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

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

4.1 VERB INFLECTION

In Tzutujil there is a very important morphological distinction between intransitive verbs (IVs) and transitive verbs (TVs) with respect to their inflection as well as to their derivational possibilities. Within the subclass of transitive verbs there is also an important distinction between root transitives (RTVs), which are always monosyllabic transitive roots (e.g. b'an- 'do, make', ch'ey- 'hit', and log'- 'buy'), and derived transitives (DTVs), which are always formed with a root (from whatever root class) plus one or more derivational suffixes. There are also two different kinds of derived transitive verbs: (1) the most common are derived transitives in -j (DTJs), and (2) somewhat less common are derived transitives in -7 (DT7s). Stems of DTJs always end in a
stem-formative vowel, which in the nonperfect (4.1.2.2) is always followed by the suffix -~ (e.g. b'iix N 'song' + -~ > b'iix-aaj 'sing (something)' DTJ nonperf; k'aay- N 'sale' + -~ stem formative + -~ > k'aay-aaj 'sell' DTJ nonperf). Stems of DTJs always contain a derivational suffix that ends in a vowel plus glottal stop (e.g. k'olob'a7- 'leave a spherical object' DT7 < k'ol- P 'spherical' + k'olob'a7 TV derivational; k'aqak'a7- 'stomp repeatedly' DT7 < k'aq- RTV 'shoot' + -~ k'aqak'a7 TV derivational).

Subclassification of Tzutujil Verbs

In Tzutujil all finite verbs are inflected (i) for person and number with the person markers discussed in 3.1, and (2) for aspect, tense, and/or mode. The latter three semantic categories are not always clearly distinguished morphologically by separate morphemes for each category; rather, aspect, tense, and mode notions tend to be merged together in particular morphemes. Finite verbs may also be inflected optionally for directional and motion notions of 'coming' and 'going'. Infinitive or verbal noun forms of verbs are never inflected for aspect, tense, or mode, or for direction, and only passive infinitives of TVs may be 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- comp, in- Bi, wa7- IV 'eat', -i IV pf
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:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(6) xkeech'ey 'they hit it' < x- comp, Ø B3, kee- A3p, ch'ey- 'hit'
kich'eyoon 'they have hit it' < Ø B3, ki- A3p, ch'ey- 'hit', -oon perf

Note that one of the most obvious ways in which IVs differ 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 transitive and derived transitive also differ somewhat in that in the nonperfect RTVs take the 'long' ergative prefixes (i.e. if they do not have the suffix -ø; see section 4.1.2.2), while DTVs always take the 'short' ergative prefixes (see rule 24, sections 1.6.2 and 3.1). Compare the forms of the DTV kuuna- 'cure' in (7) with the examples of the RTV ch'ey- 'hit' given in (4-6) above.

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

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

4.1.2 Aspect, Tense, and Mode Inflection

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

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

The Perfect Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Class</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>-naq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RTV</td>
<td>-oon   ((-uum ) after root vowel u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DTJ</td>
<td>-Vn ('V' = doubling/lengthening of stem-formative vowel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DT7</td>
<td>-oon (-Vn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphological structure of perfect verbs is given below:

**Perfect Intransitive Verb**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>IV STEM -naq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proclitic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Perfect Transitive Verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
<td>TV ROOT -oon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proclitic</td>
<td>DTJ STEM -Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prefix</td>
<td>DT7 STEM -oon (-Vn)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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' \(< \emptyset B3, roqow= 'boil', -naq IV perf\)
RTV at nch'eyoon 'I have hit you' \(< at B2, n- AI, ch'ey= 'hit', -oon RTV perf\)
qamuquun 'we have buried it' < Ø B³, qa- Alp, 
muq- 'bury', -uun (~-oon) RTV perf
DTJ ee kikamsaan 'they have killed them' < ee B³p, 
ki- A³p, kamsa- 'kill', -Vn DTJ perf
nkunaan 'I have cured him' < Ø B³, n- Al, 
kuuna- 'cure', -Vn DTJ perf
DT7 in rb'irib'a7oon ~ in rb'irib'aan 'he has shaken me' 
< in B³, r- A³, b'irib'a7- 'shake', 
-oon ~ -Vn DT7 perf
ix qajo7oon 'we have loved you all' < ix B³p, q- Alp, 
asjo7- 'love, want', -oon DT7 perf

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

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

(9) Ja rb'iin kaan ma ya70j tziij ta. 
that he-has-said-it remain not lie irreal
'That which he has said is not a lie.'

(10) Jaa k'aari? ja kib'anoon ja winaq waswe7. 
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 B³p have-left
'I told him that you all had left.'
(12) Pro ja rwach'-uleep utz kil'anoon chee rk'a7xiik.
but the nation good they-have-done-it to-it its-destiny
'But they will have done it well to(ward) the nation's
destiny.'

Some perfect IVs may function as adjectives (see chapter 6) 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' < Ø B3, muq- 'bury', -oon RTV perf
ee kamsaan 'they are killed' < ee B3p, kamsa- 'kill', -Vn DTJ perf
kuunaan 'he is cured' < Ø B3, kuuna- 'cure', -Vn DTJ perf
in b'irib'a7oon ~ in b'irib'aan 'I am shaken' < in B1,
b'irib'a7- 'shake', -oon ~ -Vn DTJ perf
ix ajo7oon 'you are all loved' < ix B2p, aajo7- 'love, want', -oon perf

4.1.2.2 The Nonperfect

Verbs in the nonperfect always begin with a prefix that indicates aspect, tense, and/or mode, and that always precedes the absolutive and ergative person markers. The prefixes used in the nonperfect form a mutually exclusive paradigmatic set. That is, one (and only one) 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)
- **kx-/xt-** potential (including future tense and irrealis or past subjunctive modes)

TVs only:
- **j-** 'go' imperative

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

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

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

The incompletive in **n-** is used to indicate: (1) habitual aspect (like the present tense in English); (2) immediate future tense much like the 'be going to' future in English or the 'ir a' future in Spanish; and (3) the narrative past in discourse, texts, or stories, much like the
imperfective in Spanish. Actually, with respect to the narrative past, it seems that in Tzutujil the speaker assumes the time framework of the story he or she is telling, so that n- indicates narrative 'present' more than narrative 'past'. Therefore, activities occurring before the narrative present are indicated with the completive in x-.

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

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

In addition to an aspect, tense, or mode prefix, verbs in the non-perfect may also require a suffix or enclitic depending on the verb class:
Suffixes and Enclitics Used in the Nonperfect:

-\(i\) (-\(\sim\)-\(\sim\)) IV nonperfect phrase-final suf
-\(a?\) (-\(\sim\)-\(\sim\)-\(\sim\)-\(\sim\)) RTV obligative/imperative and directional suf
-\(V\) \(\) DTJ nonperfect suf
-\(n\) optative, future, and necessitative enclitic

All intransitive verbs in the nonperfect require the phrase-final suffix \(-i\) (=-0 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.

(14) a. jar aachi xwar 'the man slept'
the man slept
b. jun aachi xwar 'a man slept'
a man slept
c. xwar jar aachi 'the man slept'
slept the man

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

It should be noted that phrase-final \(-i\) always assimilates to \(-e\) after the positional intransitivizing suffix \(-e?\) (e.g. xwar\(e?\)e 'he got naked'\(<\ x\)- comp, \(\phi\) B3, xan- \(P\) 'naked', \(-e?\) intransitivizer, \(-i\) \(\sim\)-\(e\) pf), and always disappears after the nonperfect stem of the irregular verb b'e- 'go' (e.g. xb'e 'he went' \(<\ x\)- comp, \(\phi\) B3, b'e- 'go', \(-i\) \(\sim\) \(\phi\)).

With most inflections in the nonperfect, root transitive verbs do not require any suffix (e.g. nuub'an 'he does it' \(<\ n\)- incomp, \(\phi\) B3, uu-
Verbs

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

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

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

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

(17) xakamsaaj 'you killed it' < x- comp, Ø B3, a- A2, kamsa- 
'kill', -Vj nonperf
ma xakamsaaj ta 'you didn't kill it < ma...ta neg, and vowel 
shortening (see rule 23, section 1.6.2)
xakamsaaj iiwit 'you killed it yesterday' < iiwit 'yes-

terday'
ne7akamsaaj 'you kill them' < n- incomp, e7- B3p
xtakamsaaj 'you would kill it' < xt- potential
takamsaaj 'kill it!' < t- oblig

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

Derived transitive verbs in 7 (DTJs) never require a special inflec­tional suffix in any of the inflectional categories of the nonperfect. However, all DTJs end in a derivational suffix (see section 4.2.3) whose last segment is 7. Compare the examples in (18).
(18) xakotz'ob'a7 'you laid it down' < x-comp, Ø B3, a- A2, kotz'ob'a7- 'lay down' < kotz'- P 'lying', -V, b'a7 transitivizing
  ma xakotz'ob'a7 ta 'you didn't lay it down' < ma...ta neg
  nakotz'ob'a7 'you lay it down' < n= incomp
takotz'ob'a7 'lay it down!' < t- oblig
xtakotz'ob'a7 'you would lay it down' < xt- potential
xk'aqak'a7 raqan 'she stomped her foot' < x-comp, Ø B3, Ø A3,
  k'aqak'a7- 'stomp' DT7 < k'aq- RTV 'shoot', -V, C a7
transitivizer, raqan 'her foot'

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

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

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

(20) xtwar na 'he'll sleep'
  xkinwar na 'I'll sleep'
  xtuuch'ey na 'she'll hit him'
  xkinruuch'ey na 'he'll hit me'
  xtkamsaj na 'he'll kill it'
xkerkamsaj na 'he’ll kill them'
xtkotz'ob'a7 na 'she’ll lay it down'
xkinakotz'ob'a7 na 'you'll lay me down'

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

The morphological structures of nonperfect verbs are given below.

