This chapter is a treatment of Tzutujil noun morphology. In section 5.1, the primary inflectional categories of nouns are presented, and the behavior of different subclasses of nouns within the inflectional categories is discussed. Section 5.2 deals with a number of subcategories of nouns, which are defined by their respective morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties. Section 5.3 is on noun derivation.

5.1 NOUN INFLECTION

Nouns may be inflected for plurality (5.1.1), for possessor (5.1.2), and for abstractness (5.1.3). When they function as stative predicates (i.e. as predicate nouns), they may also be inflected for subject (5.1.4).

5.1.1 Inflection for Plurality

Most nouns denoting humans as well as a few nouns denoting animals are regularly inflected for plurality with the two suffixes -(ʔ)aaʔ and -(ʔ)iiʔ. The forms of the suffixes with initial ʔ are used after vowels (e.g. achiʔaaʔ 'men' < aachi 'man'; Ajsanpaawloʔiiʔ 'persons from San Pablo' < Ajsanpaawlo 'person from San Pablo'), and the forms without initial ʔ are used after consonants (e.g. ajiqiiʔaaʔ 'astrologers' < ajiqii 'astrologer'; ixoqiiʔ 'women' < ixoq 'woman'). The latter forms of the plural suffixes, without initial ʔ are by far the more common since most nouns in Tzutujil end in a consonant. Whether a given noun takes the suffix -(ʔ)aaʔ or the suffix -(ʔ)iiʔ is not entirely...
predictable, but, generally speaking, most nouns whose last vowels are front (i or e) tend to take -(?)aa7, while most nouns whose last vowels are back (a, o or u) tend to take -(?)ii7. However, there are many exceptions to these tendencies, so that the particular form of the plural suffix used on a given noun is to a large degree lexically determined. There are two nouns that take the suffix -a7 rather than either of the two regular plural suffixes (i.e. q'eqa7 'Negroes' < q'eq 'Negro; black'; ajsamajela7 'workers' < ajsamajeel 'worker').

The addition of the plural suffixes often causes unpredictable stem changes in the nouns to which they are affixed. The most common types of changes are: (1) shortening of one or more long stem vowels (e.g. meeb'a7ii7 plr of meeb'aa7 'pauper, orphan'); (2) the addition of an epenthetic vowel between the noun stem and the plural suffix (e.g. xtu7xa7ii7 plr of xtu7x 'female turkey'); (3) the omission of preconsonantal glottal stop, sometimes with compensatory lengthening of the vowel preceding the glottal stop (e.g. Ajpasuumii7 plr of Ajpasu7m 'person from Patzún'); and (4) a combination of these changes (e.g. piya7ii7 plr of piya7 'turkey').

Some more examples of nouns with the plural inflection are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meem 'mute'</td>
<td>meemaa7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'eyoonool 'hitter'</td>
<td>ch'eyoonoolaa7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alaq'oom 'thief'</td>
<td>alaq'oomaa7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'uch' 'baby'</td>
<td>ch'uch'aa7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>~ ch'uch'a7ii7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winaq 'person, people'</td>
<td>winaqii7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtan ~ xten 'girl'</td>
<td>xtanii7 ~ xtenii7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammaq 'corpse, dead person'</td>
<td>kammaqii7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ooy 'monkey'</td>
<td>k'ooyaa7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mama7 'rooster'</td>
<td>mama7ii7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri7j 'old one'</td>
<td>riijaa7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajsanpepdeo 'person from San Pedro'</td>
<td>Ajsanpepdeaa7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alaa7 'youth'</td>
<td>alaa7ii7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted that there are many nouns that are never inflected for plurality: (1) nouns that are inflected for possessor with the ergative prefixes (5.1.2) may never take the plural suffixes; (2) nouns denoting inanimates and the vast majority of nouns denoting animals are never inflected for plurality; and (3) some nouns denoting humans do not have plural forms (e.g., proper names as well as some common nouns). However, plurality may always be indicated with the plural particle taq (see 7.1.7.6) in those cases where the plural inflection is not allowed. In fact, the use of taq is virtually obligatory syntactically when the speaker is talking about a plural number of entities (as opposed to a single entity, a mass, or a class of entities), whether or not the noun is inflected for plurality. Compare the example sentences below.

(1) Ee nimaq taq achi7aa7. 'The men are big.'
   B3p big-plr plr men
(2) Nimaq taq jaay. 'The houses are big.'
   big-plr plr house
(3) Ja taq nuumíñí xeekami. 'My cats died.'
   the plr my-cat B3p-died

5.1.2 Inflection for Possessor

Most common nouns may be inflected for possessor with the ergative prefixes (see section 3.1.2 on the ergative prefixes and the examples of possessed nouns therein; also section 1.6.2, rule 24, and the examples therein). The normal word order in a phrase of possession is Possessed Noun + Possessor, although possessors may be (and often are) fronted under topicalization. A third person possessor NP is often omitted if it is given (or old) information. On the other hand, if the possessor is non-third person, then it often does not occur in the possessor position since it is unambiguously marked on the possessed noun with an ergative prefix. However, a non-third person independent pronoun may occur in the possessor position to contrast or emphasize the possessor. Phrases of possession are illustrated in (4) and (5) with sentences built on the (irregular but very important) positional adjective k'ooli 'there is/are,
exist, be located', which has the short form k'o when it occurs nonfinal­ly before anything but a definite noun phrase. Sentences that have k'ooli as predicate and a possessed noun as subject are used to predicate possession. In other words, a sentence such as k'o jun nuutz'ii7 literally means 'there is (a) my dog' or '(a) my dog exists', but a more idiomatic translation is 'I have a dog'.

(4) a. K'o jun ruukeej nata7.
    exist a his-horse my-father
    'My father has a horse.'

b. Ja nata7 k'o jun ruukeej.
    the my-father exist a his-horse
    'My father has a horse.' (fronted possessor)

c. K'o jun ruukeej.
    exist a his-horse
    'He has a horse.' (omitted possessor)

(5) a. K'o jun wochooch.
    exist a my-house
    'I have a house.'

b. K'o jun wochooch inin
    exist a my-house I
    'I have a house.' (emphatic possessor)

c. Jar inin k'o jun wochooch.
    the I exist a my-house
    'I have a house.' (fronted and emphatic possessor)

5.1.2.1 Subclassification of Nouns Under Possession

There are a number of subclasses of nouns defined by the kinds of changes noun stems undergo in either the possessed or absolute (or unposs­essed) form. These subclasses are outlined and exemplified in the next several paragraphs. As is common in Mayan studies, each of the subclass­es is given an arbitrary letter/number designation (e.g. 'S1' means 'sub­stantive class 1').
Nouns

S1: No Change

Nouns in class S1 have the same stem in both possessed and absolute forms. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chee7 'wood, tree'</td>
<td>nuuchee7 'my wood, tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaab' 'raw sugar, honey'</td>
<td>nuukaab' 'my raw sugar, honey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uk' 'louse'</td>
<td>wuk' 'my louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj 'ear of corn'</td>
<td>waj 'my ear of corn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paq 'money'</td>
<td>npaq 'my money'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sla: Vowel Lengthening in Possessed Form

Nouns in class Sla lengthen their short stem vowels in the possessed form. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessed Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chikop 'animal'</td>
<td>nchiikoop 'my animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kinaq' 'bean(s)'</td>
<td>nkiinaaq' 'my bean(s)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tz'i7 'dog'</td>
<td>nuutz'ii7 'my dog'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uleep 'land'</td>
<td>wuuleep 'my land'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Normally, any vowel that is short in the absolute form is lengthened in the possessed form of nouns of this class. However, some nouns derived from verbs lengthen only the last stem vowel. For example, passive infinitives in -ik (see section 4.1.5.1) lengthen only the last vowel (e.g. nkunaxiik 'my being cured' < kunaxik 'to be cured' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'); and some instrumental/locative nouns in -b'al (see section 5.3.1) lengthen only the last vowel (e.g. mwab'aal 'my eating place' < wa7b'al 'eating place' < wa7- IV 'eat'). Note that some forms in -b'al not only lengthen the last vowel but also have an epenthetic ii inserted between the stem and -b'al in the possessed form (e.g. mwab'aal 'my bathing place' < mu7xb'al 'bathing place' < mu7- IV 'bathe').

S2: Suffix Added in Possessed Form

Nouns of class S2 add a suffix in the possessed form. The suffix that is added has the form -VV (i.e. -aal ~ -ii ~ -eel ~ -uul). The particular vowel used in the suffix is lexically determined. Nouns of
this class are not common, and they probably are all instances of abnor-
mal possession (discussed in 5.1.2.2). E.g.

- kik' 'blood'  
  nkik'eel 'my blood of my body'
- b'aaq 'bone'  
  nb'aaq'il 'my bone of my body'
- iik' 'month'  
  niik'iil 'my month, period'
- muuj 'shade, shadow'  
  nmuujaal 'my shadow'

S3: Absolutive Suffix Dropped in Possessed Form

Nouns of class S3 have an absolutive suffix in the unpossessed form,
which is dropped when the noun is possessed. Most of these nouns are
either body parts or kinship terms. There are several absolutive suffix-
es used on different noun stems: (1) -VVj (i.e. -aaj ~ -iij ~ -eej) with
the vowel being lexically determined; (2) -oom; and (3) -(y)x(eel), which
may have an initial unpredictable vowel. E.g.

- eeyaaaj 'tooth'  
  weey 'my tooth'
- teejeej 'mother'  
  nuutee7 'my mother'
- tii7iij 'meat'  
  mui7i7 'my meat'
- wi17aaj 'head'  
  nwi17 'my head'
- k'ayiyiij 'sale'  
  nuuk'ay 'my sale'
- schajiloom 'husband'  
  wachajil 'my husband'
- ayiloom 'wife'  
  waaayil 'my wife'
- alk'waalaxeel 'child of man'  
  walk'waal 'my child'
- tati7xeel 'father'  
  atata7 'his/her father'
  stata7 'your father'
  nata7 'my father'

Note that in some cases there are stem changes in the possessed and abso-
lutive forms other than the presence or absence of the absolutive suffix.
These changes are not predictable, except that long stem vowels are
always shortened before -oom.
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S4: Suppletive

Two nouns have suppletive stem changes in possessed and unpossessed forms. E.g.

jaay 'house'                  woocchooch 'my house'
jaaxeel 'son-in-law'          nuujii7 'my son-in-law'

The absolutive form jaaxeel was historically something like *jii7axeel, but it has been attenuated to the point where synchronically it is now suppletive.

Sy: Inalienable (always possessed)

There are a fairly large number of nouns that must always be possessed; that is, they are inalienable. Inalienable nouns most commonly are: (1) kinship terms, (2) body parts, (3) abstract nouns from adjectives or other nouns, and (4) other nouns denoting an intrinsic relationship with something else (e.g. part to a whole). E.g.

