INTRODUCTION TO THE MORPHOLOGY

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

2.1 MORPHOLOGICAL UNITS

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

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

Words are holistic morphological and syntactic (and semantic?) units that are the end product of derivational and inflectional processes. Compounds are words consisting of more than one root. Clitics are little words that normally attach themselves phonologically to other words in a
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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'ii? 'my dog' < nuu- A1, tz'i? 'dog'; xinasch'ey 'you hit me' < xe- comp aspect, in- B1, sa- A2, ch'ey- RTV 'hit'), although there is one important derivational prefix, aj- characterizer (e.g. ajq'ii? 'diviner' < q'ii? 'sun, day'). Suffixation is the most common technique; almost all derivational affixes are suffixes, and many inflectional affixes are suffixes as well (e.g. kamaatajaq 'it has already been killed' < kam- IV 'die', -sa causative, -tej comp passive, -naq IV perf). Infixation is rare, occurring only in the root transitive passive and medio-passive morphemes -1- and -2- (e.g. xch'ajyj 'it was hit' < xe- comp, ch'ey- RTV 'hit', -j- passive, -p perf) and in a couple of derivational affixes like the positional transitivizer affix -1-...-2 (e.g. xb'ojleej 'he took a cylinder' < xe- comp, b'ol- P 'cylindrical', -1-...-e, -ej DTV nonperf).

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

N < N + N

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

N < Adj + Adj

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

N < Adj + TV/P

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

N < Adj + TV

- q'eqtilitoj 'very black' < q'eq 'black', til- (?) RTV 'get fruit down from tree', -VC1oj Adj suf (see 6.4.2)

V < Adj + P

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

Tzutujil is replete with phrases that function as single lexical items even though they are composed of several words. Many of the phrases are merely descriptive and fairly straightforward in terms of their interpretation. Others, however, employ metaphor to a rather high degree, and still others are completely idiomatic in that the meaning of the whole phrases can not be predicted (or inferred) from the meanings of the individual component words. These phrases are called phrasal compounds in this work. The formation of phrasal compounds seems to have been, and still is, one of the most productive methods for creating 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.

Examples of Phrasal Compounds:

- tin07y rwach 'narrow' < tin07y 'small', rwach 'its face, surface'

- ním raqan 'long, tall' < ním 'big', raqan 'its leg'
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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 1aeh' < smaal 'hair', chi7 'edge', wachaaj 'eye', i.e. 'hair of edge of eye'
roqaj chi7aaj 'scream' < roqoj 'to throw' archaic, chi7aaj 'mouth'
nmulu rwa k'u7x 'nausea' < mul- 'stack up', rwa 'its face, surface', k'u7x 'chest', i.e. 'it stacks up on the surface of the chest'
rq'inom k'ooy 'olive (tree)' < rq'inoonom 'its hog plum', k'ooy 'monkey', i.e. 'monkey's hog plum'
rb'aaqiiil rb'och'iil 'his body' (cp. nb'aaqiiil nb'och'iil 'my body') < b'aaqiiil 'body', rb'och' 'nerve, vein'

Suppletion occurs in a couple of nouns distinguishing possessed forms from unpossessed forms (e.g. jaaay 'house', woocchooch 'my house', alb'atz 'daughter-in-law', wallii7 'my daughter-in-law'), and in a couple of verbs (e.g. b'eeenaam 'to go', xb'e 'he went', joo7 'let's go'; pejteem 'to come', xpeeti 'he came', katajoo7 'come').

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Major Root Classes</th>
<th>Major Word Classes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pronouns</td>
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<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
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<td>verbs</td>
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<td>positionals</td>
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<td>adverbs</td>
<td>particles</td>
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<td>particles</td>
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Positional and verb roots are always bound. At least some members of the other root classes may occur as free forms. Most roots are unequivocally in one root class or another. However, there are a fairly large number of roots that are at once both basically positional and transitive verb roots, and there are also a few other roots that are basically in more than one major root class.

Positionals form a special class of roots in Tzutujil (as in many other Mayan languages). They get their name from the fact that they typically indicate the position, condition, state, or form that an object is in. They are the only major root class that does not have a parallel major word class. Positional roots are always monosyllabic of the form CVC, 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 -\text{\`a}l (\text{-\`aan} after an \text{l} or \text{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 -\text{\`e}l, which indicates that an object gets (got, will get, etc.) into the position. Most positionals also have a transitive verb form in -\text{\`a}b\text{\`a}l 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...
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form in $^{\text{I}}_{\text{C}}\text{ik}$ that simply characterizes or describes an object of the relevant position. Some adjectives in $^{\text{I}}_{\text{C}}\text{ik}$ have also become common nouns as well, naming natural objects that par excellence are always in the form described by the positional root. Some positionals also have a transitive verb form in the infix and suffix combination $^{\text{I}}_{\text{C}}\text{ik}$, which indicates that an agent takes or carries an object in the position described by the root.

Examples of Wordforms from Positional Roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>san-</th>
<th>'naked'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>sanali</td>
<td>'he is naked; someone naked is there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>xsane7e</td>
<td>'he got naked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>xsanab'a7</td>
<td>'she left him naked; she made him get naked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj</td>
<td>sanasik</td>
<td>'naked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>xsajneej</td>
<td>'she carried/took him naked'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other root and word classes are discussed separately in detail in the next several chapters.
Note to Chapter 2

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.