Nonperfect Intransitive Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nonperfect prefix</th>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>IV STEM</th>
<th>~i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Nonperfect Transitive Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nonperfect prefix</th>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>ergative prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV ROOT</td>
<td>-a7 oblig/imp</td>
<td>DTJ STEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-Vj</td>
<td>DT7 STEM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 1, kunaxik (stem kuuna-) 'to cure' (4.1.3.3); and for the derived transitive in 7, ajo7xik (stem aaJo7-) 'to want, love' (4.1.3.4). Note that ch'eyooj and kunaxik are consonant-initial transitive verbs and therefore take the preconsonantal ergative prefixes, while ajo7xik is a vowel-initial transitive verb and so it takes the prevocalic ergative prefixes (see section 3.1).2
In the paradigms, the following abbreviations are employed:

- $S_1$ = first person singular
- $S_2$ = second person singular
- $S_3$ = third person singular
- $P_1$ = first person plural
- $P_2$ = second person plural
- $P_3$ = third person plural

In the paradigms of transitive verbs, notations such as '$S_1 \rightarrow S_2$' mean that a first person singular agent acts on a second person singular patient; likewise, '$S_2 \rightarrow S_1$' means that a second person singular agent acts on a first person singular patient, and similarly for the other person-number possibilities of agents acting on patients.

However, note that in the paradigms of transitive verbs no reflexive constructions are given because reflexives, formally, are not a part of the regular paradigms (see section 9.5 on reflexives). Therefore, examples such as $S_1 \rightarrow S_1$, $S_2 \rightarrow S_2$, $P_1 \rightarrow P_1$, and $P_2 \rightarrow P_2$ are not given. On the other hand, forms such as $S_3 \rightarrow S_3$ and $P_3 \rightarrow P_3$ are given, but in these cases the third person agents and patients, respectively, are not coreferential. Actually, transitive verbs in reflexive constructions are always inflected for the appropriate agent with an ergative prefix, but patient marking on the verb is always third person singular absolutive null, no matter what the person and number of the patient (and agent) is.

The reflexive patient is indicated with a possessive prefix, agreeing in person and number with the agent, on the relational noun -ii7 'self' (e.g. wii7 'myself', aawii7 'yourself', rii7 him/her/itself', etc.), which follows the verb (e.g. xinch'ey wii7 'I hit myself', xaach'ey aawii7 'you hit yourself', xuuch'ey rii7 'he hit himself'). Thus, except in the third person singular and plural, transitive verbs are never inflected with absolutive and ergative person markers that are the same in terms of person and number. That is forms such as *xinnuuch'ey, *xiaach'ey, *xocqqaach'ey, and *xixeech'ey do not exist (i.e. they are ungrammatical).
4.1.3.1 Paradigms of Two Intransitive Verbs: *waraam* 'to sleep' and *eleen* 'to go out, leave'

**Perfect in -naq**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Warnaq</th>
<th>Elnaq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1</td>
<td>warnaq</td>
<td>elnaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2</td>
<td>at warnaq</td>
<td>at elnaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>warnaq</td>
<td>elnaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>oq warnaq</td>
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<td>ix elnaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>ee warnaq</td>
<td>e7 elnaq</td>
</tr>
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**Compleitive in x- (~Ø/II_C)**

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<tr>
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<th>Xinwarí</th>
<th>Xinelleí</th>
</tr>
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<td>xineeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>xateeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
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<td>xeeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>xoqelleí</td>
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<td>xixeeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
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<td>xe7elleí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Incompletive in n-**

<table>
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<th>Ninelleí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>nineeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>natwarí</td>
<td>nateeli</td>
</tr>
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<td>neeli</td>
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<tr>
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<td>noqelleí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>nixeeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>neewarí</td>
<td>ne7elleí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Obligative/Imperative in k-/t-**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Kateeli</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>kateeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3</td>
<td>tiwarí</td>
<td>teeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P1</td>
<td>qoowarí</td>
<td>qo7elleí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>kixwarí</td>
<td>kixeeli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3</td>
<td>keewarí</td>
<td>ke7elleí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 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 | xkineli |
| S2  | xkatwari | xkateeli |
| S3  | xtiwari | xteeli |
| P1  | xqoowari | xqo7eeli |
| P2  | xkinwari | xkixeli |
| P3  | xkeewari | xke7eeli |

### Future in xk-/xt-...na

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

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

#### Perfect in -oon

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

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

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

Completive in x-

S1 → S2 xatnuuch’ey
→ S3 xinch’ey
→ P2 xixnuuch’ey
→ P3 xeenuuch’ey

S2 → S1 xinach’ey
→ S3 xaach’ey
→ P1 xoqach’ey
→ P3 xe7ach’ey

S3 → S1 xinruuch’ey
→ S2 xatrouch’ey
→ S3 xuuch’ey
→ P1 xoqruuch’ey
→ P2 xixruuch’ey
→ P3 xeeruuch’ey

S1 → S2 xatqaach’ey
→ S3 (x)qaach’ey
→ P2 xixqaach’ey
→ P3 xeeqaach’ey

S2 → S1 xineech’ey
→ S3 xeec’ey
→ P1 xoqeech’ey
→ P3 xe7eech’ey

S3 → S1 xinkeech’ey
→ S2 xarkeech’ey
→ S3 (x)keech’ey
→ P1 xoqkeech’ey
→ P2 xixkeech’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
→ S3 nuuch’ey
→ P1 xoqruuch’ey
→ P2 xixruuch’ey
→ P3 xeeruuch’ey

S2 → S1 minach’ey
→ S3 nuuch’ey
→ P1 xoqach’ey
→ P2 xixach’ey
→ P3 xe7aach’ey

S3 → S1 nuuch’ey
→ P1 xoqeech’ey
→ P2 xeech’ey
→ P3 xe7cech’ey

except that S1 → S3 is rch’ey instead of the expected *ninach’ey.
Obligative/Imperative in k'/t-...-a7
(N.B.: S1 → other persons is not used; however it can be used reflexively: tinc'h'eya7 wii7 'I must hit myself' < wii7 'myself'; see section 9.5 on reflexives.)

S2 → S1 kínach'eya7  P2 → S2 kínech'eya7
 → S3 tach'eya7  → S3 tech'eya7
 → P1 qo7ach'eya7  → P1 qo7ech'eya7
 → P3 ke7ach'eya7  → P3 ke7ach'eya7
S3 → S1 ki(n)rch'eya7  P3 → S1 kíńkich'eya7
 → S2 katrch'eya7  → S2 kátkich'eya7
 → S3 tich'eya7  → S3 (tí)kich'eya7
 → P1 qoorch'eya7  → P1 qóokich'eya7
 → P2 kíxrch'eya7  → P2 kíxkich'eya7
 → P3 keerch'eya7  → P3 keekich'eya7
P1 → S2 katqach'eya7  P1 → P2 kíxqach'eya7
 → S3 (tí)qach'eya7  → P3 qooqach'eya

Note that in P1/P3 → S3, the obligative prefix ~ 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 katqach'ey na
 → S3 tinc'h'ey na  → S3 tiqach'ey na
 → P2 kíxnuuch'ey na  → P2 kíxqach'ey na
 → P3 keenuch'ey na  → P3 keeqach'ey na
S2 → S1 kínaach'ey na  P2 → S1 kíneech'ey na
 → S3 taach'ey na  → S3 teech'ey na
 → P1 qo7aach'ey na  → P1 qo7eechoch'ey na
 → P3 ke7aach'ey na  → P3 ke7eech'ey na
Verbs

| S3 → S1 | kínuruuch'ey na | P3 → S1 | kínkeech'ey na |
| → S2 | káturuuch'ey na | → S2 | kátkeech'ey na |
| → S3 | túbch'ey na | → S3 | túbkeech'ey na |
| → P1 | kóoruuch'ey na | → P1 | kóookeech'ey na |
| → P2 | kixuruuch'ey na | → P2 | kixkeech'ey na |
| → P3 | keeruruuch'ey na | → P3 | keekeech'ey na |

Potential in xk-/xt-

| S1 → S2 | xkatnuuch'ey | P1 → S2 | xkatqaach'ey |
| → S3 | xstinč'ey | → S3 | xtqaach'ey |
| → P2 | xkimnuuch'ey | → P2 | xkiqaach'ey |
| → P3 | xkeenuuch'ey | → P3 | xkeeqaach'ey |
| S2 → S1 | xkinaach'ey | P2 → S1 | xkieech'ey |
| → S3 | xtaach'ey | → S3 | xteech'ey |
| → P1 | xqo7aach'ey | → P1 | xqo7eech'ey |
| → P3 | xke7aach'ey | → P3 | xke7eech'ey |
| S3 → S1 | xkinuruuch'ey | P3 → S1 | xkinkeech'ey |
| → S2 | kátruruuch'ey | → S2 | kátkeech'ey |
| → S3 | xtúuch'ey | → S3 | xtkeech'ey |
| → P1 | xqóoruruuch'ey | → P1 | xqóokeech'ey |
| → P2 | xkiírruruuch'ey | → P2 | xkiíkeech'ey |
| → P3 | xkeeruruuch'ey | → P3 | xkekeech'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 | xkiíqaaach'ey na |
| S2 → S1 | xkinaach'ey na | P2 → P1 | xqo7eech'ey na |
| S3 → S3 | xtúuch'ey na | P3 → P3 | xkekeech'ey na |
4.1.3.3 Paradigm of a Derived Transitive Verb in j: kunaxik 'to cure'

