cf. section 5.3.1. for affixes forming verbal nouns, and section 4.1.5. 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' (cf. sections 7.1.2. and 7.1.3.).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Pa(n) introduces intransitive purpose clauses (e.g. (76)-(81)). These intransitive purpose clauses include not only clauses with infinitives of basically intransitive verbs (e.g. (76)-(77)), but also those with detransitivized absolutive infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. (78)-(79)), and those with detransitivized passive infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. (80)-(81)). 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 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 (cf. the discussion on *ch(i)* purpose clauses below).

(76) *Ja wxaayiil b'enaq pa waraam.*
the my-wife B3-has-gone to (go 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 Felix B3-went to sell on coast
'Felix went to sell on the coast.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 <u>active</u> 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.

(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'a7l pa k'ayib'al.*

B3-went my-sister to buy charcoal in market

'My sister went to buy charcoal in the market.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(84) *Inin xinpi pa kanon b'ooxoom in*
I B1-came from look-for (type of) cilantro in
k'acheelaaj.
woods
'I came back from looking for (a type of) 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 which 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 Pedro to make house
'Last year I accompanied Pedro to build houses (in making houses).'

(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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 patient, 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 *r-* of the third person singular ergative possessive prefix is always deleted after *ch(i)*; cf. Rule 12, section 1.6.1.)

(89) a. *Xinpit ch atz'ejtiik.*
B1-came to A2-be-seen
'I came to see you.'

b. *Xinpit chi tz'ejtik nuutee7.*
B1-came to (A3)be-seen my-mother
'I came to see my mother.'

(90) a. *Xe7el chi qach'ejyiik.*
B3p-arrived to A1p-be-hit
'They arrived to hit us.'

b. *Xe7el chi ch'ejyiik ja nnimaal.*
B3p-arrived to (A3)be-hit the my-older brother
'They arrived to hit my older brother.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(91) *Ja nnimaal b'enaq chi poroxiik*
the my-older-brother B3-has-gone to (A3)be-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 (A3)be-done
'You are really stupid to do it.'

(93) *B'enaq chi k'axaxiik rsaamaaj ruuk'iin*
B3-has-gone to (A3)be-asked-about his-work with
Aa Lu7.
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 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

10.2.3. Clefts and Other Focus Clauses

This subsection is a brief sketch of the syntactic processes which bring major constituents of a sentence into contrastive focus by essentially 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 which cannot be contrasted in this way. In most cases, contrasted constituents that have been made predicates are introduced either with *ja(r)*,[1] or with one of the clause initial demonstratives beginning in *ja(a7)* (cf. 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 predicates of them, the clause in which they occur is usually called a cleft and the following clause containing the constituents not

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 known, 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-focus B3p-catch-focus fish
'Before it was women who did it, who caught fish.'

(97) a. *Ja ch'ooy xtijowi ja kéeso.*
the rat B3-ate-focus 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-focus the cheese
'It wasn't the rat that ate the cheese.'

(98) *Machat xinrchoyb'eej jar Aa Xwaan.*
machete B1-A3-cut-with the Juan
'It's a machete that Juan cut me with.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(99) *Jaa7 eskopêeta 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 predicates, and patients of transitive verbs, is accomplished in several ways. First, when they are definite, clefted subjects and patients may be indicated 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'aaqari7 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 iiglêesya, 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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-buy cleft a cultivated-land other
'It's not the house that we want to buy, it's another (piece of) cultivated land.'

(108) *Ja kisaamaaj jar oojer taq winaq*
cleft their-work the old plr people
ja nkeeb'an waawe7.
that B3-A3p-do here
'It's the work of the old 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-A1-killed yesterday
'It was a deer that I killed yesterday.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Objects of prepositions may not be clefted alone, but whole prepositional 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 pʃinka oojeer anij lawalo7.*
cleft in plr plantation before always dangerous
'It was on the plantations that before it was always dangerous.'