-ach'aalaal 'relative'  wach'aalaal 'my relative'
-ach'b'al 'photo, reflection, painting'  wachb'al 'my photo, etc.'
-atii7t 'grandmother'  watii7t 'my grandmother'
-maam 'grandchild'  nuumaam 'my grandchild'
-b'eeyaal 'contents'  rb'eeyaal 'its contents'
-k'axeel 'namesake, substitute'  nk'axeel 'my namesake, substitute'
-kaqaal 'redness'  rkaqaal 'its redness'
-chee7aal 'woodness'  rchee7aal 'its woodness'

Sz: Never Possessed

There are a fairly large number of nouns that may never be possessed. These nouns usually denote natural phenomena, wild animals, or people. E.g.

juyu7 'mountain'  salk'um 'whirlwind'
koj 'cougar'  k'el 'parakeet'
In Tzutujil there is an important distinction between normal (or unmarked) and abnormal (or marked) possession. The distinction is manifested morphologically in that abnormally possessed nouns require the suffix -VV₁ (i.e. -aal ~ -eel ~ -iil ~ -uul), the vowel of which is lexically determined. Generally speaking, normal possession may be thought of as prototypical ownership whereby a human has or owns something that is alienable; that is, it may be bought and sold, lost or stolen. Abnormal possession deviates from the prototypical ownership situation in some way. Thus, when an inanimate object or an animal has something that would normally be owned only by a human, then the possessed noun is marked with -VV₁ as abnormal. Or when a human possesses something that is normally alienable, but possesses it in an inalienable way, then the possessed noun is marked with -VV₁ as abnormal. Some examples should make the distinction between normal and abnormal possession become clear. Chee⁷ 'wood, tree, stick', is normally possessed by a human as in nuuchee⁷ 'my wood, etc.'. However, under certain conditions nonhumans may be said to 'have' trees, wood, or sticks, but since this situation is not an instance of prototypical ownership, the noun chee⁷ then requires the suffix -VV₁ (-aal) when it is possessed, as in rchee⁷aal 'a kinaq' 'the bean's stick' (literally: 'its-stick the bean'; i.e. the stick used to hold beans up when they are growing). Similarly, chikop 'animal' is normally possessed only by a human as in nchikop 'my animal' or rchikopil chee⁷ 'wood's animal termite' and rchikopil ixiim 'corn's animal = weevil'. The distinction between normal and abnormal possession also comes into play with nouns denoting things that may be possessed by humans both
in a normal and in an abnormal way, with respect to prototypical ownership. Thus, for example, the nouns b'aq' 'bone', kik' 'blood', and tz'uum 'hide, leather' may all be possessed normally with respect to prototypical ownership, as in nuub'aq' 'my bone' (e.g. to make an awl with), nuukiik' 'my blood' (e.g. to make blood sausages with), and nuutz'uum 'my hide, leather' (e.g. to make sandals with). On the other hand, these same nouns may be possessed, but not prototypically owned, and therefore require the suffix -VV1, as in nb'aqiil 'my bone (of my body)', nkik'eel 'my blood (of my body)', and ntz'uual 'my skin (of my body)'. Note that these examples show that the distinction between normal and abnormal possession is in relation to the notion of prototypical ownership and does not necessarily have anything to do with what may be thought of as more 'natural' possession or classical alienable versus inalienable possession.

A few other examples of the distinction between normal and abnormal possession are given below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal Possession</th>
<th>Abnormal Possession</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nuuch'aak 'my boneless meat'</td>
<td>nch'ak'ul 'my flesh'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruwuwujuj 'his/her paper'</td>
<td>ruwuajil uleep 'land's paper'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raab'aaj 'his/her rock'</td>
<td>rab'ajil chuuum 'lime's rock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuumuj 'my shade' (e.g. of a tree that I am sitting in)</td>
<td>nmuual 'my shadow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.2.3 Inflection for Possessor of Complex Nouns

In Tzutujil there are a large number of complex nouns that are composed of two or more roots, and that may be either simple compounds or phrasal compounds (see sections 2.2 and 5.3.2). Simple compounds are inflected for possessor like noncomplex nouns discussed in 5.1.2, and usually they are of noun classes S1 or Sla. E.g.
smaachii7 'beard' < smaal 'hair', chii7 'mouth'
nsmaachii7 'my beard'
saqwach 'potato' < saq 'white', wach 'face, surface'
nnsaqwach 'my potato'

The vast majority of phrasal noun compounds are composed of either two (rarely three) nouns, or of a noun preceded by a modifying adjective. Inflection for possessor of phrasal compounds composed of two (or three) nouns is basically of two different types. The first type, SS (i.e. Substantive Substantive), is rare, occurring only in a handful of forms. With SS phrasal compounds, each of the two nouns is inflected identically for possessor with the appropriate ergative prefixes. E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ati7t mama7} & \quad '\text{grandparent(s)}' \\
\text{wati7t nnaama7} & \quad '\text{my grandparents(s)}' \\
\text{ati7t} & \quad '\text{grandmother}', \text{mama7} \quad '\text{grandfather}' \\
\text{nb'aaq'ill} & \quad '\text{body}' \\
\text{nb'aaq'ill} & \quad '\text{my body}' \\
\text{b'aaq} & \quad '\text{bone}', \text{ib'ooch'} \quad '\text{nerve, vein}'
\end{align*}
\]

The second type of phrasal compound composed of two (or three) nouns consists of a first noun possessed by a second noun. This type of phrasal compound is called S of S (i.e. Substantive of Substantive). E.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ri7aal wachaaj} & \quad '\text{tear} = \text{eye's liquid} = \text{liquid of eyes}' \\
\text{rchaq siik'} & \quad '\text{cigarette butt} = \text{butt of cigarette}' \\
rchiq & \quad '\text{its butt}', \text{siik'} \quad '\text{cigarette}'
\end{align*}
\]

In order to inflect an S of S compound for possessor, the appropriate ergative prefix is added only to the second (or last) noun in the phrasal compound; e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ri7aal wach} & \quad '\text{my tear} = \text{my eye's liquid} = \text{liquid of my eye}' \\
\text{rchaq nuusik} & \quad '\text{my cigarette butt} = \text{butt of my cigarette}'
\end{align*}
\]
With some common S of S compounds the ergative prefix (r(uu)-) of the first noun may be omitted; e.g.

smaal wii7aaj 'hair of head'

< smaal 'hair', wii7aaj 'head'

(r)chi7 jaay 'door'

(r)chi7 woomoochooch 'my door = door of my house'

< chi7 'mouth', jaay ~ -oomoochooch 'house'

A few S of S compounds consist of three nouns; e.g.

smal chi7 wachaaj 'eyelash = hair of edge of eye'

< smaal 'hair', chi7 'edge, mouth', wachaaj 'eye'

A few other examples of S of S compounds are given below.

rejtal aqanaaj 'footprint'

< rejtal 'its sign', aqanaaj 'foot, lower leg'

raaq'il wii7aaj 'skull'

< raq'il 'its bone', wii7aaj 'head'

rq'a7 (~ ruuq'a7) chee7 'branch'

< ruuq'a7 'its hand', chee7 'tree'

rwi7 jaay 'roof'

< rwi7 'its head/top', jaay ~ -oomoochooch 'house'

raqan ya7 'river'

< raqan 'its leg/length', ya7 'water'
Phrasal compounds composed of an adjective followed by a head noun are inflected for possessor by attaching the appropriate ergative prefix to the noun stem; e.g.

*rex kinaq* 'green beans'
*rex nkiinaq* 'my green beans'
<r lex 'green', kinaq 'beans'

5.1.3 Inflection for Abstraction

In Tzutujil, abstract nouns are formed with the suffix -VV1 (i.e. -aal ~ -eel ~ -iil ~ -uul), the particular vowel of the suffix being lexically determined. Abstract nouns, with only a few exceptions, are almost always possessed (e.g. *rchee7aal* 'its treeness, woodness' < chee7 'tree, wood'; *rwinaqiil* 'his/her humanness, naturalness' < winaq 'person, people'). Traditionally, abstract nouns formed from other nouns (e.g. 'treeness' < 'tree'), would be viewed as derived forms, and would be treated only under derivation, not inflection. And in Tzutujil abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives are, in the traditional sense, derived forms (see section 5.3). On the other hand, in Tzutujil, abstract nouns form a part of the regular paradigm of the nouns from which they are derived. This is so because under certain syntactic conditions the abstract form of a noun is required instead of the concrete form. One construction in Tzutujil that requires the abstract form of a noun is: *naq chi* (abstract noun) 'what kind of X is it?' (< naq 'what', chi 'at, to'; the abstract noun of the Tzutujil construction is equivalent to the 'X' of the English construction). For example, in order to ask 'what kind of tree is it?', one says: *naq chi chee7aal*? (literally: 'what is to its treeness?'). The abstract form of the noun *rchee7aal* 'its treeness' is required in this construction, the concrete form being ungrammatical: *naq chi chee7?* It should be noted that the r- of the ergative possessive prefix is always deleted after the preposition chi (see rule 12 in section 1.6.1). Virtually all nouns in Tzutujil that denote generic entities (i.e. those which may be of various kinds) have abstract forms. Nouns that denote highly specific entities (e.g. a particular species of
plant) may not have an abstract form. A few more examples are given below.

naq chi winaqil? 'what kind of person is he/she?'
naq ch ajk'aayuul? 'what kind of seller is she?'
< rajk'aayuul 'her sellerness' < ajk'aay 'seller'
naq ch uutiiwaal? 'what kind of coyote is it?'
< ruutiiwaal 'its coyoteness' < uutii //uutiiw// 'coyote'

It is interesting to note that the suffix -VVl forming abstract nouns is identical with the suffix used in abnormal possession (see 5.1.2.3). Thus, at least formally, there is a relationship between abstract nouns and abnormally possessed nouns. The full nature of this relationship is unclear, but certainly it warrants further study.

5.1.4 Predicate Noun Subject Inflection

When nouns function as stative predicates, that is, when they are predicate nouns, they are inflected for subject with the proclitic absolutive person markers (see section 3.1 on the absolutive person markers, and section 8.1.3 on stative predicates). E.g.

in winaq 'I am a person' < winaq 'person, people'
at winaq 'you are a person'
winaq 'he/she is a person'
oq winaq 'we are people'
ix winaq 'you all are people'
ee winaq 'they are people'
in ralk'waal 'I am his child' < r-a3, alk'waalaxeel
at ralk'waal 'you are his child' 'child of man'
ralk'waal 'he/she is his child'
oq ralk'waal 'we are his children'
ix ralk'waal 'you all are his children'
ee ralk'waal 'they are his children'
The independent pronouns may also be used in sentences like those above to contrast or emphasize the subject (e.g. inin in winaq 'I am a person' and jaas? winaq 'he/she is a person'). And in the third person an overt noun may occur as subject (e.g. jar An xwasan winaq '(the) John is a person').

5.2 NOUN SUBCATEGORIES

In this section a number of subcategories of nouns are discussed. The subcategories are defined by their distinctive morphological, syntactic, and semantic properties (and may cross-cut the subclassification of nouns based on their behavior under possession, discussed in 5.1.2.1).