**Perfect in -Vn**

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<tr>
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<th>P1</th>
<th>S2</th>
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<td>S2</td>
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<td>S3</td>
<td>qkuunaan</td>
<td>→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>→</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>qkuunaan</td>
<td>→</td>
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<td>ee</td>
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**Completive in x-**

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<td>(x)qakuunaaj</td>
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<td>→</td>
<td>S2</td>
<td>xatkikuunaaj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Verbs

Incompletive in n-

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

S1 -> S2 nacnkuunaaj  P1 -> P2 nixqakuunaaj
S2 -> S1 ninkuunaaj   P2 -> P1 noqekuunaaj
S3 -> S3 nknuunaaj    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 kinkukuunaaj  P2 -> S1 kinkukuunaaj
    n -> S3 takuunaaj    -> S3 tkuunaaj
    P1 -> P1 q07akuunaaj  -> P1 q07ekuunaaj
    P2  k37akuunaaj      -> P3 k37ekuunaaj
S3 -> S1 kinrkuunaaj   P3 -> S1 kinikiukuunaaj
    n -> S2 katruunaaj    -> S2 katikiukuunaaj
    P1 -> P1 qorakuunaaj  -> P1 qookikuunaaj
    P2  kixrkuunaaj      -> P2 kiskikuunaaj
    P3  keeqruunaaj      -> P3 keeqikuunaaj
S2 -> S3 ktrrkuunaaj   P1 -> P2 kisqakuunaaj
    (t) -> P3 keeqakuunaaj
S1 -> S2 katqakuunaaj  P3 -> P3 keeqakuunaaj
    (t) -> 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 kantnkuunaaj  P1 -> P2 kisqakunaj na
    n -> S3 tinkunaj na  -> P3 keeqakunaj na
Potential in xk/xt-

| S1 → S2 | xkatnkuunaaj | P1 → P2 | xkatqakuunaaj |
| → S3   | xtitkkuunaaj | → S3   | xtitqakuunaaj |
| → P2   | xkixnakkuunaaj | → P2   | xkixqakuunaaj |
| → P3   | xkeenkuunaaj | → P3   | xkeeqakuunaaj |
| S2 → S1 | xkinakuunaaj | P2 → S1 | xkinakuunaaj |
| → S3   | xtkakuunaaj | → S3   | xtekuunaaj |
| → P1   | xqo7akuunaaj | → P1   | xqo7ekuunaaj |
| → P3   | xke7akuunaaj | → P3   | xke7ekuunaaj |

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 | xkatnkuunaaj | P1 → P2 | xkixqakuunaaj |
| → S3   | xtitkkuunaaj | → P3   | xkeeqakuunaaj |
| S2 → S1 | xkinakuunaaj | P2 → P1 | xqo7ekuunaaj |
| → S3   | xtkakuunaaj | → P3   | xke7ekuunaaj |
| S3 → S1 | xkinrkkuunaaj | P3 → P1 | xqo7ekuunaaj |
| → S2   | xkatrkkuunaaj | → P2   | xkixxikuunaaj |
| → S3   | xtkikuunaaj | → P3   | xkeekikuunaaj |
4.1.3.4 Paradigms of a Vowel-Initial Derived Transitive Verb in ʔ: ajoʔxik 'to want, love'

### Perfect in -oon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S1</th>
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<th>P1</th>
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<td>eʔ awajoʔoon</td>
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### Completive in x-

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---

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

### Perfect in -oon

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### Completive in x-

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<tr>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P2</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>P3</td>
<td>P3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
<td>xatwaajoʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

\[
\begin{align*}
S1 & \rightarrow S2 \quad \text{natwaajo7} & P1 & \rightarrow P2 \quad \text{nixqaajo7} \\
S2 & \rightarrow S1 \quad \text{ninawaajo7} & P2 & \rightarrow P1 \quad \text{noqewaajo7} \\
S3 & \rightarrow S3 \quad \text{nraajo7} & P3 & \rightarrow P3 \quad \text{neekaajo7}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Obligative/Imperative in k-/t-
(N.B.: the obligative is not used with the first person singular agent.)

\[
\begin{align*}
S2 & \rightarrow S1 \quad \text{kinwaajo7} & P2 & \rightarrow S1 \quad \text{kinewaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow S3 \quad \text{tawaajo7} & & \rightarrow S3 \quad \text{tewaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow P1 \quad \text{qo7awaajo7} & & \rightarrow P1 \quad \text{qo7ewaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow P3 \quad \text{ke7awaajo7} & & \rightarrow P3 \quad \text{ke7ewaajo7} \\
S3 & \rightarrow S1 \quad \text{kinraajo7} & P3 & \rightarrow S1 \quad \text{kinkaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow S2 \quad \text{katraajo7} & & \rightarrow S2 \quad \text{katkaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow S3 \quad \text{traajo7} & & \rightarrow S3 \quad (ti)kaajo7 \\
& \rightarrow P1 \quad \text{qooraaajo7} & & \rightarrow P1 \quad \text{qookaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow P2 \quad \text{kixraajo7} & & \rightarrow P2 \quad \text{kixaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow P3 \quad \text{keeraajo7} & & \rightarrow P3 \quad \text{keekaajo7} \\
P1 & \rightarrow S2 \quad \text{kataaj07} & P1 & \rightarrow P2 \quad \text{kiqqaajo7} \\
& \rightarrow S3 \quad (ti)qaoajo7 & & \rightarrow P3 \quad \text{keeqaajo7} \\
& & \rightarrow \text{P2 kixqaajo7} & & \rightarrow \text{P3 keeqaajo7} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Go' Imperative in j-

\[
\begin{align*}
S2 & \rightarrow S3 \quad \text{jawaajo7} & P2 & \rightarrow S3 \quad \text{jewaajo7}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
S1 & \rightarrow S2 \quad \text{katwaajo7 na} & P1 & \rightarrow P2 \quad \text{kiqxaajo7 na} \\
& \rightarrow S3 \quad \text{tinwaajo7 na} & & \rightarrow P3 \quad \text{keeqaajo7 na}
\end{align*}
\]
### Potential in xk-/xt-:

| S1 → S2 | xkatwaajo7 | P1 → P2 | xkatqaajo7 |
| S3      | xtinwaajo7 | S3 → S2 | xkatqaajo7 |
| P2      | xkixwaajo7 | P2 → P3 | xkixaajo7  |
| P3      | xkeewaajo7 | P3 → P2 | xkeeqaajo7 |

| S1 → S2 | xkinawajo7 | P2 → S1 | xkinewaajo7 |
| S3      | xtinwajo7  | S3 → S1 | xkinewaajo7 |
| P1      | xqo7awajo7 | P1 → P3 | xqo7awaajo7 |
| P3      | xke7awaajo7| P3 → P1 | xke7awaajo7 |

| S2 → S1 | xkinraajo7 | P3 → S1 | xkinraajo7 |
| S3      | xkatraajo7 | S3 → S2 | xkatkaajo7 |
| S3      | xtraajo7  | S3 → S1 | xtraajo7  |
| P1      | xqookraajo7| P1 → P2 | xqookraajo7|
| P2      | xkixraajo7 | P2 → P3 | xkixraajo7 |
| P3      | xkeeraajo7 | P3 → P1 | xkeeraajo7 |

### 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 | xkatwaajo7 | P1 → P2 | xkatqaajo7 |
| S3      | xtinwaajo7 | S3 → S2 | xkatqaajo7 |
| P2      | xkixwaajo7 | P2 → P3 | xkixaajo7  |
| P3      | xkeewaajo7 | P3 → P2 | xkeeqaajo7 |

| S2 → S1 | xkinawajo7 | P2 → S1 | xkinewaajo7 |
| S3      | xtinwajo7  | S3 → S1 | xkinewaajo7 |
| P1      | xqo7awajo7 | P1 → P3 | xqo7awaajo7 |
| P3      | xke7awaajo7| P3 → P1 | xke7awaajo7 |

| S3 → S1 | xkinraajo7 | P3 → S1 | xkinraajo7 |
| S2      | xkatraajo7 | S2 → S3 | xkatkaajo7 |
| S3      | xtraajo7  | S3 → S2 | xtraajo7  |
| P1      | xqookraajo7| P1 → P2 | xqookraajo7|
| P2      | xkixraajo7 | P2 → P3 | xkixraajo7 |
| P3      | xkeeraajo7 | P3 → P1 | xkeeraajo7 |
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- '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.

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

Perfect Directional Intransitive Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>absolutive</th>
<th>directional</th>
<th>IV STEM</th>
<th>-naq</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>proclitic</td>
<td>prefix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonperfect Directional Intransitive Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nonperfect prefix</th>
<th>absolutive</th>
<th>directional</th>
<th>IV STEM</th>
<th>-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prefix</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
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'seya7 'you came and hit me' < x- comp, in- B1, a- A2, jr- 'come', ch'ey- RTV 'hit', -a7

xinejrkunaaj 'you all came and cured me' < x-, in- B1, e- A2p, jr- 'come', kuuna- DTJ 'cure', -Vj nonperf

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

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

xinejrwijqaaj 'you all came and carried me' < e-...w- A2p

Directional prefixes have not been recorded on perfect transitive verbs.

