6

ADJECTIVES

6.1 GENERAL FEATURES OF ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Tzutujil have two primary functions: (1) to modify nouns, and (2) to act as stative predicates (see section 8.1.3 on stative predicates). These two functions are illustrated in the sentences below with the adjectives chaq' 'ripe' and k'aten 'hot'. In (1a) and (2a) the adjectives function as modifiers, and in (1b) and (2b) they function as stative predicates.

(1) a. K'o jun chaq'(a) laj araanxex.
    exist a ripe very orange
    'There's a very ripe orange.'

   b. Ja wajasache7l maja7n qas chaq'.
    the my-white-zapote still-not very ripe
    'My white zapote is still not very ripe.'

(2) a. Xintij k'aten laj q'oors.
    I-took-it hot very atol (= thick drink)
    'I drank some very hot atol.'

   b. Qas k'aten ja nuuyaa7.
    very hot the my-water
    'My water is very hot.'

When adjectives function as modifiers they may precede their head nouns (as in (1a) and (2a) above, and (3b) and (4b) below), but they may also follow head nouns, as k'ay 'bitter' and nimaq 'big (pl)' do in
(3a) and (4a). However, no more than one adjective may precede a head noun (see the discussion on noun phrases in 8.1.1).

(3) a. Jar iixoq ma traajo7 naquun k'ay.
   the woman not B3-A3-like thing bitter

   b. Jar iixoq ma traajo7 k'ayi naquun.
   the woman not B3-A3-like bitter thing
   'The woman doesn't like bitter things.'

(4) a. Jar aachi nuuchoy chee7 nimaq.
   the man B3-A3-cut tree big-plr

   b. Jar aachi nuuchoy nimaq taq chee7.
   the man B3-A3-cut big-plr plr tree
   'The man cuts big trees.'

6.1.1 Modifier Connectors

When monosyllabic adjectives function as modifiers and precede their head nouns, they are normally followed by a connecting suffix -i (~ -a ~ -e ~ -u). The particular connecting vowel following an adjective is lexically determined, but the most common one by far is -g. It should be noted that this connecting vowel is always unstressed, unlike other final vowels in Tzutujil, which are always stressed (see rule 9, section 1.3). If the adverbial enclitic particle laj 'very' intervenes between the adjective and the head noun, then the connecting vowel is occasionally omitted. Note that when the connecting vowel is added to an adjective with a long vowel, the long vowel is shortened (e.g. tz'ii1 'dirty' plus -i > tz'ili). In sentences (5)-(8), the adjectives kaq 'red', tz'ii1 'dirty', looq 'esteemed', and teep //teew// 'cold' all have connecting vowels.

(5) Inin xinchoy ja kaqa chee7.
   I B3-A1-cut the red tree
   'I cut the red tree.'

(6) Ja tz'ii1 (~tz'ii1) laj tzyaq ch'ab'aq.
   the dirty very clothes wet
   'The very dirty clothes are wet.'
Ja loq'o laj winaq xkami.
'The highly esteemed person died.'

Inin xina7 ja tew(u) laj ch'ijch'.
I B3-Al-felt the cold very metal
'I felt the very cold metal.'

The modifier connector suffix -v is sometimes also used with monosyllabic nouns when they function (like adjectives) as restricting nouns (see 5.3.2) and precede their head nouns in phrasal compounds (e.g. q'ola k'im 'grass, lawn' < q'ool 'turpentine', -a connector, k'im 'straw'; k'ana yail 'twine bag' < k'am 'twine', -a connector, yail 'bag').

To a certain degree, the adverbial particle laj 'very' also functions as a modifier connector in that a number of adjectives virtually require laj to follow them when they modify and precede head nouns (see examples of laj in (1a), (2a), (6)-(8)). Some adjectives requiring laj are:

- chaq' 'ripe'
- looq' esteemed, sacred'
- k'aten 'hot'
- tew //teew// 'cold'
- k'ay 'bitter'
- tz'ii1 'dirty'

Even many modifying adjectives that do not require laj tend to be used with it more often than not when they precede head nouns. One reason for the frequent, and in some cases nearly obligatory, use of laj seems to be to overtly mark adjectives as modifiers, as opposed to predicates. Laj never occurs with predicate adjectives, rather the adverbial particle qas 'very, really, a lot' is used with predicate adjectives as an intensifier (see 6.1.4).