5.2.1 Relational Nouns

There is an important set of nouns in Tzutujil that are used to indicate the grammatical relations of other nouns or noun phrases, much like prepositions in many other languages of the world. These nouns are called relational nouns (RNs), and they occur in relational noun phrases (RNP\$). Normally, RNs are followed by their 'object' noun phrases and are possessed by them (e.g. rumaal jar aachi 'by the man' < r- A3, -umaal 'by', jar 'the', aachi 'man'). However, object (i.e. possessor) noun phrases of RNs may be omitted if they are given information (e.g. rumaal 'by him'), and under certain conditions they may be fronted if they are topicalized. If the object noun phrase is non-third person, then it is usually only manifested as a possessive prefix on the RN (e.g. wmaa! 'by me' < w- A1, -(~)maal 'by'), unless it is contrastive or emphasized, in which case the independent pronoun occurs (e.g. wmaal inin 'by me'). Some RNs have short forms that do not take possessive prefixes; the short forms are only used when there is a following overt object noun phrase (e.g. ma(!) is the short form of -umaal in mal aachi 'by a man'). The short forms of RNs, because they do not take possessive prefixes, might be viewed as incipient prepositions. Some RNs, aside from their grammatical function, are also common nouns (e.g. -umaal also means 'cause, fault'); others, like -uuk'iin 'with, and', only occur as RNs. It should
be noted that long vowels (if any) of RNs are shortened when they occur
before indefinite noun phrases (cp. rumaal jar aachi 'by the man' and
rmal jun aachi 'by a man'; see rule 23 in section 1.6.2).

Some RNs are given below (the rest are discussed and exemplified
later). Short forms occur in parentheses, and glosses are provided along
with the case relation indicated by the RN. If the RN also occurs as a
common noun, its gloss is given as the last one after the relational
glosses. The inflectional paradigms for possession of some RNs are some­
what irregular, so these are simply listed, unless the paradigm is regu­
lar. At least one sentence example is also given for each RN.

Relational Nouns

majk 'because of, on account of; sin' Indirect Agentive
nuumajk, aamajk, ruumajk, etc.

(6) Xch'ejyi jar lixoq ruumajk jar aachi.
was-hit the woman because-of the man
'The woman was beaten because of the man.'

onojeel (nojeel) ~ -onojelaal (nojelaal) Totalitive
'all of, everybody, everything'
wonojjeel ~ wonojelaal, awonojeel ~ awonojelaal,
ronojeel ~ ronojelaal, etc.

(7) Ojoj qmonojjeel xoqpi Pan Ajche7el.
we all-of-us Blp-came Panajachel
'We all came from Panajachel.'

(8) Ewonojelaal lxix nixb'e pa tx'a?nem.
all-of-you you B2p-go to play
'All of you are going to play.'

rii7iil 'self' Reflexive/Reciprocal
wii7, aawii7, rii7, qii7, eewii7, kii7

(9) Xintz'at wii7 pan ospëaja.
B3-Al-saw myself in mirror
'I saw myself in the mirror.'

(10) Jar aach1aa7 xkikamsaj kii7.
the men B3-A3p-killed themselves/each-other
'The men killed themselves/each other.'
tza7n 'with; point, end' Instrumental

[not used with possessive prefixes; this form is on its way to becoming a true preposition]

(11) Xuchoy tza7n machat.
B3-A3-cut with machete
'He cut it with a machete.'

-uuk'iin (k'iin) 'with, and' Comitative/Associative

wk'iin, awk'iin, ruuk'iin, quuk'iin, ewk'iin, kuuk'iin

(12) Inin xinbe awk'iin.
I Bl-went with-you
'I went with you.'

(13) Inin k'in atet xoqb'es.
I and you Blp-went
'You and I left.'

-wmaal (ma before consonants, m mal before vowels) Agentive/Indirect

'by, because of, on account of; cause, fault'

-wmaal ~ maal, ammaal ~ amaal, umaal ~ umaal, qummaal, qummaal ~ qummaal

(14) Xch'ejyi jar iixoq rmaal jar aachi.
was-hit the woman by the man
'The woman was hit by the man.'

(15) Jar ajq'ilik xwajch' ma ch'ijch'.
the diviner was-run-over by car
'The diviner was run over by a car.'

(16) Wmaal inin xojnamaji ja tz'17.
because-of-me I B3-fled the dog
'Because of me the dog took off.'

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

-uxiin, awkxiin, ruukiin, quuxiin, ewxiiin, kixiin

[the 'V' in -Vxiin means some indeterminable vowel]

(17) Auxiin ja ch'akat.
yours the chair
'The chair is yours.'
(19) Inin xinch'eyo awxiin.
I Bl-hit-foc of-you 'I was the one who hit you.'

-yoon 'alone; solitude' Solitary
muuyoon, sayoon, ruuyoon, etc.

(20) Nuuyoon xinb'an ja jaay.
I-alone B3-Al-made the house 'I alone built the house.'

Besides the set of RNs presented above, there is another set that occurs in what are called **prepositional-relational noun phrases (PRNPs)**. Unlike the first set, the second set of RNs always occurs in conjunction with one of the two prepositions: pa(n) 'in, to' or ch(i) 'at, to' (N.B.: pa occurs before consonants and monosyllabic vowel-initial forms, and pan before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable; the i of chi drops before vowels and usually before consonants other than n or k; it may drop before these consonants as well; sometimes chi is realized as cha before q). The preposition and RN function together as a single grammatical unit, even though they each may have independent meaning and function (e.g. chnpan 'inside of me' < chi, n- A3, -paan 'stomach, shit'; pa nixkin 'beside me' < pa, n- A1, epenthetic -i-, xkin 'ear'). As these examples indicate, the RN following the preposition is possessed by the 'object' noun phrase of the PRNP; normally, if the object (i.e. possessor) noun phrase is third person, then it follows the preposition plus RN (e.g. chnpaan ja jaay 'inside of the house' < chi, r- A3 (deleted after chi), -paan 'stomach, shit', ja 'the', jaay 'house'; pa rskin ja jaay 'beside the house' < pa, r- A3, xkin 'ear', ja 'the', jaay 'house'). Object noun phrases of PRNPs may be omitted if they are given or old information (e.g. chnpan inin 'inside of it', pa rskin 'beside it'), and if they are non-third person they usually only occur if they are contrastive or emphatic (e.g. chnpan inin 'inside of me', pa nixkin inin 'beside me').
The set of RNs occurring in conjunction with pa(ŋ) or ch(i), called prepositional-relational nouns (PRNs), is given below. Glosses, case relations, and paradigms of possessor inflection are provided, along with some sentence examples. The forms heading each entry are either third person singular or forms that occur without possessive prefixes. Enclosed in parentheses after each entry is the common noun related to the PRN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prepositional-Relational Nouns</th>
<th>Dative, Instrumental</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chee (&lt; -e ?) 'to, with'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chwe, chaawe, chee, chaqe, cheewe, chike</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21) Xab'íj chwe.</td>
<td>B3-A2-said to-me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'You said it to me.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(22) Nkeeya7 paq chaqe.</td>
<td>B3-A3-give money to-us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'They'll give money to us.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23) Jar aachi xuuchoy chee7 chee machat.</td>
<td>the man B3-A3-cut tree with-it machete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The man cut trees with a machete.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch(i) kojol (&lt; kojol 'gap, breach')</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'between, among, in the middle of'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chqakojol, chekojol, ch(i) kikojol [used only in plural]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24) In k'o chi kikojol.</td>
<td>B1 be among-them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I am among them.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch(i) naaqaaj (&lt; naaqaaj 'proximity')</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'near, close to'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chi naaqaaj, chanaaqaaj, ch(i) naaqaaj, ch(a) qanaaqaaj, chenaqaaj, ch(i) kinaaqaaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25) Ee k'o chanaaqaaj.</td>
<td>B3p be near-you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'They are near you.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chpaan (&lt; -paan 'stomach, shit')</td>
<td>Locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'inside of, in'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch(i) npaan, chaapaan, chpaan, chqaapaan, cheepaan, chi keepaan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(26) In k'o chpaan ja jul.
Bl be inside-of-it the hole
'I am in(side of) the hole.'

chriij ~ chiij (< -ii̱j 'back')  
Locative, Topical
'in back of, behind; on the curved surface of; about'

chwiij, chaawiiij, chriij ~ chiij, cha qii̱j, cheewiiij, ch(i) kitij

(27) In k'o chaawiiij.
Bl be behind-you
'I am in back of you.'

(28) Qootzijon chriij nojeel ja naquun.
let-us-talk about-it all the thing
'Let's talk about all the things.'

chuuchii7 (< -hi7 'mouth, edge')  
Locative
'on the edge of, in the vicinity of, around'

chi nuuchii7, chaachii7, chuuchii7, chqaachii7, cheechii7, ch(i) keechii7

(29) Inin chuuchii7 jun chooy in k'o wi7.
I on-edge-of-it a lake Bl live front
'I, on the edge of a lake, live.'

chuuxee7 (< -xe7 'root, base')  
Locative
'under, below, on the bottom of, at the base of'

chi nuuxee7, chaaxee7, chuuxee7, chqaaxee7, cheexee7, chi keexee7

(30) In k'o chkeexee7.
Bl be under-them
'I am under them.'

chwach ~ chweech ~ chwa  
Locative
'<-wach 'face, eye, surface'
'in front of, on the face of, on the flat surface of'

chi mecach, chaawach, chwach, chqaawach, cheewach, ch(i) keewach

(31) K'o chqaawach.
be in-front-of-us
'It's in front of us.'

(32) Xinchup ja leetra chwach wuuj.
Bl-Al-erased the letter on-surrace-or-it paper
'I erased the letters on (the surface of) the paper.'
pan įkiq'a7 (< įkiq'a7 'right hand' ?) | Locative
--- | ---
'on/to the right of'
pa wįkiq'a7, pan wąkiq'a7, pa rįkiq'a7, etc.
(30) In k'o pa wįkiq'a7.
Bl be on your-right
'I am on your right'

pa niik'aaj (< niik'aaj 'half') | Locative
--- | ---
'in the middle/center of'
pa rniik'aajaal, pa qaniik'aajaal, pan eniik'aajaal,
pa kiniik'aajaal [used only in third persons and plurals]
(34) In k'o pa niik'aaj ya7.
Bl be in middle water
'I am in the middle of the water.'

pa rk'axwaach | Substitutive
--- | ---
(< -k'axwaach 'substitute, namesake')
'instead of'
pa nk'axwaach, pan ak'axwaach, pa rk'axwaach, etc.
(35) Xath'b e pa nk'axwaach.
Bl-went in my stead
'You went instead of me.'

pa rwi7 (< -wi7 'head, top') | Locative
--- | ---
'on top of, over'
pa rwi7, pan awwi7, pa rwi7, pa qaawi7, pa eewi7, pa keewi7
(36) Pa rwi7 aab'aj xintz'ub'e7 wi7.
on its-top rock Bl-sat front
'On top of (the) rock I sat down.'

pa rixkin ~ pa rixkin (< xkin 'ear') | Locative
--- | ---
'on the side of, beside'
pa nixkin, pan axkin, pa r(i)xkin, pa qaxkin, pan exkin, pa kixkin
(37) Ja b'eeey k'o pa rixkin woochooch.
the road be on its-side my-house
'The road is beside my house.'

pa nxokon (< xokon 'left hand' ?) | Locative
--- | ---
'on/to the left of'
pa nxokon, pan axokon, pa rxiokon, etc.
5.2.2 Numerals

5.2.2.1 The Numbers

The numbers in Tzutujil are formally nouns, but they may also be used as quantifiers and anaphorically like pronouns, and the number one, juun, also functions as the indefinite article (e.g. xinkamsaj jun masaat 'I killed a/one deer' and xinkamsaj juun choqoja7 'I killed one too'). Like the numbering systems of other Mayan languages (and Meso-American languages in general), the Tzutujil system is vigesimal, counting being done in intervals of 20. However, from a morphological point of view, the system seems to have, at least in part, an underlying decimal base in that the numbers from 11 to 19 are formed with the roots of the numbers from 1-9 plus the number 10 (see below). In preconquest and early post-conquest times, the Tzutujil numbering system was quite complex, with root numbers as high as 8000 and perhaps higher (see Ximénez 1701-3 and Brasseur de Bourbourg 1892). But since the conquest, Spanish numbers have been steadily encroaching upon and replacing native numbers. Thus, in contemporary Tzutujil, native numbers are rarely used over 100, and most commonly they are used only up to 40 or so.