Normal Nonperfect Directional Transitive Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nonperf prefix</th>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>directional prefix</th>
<th>ergative prefix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DTJ STEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TV ROOT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-a7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DT7 STEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Vj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nonperfect Directional Transitive Verb with Ergative a(\(w\))= A2 or e(\(w\))= A2p

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nonperf prefix</th>
<th>absolutive prefix</th>
<th>a-</th>
<th>e-</th>
<th>jr-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV ROOT</td>
<td>-a7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEJ STEM</td>
<td>-Vj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DF7 STEM</td>
<td>w- Vowel Initial TV Stem</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Waraam with Directional Prefixes:

- 'go'
  - 'come'
  - 'come'

Eeleem with Directional Prefixes:

- 'go'
  - 'come'
  - 'come'

Waraam with Directional Prefixes:

- 'go'
  - 'come'
  - 'come'

Eeleem with Directional Prefixes:

- 'go'
  - 'come'
  - 'come'
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 e- A2 contracts to (b’)aa-, and (b’)ee- plus the ergative prefix e- A2p contract to (b’)ee-.

Ch’eyooj with Directional Prefixes:

'go'  'come'

S1 - S2 xateench’eya7 xatujnch’eya7
  + S3 x(b’)eench’eya7 xujnch’eya7
  + P2 xixeench’eya7 xixujnch’eya7
  + P3 xe/eench’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 ~ xeeb’aach’eya7

S3 - S1 xineerch’eya7 xinuvrch’eya7
  + S2 xateerch’eya7 xatuvrch’eya7
  + S3 x(b’)eerch’eya7 xuvrch’eya7
  + P1 xoqerch’eya7 xoquvrch’eya7
  + P2 xixeerch’eya7 xixuvrch’eya7
  + P3 xe7eerch’eya7 xe7uvrch’eya7
  ~ xeeb’eech’eya7 ~ xu7uvrch’eya7

P1 - S2 xateeqach’eya7 xatujqach’eya7
  + S3 x(b’)eeqach’eya7 xujqach’eya7
  + P2 xixeeqach’eya7 xixujqach’eya7
  + P3 xe7eeqach’eya7 xe7ujqach’eya7
  ~ xeeb’eeqach’eya7 ~ xu7ujqach’eya7

P2 - S1 xin(b’)eech’eya7 xinajrch’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 xoqeeekich'eya7 xoqujetich'eya7
  + P2 xixeekich'eya7 xixujkich'eya7
  + P3 xxe7eekich'eya7 xe7ujkich'eya7
  ~ xeeb'seekich'eya7 ~ xe7ujkich'eya7

Kunaxik with Directional Prefixes:

'go'
S1 + S2 xateenkuunaaj xatujnkuunaaj
  + S3 x(b')eenkuunaaj xujnkuunaaj
  + P2 xixeenkuunaaj xixujnkuunaaj
  + P3 xxe7eenkuunaaj xe7ujnkuunaaj
  ~ xeeb'eenkuunaaj ~ xe7ujnkuunaaj

S2 + S1 xin(b')aakuunaaj xinajrkuunaaj
  + S3 x(b')aakuunaaj xajrkuunaaj
  + P1 xoq(b')aakuunaaj xoqajrkuunaaj
  + P3 xe7aakuunaaj xe7ajrkuunaaj
  ~ xeeb'aakuunaaj

S3 + S1 xineerkuunaaj xinujrkuunaaj
  + S2 xateerkuunaaj xatujrkuunaaj
  + S3 x(b')eerkuunaaj xujrkuunaaj
  + P1 xoqeerkuunaaj xoqajrkuunaaj
  + P2 xixeerkuunaaj xixujrkuunaaj
  + P3 xxe7eerkuunaaj xe7ujrkuunaaj
  ~ xeeb'eerkuunaaj ~ xe7ujrkuunaaj

P1 + S2 xateeqakuunaaj xatujqakuunaaj
  + S3 x(b')eeqakuunaaj xujqakuunaaj
  + P2 xixeeqakuunaaj xixujqakuunaaj
  + P3 xxe7eeqakuunaaj xe7ujqakuunaaj
  ~ xeeb'eeqakuunaaj ~ xe7ujqakuunaaj

P2 + S1 xin(b')eekunaaj xin ejrkuunaaj
  + S3 x(b')eekunaaj xejrkunaaj
  + P1 xoq(b')eekunaaj xe7ejrkunaaj
  + P3 xe7eekunaaj xoqejrkunaaj
  ~ xeeb'eekunaaj
Verbs

Ijgaxik with Directional Prefixes:

| Directional Prefix | Verb | "go" | "come"
|--------------------|------|------|------
| P3 + S1 xineekikuunaaj | xinujikiuunaaj | xinujikiuunaaj |
| + S2 xateekikuunaaj | xatujikiuunaaj | xatujikiuunaaj |
| + S3 x(b')eekiekikuunaaj | xujjikiuunaaj | xujjikiuunaaj |
| + P1 xoqeeekikuunaaj | xoqqukiuunaaj | xoqqukiuunaaj |
| + P2 xixeekikuunaaj | xixejukiuunaaj | xixejukiuunaaj |
| + P3 xe7eeekikuunaaj | xe7ujukiuunaaj | xe7ujukiuunaaj |

~ xeebeekikuunaaj ~ xu7ukiuunaaj |

52 51 xin(b')aawijqaaj | xinajrwiqqaaj | xinajrwiqqaaj |
| + S3 x(b')aawijqaaj | xajrwiqqaaj | xajrwiqqaaj |
| + P1 xoq(b')aawijqaaj | xoqarwiqqaaj | xoqarwiqqaaj |
| + P3 xe7aawijqaaj | xe7arwiqqaaj | xe7arwiqqaaj |

~ xeebaawijqaaj |

53 51 xineerijqaaj | xinujriqqaaj | xinujriqqaaj |
| + S2 xateerrijqaaj | xatujriqqaaj | xatujriqqaaj |
| + S3 x(b')eerijqaaj | xujriqqaaj | xujriqqaaj |
| + P1 xoqeerijqaaj | xoqujriqqaaj | xoqujriqqaaj |
| + P2 xixeerrijqaaj | xixejriqqaaj | xixejriqqaaj |
| + P3 xe7eerijqaaj | xe7ujriqqaaj | xe7ujriqqaaj |

~ xeebeerijqaaj ~ xu7ujriqqaaj |

P1 + S2 xateeqijqaaj | xatujqiqqaaj | xatujqiqqaaj |
| + S3 x(b')eeqijqaaj | xujqiqqaaj | xujqiqqaaj |
| + P2 xixeeqijqaaj | xixeqjqiqqaaj | xixeqjqiqqaaj |
| + P3 xe7eqijqaaj | xe7ujqiqqaaj | xe7ujqiqqaaj |

~ xeebeeqijqaaj ~ xu7ujqiqqaaj |

F2 + S1 xin(b')eewijqaaj | xinejrwiqqaaj | xinejrwiqqaaj |
| + S3 x(b')eewijqaaj | xejrwiqqaaj | xejrwiqqaaj |
| + P1 xoq(b')eewijqaaj | xoqejrwiqqaaj | xoqejrwiqqaaj |
| + P3 xe7eewijqaaj | xe7ejrwiqqaaj | xe7ejrwiqqaaj |

~ xeebeewijqaaj |
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 (see section 9.6.1 on passives), which are always morphologically intransitive and derived from transitive verbs, have infinitives in -ik, never in -eem.

Intransitive Infinitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-eem:</th>
<th>bi'ijneem 'to walk'</th>
<th>yawajeem 'to get sick'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>~-aam:</td>
<td>ookeem 'to enter'</td>
<td>eeleeem 'to go out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~-iim:</td>
<td>waraam 'to sleep'</td>
<td>b'eensam 'to go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>~-ik:</td>
<td>wa7lim 'to eat'</td>
<td>yawajik 'to get sick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[and all intransitive simple passives from transitive verbs (see below)]

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

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

Root Transitive Infinitives

-ooj Active:
  ch'eyooj 'to hit'
  loq'ooj 'to buy'

-ik Simple Passive:
  ch'ejyik 'to be hit'
  loq'ik 'to be bought'

-eem Absolutive:
  ch'eyooneem 'to hit'
  loq'ooneem 'to buy'

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

Derived Transitive Infinitives

-ooj Active:
  ch'eyooj 'to hit'
  loq'ooj 'to buy'

-ik Simple Passive:
  ch'ejyik 'to be hit'
  loq'ik 'to be bought'

-eem Absolutive:
  ch'eyooneem 'to hit'
  loq'ooneem 'to buy'

-ik Simple Passive:
  kamsaxik 'to be killed'
  kunaxik 'to be cured'
  ajo7xik 'to be wanted, loved'

-eem Absolutive:
  kamsaneem 'to kill'
  kunaaneem 'to cure'
  ajo7neem 'to want, love'
Note that DTVs are cited throughout this work in the simple passive infinitive, since there is no free occurring active infinitive. And usually the translation is active rather than the more accurate passive translation (e.g. kamsaxik 'to kill' rather than the more accurate 'to be killed'). Passive translations are given only when the need arises to distinguish passive meaning from active meaning (as in the examples above).