6.1.2 Number Agreement

Most adjectives in Tzutujil are not inflected for number; however, there are some notable exceptions: (1) The adjective nim 'big' has the plural form nimaq, which has the plural suffix -aq. (2) The adjective tino7y 'little, small' has the plural form taqno7y. Tino7y is a compound
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built on the diminutive proclitic particle ti, which has the plural form tøø, and the otherwise unattested root -no7y. (3) The adjective ko7lii, also meaning 'small, little', has the plural form ko7koj (~ kookoj). The singular form is formally a stative positional adjective (see 6.2) built on the positional root ko7 'small, little' plus the stative positional adjective suffix -(V)l and the phrase-final suffix -i; the plural form is built on the root ko7 plus the derivational suffix -(V)Cpl. Both the singular and plural forms are commonly used in conjunction with the diminutive proclitics: ti ko7lii and tøø ko7koj. And (4), most characterizing positional adjectives (see 6.2) formed from positional roots with the suffix -(V)l-1k have plural forms in -aq, where -aq replaces -ik (e.g. pa7pik 'standing' > pa7paq plr; ch'anch'i1k 'naked' > ch'anch'aq plr; wuluwik 'ovoid' > wuluwaq plr; sirisik 'spherical' > sirisaq plr). Compare the example sentences below in (9) and (10). Note that since the adjectives modify inanimate nouns in these sentences the only overt marking of plurality occurs on the adjectives, not on the nouns or verbs.

(9) a. Xchojyi ja nim chee7.
   B3-was-cut the big tree
   'The big tree was cut (down).'

   b. Xchojyi ja nimaq chee7.
   B3-was-cut the big-plr tree
   'The big trees were cut down.'

(10) a. Ja wuluwik sanayi7 xinrpajsaaj.
    the ovoid sand it-made-me-fall
    'The ovoid sand (= pumice) made me fall down.'

   b. Na xa ko7 chi wuluwaq xaq pa b'eeey.
   not only little of ovoid-plr clay in road
   'There's a lot of ovoid clay in the road.'

6.1.3 Derivational Paradigms of Adjectives

Most adjectives (excluding positional adjectives discussed in 6.2) have a paradigmatic set of forms derived from them. The derivational paradigms of adjectives consist of: (1) an abstract noun derived with
the noun-formative suffix -VV1 (N.B.: most abstract nouns are obligato-
riely possessed with one of the ergative possessive prefixes; citation
forms are in ~ A); (2) an inchoative intransitive verb meaning to get/
become the quality indicated by the adjective (inchoative verbs are
usually formed with the intransitivizing suffix -Vr, or occasionally with
the intransitivizing suffix -Vj ~ -Vj, see 4.2.1); (3) a causative tran-
sitive verb meaning to make/cause something to get/become the quality
indicated by the adjective (causative verbs are built on the inchoative
verb stem with the causative suffix -sa, or occasionally with -ti-ss;
N.B.: if the inchoative verb is formed with -V(2)j, then -Vr is added
to the inchoative stem before the causative suffix is added; see 4.2.2).
Some derivational paradigms of adjectives are provided below. Note that
some adjectives may have more than one abstract noun, inchoative verb,
or causative verb.

kaq 'red'
  rkaqal ~ rkaqiil 'redness'
  kaqareem ~ kaqireem 'to redden'
  kaqarsaxik ~ kaqirsaxik 'to make redden'

//teew// 'cold'
  rteewul 'cold(ness)'
  teuwreem 'to get cold, freeze'
  teuwrsaxik 'to make cold, make freeze'

teaq 'ripe, mature, fat, cooked'
  rchaq'al 'maturity, ripeness, fat(tiness), cookedness'
  rchaq'aljiiil 'maturity, ripeness'
  chaq'aljeem 'to ripen, mature'
  chaq'aljarsaxik 'to make ripen, mature'

saq 'white, clear'
  (r)saqiiil 'whiteness, clarity'
  saqireem 'to whiten'
  saqareem 'to become clear; dawn'
  saqirsaxik 'to make whiten, make clear'
If an adjective has both a singular and a plural form, then usually both forms have derivational paradigms. Compare the examples below.