The numbers from 1-10 are given in their cardinal, ordinal, distributive, and root or short combining forms in table 2. The (absolute) cardinal numbers from 2-9 have an absolute suffix: -i7 ~ -ii7 ~ -ee7 ~
-oo7 ~ -uu7, depending on the root. The roots or short forms of the numbers (without absolutive suffixes) are used in combination with other forms (e.g. the root ka7- '2' occurs in absolute ka7i7 '2' and in ka7winaq '40'); some of the short combining forms have irregular stem changes (cp. ka7- '2' in the forms just cited but kab'- '2' in kab'laajuuj '12'). Ordinal numbers, in general, are formed from cardinals by the addition of the third person singular possessive prefix (e.g. rlaajuuj '10th' < r- A3 plus laajuuj '10'), but the ordinal for 'first' is suppletive and does not take the possessive prefix, and the ordinals from 2-9 are formed with the possessive prefix attached to the short forms of the numbers, except that the ordinal for '9th' does not require the prefix obligatorily. The distributive numbers mean 'n each' (e.g. ox7ox means '3 each'). From 1 to 4, the distributives are formed by reduplicating the root of the number. Above 4 the distributives are regularly formed by the addition of the general plural particle tag, to the short form in the case of '5 each', and to the absolute cardinals in numbers above 5. The distributive chi ju7junel '1 each' is irregular; it is based on the preposition chi 'at, to' plus ju7jun with the suffix -el. Ju7jun is the expected form for the distributive '1 each', but its primary meaning is 'some (distributively)', although it has a secondary meaning '1 each'. The distributives may also be used with the preposition pa 'in, to' to form adverbial phrases meaning 'n by n' or 'in n's' (e.g. pa ox7ox '3 by 3, in 3s').
### Table 2: The Numbers From 1-10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolute Cardinals</th>
<th>Roots or Short Combining Forms</th>
<th>Ordinals</th>
<th>Distributives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>juun</td>
<td>ju(?)-</td>
<td>najb'eey</td>
<td>chi ju7junel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka7i7</td>
<td>ka?- ~ kab'-</td>
<td>ruukab'</td>
<td>ka?ka? ~ kaaka?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ox7i7</td>
<td>ox-</td>
<td>roox</td>
<td>ox7ox</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kajij7 (~ keji7)</td>
<td>kaj-</td>
<td>ruukaaj</td>
<td>kajkaj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo7oo7 (~ joj-</td>
<td>ro07</td>
<td>jojtaq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waaqii7 (~ oo7)</td>
<td>waaq-</td>
<td>rwaaq(aaq)</td>
<td>waaqii7 taq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuquu7</td>
<td>wuq-</td>
<td>rwuqq</td>
<td>wuquu7 taq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wajxaqqi7</td>
<td>wajxaq-</td>
<td>rwajxaq</td>
<td>wajxaqq taq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'elejej7 (~ rb'eeleej)</td>
<td>b'e(e)le(e)j-</td>
<td>b'eleej</td>
<td>b'eleje7 taq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lajuuj</td>
<td>laj-</td>
<td>rlaujuj</td>
<td>lajuuj taq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All other numbers in contemporary Tzutujil are based on the numbers from 1-10, either the absolute cardinals or the short combining forms, and the following roots:

- **winaq** '20; person':
  - juwinaq '20'
  - ka7winaq '40'
  - ox7ajl '60'
  - jo7k'ajl '100' (archaic)
  - jumuch' '80'
  - jo7much' '400' (archaic)
  - nikk'aaj jun syëenta '50'
  - syëenta '100' (c Sp 'ciento'):
    - jun syëenta '100'
    - ka7i7 syëenta '200'
The numbers above 10 are exemplified below. Note that, conforming to the vigesimal system, the numbers from 21-39 are based on juwinaq '20' plus the numbers for 1-19. That is, for example, '39' is juwinaq b'eelejlajuuj or literally '20 (plus) 19'. Similarly, the numbers from 41-59 are based on ka7winaq '40' plus the numbers for 1-19, and so on, in increments up to 99, except that numbers in the 50s have alternate forms built on nik'aj syéenta '50' literally meaning 'half (of a) hundred'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numbers Above 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11   ju7lajuuj  ∼ julajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12   kab'lajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13   oxlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14   kajlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15   jo7lajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16   waqlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17   wuqlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18   wajxaqlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19   b'e(e)lejlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20   juwinaq ∼ juwinaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21   juwinaq juun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22   juwinaq ka7i7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23   juwinaq ox17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24   juwinaq kajj7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25   juwinaq jo7oo7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26   juwinaq waqii7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27   juwinaq waquu7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28   juwinaq wajxaqii7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29   juwinaq b'eelejee7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30   juwinaq lajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31   juwinaq ju7lajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32   juwinaq kab'lajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33   juwinaq oxlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34   juwinaq kajlajuuj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mil '1000' (c Sp 'mil'); jun mil '1000'
ka7i7 mil '2000'
### Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Syéenta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>oxk'ajl lajuuj</td>
<td>600 waqqal syéenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>oxk'ajl ju7lajuuj</td>
<td>700 wuqu7 syéenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>oxk'ajl kab'laajuuj</td>
<td>800 wa7xaaq7 syéenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>oxk'ajl oxlajuuj</td>
<td>900 b'eleje7 syéenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>1000 jun mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>jumuch'</td>
<td>2000 ka7i7 mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>jumuch' juun</td>
<td>3000 ox7i7 mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>jumuch' ka7i7</td>
<td>4000 ka7i7 mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>jumuch' ox7i7</td>
<td>5000 j07o7 mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>etc.</td>
<td>6000 waqqal mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>jumuch' lajuuj</td>
<td>7000 wuqu7 mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>jumuch' ju7lajuuj</td>
<td>8000 wa7xaaq7 mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>jumuch' kab'laajuuj</td>
<td>9000 b'eleje7 mili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>jumuch' oxlajuuj</td>
<td>etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>jun syéenta</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>ka7i7 syéenta</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>300</td>
<td>ox7i7 syéenta</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>400</td>
<td>ka7i7 syéenta</td>
<td>4000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>500</td>
<td>j07o7 syéenta</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 5.2.2.2 Quantifiers

The quantifiers are listed below. Most of them are based on one form or another of the number '1' (i.e. juun, ju- or ju7-), along with suffixes, particles, or other words.

- jalaal 'a little bit' < jal 'corn ear' (?) , -aal N suf
- ju7juun 'some (distributively)' < ju7- '1', juun '1'
- julee7 'some (of a group)' < ju- '1', -l- (?) , -ee7 plr suf
- jumalik 'all of' < juun '1', -alik (?)
- jutaj ~ jutaj 'some' < ju- '1', taq plr
- jutz'iit 'a little bit' < ju- '1', -tz'iit 'little bit'
- jun ka7i7 'a couple, a few, a number of' < juun 'one, a/an', ka7i7 '2'
Also, the relational noun -onojeel ~ onojelaal 'all of' functions as a quantifier.

5.2.3 Enumeratives

Enumeratives are a special class of nouns whose primary defining characteristic is that they must always be used with a number or a limited set of quantifiers (i.e. jutaq 'some', ju?jun 'some (distributively)', and k'iy laj 'various'). All enumeratives are used with the short form of the number ju- '1', and their citation form is with ju- (e.g. jub'iid' 'a tear', jub'oraaj 'a bunch (of flowers)'). Some enumeratives may be used with the short forms of the numbers ka7- '2' or ox- '3' (e.g. jutaas 'first (ground) floor, room'; ka7taas 'second floor, room'; oxtaas 'third floor, room'), and a few may be used with the short forms of the numbers up to b'elej- '9' (e.g. juk'ulaaj 'a pair', b'elejk'ulaaj 'nine pairs'). Most of them, however, when used with a number above 1, only occur with the absolute cardinals (e.g. jumuul 'one time, once', but ka7i7 muul 'two times, twice', oxi7 muul 'three times', etc.). A few enumeratives only occur with ju- (e.g. jutz'iit 'a little bit').

There are in the neighborhood of 200 enumeratives, and all but a handful are derived from positional and/or transitive roots (all of which have the form CVC), either by lengthening the root vowel (e.g. jub'aaj 'a piece (of tortilla, bread)' < b'a7- RTV 'chew', jud'is 'a perforation' < d'is- RTV 'sew' and P 'perforated'), or by adding the noun-formative suffix -aaj (e.g. juch'anaaj 'naked child or naked fat person' < ch'an- P 'naked'; juk'ulaaj 'a pair, couple' < k'ul- RTV 'meet' and P 'married'). Some exceptional forms not derived from positional or transitive roots

k'iy laj ~ k'ilaj 'various' < k'iy 'much, many', laj 'very'

k'o juun 'some (one) of' < k'oooli P 'there is/are, exist',
juun '1'
majuun 'nothing, none, no one, nobody, there isn't any'
< ma neg, juun '1'

ma k'o ta 'none, no one, nobody, nothing, there isn't any'
< ma neg, k'oooli P 'there is/are, exist', ta irreal
ti juunook 'only one' < ti diminutive, juun '1', -ook(?)
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are: juw17 'a bush, plant; kind' (< wi7- 'head'), jutz'tit 'a little bit' (< ?), juréata 'a short period of time' (< Sp rato), jupuw 'a group (of people or animals)' (< ?), and juch'taab' 'a reflection, shining, ray' (< ch'aab' N with same meaning as the enumerative).