Note that when prepositional phrases are simply fronted (but not clefted) the fronting particle *wi7* must occur after the following verb (cf. 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* (cf. 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)*.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(113) *Rxiin jaa7 (ja) jun kotoon xinloq' pa k'ayib'al.*
for-her she that a huipil B3-A1-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 possessors-objects of relational nouns are clefted alone without the relational nouns. The cases that have been recorded that might be instances of clefting are indistinguishable from simple fronting (cf. 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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 slone.'

(119) *Ja nkeekoj ja koraal q'aayiis.*
that B3-A3p-use the corral weed
'That which they used for the corral was weeds.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 before k'o kustûumbre ja nkeeb'an*
cleft before exist their-rituals that B3-A3p-do
ja winaq pa taq nmaq'iij.
the people in plr festival
'It was before that they had 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)).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(122) *(Ja) wi ma xtipi ta jaa7,*
cleft (?) if not B3-will-come irreal he
nb'e Aa Lu7.
B3-go 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' (cf. section 7.1.3.).[1,3]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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-be-in-progress B1-eat

'I am eating.' (literally:

'it's in progress that I eat')

b. *Najiini [nakamsaaj ja tz'i7].*

B3-be-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 Juan B3-be-in-progress B3-A3-make his-house

'Juan is making is house.' (more literally:

'it's in progress that Juan makes his house')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

II. Finite Complement Clauses with a Complementizer

(126) a. *Xinb'ij chaawe [chi nqaajo7 serwêesa].*
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-sleep
'I wanted him to sleep.'

d. *Nwaajo7 [chi naach'ey].*
B3-A1-want that B3-A2-hit
'I want you to hit him.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(128) a. *Utz [ja ma tipit Aa Xwaan].*
good that/for not B3-come 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')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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].*

B1-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].*

B1p-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].*

B1p-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].*

B1-be-in-act-of to your-being-seen

'I am looking at you.' (more literally:

'I am in the act of seeing you')

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 transitive verb *b'i7xik* 'to say, tell' (e.g. (126)) only takes finite complements 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 structural 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 introduced 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 (cf. (128a)).

In general, Tzutujil infinitives correspond to English infinitives in 'to' as well as to gerunds in '-ing' (cf. 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 (cf. (129)-(133)). Infinitive complement clauses always lack an overt Subject noun phrase. However, semantically the Subject of the infinitive clause is always interpreted as being identical with a noun phrase in the

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

main clause. In the vast majority 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 indefinite or referentially nonspecific (cf. (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 (cf. (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 syntactic-semantic roles in the main clauses in which they are embedded. They may function as sentential subjects, sentential patients, 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 does the stative predicate *jani7 waan ∿ jani7 ta qan* 'seem' (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 introduced with *ja(r)* (e.g. (128), (136)). The stative predicate *rajwaxiik* '(be) necessary' takes finite subject complements which in the incompletive may or may not be introduced with *chi* (e.g. (137a)), but *chi* is obligatory in the completive.

(134) *Jani7 ta qan [xb'e Aa Xwaan].*
seem B3-went 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 Juan
'For Juan to come is not good.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(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 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)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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].*
possibly B3-A3-about-to B3-die
'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-desire B1-went to fiesta
'I desire 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).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(142) *Wojtaq [chi jar Aa Xwaan nruk'aj ch'ijch'].*
B3-A1-know that the 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 (cf. (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-focus B3-A1-saw
b. *Xintz'at [chi jaa7 xatch'eyowi].*
B3-A1-saw that he B3-hit-focus
'I saw that he was the one who hit you.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 María B3-A3-think that the Juan
xuuch'ey Aa Teeko].
B3-A3-hit Diego
'María thinks that Juan hit Diego.'

b. *Ja Ta Mari7y nuuch'ob' [chi najo7x*
the María B3-A3-think that B3-is-loved
rmaal jar Aa Xwaan].
by the 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

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

infinitive of a transitive verb (cf. (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 (cf. (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)).