nim 'big'
nimii1 'bigness, greatness'
nimaa1uu1 'bigness, greatness; superior part; chosen thing'
nimareem 'for a singular object to get bigger, increase'
nimar(ti)saxik 'to make a singular object get bigger, increase'
nimaaq 'big' plr
nimaaqii1 ~ nimaaqquul 'greatness, bigness; chosen, superior, or major thing'
nimaaqireem 'for plural objects to get bigger, increase'
nimaaqirasaxik 'to make plural objects get bigger, increase'

tin07y 'small, little'
tin07yaa1 'smallness'
tin07yareem ~ tin07yireem 'for a singular object to get smaller, diminish'
tin07yarsaxik ~ tin07yirsaxik 'to make a singular object get smaller, diminish'
tin07yir- 'for plural objects to get smaller, diminish'
tin07yirm- 'to make plural objects get smaller, diminish'

6.1.4 Predicate Adjective Inflections

When adjectives function as stative predicates, that is as predicate adjectives, they are inflected for subject with the proclitic absolutive person markers (see section 8.1.3 on stative predicates, and section 3.1 on the absolutive person markers). Stative positional adjectives (see 6.2) and adjectives derived with the suffix -tal (see 6.3.1), also require the phrase-final suffix -i (N.B.: -i normally only occurs on intransitive verbs in the nonperfect; see section 4.1.2.2). If an
adjective has a plural form, then it is used in the plural persons.
Compare the person paradigms of the predicate adjectives below.

utz 'good'
in utz 'I am good'
at utz 'you are good'
utz 'he/she/it is good'
oq utz 'we are good'
ix utz 'you all are good'
se utz 'they are good'

pa7li 'standing' stative positional adj with -i
in pa7li 'I am standing'
at pa7li 'you are standing'
pa7li 'she/she/it is standing'
oq pa7li 'we are standing'
ix pa7li 'you all are standing'
se pa7li 'they are standing'

ojtaqitali 'famous, well known' adj in -tal with -i
in ojtaqitali 'I am famous'
at ojtaqitali 'you are famous'
ojtaqitali 'he/she/it is famous'
oq ojtaqitali 'we are famous'
ix ojtaqitali 'you all are famous'
se ojtaqitali 'they are famous'

nim 'big' with plural form nimaq
in nim 'I am big'
at nim 'you are big'
nim 'he/she/it is big'
oq nimaq 'we are big'
ix nimaq 'you all are big'
se nimaq 'they are big'

If an adjective is a compound formed with the diminutive proclitic particle ti (taq plr) plus some other stems, then the plural form of the diminutive is used in the plural persons.
ti utz 'pretty' < ti diminutive, utz 'good'
in ti utz 'I am pretty'
at ti utz 'you are pretty'
ti utz 'he/she/it is pretty'
oq taq utz 'we are pretty'
ix taq utz 'you all are pretty'
eee taq utz 'they are pretty'

Predicate adjectives (perhaps with the exception of stative positional adjectives) very often occur with the adverbial particle qas 'very, really, a lot'; e.g.

qas at utz 'you are very good'
qas at ojtaqitali 'you are really famous'
qas at nim 'you are really big'
qas at ti utz 'you are really pretty'

The frequent (although not obligatory) use of qas with predicate adjectives seems to be to unambiguously mark adjectives as predicates, as opposed to modifiers. Qas only occurs with predicates in Tzutujil, never with modifiers. That qas is not used frequently with stative positional adjectives as with other predicate adjectives is probably due to the fact that stative positional adjectives normally occur as predicates and only occasionally, or rarely, are used as modifiers.

6.1.5 Adjectives as Nouns and Adverbs

In Tzutujil, there are a fairly large number of words that are lexically both adjectives and nouns, since they display morphological and syntactic characteristics of both word classes. Some common examples are:

meem 'mute'
mooy 'blind (one)'
ri7j 'old (one)'

Adjectives
b'eyoom 'rich (one)'
meem'aa? 'poor; orphan'
 xu?y 'stingy (one)'
tz'iil 'dirty; filth'
b'olob'ik 'cylindrical; log'

Compare sentences (11)-(14) in which meem, mooy, tz'iil, and b'olob'ik appear. In the (a) sentences these words function as adjectives, but in the (b) sentences they function as nouns.

(11) a. Xuulj ja meem laj naan.
      left the mute very Senora
      'The very mute Senora left.'

b. Qas ch'u7j ja meem.
      very mischievous the mute
      'The mute is very mischievous.'

(12) a. Xb'e ja mooy laj aachi.
      went the blind very man
      'The very blind man went.'

b. Ja ti mooy xpa7ji.
      the little blind-one fell
      'The little blind one fell down.'