4.1.5.2 Principal Parts

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

**Principal Parts of Intransitive Verbs:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs (intransitive)</th>
<th>Principal Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>waraam 'to sleep'</td>
<td>yawajeem 'to get sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warnaq 'have slept'</td>
<td>yawajnaq 'have got sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xinwari 'I slept'</td>
<td>xinyawaji 'I got sick'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Principal Parts of Root Transitive Verbs:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs (transitive)</th>
<th>Principal Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ch'eyooj 'to hit'</td>
<td>b'anooj 'to do, make'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'ejyik 'to be hit'</td>
<td>b'ajnik 'to be done, made'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'eyoon '(have) hit'</td>
<td>b'anoon '(have) done, made'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xatnuch'ey 'I hit you'</td>
<td>xeenuub'an 'I made them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Principal Parts of Derived Transitive Verbs in -J:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs (transitive)</th>
<th>Principal Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kunaxik 'to cure (be cured)'</td>
<td>kamsaxik 'to kill (be killed)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuunaan '(have) cured'</td>
<td>kamsaan '(have) killed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xatnkuunaaj 'I cured you'</td>
<td>xeenkamsaaj 'I killed them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Principal Parts of Derived Transitive Verbs in -7:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs (transitive)</th>
<th>Principal Parts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ajo7nik 'to want, love (be wanted, loved)'</td>
<td>b'irib'a7xik 'to shake (be shaken)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.1.6 Irregular Verbs

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb</th>
<th>Principal Parts</th>
<th>Imperative Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>b'eenam 'to go'</em></td>
<td><em>b'enaq 'have gone'</em></td>
<td><em>xb'e 'he went'</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pejteem 'to come'</em></td>
<td><em>pejnaq ~ pejtinaq 'have come'</em></td>
<td><em>xpeeti 'he came'</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

There are a fairly large number of defective verbs (especially IVs), which lack one or more principal parts. Thus, focus antipassive
Intransitive verbs formed with -ow from RTVs lack an infinitive (e.g. *ch'eyoweem < ch'eyow- 'be the one who hit'). Many intransitive verbs formed from transitive and/or positional roots with the intransitive deriving suffixes -V_i1, -V_i10, and -V_i10 often lack an infinitive and/or perfect form. For example the IVs setet- 'for a discoid object to roll' (< set- P 'discoid'; -V_i1), and wach'aw07- 'break up rapidly' (< wach' RTV 'break', -V_i10), do not have infinitives or perfect forms. Inchoative intransitive verbs formed with -e7 from positional roots always lack an infinitive (e.g. *tz'ub'ule7eem < tz'ub'-P 'sitting'). However, a few very common positional adjectives in -V_i1 have infinitival forms in -eem that functionally take the place of the nonexistent inchoative infinitives (e.g. tz'ub'uleem 'to sit down' < tz'ub'-P 'be sitting', a positional adjective).

Another highly irregular intransitive verb is che7- (~ chi- ~ i7- ~ i- 'say', which is used in quoting someone directly (N.B.: che7- is etymologically related to the quotative particle cha7; see 7.1.7.5). Che7- has no infinitive form and has the irregular allomorphic alternations illustrated below. Note that the phrase-final suffix -i assimilates to -e after the stem vowel e (e.g. xatche7e  < /xatche7-e/).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>che7-</th>
<th>~ chi- ~ i7- ~ i- 'say'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>che7néaq 'have said'</td>
<td>xche7e 'she said'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xatche7e 'you said'</td>
<td>xchi chee 'she said to him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xatchi chee 'you said to him'</td>
<td>ne7e 'she says'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matche7e 'you say'</td>
<td>ni chee 'she says to him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nthche7e 'you say to him'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Che7- is most irregular in the in completive aspect in n- when the subject is third person singular (indicated with absolutive Ø B3); in phrase-final position and before definite noun phrases the stem has the unexpected form e7- (e.g. n-Ø-e7-e), while in non-phrase-final position before anything but a definite noun phrase the stem has the unexpected for i- (e.g. n-Ø-i chee). Also, the irregular stem chi- occurs in non-phrase-final position before anything but definite noun phrases when the subject is non-third person singular, or in aspects and tenses other than the in completive. In other environments the stem form che7- occurs as expected.
A couple of common transitive verbs also are defective. 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 -Vi. 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 DTJ but in form it is neither DTJ nor DT7 (e.g. wojtaq 'I know it'). In fact, it is the only TV that formally does not fit into any transitive subclass.

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

Ilooj 'to find, get, encounter':

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

Ilooj is the only vowel-initial RTV in Tzutujil. In the nonperfect it irregularly takes the intransitive (!) phrase-final suffix -i, and has the allomorph ijli- instead of the expected il-. The ijli- 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 (see 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 that do not have the form CVC. Meel- is only inflected in the nonperfect (e.g. xuumeel 'he took it').
The derived transitive b'ixik 'to say, tell' is irregular:

**b'ixik** - **b'i7xik** 'to say, tell':

b'iin ~ b'i7n ~ b'i7iin 'have said, told'

xb'iij 'he said it'

xb'iixi ~ xb'i7xi 'it was said'

Note that in the nonperfect b'ixik behaves like a DTJ in that it takes the DTJ suffix -VJ. If the alternate forms with 7 did not occur, then it would appear that b'ixik was a DTJ derived from a root b'- plus the stem-formative vowel -i. However, this would be suspicious because DTVs normally come from roots of the form CVC or longer. The alternate forms with 7 make b'i7xik look like a DT7, except in the nonperfect. Historically, this verb probably comes from the root b'i7i 'name' plus the stem-formative vowel -i, and then the DTJ stem b'i7i 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-comp, ∅ B3, uu- A3, ya7 - RTV 'give, put'

-kik'ama7 > -kima7 optionally < ki- A3p, k'am- RTV 'take', -a7 directional suffix; e.g. neekik'ama7 ~ neekima7 'they go and take it'

There are a couple of vowel-initial DTJ verbs that are in the 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'
Note that in the nonperfect, when the prevocalic ergative prefixes inw- and aw- (as well as ew-, not shown) are used, then the 1 of the stem is elided.

Ak'axaxik ~ k'axaxik 'to hear, ask':
    ak'aaxaan ~ k'aaxaan '(have) heart, asked'
    xarak'aaxaaj ~ xk'aaxaaj 'he heard, asked it'
    xinwk'aaxaaj 'I heard/asked it'
    xawk'aaxaaj 'you heard/asked it'

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

4.2 VERB DERIVATION

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

Affixes deriving IV stems are presented in section 4.2.1; those forming DI stems occur in 4.2.2; and those forming DT stems are in 4.2.3. In 4.2.4 brief mention is made of compound verb stems that are composed of more than one root plus one or more derivational affixes.
The format for presenting information on each derivational affix is as follows:
1. Affix (and its arbitrarily assigned number) and gloss.
2. Allomorphs and distribution (2 is omitted if no allomorphy exists).
3. Function.
4. Productivity.
5. Examples, including one infinitive form (if one exists), one finite form in the completive aspect with a third person singular subject for IVs, and a third person singular agent and patient for TVs.
6. Other comments, if any.

4.2.1 Affixes Deriving Intransitive Verbs

1) 1. -7- 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 -1- (cp. affix 7).

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)
   ntx'aqati 'it finished/it was complete'

3) 1. -e7
   positional intransitivizer

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

4. Productive.

5. Examples:
   xb'01e7e 'it became cylindrical' < b'ol- P 'cylindrical'
   xch'anene7e '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 -j-; and -j- occurs elsewhere.

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

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

5. Examples:
   ch'ejyik 'to be hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
   xch'ejyi 'it was hit'
   lojq'ik 'to be bought' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
   xlojq'i 'it was bought'
   to7jik 'to be paid' < toj- RTV 'pay'
   xto7ji 'it was paid'
   ti7jik 'to be eaten, consumed' < tij- RTV 'eat, consume'
   xti7ji 'it was eaten'
   naa7ik 'to be felt' < na7- RTV 'feel'
   xnaa7i 'it was felt'
   yaa7ik 'to be given, put' < ya7- RTV 'give, put'
   xyaa7i 'it was given/put'
k'ijyeem 'to grow' < k'iy Adj 'much, many'
xk'iyi 'it grew'

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

5) 1. -j-...-07m absolutive
2. -j-...-07m ~ -v-...-07m:
The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Derives absolutive IVs from a handful of RTVs.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
d'iis07m 'to sew' < d'is- RTV 'sew'
xd'iis07mi 'she was sewing'
lojq'07m 'to buy' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
xlojq'07mi 'she was buying'

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

6) 1. -ko7r intransitivizer
3. Derives the one IV given below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
pasko7reem 'to make a ruckus' < pas- (?)
xpasko7ri 'he made a ruckus'

7) 1. -ku7t intransitivizer
3. Derives the one IV given below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
xtz'unku7ti 'it twisted' < tz'un- (?)

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'


9) 1. -ma7y 
slown motion intransitivizer
2. -ma7y ~ -V, ma7y:
The latter form occurs only in one stem, the former in many; the distribution is apparently lexically determined.
3. Derives IVs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and transitive roots, which mean to go around or move (especially slowly) in such and such a manner. Usually the manner of movement is related to the position or form indicated by a positional root, or to the activity of a transitive root.
4. Semiproducive.
5. Examples:
wak'ma7yeem 'to walk like a crab' < wak- P 'standing like a crab or mosquito'
xwak'ma7yi 'it walked like a crab'
jupuma7yeem 'to drag oneself on the belly' < jup- P 'lying face down'
xjupuma7yi 'he dragged himself on the belly'
tikma7yeem 'to go around looking down' < tik- P 'hanging down' and RTV 'plant (plants)'
xtikma7yi 'he went around looking down'


10) 1. -oob' 
intransitivizer
3. Derives one IV from the monosyllabic root given below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
q'aroob'eem 'to get sticky' < q'ar- (?)
xq'aroob'i 'it got sticky'

11) 1. -oon 
absolutive antipassive of RTV
2. -oon ~ -uun:
-uun occurs after a preceding root vowel u, otherwise -oon.
3. Derives absolutive antipassive IVs from RTVs, indicating that the agent performs a transitive activity, without regard or reference to a patient (see section 9.6.2 on antipassives).