Often, enumeratives from positional roots denote an entity in the position, shape, condition, etc., indicated by the positional root (e.g. jukotaaj 'a circle' < kot- P 'circular', juchuyaaaj 'a collection, group, swarm' < chuy- P 'grouped, collected'). Enumeratives from transitive roots often denote either an instance of the action described by the root (e.g. juk'oox 'a hammer/rock blow' < k'ox- RTV 'hammer', jurook' 'a scratch' < rok'- RTV 'scratch'), or a common patient of the transitive action (e.g. jujook 'a handful (of water, dirt)' < jok- RTV 'take out with the hand', jub'aaj 'a piece (of tortilla or bread)' < b'aaj- RTV 'chev'). However, the meanings of enumeratives are not always predictable from the meanings of their roots even though their meanings may be related (e.g. jub'ooq'aaj 'a fat person' < b'oq'- P 'bunched up (berries)', jutz'uq' 'a drop' < tz'uq'- RTV 'mistreat', jutzqaqaaj 'a string of' < tz'aq'- P 'hanging').

Many enumeratives are often used in combination with another following noun or noun phrase in counting, much like numeral classifiers in many other languages (e.g. kaj17 b'aaj ja kaxlaway 'two pieces of the bread', kaj17 raap tz'uum 'four blows (with a) whip', ox17 d'oyaj muuti17 'three chunks of my meat'), but enumeratives are not obligatory in counting in that nouns may be counted without them. When enumeratives are used with a following noun phrase, either in counting or otherwise, their main function is to restrict the scope of meaning of the following noun or specify its form, shape, condition, or position. For example, in the sentence:

(40) Ka7i7 b'otaaj ja wuuj xsijpax chwe.

'two roll the paper B3-was-given to-me

'Two rolls of the paper were given to me.'

the enumerative b'otaaj 'roll' restricts the meaning of wuuj 'paper' (which can be in various forms: sheets, stacks, wads, etc.) to specifically rolls (see section 8.1.1 on noun phrases).
Some enumeratives have purely qualitative meanings and semantically are more like adjectives, e.g.

- jub'oq'aaj 'fat (one)'
- jub'ujaaj 'fat (head)'
- juchuk'aaj 'tall and skinny (one)'
- julik'aaj 'very wide (fabric)'
- juluub 'wet (one)'
- jusopazj 'extremely fat (one)'
- jutaraaj 'hoarse'

In their restricting capacity, many enumeratives function as temporary or qualitative measures, e.g.

- jub'otz'aaj 'a package (of food)'
- jub'oraaj 'a bunch (of flowers)'
- juchool ~ jucholaaj 'a line, row'
- juch'araaj 'a slice (of cane or kindling)'
- jud'oyaaaj 'a lump/chunk (of meat, mud, butter)'
- juketaaj 'a roll (of string, vine)'
- juk'aaj 'a drop'
- juk'alaaj 'a load (of firewood)'
- jumulaaj 'a pile'
- jumog'aaj 'a fistful'
- jupatz'aaj 'a pile (of hay, rags)'
- jutz'uuuj 'a drop'
- juyalaaj 'a heap (of tortillas)'

Although enumeratives are often used with following nouns or noun phrases specifying or restricting their meanings, they may also be used without a following noun. Compare the sentences below.

(41) a. Xintij jub'iq' ya7
    83-Al-took a-drink water
    'I took a drink of water/liquor'
Like other nouns, enumeratives may function as stative predicates (see section 8.1.3).

5.2.4 Measure Words

Besides the subset of enumerative nouns that function as temporary or qualitative measures, there is another set of nouns that are also measure words (but not enumeratives). Some of these are standard measures (e.g. liitro 'liter' (< Sp litro), k'aam 'chord of land (approximately 25 x 25 ft.)'), while others are temporary measures (e.g. manoojo 'bunch' (< Sp manojo), ijqa7n 'load'). As these examples indicate, many measure words are borrowed from Spanish. Characteristically, measure words are preceded by a number, quantifier, or the interrogative jaru7 'how many, how much', and followed by a noun or noun phrase (e.g. ka7i7 liitro ya7 'two liters of water/liquor'), and they normally are not possessed. However, some measure words are also common nouns and may be possessed when they function as such. Compare the two sentences below. In (45), b'Aaso 'glass' functions as a measure word, whereas in (46), it functions as a common noun preceded by another measure word dos¿ena 'dozen'.
(45) Xinloq' ka7i7 b'ásso nuuyaa.
B3-Al-bought two glass my-liquor
'I bought two glasses of (my) liquor.'

(46) Xinloq' jum dosëena nb'ásso.
B3-Al-bought one dozen my-glass
'I bought one dozen of (my) glasses.'

Some other measure words are given below.

éera 'garden plot (of)' < Sp era
galoon 'gallon' < Sp galón
laq 'bowl(ful)'
liiwra 'pound' < Sp libra
koxtaar 'gunny sack(ful)' < Sp costal
bonsa 'ounce' < Sp onza
oktáwo 'eighth of a liter' < Sp octavo
tráago 'drink' < Sp trago
pakëeta 'package' < Sp paquete
ntik'aaaj 'half'
pataj1 'crate'
b'ásra '30 inches' < Sp vara
ijqa7n 'load'
almuul 'dry measure of .8 liter' < Sp almud
aróowa '25 lbs.' < Sp arroba

5.2.5 Proper Names

Virtually all given or Christian names in Tzutujil have been bor-
rowed from Spanish, although, since most of them have undergone rather
radical phonological change, they are not usually viewed as loanwords by
contemporary Tzutujil speakers.  E.g.

Keel < Sp Miguel
Ku7 < Sp Domingo
Kox < Sp Lucas
Kus < Sp Marcos
Cho7r < Sp Melchora
Lóyda < Sp Loida
Luuka < Sp Maruca
Lu7a < Sp Lucía
Nouns

Li7p < Sp Felipe  Luuxa < Sp Luisa
Lu7 ~ Luch < Sp Pedro  Marì?y < Sp María
Li(i)x < Sp Andrés  Nanna ~ No7t < Sp Ana
Páwlo < Sp Pablo  Pals < Sp Francisca
Pala7s < Sp Francisco  Roosa < Sp Rosa
Rà7p < Sp Rafael  Ro7n < Sp Petrona
Sme7eel < Sp Ismael  Rewëeka < Sp Rebecca
Spiryámo < Sp Cipriamo  Sako7r < Sp Socorro
Stëewa < Sp Esteban  Saanto < Sp Santa
Sa7ak < Sp Isaac  Sëelya < Sp Celio
Sakari7y < Sp Zacarías  Së7p < Sp Josefa
Sa7is < Sp Isaias  Sônyla < Sp Soila
Se7n < Sp Vicente  Teere7s < Sp Teresa
Teeko ~ Te7k < Sp Diego  Xwasna < Sp Juana
Xep < Sp José  Xwas < Sp Juan

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

Chikib'ul 'Chiqival'
Tuwis 'Tuíz'
Tepæas 'Tepaz'
Tzooq 'Tzoc'
Tsya7q 'Tziac' < tsyaq 'clothes'
Sajkiiy 'Sajquiy' < sajkiiy 'century plant'
Q'anajaay 'Canajay' < q'an 'yellow', jaay 'house'
Raatza'am 'Ratzam' < raatza'am 'its salt'
Qochee7 'Coche' < (?), chee7 'tree'
Tz'ina7 'Tziná'
Saq'ujl 'Sacul' < saq'ujl 'banana'
Sojwe7l 'Sojhuel'

Spanish surnames are also not uncommon; these are usually pronounced either like the Spanish forms or with slight modifications such as lengthening of stressed vowels (e.g. Peeres < Sp Pérez, Mendoosa < Sp Mendoza, Ernæandes < Sp Hernández, Raamux < Sp Ramos).
Proper names are distinguished from other nouns in that they are not possessed. But more importantly, when they are used referentially (rather than vocatively), they must be preceded either by one of the two proclitic particles:

Aa (~Ma SA) 'youth, Master' used with male names
Ta(n) (~Ya SA) 'Miss' used with female names
[whether the n in Ta(n) appears or not is lexically determined]

or by one of the following more respectful terms:

Taa7 'Mr., Sir, Señor'
Naan 'Mrs., Lady, Señoras'

The latter two forms can be used in referring with respect to anyone over 25 or so, but they are especially used in reference to older people or people of high political, economic, or social rank. If both a given and a surname are used together, then a name proclitic occurs only before the first name. Compare the examples below.

(47) Jar Aa Xwaan xb'e Yab'akoj.  
the youth Juan went Cuyotenango  
'Juan went to Cuyotenango.'

(48) Jar Aa Kux Tzyaaq qas utz nejtz'aani.  
the youth Marcos Tziac very well plays  
'Marcos Tziac plays very well.'

(49) Ja Ta Xwaana xb'e San Paawlo.  
The Miss Juana went San Pablo  
'Miss Juana went to San Pablo.'

(50) Ja Tan Palas xb'e pa loq'oj kaxlanway.  
the Miss Francisca went to buy bread  
'Miss Francisca went to buy bread.'

(51) Ja Taa7 Lix xkam ilwilir  
the Sir Andrés died yesterday  
'Sir Andrés died yesterday.'
When names are used vocatively, they may occur optionally without *Aa, Ta(n), Taa7, or Naan*, in which case they are more respectful than those used with *Aa* or *Ta(n)*, but perhaps less respectful than those used with *Taa7* or *Naan*.

### 5.2.6 Vocatives

As noted in 5.2.5, proper names are used as vocatives. There are a few other common vocatives:

- *Taa7* 'Mr., Sir, Señor'
- *Naan* 'Mrs., Lady, Señora'
- *meetz'* 'kid' [used by older people with children]
- *xten ~ xtan* 'Miss, Señorita, girl'
- *k'ajool ~ k'ojoool* 'youth, boy'
- *qasjaaj* 'Our Lord'
- *kuchkuchkuch* [pig call]

### 5.2.7 Toponyms

In Tzutujil there are hundreds if not thousands of names for places. Some of them are not analyzable synchronically:

- *Nawala7* 'Nahualá'
- *Tzolola7* 'Sololá'
- *B'ookoo7* 'Chimaltenango'
- *Yab'akoj* 'Cuyotenango'

Others are loanwords from Spanish:

- *Armlita* 'Guatemala City' < Sp ermita 'hermitage'
- *B'isitasyoon* 'Santa María Visitación' < Sp visitación
The majority of toponyms are phrases:

- K'oqol Keej 'Masatenango'
  < k'oqol 'hunter', keej 'horse' (archaic meaning 'deer')
- Kaqa Che7 Ya7 'Panyebar Village'
  < kaq 'red', chee7 'tree', ya7 'water'
- K'iche7 'Santa Cruz el Quiché'
  < k'i 'many', chee7 'tree'

Most phrasal toponyms are built on either the two prepositions ch(i) 'at, to' and pa(n) 'in, to', or on the relational nouns: ch'i7 (< chii7) 'edge, mouth', xe7 (< xee7) 'base, root', and tza7n 'point', or on the prepositional relational noun chwech ~ chwech ~ chwa 'on the face of, in front of'. E.g.