(13) a. Ja tz'ili laj tzyaq xinch'aj.
      the dirty very clothes B3-Al-washed
      'I washed the very dirty clothes.'

b. Jar iixoq ani j a tuuch'aj ja tz'iil ch pelaj.
      the woman always not B3-A3-wash the filth on face
      'The woman never washes the filth off of her face.'

(14) a. B'olob'a7 eel ja b'olob'ik chee7 pa siiwaan.
      rolled away the cylindrical wood in canyon
      'The cylindrical wood (= log) rolled away into the canyon.'

b. Ja b'olob'aq qas nkatz'iini.
      the logs really B3-serve
      'The logs really serve (= are useful).'
Many words that are both adjectives and nouns have full morphological paradigms in both word classes. For example, moom 'blind (one)' may be possessed like a noun: nuumoom 'my blind one', and it has a nominal plural form: moomaa7 'blind ones'. But it also has a typical adjectival derivational paradigm with an abstract noun: moomyil ~ moomyaa7 'blindness'; an inchoative intransitive verb: moyireem 'to become blind'; and a causative transitive verb: moyirsaxik 'to make blind'.

A few adjectives also function as adverbs; for example, utz 'good' in (15) and chatachik 'in bundles' in (16).

(15) Xinwaajo7 xinb'an utz chee nmeesa.
    I-wanted-it I-did-it well to-it my-table
    'I wanted to do it well to my table (i.e. build it well).'

(16) Ja xkooyaa7 xto7taji xinb'an kaan chatachik chee.
    the tomato B3-was-left-over I-did-it remain in-bundle to-it
    'I left the tomatoes (plants) which were left over in bundles.'

6.2 POSITIONAL ADJECTIVES

There are two kinds of positional adjectives: (1) stative positional adjectives (= stative positionals), and (2) characterizing positional adjectives (= characterizing positionals). Both kinds are always derived from monosyllabic (CVC) positional roots. In fact, a Tzutujil root is defined as 'positional' if and only if there is a stative positional adjective derived from it.

Stative positionals are normally formed with the suffix -ll, which is usually shortened to -l if the positional root ends in a glottal stop, and which in a few cases is shortened to -'l if the root ends in a continuant. However, if either one of the consonants of the positional root is l, or if the last consonant of the root is r, then the stative positional is formed with the dissimilatory suffix -aan, instead of -l (see the examples below). Stative positionals are the most basic lexical form of positional roots. They indicate that some entity is for the time being in the position, state, condition, or form denoted by the root, or that an entity of the position (state, etc.) is located or exists somewhere.
Stative positionals usually function as predicates, although occasionally they are used as modifying adjectives. Like intransitive verbs in the nonperfect, they require the phrase-final suffix -(i) (see 4.1.2.2) when they are predicates, and a few of the most common ones have 'infinitives' formed with the verbal noun suffix -(em) (see affix 10, section 5.3.1). Thus, stative positionals are a rather unique subcategory of adjectives in that they display a number of verb-like features (i.e. they are normally predicates, they take phrase-final -(i), and some have infinitives), but they are clearly not verbs in that they never take the verbal perfect suffixes or the nonperfect tense, aspect, and mode prefixes. Some examples of (the several hundred) stative positional adjectives are presented below in their normal citation forms with phrase-final -(i), and in infinitival forms if one exists.

**Stative Positional Adjectives**

- ts'ub'uli (ts'ub'uleem) 'sitting'
- punuli (punuleem) 'lying'
- kotz'olli (kotz'oleem) 'lying'
- k'awalili (k'awaleem) 'lying face up'
- jupuli (jupuleem) 'lying face down'
- jotolili (jotoleem) 'be above'
- pa7li (pa7leem) 'standing'
- k'asli (k'asleem) 'alive; awake'
- ko7li 'little, small'
- tzukuli 'sticking out'
- d'oyoli 'for a soft mass to be located; cuttable'
- wonoli 'bent over'
- seteli 'circular, discoid'
- kotolili 'curved, rounded, sinuous'
- ch'anali ~ sanali 'naked'
- kupuli 'short'
- wukuli 'bent over'
- tikili 'sloping; cultivated'
- jutz'uli 'pointed'
- ch'ukuli 'squatting, shitting'
Adjectives

b'sqali 'torpid, weak'
ra'ali 'torn'
tzitili 'container-like'
k'oooli 'be located; exist, there is/are; have'
   (this form is irregular; see 5.1.2 and 8.2.4)
siraani 'spherical'
b'oraani 'in bunches; candle-shaped'
k'ulaani 'married'
b'olaani 'cylindrical'
lokaani 'sinuous'
lak'aani 'spread out'
tzalaani 'lying askew, twisted askew'

Examples of stative positionals used as predicates are given in (17)-(20). The stative positionals are ch'unuli 'for a soft mass to be located', chuyuli 'grouped, collected', d'eb'eli 'thick (of liquid)', and d'uyuli 'squatting'.