4. Productive.

5. Examples:
   
   ch'eyoneem 'to hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
   xch'eyooni 'he was hitting'
   tz'atoneem 'to see, look' < tz'at- RTV 'see, look'
   xtz'atoni 'he was looking'
   muquuneem 'to bury' < muq- RTV 'bury'
   xmuquuni 'he was burying'

6. Cp. $-\text{V}_1\text{n}$ (20), which derives antipassives from DTVs. On a very few transitive roots $-\text{on}$ derives IVs that may be understood (medio)passively. For example,
   
   raqooneem 'to break' < raq- RTV 'break'
   xraqooni 'it broke (was broke)' or 'he was breaking (something)'

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

12) 1. $-\text{ow}$

   focus antipassive of RTV

2. $-\text{ow}$ $-\text{u}$ $-\text{uw}$ $-\text{u}$:

   The alternants with u (i.e., $-\text{uw}$ and $-\text{u}$) occur only after a root vowel u. The alternants without u (i.e. $-\text{u}$ and $-\text{u}$) occur whenever the intransitive phrase-final suffix, $-\text{i}$, is absent; that is, phrase-medially before anything but a definite NP (see section 4.1.2.2). The form $-\text{ow}$ occurs in all environments not included in the two preceding statements.

3. Derives focus antipassives from RTVs (see section 9.6.2 on antipassive voices); also derives IVs from a few other 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'
Verbs

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

jaa7 xloq'owi 'she is the one who bought it'
< loq'-RTV 'buy'

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

jaa7 xmuquwi 'he is the one who buried it'
< muq-RTV 'bury'

jaa7 xmuqu chee7 'he is the one who buried sticks'
< chee7 'tree, wood, stick'

pasoweem 'to pant' < pas- (?)
xpasowi 'he panted'

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

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

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

13) 1. -q'o7t
   Derives the one IV given below.
   Unproductive.
   Example:
   b'olqo7teem 'to get twisted' < b'ol-RTV 'twist strands together in rope-making'
   xbo'lq'o7ti 'it got twisted'

6. Cp. -q'ot'i (41) DTV transitivizer.

14) 1. -V.C
   Derives IVs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and transitive roots, meaning that an activity takes place rapidly or all at once.
   Semiprodutive.
5. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b'irireem} & \quad \text{"to rumble once (a volcano or large body of water)"} < b'it- \text{ RTV "twist thread"} \\
\text{xeb'iri} & \quad \text{"it rumbled"} \\
\text{qitz'itz'eem} & \quad \text{"to squeak once"} < qitz'- \text{ P "stuffed full"} \\
\text{xqitz'itz'i} & \quad \text{"it squeaked once"} \\
\text{rupupeem} & \quad \text{"to fly off"} < rup- (?) \\
\text{xrupupi} & \quad \text{"it flew off"}
\end{align*}
\]

6. Cpo. \( -V,C_{07} \) (46) DTJ transitivizer.

15) 1. \(-V_1{C}_{07}\) \( \text{intransitivizer: agentless} \)

2. \(-V_1{C}_{07} \sim -C_{07}\):

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 occurs without an agent or that an activity makes a certain sound, normally only once.

4. Semiproducive.

5. Examples:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wach'aw07eem} & \quad \text{"to break"} < \text{wach}- \text{ RTV "break"} \\
\text{wach'aw07i} & \quad \text{"it broke"} \\
\text{ch'ananach'o7eem} & \quad \text{"for featherless baby birds to fall from the nest"} < \text{ch'an- P "naked"} \\
\text{xch'ananach'o7i} & \quad \text{"it fell from the nest"} \\
\text{raparo7eem} & \quad \text{"for there to be the sound of flames popping or wings flapping once; for flames to pop once; for wings to flap once"} < \text{rap- (?)} \\
\text{xraparo7i} & \quad \text{"the flame popped/the wings flapped"}
\end{align*}
\]

16) 1. \(-V_1{C}_{07}\) \( \text{lentitive and repetitive intransitivizer} \)

2. \(-V_1{C}_{07} \sim -V_1{C}_{07} \sim -C_{07}\):

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. Semiproducive.

5. Examples:

k'aqak'oteem 'to stomp repeatedly; for the heart to jump repeatedly' < k'aq- RTV 'shoot'

xk'aqak'oti 'he was stomping/his heart jumped'

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

xjilojoti 'he was groaning'

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

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

6. Cp. -Vj, Cj a7 (52) DT transitivizer.

17) 1. -Vj

intransitivizer

2. -aj ~ -ij ~ -oj:

The vowel is lexically determined; the first form is the most common.

3. Derives IVs from various roots and stems.

4. Unproductive or semiproducive (?) .

5. Examples:

yawajeem 'to get sick' < yaaw- 'sick (one)'

xyawaji 'he got sick'

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

xmalka7niji 'she became a widow'

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

xmeloji 'he returned'

18) 1. -Vj, o7j

intransitivizer

2. -Vj, o7j ~ -o7j ~ -ulu7j:

-ulu7j occurs after a preceding root vowel y; the variation of -Vj, o7j ~ -o7j 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 'ititched/stung'
   - tzinlo7jeem 'for metal to clink'
     - tzin- RTV 'make metal clink' and P 'clinking'
     - xtzinlo7ji 'it was clinking'

19) 1. -V,maj
     2. -V,maj ~ -maj:
        The alternation is lexically determined.
     3. Derives IVs only from the two forms below.
     4. Unproductive.
     5. Examples:
        - k'ut(u)majeem 'to appear'
          - k'ut- RTV 'show'
        - ajnamajeem 'to flee'
          - ajn- IV 'be in progress'
        - xajnamaji 'he fled'

6. Cpo -Vmaji (47) DTJ transitivizer.

20) 1. -V,1\n     2. -an ~ -en ~ -in ~ -on ~ -un ~ -n:
        This suffix is added to DTJ stems already formed with a stem-formative vowel (cp. suffix 45, 4.2.2), and to DT7 stems. The allomorph used on DT7 stems is -n. When -V,1\n is added to DTJ stems the stem-formative vowel is doubled or lengthened (e.g. 
        kuuna- DTJ 'cure' + -V,1\n kunaan-). In other words, 'V,1\n indicates a vowel identical with the stem-formative vowel.
3. Derives focus and absolutive antipassive stems (see section 9.6.2) from derived transitive verbs. Also derives IVs from other stems ending in a stem-formative vowel. In the latter case, most commonly, IVs are formed from nouns by the addition of a stem-formative vowel and then -\text{IV}.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

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

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

- *sik'lineem* 'to call' < *sik'li-* DTJ 'call; visit'
  - *xsik'liini* 'he was calling/visiting'
  - *jaa7 xsik'liini* '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'

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

- *sik'lineem* 'to call' < *sik'li-* DTJ 'call; visit'
  - *xsik'liini* 'he was calling/visiting'
  - *jaa7 xsik'liini* 'he was the one who called/visited her'

- *sik'iineem* 'to call' < *sik'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' < *xupu-* DTJ 'blow (at, on)'
  - *(x)xupuuni* 'he was blowing'
  - *jaa7 (x)xupuuni* 'he was the one who blew (at) it'

- *q'ilol07neem* 'to visit' < *q'ilol0-* DTJ 'visit'
  - *xq'ilol07ni* 'he was visiting'
  - *jaa7 xq'ilol07ni* 'he was the one who visited her'

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

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

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

6. Note that when $-\text{IV}$ is added to DTJ stems, the first stem vowel is shortened.
Cp. -oon (11) RTV absolutive, and -ow (12) RTV focus antipassive.

21) 1. -Vr  inchoative intransitivizer; archaic passive

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

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

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

kaqareem 'to redden' < kaq Adj 'red'
  xkaqari 'it reddened'
ch'u7jireem 'to go crazy' < ch'u7j Adj 'crazy'
  xch'u7jirdi 'he went crazy'
tz'iloreem 'to get dirty' < tz'il Adj 'dirty'
  xtz'ilori 'it got dirty'
tewureem 'to cool, freeze' < teep //teew// N and Adj 'cold'
  xtwuori 'it cooled/froze'
ya7reem 'to melt' < ya7 N 'water'
  xyaya7ri '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,taj  completive passive

2. -v,taj ~ -taj:
By far the most common form is -taj, but on some positional and transitive roots only, the root vowel is reduplicated.
3. Derives completive passives (see section 9.6.1) from transitive stems, and derives IVs with a passive or mediopassive meaning from a few positional roots.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:
   - xloq'otaji 'it was already bought' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
   - xch'eytaji 'it was already hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
   - xkunataji 'he was already cured' < kuuna- DJT 'cure'
   - xkamsataji 'it was already killed' < kamsa- DJT 'kill'
   - jaqatajeem 'to open' < jaq- P 'open'
   - xjaqataji 'it opened'
   - k'astajeem 'to wake up' < k'as- P 'awake'
   - xk'astaji 'she woke up'

23) 1. -Vya7j
    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
    2. simple passive of DTV

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

4. Productive.

5. Examples:
   - xkunaxi 'he was cured' < kuuna- DJT 'cure'
   - xkamsaxi 'it was killed' < kamsa- DJT 'kill'
   - xsik'ixi 'she was called' < siik'-i- DJT 'call'
   - xaajo7xi 'it was wanted' < aajo7- DJT 'want, love'
   - qx'ijlo7xi 'she was visited' < q'ijla7- DT7 'visit'
6. Cp. "-j- (4) simple passive infix used on RTVs.  
N.B.: stem vowels preceding -x are shortened.