- Chi Maq'an Ya7 'Totonicapan'
  < maq'an 'hot', ya7 'water'
- Chi Kokop 'Chicacao'
  < kokop 'cacao bean'
- Pa Tuulul 'Patulul'
  < tuulul 'zapote'
- Pan Ajche7eel 'Panajachel'
  < ajche7eel 'matassnos tree'
- Chi7 Nima Ya7 'place near San Juan on the edge of Lake Atitlán'
  < nìm 'big', ya7 'water'
- Chi7 K'wa7 'place on the edge of the Cua River'
- Xe7 Q'apooj 'place near San Juan'
  < q'apooj 'girl'
- Xe7 Pa Tzyaq 'place below Patzicá'
  < tzyaq 'clothes'
- Chwa Kuku7 Aab'aj 'place near San Juan'
  < kuku7 'water jug', aab'aj 'rock'
- Chwa Tz'alarn 'place near San Juan'
  < tz'alarn 'board'
Although many phrases like those above are analyzable, many are not, at least synchronically (and except for the first element); e.g.

\begin{itemize}
  \item Pasya7 'Patzicia' < sya7 (?)
  \item Pasu7m 'Patzún' < su7m (?)
  \item Xe7 K'ub'ujill 'place near San Juan' < k'ub'ujiil (?)
  \item Chwa B'olob' 'place near San Juan' < b'olob' (?)
  \item Chwiley 'Chichicastenango'
  \begin{itemize}
    \item [historically from chwi7 'on top of', ley 'stinging nettle', which is an earlier unmetathesized form of contemporary yel 'stinging nettle']
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

One important syntactic feature of place names that do not begin with a relational noun or preposition is that some of them require the preposition pa(~) in order to make a locative phrase in a sentence, whereas others strictly forbid its use. Whether a toponym takes pa(n) or not is determined by the particular lexical item. Compare the sentences below.

\begin{enumerate}[a.]
\item Chwaq ninb'e pa Nawala7. 'Tomorrow I go to Nahualá.'
\item Chwaq ninb'e pan Armíta. 'Tomorrow I go to Guatemala City.'
\item Chwaq ninb'e (*pa) Tzolola7. 'Tomorrow I go to Sololá.'
\item Chwaq ninb'e (*pa) Yab'akoj. 'Tomorrow I go to Cuyotenango.'
\item Chwaq ninb'e (*pa) Santýaago. 'Tomorrow I go to Santiago Atitlán.'
\end{enumerate}

5.3 NOUN DERIVATION

There are a large number of derivational affixes used in forming noun stems in Tzutujil. Two noun-forming affixes are prefixes, one is an infix, and one involves a discontinuous infix-plus-suffix morpheme; all
other noun-forming affixes are suffixes. Derivational affixes forming nouns make the following kinds of changes in the roots, stems, and words to which they are attached: (1) they may change the word or stem class; (2) they may change the meaning; and (3) they may form noun stems from roots that otherwise do not occur as stems (without derivational affixes) of any word class. Affixes forming noun stems are discussed in section 5.3.1, and the format for presenting information about them is the same as that used in discussing affixes deriving verb stems (see section 4.2).

Compounding is also a productive process by which new nouns are formed in Tzutujil. Nominal compounds are discussed in section 5.3.2

5.3.1 Affixes Deriving Nouns

1) aj-

1. Characterizer

3. Derives nouns from other noun stems, and in a few cases from roots whose grammatical class is uncertain. The derived forms denote someone who is characterized by what is indicated by the noun base. The characterization involves someone who commonly deals with the entity denoted by the base or, if the base is a toponym, who comes from that particular place.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

   ajq'iij 'diviner, astrologer' (< q'ij N 'day, sun'
   aj7iitz 'hexer' (< iitz N 'hex'
   ajtinaamit 'citizen' (< tinaamit N 'town, city'
   ajtzilij 'counselor' (< tzilij N 'word'
   ajchame7y 'constable' (< chame7y N 'club, nightstick'
   ajk'aay 'vender, seller' (< k'aay- N 'sale'
   ajkuum 'witch, sorcerer' (< kuum- (?)
   (cp. kuuna- DTJ 'cure')
   ajq'aat 'deer-hunt participant' (< q'aat- (?)
   ajk'iche7 'person from Santa Cruz el Quiché' (< k'iche7 'Santa Cruz el Quiché'
   ajchikokop 'person from Chicacao' (< K'okop 'Chicacao'
   ajpanajche7eel 'person from Panajachel' (< Panajche7eel 'Panajachel'
Nouns in aj- may be derived ultimately from verbs, but first the verbs must be nominalized with the agentive suffixes: -ool used on TVs, and -eel used on IVs (e.g. last few examples). Sometimes nouns in aj- formed from toponyms beginning with chi 'to, at' lose chi when ~- is added and sometimes not (cp. ajmaq'anya7 < Chi Maq'an Ya7 and ajchikokop < Chi Kokop). Note that the vowel ~ in aj- is never lengthened after the definite article ja(~) as other vowels are (see rule 26, section 1.6.2).

2) 1. x- feminizer
2. x- ~ ix-:
The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms a few nouns from indeterminable stems whose meaning always indicates the notion 'female'.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   ixoq 'woman' < -oq (?)
   -ixnaam 'man's sister-in-law' < -naam (?)
   xna7m 'doe' < -na7m (?)
   xtulx 'female turkey' < -tulx (?)
   xtan ~ xten 'girl, young woman' < -tan ~ -ten (?)

3) 1. ~V- enumerative formative
3. Derives enumerative nouns from transitive roots, and from roots that are both basically transitive and positional. In a few cases, ~V- derives enumeratives from positional roots that are not also transitive, and in one case it derives a non-enumerative noun from a transitive root (see section 5.2.3 on enumeratives).
4. Semiproductive.

5. Examples:
   - jurook’ 'a scratch' < rok'- RTV 'scratch'
   - jub’iq’ 'a drink' < biq’- RTV 'drink'
   - juchool 'a line' < chol- RTV 'explicate, supplicate'
   - juluub’ 'a wet thing' < lub’- P 'wet'
   - tzoek 'beak' < tzoko- RTV 'peck'

   4.1. -j-...-07m deverbal noun formative
   2. -j-...-07m ~ -j-...-u7m ~ -V-...-07m:
      The alternations are lexically determined, the first one
      being the most common.

   3. Forms verbal nouns from a number of transitive roots, and
      in one case, an abstract noun from an adjective.

   4. Unproductive.

   5. Examples:
      - tijk07m 'sowing, seeding' < tik- RTV 'sow, seed'
      - loj’o7m 'item bought' < loq’- RTV 'buy'
      - ch’aajo7m 'clothes for washing' < ch’aaj- RTV 'wash'
      - q’equ7m 'darkness, obscurity' < q’eq Adj 'black'

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

5. -aaj enumerative formative
   3. Derives enumerative nouns from positional and transitive
      roots (see section 5.2.3 on enumeratives).

   4. Semiproductive.

   5. Examples:
      - juch’araaj 'a slice of meat or kindling' < ch’ar- RTV
        'cut wood' and P 'hoarse'
      - juk’ulaaj 'a pair, couple' < k’ul- P 'married' and
        RTV 'meet'
      - jumokaaj 'a bush' < mok- P 'grouped together
        (plants)'
      - jusiraaj 'a sphere' < sir- P 'spherical'

   6. Note that -aaj is also an allomorph of the general noun
      formative -VVj (see affix 22).
1. **-at**
   - **noun formative**
   - Derives a few nouns from various monosyllabic roots.
   - Unproductive.
   - Examples:
     - k'aqat 'itch' < k'aq- RTV 'shoot'
     - q'ab'at 'oar' < q'ab'- N 'hand'
     - tz'aqat 'completion, adjustment' < tz'aq- RTV 'do'
       (archaic)

2. **-b'al**
   - **locative/instrumental**
   - The first form occurs after vowel-final stems; both forms occur after consonant-final stems, and when the second form occurs, the \( V \) is not predictable; the first form is more common.
   - Derives locative and instrumental nouns from verbs, and from positional roots and adjectives, and rarely from other nouns.
   - Semiprodutive to productive.
   - Examples:
     - mu7xb'al 'bath tub, bathing place' < mu7x- IV 'bathe'
     - wa7b'al 'eating place' < wa7- IV 'eat'
     - okb'al 'entrance' < ok- IV 'enter'
     - elab'al 'exit' < el- IV 'leave'
     - tz'atb'al 'thing/place for viewing' < tz'sat- RTV 'see'
     - kemb'al 'weaving instrument' < kem- RTV 'weave'
     - qumub'al 'thing for drinking' < qum- RTV 'drink'
     - k'ayib'al ~ k'ayb'al 'market' < k'aayi- DTJ 'sell'
       and k'aay- N 'sale'
     - tzijob'al 'language, talk' < tzijo- DTJ 'speak'
     - tz'ub'ulb'al 'seat' < tz'ubuli P Adj 'be seated'
     - charab'al 'dragging place' < char- P 'hanging down'
     - tee7b'al 'stepmother' < tee7- N 'mother'
     - tata7b'al 'stepfather' < tata7- N 'father'
6. Note that with a few forms in -b'aa1, when they are pos-
sessed, an epenthetic (underlying?) vowel occurs between
the stem and the suffix (e.g. nz'ub'ulib'aal 'my seat' <
tz'ub'ulb'aa1).

8) 1. -C1V1C2
   noun formative
   3. Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
   4. Unproductive.
   5. Examples:
      mutzmutz 'drizzle' < mutz- (?)
      litzlitz 'sparrow hawk' < litz- (?)
      q'atq'at 'step, rung' < q'at- RTV 'go across, over'

9) 1. -eel
   absolute agentive
   2. -eel ~ -aa1 ~ -il:
      The latter two alternants only occur in one form each, the
      former in hundreds.
   3. Derives agentive nouns from intransitive verb stems, espe-
cially including absolutive intransitives from transitive
   verbs (in -oon ~ -Vn; see section 4.2.1).
   4. Productive.
   5. b'ijn-eel 'walker' < b'ijn- IV 'walk'
      atiin-eel 'swimmer' < atiin- IV 'swim'
      waraal 'sleepy head, one who sleeps too much' < war- IV
      'sleep'
      wa7'ii1 'glutton' < wa7- IV 'eat'
      ch'eyoon-eel 'hitter, beater' < ch'eyoon- IV < ch'ey- RTV
      'hit'
      tz'atoon-eel 'looker, seer' < tz'atoon- IV < tz'at- RTV
      'see, look'
      kunaaneel 'curer' < kunaan- IV < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
      kammsaneel 'killer' < kammsaan- IV < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
   6. With a few forms, the characterizer prefix a- may be
      added along with -eel (e.g. ajkamaaneel 'worker' < same-
      IV 'work'). Note that -eel is also an allomorph of the
      general noun formative -VV1 (see affix 24).
10) -eem  

**intransitive infinitive marker**

1. -eem

2. -eem ~ -neem ~ -aam ~ -naam ~ -iim:
   - -neem occurs after stems ending in glottal stop; the last three alternants occur in only one form each; the first form occurs in hundreds.

3. Derives verbal nouns or infinitives from intransitive verb stems, and from a handful of the most common positional adjectives (see sections 4.1.5.1 and 6.2).