(17) Ch'unuli ja tiilij pa pla7t.
    be-located the meat on plate
    'The meat is located on the plate.'

(18) Ja juut anij ee chuyul chrij jun saq'ujl.
    the worm always B3p grouped on-it a banana
    'The worms are always grouped together on a banana.'

(19) D'eb'eli ja q'oor chrij ntzyaq.
    be-located the atol on-it my-clothes
    'The atol is (thick) on my clothes.'

(20) Innin in d'uyuli.
    I B1 squatting
    'I am squatting.'

Examples of stative positionals used as modifying adjectives are given in (21) and (22), with cholani 'lined up' and k'ooli 'little, small'. At least sometimes, when stative positionals function as modifiers and precede their head nouns, the suffix -ik is used rather than
phrase-final -i. Thus, in (22) ko7li becomes ko7lik preceding its head noun.

(21) Ma xa ko7 chi aab'aj cholaan pa b'eeey.
not only little of rock lined-up in road
'There's a lot of rock lined-up in (the) road.'

(22) Xinz'at jun ko7lik jaay.
I-saw-it a small house
'I saw a small house.'

As noted in section 2.3, there are a fairly large number of monosyllabic roots in Tzutujil that are basically both positional and transitive, and their meanings may (or may not) be related to one degree or another. Compare the monosyllabic roots below. The transitive forms are exemplified with active infinitives in -ooj (-uuj), and the positional forms are exemplified with the stative positional adjectives in -aan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monosyllabic Root</th>
<th>Transitive Form</th>
<th>Positional Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'ul</td>
<td>k'uluuj 'to meet, encounter'</td>
<td>k'ulaani 'married'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaq</td>
<td>jaqooj 'to open'</td>
<td>jaqali 'open'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'eb</td>
<td>d'eb'ooj 'to stain with a thick liquid'</td>
<td>d'eb'eli 'thick (of liquid)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ol</td>
<td>b'oolooj 'to twine; boil meat'</td>
<td>b'oolani 'cylindrical'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d'oy</td>
<td>d'oyooj 'to cut with an axe or machete'</td>
<td>d'oyoli 'be located (a soft mass); cuttable'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>won</td>
<td>wonooj 'to push with the head'</td>
<td>wonoli 'bent over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ket</td>
<td>ketooj 'to cut with a very sharp machete'</td>
<td>keteli 'discoid, wheel-shaped'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch'ik</td>
<td>ch'ikooj 'to clean land for tilling'</td>
<td>ch'ikili 'stuck in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jot</td>
<td>jotooj 'to raise'</td>
<td>jotali 'be above'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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ch'an- ch'anooj 'to spank a naked person'
ch'anal 'naked'

A few stative adjectives that are formally stative positionals apparently are formed directly from basically transitive roots, rather than from positional roots. Those formed from transitive roots have the meaning 'easy to be Xed' or 'capable of being Xed', where 'X' indicates the action denoted by the transitive root. In other words, these forms are like adjectives in English derived with the suffix '-able'. For example:

choyoli 'cuttable' < choy- RTV 'cut with an axe or machete'
d'oyoli 'cuttable' < d'oy- RTV 'cut with an axe or machete' (but not from the positional root d'oy- 'be located (a soft mass)')
jayali 'easy to tear off' < jay- RTV 'tear off branches or leaves'
b'id'ilil 'tearable' < b'id'- RTV 'tear into pieces'
b'ichilil 'degrainable, easy to remove the grains from'

Generally speaking, characterizing positional adjectives (as opposed to stative positionals) indicate attributes that an entity has characteristically or permanently, and not just the particular state that an entity happens to be in for the time being (as stative positionals indicate). Characterizing positionals are formed by reduplicating the vowel and first consonant of the positional root plus the suffix -ik (i.e. \( \tilde{V}_1 \text{C}; \text{ik} \); occasionally after continuants and \( \tilde{V}_1 \text{C}; \text{ik} \) is omitted). Most characterizing positionals have plural forms in which -ik is replaced by -ag (i.e. \( \tilde{V}_1 \text{C}; \text{ag} \)). Some examples are given below with plural forms given in parentheses.