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 infinitives which 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-begin-perf to-walk
'I am walking.'

b. *Nmajoon [tzakoj tii7iij].*
B3-A1-begin-perf to-cook meat
'I am cooking meat.'

c. *Nmajoon [kich'ejyiik].*
B3-A1-begin-perf their-being-hit
'I am hitting them.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

(147) a. *Xinkajb'a7 [(ja) b'ijneem].*
B3-A1-stopped the to-walk
'I stopped (the) walking.'

b. *Xinkajb'a7 [(ja) kamsan k'aq].*
B3-A1-stopped the to-kill flea
'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 necess 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.,

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 (cf. (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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Note that the Subject of the oblique infinitive clause in *chee* is understood 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 complements 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 which take sentential complements introduced with *chi*.[4] For example, the two intransitive auxiliary verbs

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 B1-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 complements 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'

ya7tal chriij 'to be obligated to, be deserving of' e.g. (156)
< *ya7tal* 'already given' *chriij* 'on/to/in back of'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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 María only B3-A3-feel herself
[chi nb'e Aa Xwaan].
that B3-go 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 mate.'

(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.'

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

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
chi infinitive sentential complement

ookeem IV 'to begin, start; enter'
chi infinitive sentential complement

kowiineem IV 'to be able to, can'
simple finite sentential complement,
or rarely: *(ja)* infinitive sentential complement

rajwaxiik Stative Predicate 'it's necessary'
(chi) finite subject complement

majooj$_1$ RTV 'to begin, start'
(ja) infinitive patient complement

majoon Perfect RTV 'for one to be in the act of'
progressive aspect
(ja) infinitive patient complement

majooj$_2$ RTV 'for it to be possible that; may'
simple finite patient complement

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

k'isooj RTV 'to stop, finish; spend'

(ja) infinitive patient complement

kajb'a7xik DT7 'to stop'

(ja) infinitive patient complement

b'anooj RTV 'to do, make' progressive aspect

(ja) infinitive patient complement (fronted)

aaj- DTJ 'want, need, be about to'

simple finite patient complement (same Subject);

chi finite patient complement (different Subject)

ajo7xik DT7 'to want, need, love'

simple finite patient complement (same Subject),

or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);

chi finite patient complement (different Subject)

ojb'exik DTJ 'to want, love

simple finite patient complement (same Subject),

or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);

chi finite patient complement (different Subject)

rayixik DTJ 'to desire, expect'

simple finite patient complement (same Subject),

or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);

chi finite patient complement (different Subject)

rayib'exik 'to desire a little'

simple finite patient complement (same Subject);

or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);

chi finite patient complement (different Subject)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Notes

[1]It should be remembered that the particle *ja(r)* has several different functions in Tzutujil; it functions as (1) the definite article (cf. 7.1.7.1.), (2) the relative pronoun or relativizer (cf. 3.2., 7.1.3., and 10.2.1.), (3) a complementizer (cf. 7.1.3. and 10.2.4.), and (4) a clefting particle (cf. 10.2.3.).

[2]Infinitive purpose clauses introduced with *ch(i)* should be distinguished 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'; cf. 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.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Bibliography

Andrade, Manuel J. 1946. Materials on the Quiche, Cakchiquel and Tzutujil Languages. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Cultural Anthropology No. 11, University of Chicago.

Brasseur de Bourbourg, Charles E. 1961. Gramática de la Lengua Quiché. 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' 1701-1703 work.)

Butler, James N. and Judy G. Butler. 1977. Tzutujil Verbs. Guatemala: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Butler, James N. and Ilah Fleming. 1976. Tzutujil Texts. Mayan Texts I, ed. by N. L. Furbee-Losse. Native American Texts Series I:I, IJAL.

Butler, James N. 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, Anthropology Department, University of Iowa.

Campbell, Lyle R. 1977. Quichean Linguistic Prehistory. UCPL 87.