4. Productive (with IVs only).

5. Examples:
   - b'ijneem 'to walk' < b'ijn- IV 'walk'
   - yawajeem 'to get sick' < yawaj- IV 'get sick'
   - samajeem 'to work' < samaj- IV 'work'
   - tare7neem 'to go with' < tare7- IV 'go with'
   - waraam 'to sleep' < war- IV 'sleep'
   - wa7iim 'to eat' < wa7- IV 'eat'
   - b'eenaan 'to go' < b'e- IV 'go'
   - tz'ub'uleem 'to be seated' < tz'ubuli P Adj 'be seated'
   - pa7leem 'to be standing' < pa7li P Adj 'be standing'
   - ch'eyoonneesm 'to hit' < ch'eyoon- IV 'hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
   - kunaaneem 'to cure' < kunaan- IV 'cure' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'

6. N.B.: verbal nouns in -eem are never possessed.

11) -ik  

**passive infinitive marker**

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

4. Productive (as passive infinitive marker only).

5. Examples:
   - ch'ejyik 'to be hit' < ch'ejy- 'be hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
   - b'ajnik 'to be done, made' < b'ajn- 'be done, made' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'
kunaxik 'to be cured' < kunax- 'be cured' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
kamsaxik 'to be killed' < kamsax- 'be killed'
< kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
b'irib'a7xik 'to be shaken' < b'irib'a7x- 'be shaken' < b'irib'a7- DTJ 'shake'
yawajik 'to get sick' < yawaj- IV 'get sick'
kamik 'to die' < kam- IV 'die'

6. Verbal nouns in -ik may be possessed, and the possessive prefix indicates the patient of the verb (e.g. nch'ejyiik 'my being hit (= to hit me)', rkunaxiik 'her being cured (= to cure her)', nkamilik 'my dying, death').

12) 1. -n
active infinitive marker of DTVs
3. Derives active infinitives from derived transitive verbs.
These infinitives must always be followed by an indefinite patient noun (see section 4.1.5.1).
4. Productive.
5. Examples:
kamsan winaq 'to kill people' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
kusan winaq 'to cure people' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
b'irib'a7n winaq 'to shake people' < b'irib'a7- DTJ 'shake'

13) 1. -ooj
active infinitive marker of RTVs
2. -ooj ~ -uuj:
The latter form only occurs after root vowel u, otherwise the former.
3. Derives active infinitives from root transitive verbs (see section 4.1.5.1).
4. Productive.
5. Examples:
ch'eyooj 'to hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
b'anooj 'to do, make' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'
tz'atooj 'to see, look at' < tz'at- RTV 'see, look at'
silooj 'to move' < sil- RTV 'move'
muquuj 'to bury' < muq- RTV 'bury'
6. Verbal nouns in -ooj are never possessed; however, indefinite patients may follow them (e.g. ch'eyoj winaq 'to hit people', b'anoj jaay 'to make houses'). Note that -ooj is also an allomorph of the general noun formative -VVj (see affix 22).

14) 1. -ool active agentive

2. -ool ~ -ol ~ -uul ~ -ul ~ -l:
The alternant -l occurs after derived transitive stems; the alternants in u occur only after root vowel u. Alternants with short vowels occur before indefinite nouns. Alternants with long vowels occur only when an indefinite noun does not follow, which can only be if the prefix aj- is also attached to the base stem (see affix 3).

3. Derives agentive nouns from transitive verb stems. Normally, these agentive nouns require that an indefinite patient follow them; however, a few of them may occur without a following patient, but only if the prefix aj- is also attached to the verb base.

4. Productive (only forms without aj-).

5. Examples:
   ch'eyol winaq 'hitter of people' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
   b'anol jaay 'maker of houses' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'
   loq'ol jaay 'buyer of houses' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
   ajloq'ool 'buyer'
   chanol uleep 'worker of land' < chan- RTV 'till, work with a hoe'
   ajchanool 'peasant'
   muqul kamnaq 'burier of (the) dead' < muq- RTV 'bury'
   kunal winaq 'curer of people' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
   kamsal winaq 'killer of people' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
   q'ijloq7l winaq 'visitor of people' < q'ijla7- DT7 'visit'

6. Forms in -ool may be followed by the relational noun -Vxin 'of, for', indicating an anaphoric patient, instead of an overt noun patient (e.g. ch'eyol rxin 'hitter of
her/him/it', ch'eyol wxin 'bitter of me'). In Santiago, there is also a form -oy, which is functionally identical to -ool (e.g. ch'oy wnaq 'bitter of people' (SA)).

15) 1. -oom noun formative
2. -oom ~ -oon:
The alternation is lexically determined but the latter form is rare, occurring only in a couple of forms.
3. Forms a dozen or so nouns from various roots and stems.
   -oom also forms absolutive nouns of noun class S3 (see section 5.1.2 and examples therein).
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   alaq'oom 'thief' < alaq' N 'theft'
   ajnoom 'fugitive' < ajn- IV 'be in a hurry'
   q'ojoom 'marimba' < q'oq- (?)
   ag'oom 'medicine' < ag- (?)
   kamsoon 'assassin' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'

16) 1. -tal noun formative
3. Forms one noun from a transitive verb root.
4. Unproductive.
5. Example:
   chantal 'work done for another person' < chan- RTV
   'work with a hoe, cultivate'
6. Note than -tal normally derives adjectives (see section 6.4).

17) 1. -v7 noun formative
2. -v7 ~ -o7 ~ -u7:
The alternations are lexically determined.
3. Forms a dozen or so nouns from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   k'ala7 'string holding warp onto loom' < k'al- RTV
   'tie' and P 'tied'
   kem07 'wooden blade used in weaving' < kem- RTV
   'weave'
   tz'al07 'a plant' < tz'al- (?)
18) 1. -VV7 noun formative
2. -aa7 ~ -ee7 ~ -ii7 ~ -oo7 ~ -uu7:
The alternations are lexically determined.
3. Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   -aanaa7 'man's sister' < -aan (?)
   aii7 'woman's sister-in-law, daughter-in-law'
   < -aal 'woman's child'
   saasee7 'liver' < saas- (?)
   B'ookoo7 'Chimaltenango' < b'ook- (?)
   naatuul7 'shadow of person' < naat- (?)

19) 1. -Vb' noun formative
2. -ab' ~ -aab' ~ -eb' ~ -ob':
The alternants are lexically determined.
3. Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   jichab' ~ jicheb' 'comb' < jich- (?)
   tzorob' 'a vine' < tzor- (?)
   piixaab' 'counseling' < piix- (?)
6. The affixes 17, 18, and 19 are probably all etymologically related, going back to an old Mayan instrumental suffix *(V)Vb'. The instrumental/locative suffix -(~)b'al (affix 7), in contemporary Tzutujil, also goes back to *(V)Vb' with the addition of the noun formative -al.

20) 1. -Vc2 noun formative
3. Forms a few nouns from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   poqoo 'dust' < poq- (?)
   ch'upup 'tule' < ch'up- RTV 'pick fruits and vegetables'
   tzok'ok' 'tostada' < tzok'- P 'be left on top of; crunchy'
21) 1. \(-Vj\) noun formative
2. \(-aj \sim -oj \sim -uj:\)
The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms about a dozen nouns from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
sik’aj 'apozote plant’ \(< sik’- RTV 'pick up'\)
soochoj 'rattlesnake' \(< soo\check{c}h \ 'rattle'\)
tz’utuj 'flower of corn' \(< tz’ut- (?)\)
[N.B.: the name 'Tzutujil' comes from this word with the addition of the noun formative -iil: Tz’utujiil.]

22) 1. \(-VVj\) general noun formative
2. \(-aaj \sim -eej \sim -iij \sim -ooj:\)
The particular vowel is lexically determined; forms in a and o are the most common.
3. Derives nouns from various roots and stems. Also forms absolutive nouns of noun class S3 (see 5.1.2 on noun possession and examples therein).
4. Semiproductive to productive.
5. Examples:
ka7aaj 'small thatched roof house or shelter' \(< ka7- (?)\)
b’oolaj 'log' \(< b’ol- P 'cylindrical'\)
cho7keej 'cramp' \(< cho7k- (?)\)
k’exooj 'cotton' \(< k’ex- (?) RTV 'exchange, substitute'\)
chanooj 'cultivated land' \(< chan- RTV 'till, work with a hoe'\)
wa7iijaal 'hunger' \(< wa7- IV 'eat', -iij, -aal N formative\)

6. Note than \(-ooj\) is also the active infinitive marker on RTVs (see affix 13), and that \(-aaj\) is an enumerative formative (see affix 5).
23) 1. -Yjl noun formative
   2. -ajl ~ -ujl:
      The alternants are lexically determined.
   3. Forms a handful of nouns from monosyllabic roots.
   4. Unproductive.
   5. Examples:
      xakajl 'crotch' < xak-P 'for the legs to be spread'
      saq'ujl 'banana' < saq'- (?)

24) 1. -VVI general noun formative
   2. -aal ~ -eel ~ -iil ~ -ool ~ -uul:
      The alternants are lexically determined.
   3. Derives nouns from various roots and stems. Derives abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns. Note that abstract nouns, with only a few exceptions, must be possessed (see sections 5.1.3 and 6.1.1). Also, marks nouns as being abnormally possessed (see section 5.1.2.2 and examples therein).
   4. Productive.
   5. Examples:
      k'asleemal 'life' < k'as-P 'alive, awake', -eem infinitive
      tz'uumaal 'skin' < tz'uum N 'leather, hide'
      rq'eqaal 'blackness' < q'eq Adj 'black'
      kamnaqeel 'person who has been dead for some time' < kamnaq 'dead'
      k'uleel 'enemy' < k'ul- RTV 'encounter' and P 'married'
      yaab'iil 'illness' < yaab'- (~ yaw-) 'sick'
      muuniil 'delicacy' < muun N 'glutton'
      (r)saqiil 'whiteness, clarity' < saq Adj 'white, clear'
      rtziijool 'announcement, saying' < tziij N 'word'
      ch'aakuul 'flesh, muscle' < ch'aak N 'boneless meat'
      rteewuul 'cold(ness)' < teep //teew// N and Adj 'cold'
6. Note that -eel forms absolutive agentives (affix 9), and -ool forms active agentives (affix 14).