Characterizing Positional Adjectives
pa7pik (pa7paq) 'standing, upright'
punupik (punupaq) 'lying'
tz'ub'utz'ilik (tz'ub'utz'aq) 'sitting'
b'olob'ilik (b'olob'aq) 'cylindrical; log(like)'
sirisik (sirisaq) 'spherical'
ch'anach'ik (ch'anach'aq) 'naked'
wonowik (wonowaq) 'bent over, hunchbacked'
perepi (perepaq) 'wide and flat'
lik'ilik (lik'ilaq) 'spread out (of fabric)'
setesik (setesaq) 'circular, discoid'
wukuwik (wukuwaq) 'hunchbacked, crooked (of backs)'

Characterizing positionals are commonly used both as modifying adjectives and as predicate adjectives. For example, in (23a) wukuwik 'hunchbacked, crooked (of backs)' functions as a modifier, and in (23b) as a predicate; in (24a) ch'irich'ik 'fat (of stomachs)' functions as a modifier, and in (24b) as a predicate. In (25), d'oyd'ik 'chopped in little pieces (of meat)' is used as a modifier' and in (26) pa7paq, the plural of pa7pik 'standing, upright', is used as a predicate.

(23) a. Ja wukuwik laj tz'i7 xinruuti7.
    the hunchbacked very dog BI-A3-bit
    'The really hunchbacked dog bit me.'
b. Wukuwik ritij jar aacht.
    crooked his-back the man
    'The man's back is crooked.'

(24) a. At ch'irich'ik paan.
    B2 fat belly
    'You are a fat belly.'
    b. Ch'irich'ik aapaan.
    fat your-belly
    'Your belly is fat.'

(25) Xinb'ol jun d'oyd'ik ti1tiij.
    I-boiled-it a chopped-up meat
    'I boiled some chopped-up meat.'

(26) Qas pa7paq rwach ja tz'aaq.
    very standing-plr its-face the wall
    'The (face of the) walls are standing/upright.'
Unlike other adjectives, positional adjectives do not have derivational paradigms (see 6.1.2). Rather, the positional roots from which they are derived typically have a paradigmatic set of forms derived from them (see 2.3). Thus, all positional roots by definition have a stative positional adjective in -aan, and most of them also have a characterizing adjective in -lik. With only a handful of exceptions, positional roots have an inchoative intransitive verb in -e7 that means to become or get into the position (state, etc.) indicated by the root (as well as by the stative positional adjective derived from the root). Most positional roots also have a transitive verb in -b'a7 that means to leave an entity in the position (state, etc.) indicated by the root, or to cause it to get into the position. Finally, many positional roots have another transitive verb in -e that means to carry an object in the position indicated by the root. The derivational paradigms of two positional roots, lik'- and set- are given below.

lik'-

lik'aani 'spread out (of fabric)'
lik'lik (lik'ilaq) 'spread out'
lik'e7- 'become spread out'
lik'b'a7xik 'to leave (a fabric) spread out; spread out (a fabric)'
lik'exik 'to carry a fabric spread out'

set-

seteli 'circular, discoid'
setesik (setesaq) 'circular, discoid'
sete7- 'become circular, discoid'
seteb'a7xik 'to leave something circular/discoid; make something become circular/discoid'
setexik 'to carry something circular/discoid'

It should be noted that many other word forms may be derived from positional roots, but those above are unique to the positional root class.
6.3 COMPARATIVES AND SUPERLATIVES

Comparative constructions in Tzutujil are stative sentences in which the entity being compared is the subject and the predicate is the adjective of comparison. The predicate adjective (of comparison) is always introduced with either the intensifying adverb gas 'very, really, a lot; more, most' or the adverb maas 'more, most', borrowed from Sp mas. The standard of comparison is indicated in a relational noun phrase following the predicate with the prepositional relational noun chwach 'in front of; than'.

(27) a. Jaa7 [gas] [maas] [nim chi nwach] inin.
   he [very] big in front-of-me I
   'He is bigger than me.'

   b. Inin [gas] [maas] [nim chwach] jaa7.
   I [very] B3 big in-front-of-him he
   'I am bigger than him.'