4.2.2 Affixes Deriving Transitive Verbs in J

25) 1. -a7a  transitivity
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'
   xrawxina7aaaj 'he appropriated it'
   k'ulula7xik 'to contradict, oppose' < k'ul- P 'married'
   and RTV 'encounter'
   xk'ulula7aaaj '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  transitivity
3. Derives the DTJ given below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
   k'amb'ajaxik 'to try out (something)' < k'am- RTV 'take'
   xk'amb'ajaaj 'he tried it out'

27) 1. -b'e  instrumental voice;
        transitivity
3. a) Derives instrumental voice DTJ stems from transitive stems,
       meaning to do such and such an activity with a given instrument
       (see section 9.6.3 on the instrumental voice); b) derives DTJ  
       stems from a handful of IVs and positionals usually meaning to  
       do with, in, or on something; c) derives a handful of DTJs from  
       transitive and other stems, usually meaning to do to or with  
       someone; this latter case is reminiscent of the dative or ref-  
       erential voice found in Western Mayan languages.
4. Productive as an instrumental voice suffix; unproductive or  
   perhaps semiproducive in other cases.
5. Examples:

- Example:
  - ch'eyb'e- 'hit with' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
    - chee7 xch'eyb'eej 'a stick is what he hit it with'

- Example:
  - b'anb'e- 'do with' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'
    - machat xb'anb'eej 'a machete is what he did it with'

- Example:
  - kunab'e- 'cure with' < kun- DTJ 'cure'
    - aq'oom xkunab'eej 'medicine is what she cured him with'

- Example:
  - josq'ib'e- 'clean with' < josq'i- DTJ 'clean'
    - d'ub'aq xjosq'ib'eej 'a wing-feather is what he cleaned it with'

- Example:
  - b'eeb'en way 'to eat tortillas while walking'
    - < b'e- IV 'go', way 'tortilla'
    - xb'eeb'ej rwaay 'he ate tortillas while walking'

- Example:
  - warb'exik 'to sleep on, in' < war- IV 'sleep'
    - xwarb'eej 'he slept on it'

- Example:
  - kamb'e- 'die because of' < kam- IV 'die'
    - xkamb'eej 'he died because of it'

- Example:
  - tziijo- DTJ 'speak, announce'
    - xtzijob'eej 'he talked to her'

- Example:
  - tarar- IV 'search rapidly'
    - xtararb'eej 'he pursued her'

- Example:
  - 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  
    3. Derives a few DTJs from positional and transitive roots.
    4. Unproductive.
    5. Examples:

- jijtz'axik 'to hang (as in executing)' < jitz'- P 'tied tightly' and RTV 'tie tightly'
  - xjijtz'asj 'he hung him'
sojkaxik 'to cut one's own hair' < sok- RTV 'injure, beat up'
xssojkaaj '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'ojej 'he carried a cylindrical object'
   sajnexik 'to carry someone naked' < san- P 'naked'
   xsajnej 'he carried him naked'
   tzejqexik 'to carry something hanging' < tsez- P 'hanging'
   xtzejqeej 'he carried it hanging'

30) 1. -j-...V, V  
transitivizer  
3. Derives only the form given below. Note that this form is an IV derived with -V,n from a DTJ stem that is otherwise unattested.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
   mujqumiineem 'to participate in a funeral'
   < mujqumi- DTJ (?) + -V,n < muq- RTV 'bury'
   xmujqumiini 'he 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- (?)
   xchikkaaj 'he exploded it (e.g. a bomb)'
   jikk'axik 'to scratch' < jix- (?)
   xjikk'aaj 'he scratched it'
   ijgaxik 'to carryon the back' < iij N 'back'
   xrijgaaaj 'he carried it on the back'
Verbs

6. These five suffixes are treated together here as if they were one suffix because (1) it's possible they may be (or once were) allomorphs of the same suffix (N.B.: they all begin with a velar or postvelar stop); (2) to conserve space since each one only derives a single stem; and (3) they are in complementary distribution in that they don't ever occur on the same roots.

32) 1. -katí transitivizer
3. Derives the form below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   b'alkatixik 'to revolve, roll a cylinder' < b'ol- ~ b'al- P 'cylindrical'
   xb'al katiiij 'he rolled it'

33) 1. -kopí transitivizer
3. Derives several DTJs from transitive roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   solkopixik 'to take out of the ground' < sol- RTV 'undo, unwrap, untie'
   xsolkopiiij 'he took it out of the ground'
   ch'olkopixik 'to peel, skin fast' < ch'ol- RTV 'peel, skin'
   xch'ol kopiiij 'he peeled it fast'

34) 1. -ko7ri transitivizer
3. Derives the DTJ given below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
   pasko7rixik 'to make a ruckus' < pas- (?)
   xpasko7riij 'he made a ruckus'

35) 1. -kuti transitivizer
3. Derives the form below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
   tz'unkutixik 'to twist' < tz'un- (?)
   xtz'unkutij 'he twisted it'
6. Cp. -ku7t (?) intransitivizer.

36) 1. -k'at
     
3. Derives the form below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
   jaik'atixik 'to move, change places' < jal- RTV 'change'
   xjaik'atij 'he moved it/changed its place'

37) 1. -ma
     
2. -ma ~ -V,ma:
   The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Derives the two DTJs below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   chojmaxik 'to arrange, resolve' < choj- (?)
       xchojmaaj 'he arranged it'
   junumaxik 'to equalize, level, compare' < juun 'one'
       xjunumaaj 'he leveled it'

38) 1. -mayi
     
2. -mayi ~ -V,mayi:
   The latter allomorph occurs only in one form, the former in many.
3. Derives DTJs from monosyllabic roots, especially positional and transitive roots, that indicate doing something with motion.
4. Semiproductive.
5. Examples:
   tikmayixik 'to put face down' < tik- RTV 'plant (plants)', P 'hanging down'
       xtkmayij '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'akmayij 'he knocked it over'
jupumayixik 'to lay face down fast' < jup- P 'lying face down'
xjupumaij 'he laid it face down fast'

39) 1. -ma transitivizer
3. Derives the form below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
jisnaaxik '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'otí 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'
bx'olq'otixiij 'he twisted it'
xolq'otixik 'to cross over' < xol- RTV 'revolve, mix'
(x)xolq'otíij 'he crossed over it'


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:
kamsaaxik 'to kill' < kam- IV 'die'
kamsaaj 'he killed it'
atiinsaxik 'to bathe' < atiin- IV 'bathe oneself, swim'
xratiinsaaj 'he bathed her'
wartisaxik 'to put to sleep' < war- IV 'sleep' + -ti
xwartissaj 'he put her to sleep'
wa7tisaxik 'to feed' < wa7- IV 'eat' + -ti
xwa7tisajaj 'he fed her'
winaqirsaxik 'to invent, form' < winaqir- IV 'appear'
xwinaqirsajaj 'he invented it'
pog'owrsaxik 'to boil' < pog'ow- IV 'boil' + -r
xpog'owsaaj 'she boiled it'
najb'yasaxik 'to advance' < najb'ey 'first' + -a
xnajb'yasaaj 'he advanced it'
k'ijtisixik 'to rear' < k'iy (*k'ih) Adj 'much, many' + -ti
xk'ijtisijaj 'she reared him'

6. Note that in order to form the causative of some IV stems, the suffixes -ti or -(~)~ must be added before -sa is affixed (e.g. war-=-xik; see other examples in (44)).

43) 1. -ta transitivizer
3. Derives a few DTJ stems.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   na7taxik 'to remember' < na7- RTV 'feel'
xna7taaj 'he remembered it'
metaxik 'to forget' < mes- RTV 'sweep'
xmetaaj 'he forgot it'
solojtaxik 'to shed skin' < soloj (infinitive of) sol-RTV 'unroll, unwrap, untie'
xsolojtaaj 'it shed its skin'

44) 1. -ti causative (?)
3. Derives stems from IVs to which causative -sa (42) is added.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
b'intisaxik 'to make walk' < b'ijn- IV 'walk'
xb'intisaaj 'he made her walk'
q'ab'artisaxik 'to make drunk' < q'ab'ar- IV 'get drunk'
xq'ab'artisaaj 'it made him drunk'
imartisaxik 'to enlarge' < nimar- IV 'enlarge'
xnimartisaaj 'he enlarged it'

6. N.B.: -ti is not used without -sa following it. Also see examples in (42).

45) 1. -V 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'iixaxik 'to sing(a song)' < b'iix N 'song', -a
xb'iixaaj 'she sang it'
imaxik 'to believe' < nim Adj 'big', -a
xniitaaj 'he believed it'
tz'ub'axik 'to kiss' < tz'ub- RTV 'suck', -a
xtz'ub'aaj 'he kissed her'
ke7exik 'to grind' < kee7 N 'grinding stone', -e
xkeee7eaj 'she ground it'
itzezik 'to hex' < ititz N 'hex', -e
xriizzeaj 'he hexed her'
k'ayexik 'to sell' < k'asy- N 'sale', -i
xk'ayiij 'she sold it'
k'aqatixik 'to scratch (an itch)' < k'aqat N 'itch', -i
xk'aqatij 'he scratched it'
kanoxik 'to look for' < kaan- (?), -o
xkaanooj 'he looked for it'
meloxik 'to return, give back' < meel- RTV 'take', -o
xmeeloj 'he returned it'
xakajluxik 'to mount' < xakaji N 'crotch', -u
(x)xakajluuuj 'he mounted it'
tzyaquxik 'to dress' < tzyaq N 'clothes, rags', -u
xtzyaquuj 'she dressed him'

6. It should be noted that all other suffixes deriving DTJ stems discussed in this section (4.2.2) end in a vowel. It could be argued that all of these suffixes are further analyzable into a stem-formative vowel plus the preceding element. This has not been done because the other suffixes function as units, rather than as separate morphemes.