25) 1. -V7l noun formative
2. -a7l ~ -e7l ~ -07l ~ -u7l:
The alternations are lexically determined.
3. Forms nouns from various roots, mostly monosyllabic.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   ajtaq'aaj7l 'person from the Pacific coastal plain' < aj- characterizer, taq'aaj N 'coast, plain'
   b'0ose7l 'popcorn' < b'o7s- IV 'crack apart'
   ch'ijmo7l 'cinco negritos plant' < ch'ijm- (?)
   muchu7l 'aliver' < much- RTV 'break into pieces'

26) 1. -Vn noun formative
2. -an ~ -in ~ -on ~ -un:
The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms nouns from a few monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   awan 'cornfield' < aw- [verb root in awab'exik 'to replant']
   pujtzin 'toad' < pujtz- (?)
   tz'okon 'cucuyu plant' < tz'ok- (?)
   tz'unun 'hummingbird' < tz'un- (?) [root in several verbs]

27) 1. -V7n noun formative
2. -a7n ~ -e7n ~ -o7n:
The alternations are lexically determined.
3. Forms a few nouns from various roots and stems.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   ijqa7n 'load' < ijq- root of ijqaqik 'to carry on the back'
   ijqale7n 'post, charge, duty' < ijqal N 'carrier of'
   ch'salo7n 'chicken without feathers on neck' < ch'al- (?)
28) 1. -Vq 
   noun formative
2. -aq ~ -aʔq:
   The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms a few nouns from various monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   ch'ab'aq 'mud' < ch'ab'- [root of various verb forms]
   rnimAʔqiil 'superior(s)' < r- ʔA3, nim Adj 'big',
      -ił N formative

29) 1. -Vʔy
   noun formative
2. -aʔy ~ -eʔy ~ -oʔy ~ -uʔy:
   The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms a dozen or so nouns from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   xik'aʔy 'leafless branches or sticks' < xik'- (?)
   ch'areʔy 'screamer' < ch'ar- P 'raucous'
   satoʔy 'rolled cloth put on head to carry things on'
      < set- P 'discoid, coiled up'
   tzub'uʔy 'hard swelling' < tzub'- P 'piled up in conical shape'

5.3.2 Nominal Compounds

Perhaps the most productive process in Tzutujil for forming new nominal lexical items is compounding. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of already existing (i.e. lexicalized) nominal compounds. Also, the process is used on a day-to-day basis to form ad hoc or novel nominal compounds that may or may not ever become established or lexicalized (much like spur-of-the-moment nominal compounds in English or German; see Zimmer 1971).

Morphologically, there are two basically different kinds of nominal compounds: simple and phrasal. Simple compounds are composed of two or more roots or stems, which are joined or fused together forming a single word. Sometimes in simple compounds there are minor alternations in the
forms of the component parts, such as loss of a segment, and sometimes there may be a connecting element, such as a vowel, inserted between the components. **Phrasal compounds**, on the other hand, are composed of two or more words that function together as a single lexical unit but that continue to function morphologically as individual words. The formation of phrasal compounds in Tzutujil is productive, but the formation of simple compounds is not. Rather, it seems that simple compounds are one (possible) historical result of the productive process of phrasal compounding. In other words, once a phrasal compound has become established as a lexical item, then through time the component words become more and more fused together and eventually lose their individuality. To exemplify the distinction between simple and phrasal compounds, compare the two sets of compounds below.

**Simple Compounds**

rexkaab' *honey* < rex **Adj** 'green', kaab' **N** 'sweet (edible thing such as honey, unrefined sugar, candy)'
nrexkaab' *my honey*

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

nsmaachii7 *my beard*

**Phrasal Compounds**

rex kinaq' *green beans* < rex **Adj** 'green', kinaq' **N** 'beans'
rex nkinaaq' *my green beans*

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

smal nwi7 *my head hair*

With the simple compounds above, the possessive prefix, n- (A1), is attached at the beginning of each compound, whereas with the phrasal compounds it is attached to the second word, clearly indicating that the components of the phrasal compounds have not been fused together. Also, in the simple compound smaachii7, the final ʔ of the component smaal has been lost in fusing with chii7. It seems likely that simple compounds, like those above, were once treated like the phrasal compounds but now are treated like simple individual words. There is synchronic evidence for this in that a few compounds are treated in both ways. For example,
rchaq ch'ooy 'chilatepe chile' (< r- A3, achaq 'ass, shit', ch'ooy 'monkey'), has two possessed forms rchaq nuch'ooy varying with nrchaqch'ooy 'my chilatepe'. It seems that this form is on its way to becoming a simple compound.

The most common types of simple nominal compounds are of the forms: Adjective + Noun, Noun + Noun, and Number + Enumerative Noun, but there are also others. Some examples of simple nominal compounds are given below.

**Adj + N**
- saq'iij 'summer' < saq 'white, clear', q'iij 'day, sun'
- saqche7 'cane for holding thatch' < saq 'white', chee7 'tree, stick'
- nmaaq'a7 ~ nmaaq'a7 'dawn' < nim 'big', saq 'night'
- nmaaq'iij 'festival' < nim 'big', -a Adj suf, q'iij 'day'

**N + N**
- spoq'ul 'goiter' < spoq 'swelling', qul 'throat, neck'
- tapq'iij 'albino' < tap 'crab', q'iij 'day, sun'
- q'or7aj 'thick drink of corn flour' < q'or 'thick drink', aj 'corn ear'
- saliichee7 'Jiote tree' (a tree with peeling bark) < saal 'mange', -ii connector, chee7 'tree'

**Number + Enumerative**
- jutiij 'once' < ju(un) 'one', -tiij 'time'
- juromaaj 'a piece of music' < ju(un) 'one', -romaaj 'piece of music'
- jub'oot 'a roll of fabric' < ju(un) 'one', -b'oot 'roll of fabric'

**N + Adj**
- q'aq'ateep 'chills' < q'aq' 'fire', -a connector, teep 'cold'

**Adj + RTV/P**
- saq'b'ach 'hailstone' < saq 'white', b'ach- RE 'squeeze' and P 'squeezed'

**Adj + Adj**
- rexteep 'chills' < rex 'green', teep 'cold'
With regard to internal composition, there are four main types of phrasal compounds:

1. A modifying adjective followed by a head noun (e.g. saq 'white', saq-m- 'white', qaab' 'sweet bee')
2. A head noun followed by a restricting noun (e.g. rwi7 'house', jaay 'house')
3. A restricting noun preceding a head noun (e.g. qaayis chikop 'moth', qaayis 'weed, herb', chikop 'animal')
4. Two juxtaposed head nouns (e.g. ati7t mama7 'grandparent(s)', ati7t 'grandmother', mama7 'grandfather')

The first two types of constructions are fully productive and are used to form novel phrasal compounds at will. The third type is not as common as the first two, but it seems to be at least semiproductive. The fourth type is rare and is not productive.

Most phrasal compounds of type (2), with a head noun followed by a restricting noun, are of the inflectional class S of S (discussed in 5.1.2.3), where the head noun is possessed by the following restricting noun (see example above and those in 5.1.2.3). However, there are many type (2) phrasal compounds where the head noun is not possessed by the following noun; these are especially common (although not restricted to) constructions with a deverbal noun as head followed by a restricting noun (e.g. ramol chee7 'wood cutter (= cutter of wood)', ramol 'cutter', chee7 'wood, tree'). Type (4) phrasal compounds are all of the SS inflectional class.

More examples of the four main types of phrasal compounds are given below, as well as a few idiosyncratic formations. It should be noted that established or lexicalized phrasal compounds are often idiomatic in that their meanings are not predictable from their component parts. Also note that long vowels (if any) of all but the last component of a phrasal compound are usually (but not always) shortened. Vowel shortening seems to be a function of two factors: first, of the lexicalization process itself, and second, of the tendency to shorten vowels before anything but definite noun phrases (see rule 23 in section 1.6.2).
Adj + Head Noun
k’olok’ik xaq ’dirt clod’ < k’olok’ik ’spherical’, xaq ’clay’
k’olok’ik sanayi? ’pumice’ < k’olok’ik ’spherical’, sanayi? ’sand’
q’an riij ’ripe corn ear’ < q’an ’yellow, ripe’, riij ’its back’
Kaqa Siiwaan ’Quicasiguán Hill’ kaq ’red’, ¬a Adj suf, siiwaan ’canyon’
Saqa K’axool ’Witch of the Indians (of the Dance of the Conquest)’
qaq ’white’, ¬a Adj suf, k’axool ’substitute’

Head Noun + Restricting Noun
sanik ajxiik ’flying ant’ < sanik ’ant’, ajxiik ’winged one’
sachol paq ’squanderer’ < sachol ’spender’, paq ’money’
k’olol paq ’treasurer’ < k’olol ’guarder’, paq ’money’
q’axal wuuj ’mailman’ < q’axal ’passer’, wuuj ’paper, letter’
q’axal tzijj ’translator’ < q’axal ’passer’, tzijj ’word’
q’athbal tzijj ’townhall’ < q’atbal ’place of cutting, crossing’,
tzijj ’word’
q’atol tzijj ’authority’ < q’atol ’cutter, crosser’, tzijj ’word’
r’bey ch’ijch’ ’highway’ < r’bey ’its road’, ch’ijch’ ’car’
rq’a7 chee7 ’branch’ < ruuq’a7 ’its hand’, chee7 ’tree’
rx7 chee7 ’root’ < ruuxee7 ’its root, base’, chee7 ’tree’
rejtal aqanaaj ’footprint’ < rejtal ’its sign’, aqanaaj ’foot’
rwa xaan ’wall’ < rwach ’its face, surface’, xaan ’adobe’
(r)chi7 jaay ’door, corridor’ < ruuchii7 ’its mouth, edge’, jaay ’house’
rutee7 ajsaroom ’hoe callus’ < rutee7 ’its mother’, ajsaroom ’hoe’

Restricting Noun + Head Noun
q’ola k’im ’grass, lawn’ < q’ool ’turpentine’, ¬a connector, k’im ’straw’
ajtiij mooso ’teacher’ < ajtiij ’student’, mooso ’Ladino (= non-Indian)’
sanayi? uleep ’sandy soil’ < sanayi? ’sand’, uleep ’land, earth, soil’
sanik chee7 ’ant nest’ < sanik ’ant’, chee7 ’tree’
Head Noun + Head Noun
- b'aq'ilil - b'o'ch'ilil 'body' (nb'aq'ilil nb'o'ch'ilil 'my body')
  - b'aq 'bone', ib'o'ch' 'nerve, vein'

iyaaj mamaaj 'grandchild(ren)' (wiij nuumaam 'my grandchild(ren)')
  - (?I) -iij 'back', mamaaj 'grandchild'

Restricting Noun + Adj + Head Noun
- saal kaqa k'aam 'a vine' < saal 'mange', -i connector, kaq
  - red', -a Adj suf, k'aam 'chord, string'

Verb + Head Noun + Restricting Noun
- nmulu rwa k'u7x 'nausea' < mul- RTV 'stack up', rwach 'its face, surface', k'u7x 'chest'

Head Noun + Restricting Noun + Restricting Noun
- smaal chi7 wachaaj 'eyelash (= hair of edge of eye)' < smaal
  - 'hair', chi7 'edge, mouth', wachaaj 'eye'
1. The suffix -eeʔ, similar in form to the two noun-plural suffixes, is used as a plural marker on jaʔeeʔ 'they' (< jaaʔ 'he/she/it') and juleʔ 'some' (< jiiʔ 'one', -i- (?)).

2. Wallace Chafe (personal communication) suggested the term 'prototypical ownership' to me.

3. The short vowel of the suffix -iil in these forms is due to the fact that they are followed by indefinite possessors. Compare rchikopiil ja cheeʔ 'the wood's animal' and rchikopiil jar iixiim 'the corn's animal'. The vowel of -iil (or -VV1) is always long when the possessed noun is phrase-final (e.g. rchikopiil 'its animal').