(28) a. Je7ee7 [gas] [maas] [ee kokoj chi gaswach] ojoj.
   they [very] B3p little in front-of-us we
   'They are littler than us.'

   b. Ojoj [gas] [maas] [oq kokoj chi keewach] je7ee7.
   we [very] B3p little in front-of-them they
   'We are littler than them.'
It should be stated that although the use of independent personal pronouns in comparative constructions like (27) and (28) is not obligatory, there definitely is a strong tendency for them to occur, probably because the NPs in comparative constructions are in contrast with each other (see section 3.1 on the function of independent pronouns). Nevertheless, for example, instead of (27a) and (27b) one could say (29a) and (29b), respectively, where the independent personal pronouns are not used. However, the sentence forms in (29) are statistically less frequent, and perhaps stylistically not as good as those in (27).

(29) a. Qas nim chi mwach.
   very big in front-of-me
   'He is bigger than me.'
 b. Qas in nim chwach.
   very B1 big in-front-of-him
   'I am bigger than him.'

Superlative constructions in Tzutujil are similar to comparative constructions except that no standard of comparison (indicated with chwach) appears in the sentence. Thus, superlative constructions are stative sentences in which the subject is the entity being compared superlatively, and the predicate is an adjective that is introduced with gas 'very, really, a lot; more, most' or maas 'more, most'. Subjects of superlative sentences are always overtly marked with a full NP or an independent pronoun.

(30) a. Jaa7 lqas \ ti utz. maas
   she \ pretty \ most
   'She is the prettiest.'
 b. Je7ee7 lqas \ ee taq utz. maas
   they \ pretty-plr \ most
   'They are the prettiest.'
(31) a. Inin {qas \textsubscript{mas} im in im. \\
\text{I \{very\} \text{most} \text{big}} \\
'I am the biggest.'

b. Ojoj \{qas \textsubscript{mas} oq nimaq. \\
\text{we \{very\} \text{most} \text{big-plr}} \\
'We are the biggest.'

It should be noted that superlative sentences with the adverb \textit{qas} (but not those with \textit{maas}) are ambiguous. Thus, for example, (30a) can mean either 'she is the prettiest' or 'she is very pretty'. In the latter case, \textit{qas} is understood in its nonsuperlative sense of 'very, really, a lot', and the appearance of the independent personal pronoun (jaa\textsubscript{7}) indicates a contrastive or emphatic subject.

6.4 ADJECTIVE DERIVATION

There are about a dozen suffixes used to form adjectives. They are discussed and exemplified in 6.4.1. The information about them is presented in the same format used to discuss affixes deriving verbs (4.2) and nouns (5.3.1). There are also a number of adjective compounds; they are discussed in 6.4.2.

6.4.1 Affixes Deriving Adjectives

1) 1. \(-\text{oj}\) 'ish' adjective formative
2. \(-\text{oj} -\text{uj}\)
   The form with \textit{u} occurs after root vowel \textit{u} only.
3. Derives adjectives from monosyllabic adjective roots meaning to be sort of life the quality indicated by the root (much like the suffix 'ish' in English, as in 'whitish'); also derives adjectives from a number of other monosyllabic roots.
4. Productive.

5. Examples:

- kaqkoj 'reddish' < kaq Adj 'red'
- q'eqq'oj 'blackish' < q'eq Adj 'black'
- saqsoj 'whitish, clearish' < saq Adj 'white, clear'
- tepoj 'coldish' < tep Adj and N 'cold'
- raxroj 'greenish' < rax Adj 'green'
- q'anq'oj 'yellowish' < q'an Adj 'yellow'
- maq'moj 'warm' < maq'- P 'hot'
- tz'ilts'oj 'gray, dirtyish' < tz'il Adj and N 'dirty; filth'
- b'aqb'oj 'skinnyish' < b'aaq N and Adj 'bone; skinny'
- k'isk'oj 'urine smelling' < k'is- RTV 'spend, finish'
- ch'uuch'uuj 'slippery' < (?) ch'u7 N 'fish' or ch'u7- P 'cured (of hides)'
- ya7yoj 'watery' < ya7 N 'water'
- paq'poj 'insipid, tasteless' < paq'- P and RTV 'split'

See adjective compound stem-forming suffix -~1~ discussed in 6.4.2.