46) 1. \(-V_1^C_2V_1^C_2\) celeritive and simulactive transitivizer

2. \(-V_1^C_2V_1^C_2\) occurs after DTJ stems, otherwise \(-V_1^C_2V_1^C_2\).

3. Derives DTJ stems from monosyllabic roots, especially position-al and transitive roots, and derives DTJ stems from other DTJ stems. The derived forms usually mean to do something rapidly, all at once, or completely.

4. Semiproductive to productive.

5. Examples:
   
   chololoxik 'to explain completely' < chol- RTV 'explain'
   xchololooj 'he explained it completely'
   nich'ich'ixik palaj 'to scrunch up the face completely'
   < nich'- P 'scrunched up (the face)' and RTV 'scrunch up (the face)', palaj 'face'
   xnich'ich'ij rpalaj 'he scrunched up his face'
   xupupuxik 'to blow fast or all at once' < xuupu- DTJ 'blow'
   (x)xupupuuj 'he blew it fast/all at once'
   tararaxik 'to look for rapidly' < tar- P 'together with another'
   xtararaaj 'he looked for her rapidly'

6. Cpo. \(-V_1^C_2\) (14) intransitivizer.

47) 1. \(-V_1^C_2\) transitivizer

3. Derives the form given below.

4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
   k'utumajixik 'to show again' < k'u-RTV 'show'
   xk'utumajiij 'he showed it again'

6. Cpo -\( V_{maj} \) (19) intransitivizer.

   48) 1. \(-V_{pi} \) transitive with force
   2. \(-V_{pi} \sim -pi:\)
      The alternation is lexically determined.

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

      4. Unproductive.

      5. Examples:
         k'aqpixik 'to bust' < k'aq-RTV 'shoot'
         xk'aqpiij 'he busted it'
         tzoqopixik 'to drop, let loose' < tzaq-RTV 'lose'
         xtzooqpiij 'he dropped it'
         juspixik 'to loosen' < jus-RTV 'pull easily'
         xjuspiij 'he loosened it'

   49) 1. \(-Vwa \) transitive
   2. \(-Vwa \sim -wa:\)
      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. \(-V_{7} \) transitive
   2. \(-a_{7} \sim -o_{7}:\)
      The vowel is lexically determined.

      3. Derives the two DTJ's given below.

      4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pojpa7xik 'to shake a mat'</td>
<td>xpojp N 'mat'</td>
<td>he shook it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ajoxik 'to want, love'</td>
<td>xraajo7 'want'</td>
<td>he wanted it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51) 1. \( -b'a7 \) positional transitive

2. \( -b'a7 \sim \sim b'a7:l \)

Forms without \( -b'a7 \) are rare but occur after roots ending in \( 7 \) and sometimes after roots ending in resonants.

3. Derives DT7s from positional roots. The derived verbs mean either to leave something in the position, condition, form, etc., indicated by the root, or to make something get into the position, condition, form, etc., indicated by the root.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kotz'ob'a7xik 'to lay down, leave lying'</td>
<td>xkotz'ob'a7 'lying'</td>
<td>he laid it down/left it lying</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'anab'a7xik 'to make or leave someone naked'</td>
<td>xch'anab'a7 'naked'</td>
<td>he made/left her naked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa7b'a7xik 'to stand up, leave standing'</td>
<td>xpa7b'a7 'standing'</td>
<td>he stood it up/left it standing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sirb'a7xik 'to leave a sphere'</td>
<td>xsirb'a7 'left a sphere'</td>
<td>he left a sphere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52) 1. \( -C_1 a7 \) lentitive and repetitive transitive

2. \( -C_1 a7 \sim \sim C_1 a7 \)

By far the most common allomorph is \( -C_1 a7 \). However, in a few forms, \( -C_1 a7 \) occurs when this suffix is followed by another suffix, for example, in the passive (and infinitive), absolute, and perfective stems, while \( -C_1 a7 \) occurs in the nonperfective where no other suffix follows (e.g. k'onok'o7xik 'to knock on the door', xk'onok'o7xi 'the door was knocked on', xk'onok'o7ni 'he was knocking', k'onok'a7 'he knocked on the door', xk'onok'a7 'he knocked on the door' |
k'onok'xa7- 'knock on doors' < k'ona- (?)). The allomorphs without V 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'xa7xik 'to stomp repeatedly' < k'aq- RTV 'shoot'
  - xk'aqak'xa7 'he stomped it repeatedly'
- rapara7xik 'to flap the wings repeatedly' < rap- (?)
  - xrapara7 'it flapped its wings repeatedly'
- tz'ajtz'o7xik 'to massage' < tz'aj- P 'in the mud' and RTV 'stain, spot'
  - xtz'ajtz'a7 'he massaged her'


53) 1. -V la7 celeritive transitivizer

2. -V_7 la7 ~ -V_107 ~ -la7 ~ -lo7:

The forms without V_1 occur after DT7 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, aboslutive, and perfective stems (e.g. xkamsalo7xi 'it was killed fast', xkamsalo7ni 'he was killing fast', kamsalo7oon '(have) killed fast', xkamsalo7 'he killed it fast' < kamsala7- 'kill fast' < kama- DTJ 'kill').

3. Derives DT7s from transitive stems. The derived verbs mean to do something fast or quickly.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

- ch'eyalo7oon '(have) hit fast' < ch'ey RTV 'hit'
  - xch'eyala7 'he hit it fast'
- kunalo7oon '(have) cured fast' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
  - xkunala7 'he cured her fast'
- loq'olo7oon '(have) bought fast' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
  - xloq'ola7 'he bought it fast'
Forms in - sill normally do not have an infinitive. In the examples a perfective or past participle form has been substituted for the (nonexistent) infinitives.

4.2.4 Compound Verbs

The vast majority of verb stems in Tzutujil are either simple verb roots or derived verb stems consisting of a single root plus one or more derivational affixes. However, there are a number of compound verb stems that consist of two roots plus at least one derivational suffix. Some representative examples of compound verbs are given below. It should be noted that the majority of compound verbs have a noun as the second root in the stem, and the most common nouns in this position are wach 'face, surface, front' and chii7 'mouth, edge'.

Examples of Verb Compounds

Noun + Noun

b'o7jchi7xik 'to woo' < b'o7j (?) 'cotton' + chii7 'mouth', -i stem formative
xb'o7jchijiij 'he wooed her'
kolwachixik 'to wake (someone) up fast' < kool (?) 'basket' + wach 'face', -i stem formative
xkolwachijiij 'she woke him up fast'

Adjective + Noun

tewuchixik 'to bless' < teep //teew// 'cold' + wach 'face', -i stem formative
xtewuchijij 'he blessed her'

Particle + Noun

taqchi7xik 'to obligate' < taq 'very, a lot' + chii7 'mouth', -i stem formative
xtaqchijij 'he obligated her'
Verbs 137

Positional + Noun

 mulxik'ayiixik 'to pile leafless branches or sticks' <
 mul- 'piled up' + xk'ay 'leafless branches or sticks', -i stem formative
 xmulxik'ayiij 'he piled them up'

Positional / Transitive Root + Noun

 yakchi7xik 'to demand, exact' < yak- P 'light weight' and RTV 'raise up; guard' + chi7 'mouth', -i stem formative
 xyakchi7iij 'he demanded it'

 k'ulwachixik 'to experience' < k'ul- P 'married' and RTV 'encounter' + wach 'face', -i stem formative
 xk'ulwachij 'he experienced it'

Adjective + Positional

 saqmuqe7- 'get a little cloudy' < saq 'white' + muq- 'cloudy', -e7 positional intransitivizer
 xsaqmuqe7e 'it got a little cloudy'

Adjective + Transitive Root

 saqpare7eem 'to fade' < saq 'white' + par- 'slap', -e7 positional intransitivizer
 xsaqpare7e 'it faded'

Particle + Adjective

 tino7yireem 'for a singular object to get smaller, diminish' < ti singular diminutive + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative
 xtdino7yiri 'it got smaller/diminished'

 taoqno7yiri 'for plural objects (to) get smaller, diminish' < taq plr diminutive + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative
 xtaqno7yiri 'they got smaller/diminished'

 tino7yirasaxik 'to make a singular object smaller' < ti singular diminutive + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative, -sa causative
 xtdino7yirasaj 'he made it smaller'

 taoqno7yirsa- 'to make plural objects smaller' < taq plr diminutive + no7y 'small', -ir inchoative, -sa causative
 xtaqno7yirasaj 'he made them smaller'
Notes to Chapter 4

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 (see section 4.1.5), if one exists. It should be noted, however, that the infinitive used in citing DTVs is actually a passive infinitive since DTVs have no free occurring active infinitive. Thus, ajo7xik 'to want, love' actually means 'to be wanted, loved' and comes from the DT7 stem asjo7- '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'.