Carlin, Ramon A. 1970. Tzutujil (Mayan) Clause Nuclei. Anthropological Linguistics 12:4:103-111.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Chafe, Wallace. 1976. Givenness, Contrastiveness, Definiteness, Subjects, Topics, and Point of View. Subject and Topic, ed. by 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.

Dayley, Jon P. 1975. A Community Oriented Approach to Technical Training. Proceedings of the First Inter-American Conference on Bilingual Education, ed. by R. C. Troike and N. Modiano, pp. 298-308. Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics. Also: Mayan Linguistics I, ed. by M. McLaran, pp. 3-10. American Indian Studies Center, UCLA, 1976.

_____. 1978. Voice in Tzutujil. Journal of Mayan Linguistics 1:1:20-52. Anthropology Department, University of Iowa.

_____. 1981. Voice and Ergativity in Mayan Languages. Journal of Mayan Linguistics 2:2:3-82.

Dayley, Jon P., Francisco Peréz Mendoza, and Miguel Hernández Mendoza. 1977. Diccionario del Tzutujil de San Juan la Laguna. Computer print-out. Guatemala: 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. Universals of Language, ed. by J. H. Greenberg, pp. 73-113. Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press.

Gross, Joseph J. n.d. Domestic Group Structure in a Mayan Community of Guatemala. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester. [The copy I have has no date but this work was completed in the mid 1970's.]

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Hyman, Larry M. 1975. Phonology: Theory and Analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Jones, Daniel. 1931. On Phonemes. Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague IV, pp. 74-79.

Kaufman, Terrence. 1974. Meso-American Languages. Encyclopedia Brittanica 11:956-63. (A longer version of this article appears as: Idiomas de Mesoamerica. Publicación 33, Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca. Guatemala: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra del Ministerio de Educación Pública.)

_____. 1976. Proyecto de Alfabetos y Ortografías para Escribir las Lenguas Mayances. Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín and la 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 444.

McBryde, Felix W. 1947. Cultural and Historical Geography of Southwest Guatemala. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication 4. (Also in Spanish translation: Geografía Cultural e Histórica del Suroeste de Guatemala. Publicaciones 24 y 25, Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca. Guatemala: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra del Ministerio de Educación Pública.)

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Mendelson, E. Michael. 1965. Los Escándolos de Maximón. Publicación 19, Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca. Guatemala: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra del Ministerio de Educación Pública. (Originally: Religion and World View in Santiago Atitlan. Ph.D. thesis (1957), University of Chicago.)

Norman, William M. 1978. Advancement Rules and Syntactic Change: the Loss of Instrumental Voice in Mayan. BLS 4:458-76.

Postal, Paul M. 1968. Aspects of Phonological Theory. New York: Harper and Row.

Rojas Lima, Flavio (ed.). 1968. Los Pueblos del Lago de Atitlán. Publicación 23, Seminario de Integración Social Guatemalteca. Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional.

Silverstein, Michael. 1976. Hierarchy of Features and Ergativity. Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages, ed. by R. Dixon, pp. 112-171. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.

Stoll, Otto. 1958. Etnografía de Guatemala. Guatemala: Editorial del Ministerio de Educación Pública. (Originally: Zur Ethnographie der Republik Guatemala. Zurich: Druck und Verlag von Orell Füssli, 1884.)

Tax, Sol. 1937. The Municipios of the Midwestern Highlands of Guatemala. American Anthropologist 39:423-444.

Tax, Sol, and Robert Hinshaw. 1969. The Maya of the Midwestern Highlands. The Handbook of Middle American Indians: Ethnology Part 1, ed. by E. Vogt. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.

Ximénez, Fray Francisco. ca. 1701-1703. Arte de las Tres Lenguas Cakchiquel, Quiché y Tzutujil. Microfilm Collection of Manuscripts on Cultural Anthropology No. 36, University of Chicago.

Zimmer, Karl. 1971. Some General Observations about Nominal Compounds. Working Papers on Language Universals No. 5. Language Universals Project, Stanford University.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.