2) -naq

- Derives perfect participial adjectives from a number of intransitive verbs.
- Semiproductive.

5. Examples:

- warnaq 'asleep' < war- IV 'sleep'
- kamnaq 'dead' < kam- IV 'die'
- no7jnaq 'full' < no7j- IV 'fill'
- q'inaq 'rotten' < q'ay- IV 'rot'

6. N.B.: -naq is the regular perfect aspect marker on intransitive verbs (see 4.1.2.1).

3) -oon

- Derives perfect participial adjectives from a number of intransitive verbs.

2. Derives perfect participial adjectives from a number of intransitive verbs.

3. Semiproductive.

Examples:

- warnaq 'asleep' < war- IV 'sleep'
- kamnaq 'dead' < kam- IV 'die'
- no7jnaq 'full' < no7j- IV 'fill'
- q'inaq 'rotten' < q'ay- IV 'rot'

6. N.B.: -naq is the regular perfect aspect marker on intransitive verbs (see 4.1.2.1).
3. Derives past passive participial adjectives from transitive verb stems that indicate that a patient has been affected by the action denoted by the transitive stem.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

ch'eyoon 'hit' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit'
loq'oorn 'bought' < loq'- RTV 'buy'
b'anoon 'done, made' < b'an- RTV 'do, make'
siloon 'moved' < sil- RTV 'move'
uquuun 'buried' < uq- RTV 'bury'
kuunaan 'cured' < kuuna- DTJ 'cure'
kamsaan 'killed' < kamsa- DTJ 'kill'
k'aayiin 'sold' < k'aayi- DTJ 'sell'
tzeeb'een 'laughed at' < tzeeb'e- DTJ 'laugh at'
kaanoon 'looked for' < kaano- DTJ 'look for'
tzyaquun 'dressed' < tzyaqu- DTJ 'dress'
b'irib'a7oon ~ b'irib'aan 'shaken' < b'irib'a7- DT7 'shake'

6. N.B.: -oon ~ -V.n is also the regular perfect aspect marker on transitive verbs (see discussion and examples in 4.1.2.1).

4) 1. -oyoon agent focus perfect participle

2. -oyoon ~ -uyuun ~ -yoon:

-uyuun is used on RTVs with root vowel u; -oyoon is used on other RTVs; -yoon is used on DTVs. N.B.: the long vowel of this suffix (oo or uu) is shortened before anything that is not a definite noun phrase.

3. Derives participles from transitive stems that indicate the one who has done what is denoted by the transitive stem. These participles always require an overt subject noun phrase that is the semantic agent of the transitive stem and that is always in contrastive focus.

4. Productive.

5. Examples:

jaa7 ch'eyoyoorn 'he is the one who hit it' < ch'ey- RTV 'hit' (jaa7 'he/she/it')

jaa7 in ch'eyoyoorn 'he is the one who has hit me'
Adjectives

5. Agent focus perfect participles are antipassive in nature and have peculiar person marking like intransitive focus antipassive verbs in -ow and -¡n (see section 4.2.1 on verb derivation and section 9.6.2.2 on the focus antipassive voice).

5) 1. -u7t adjective formative
2. Forms the two adjectives below.
3. Unproductive.
4. Examples:
   k'aju7t 'in little pieces, broken to bits'
   < k'aaaj N 'little pieces, bits, slivers'
   altu7t 'tender' < alt- (?)

6) 1. -ub' adjective formative
2. Forms the one adjective below.
3. Unproductive.
4. Example:
   muqub' 'cloudy' < muq- P 'cloudy'

7) 1. -V1C2 adjective formative
2. -V1C2 ~ -V1T2:
The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms a handful of adjectives from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   xukuk' 'fresh' < xuk'- (?)
   poqoq 'dusty' < poq- [root used in a number of forms having to do with dust; e.g. poqlaaj 'dust']
   pichi?ch 'very stiff' < pich- P 'stiff and erect'

8) $-V_1C_1ik$
   characterizing positional adjective
   
2. $-V_1C_1ik \sim -C_1ik$
   Forms without $V_1$ occur after roots ending in a glottal stop, and sometimes after roots ending in continuants; otherwise $-V_1C_1ik$.
   
3. Forms characterizing positional adjectives from positional roots (see discussion and examples in 6.2).
4. Productive.
5. Examples:
   pa?pik (pa?qpaq) 'standing, upright' < pa?- P 'standing'
   d'oyd'ik (d'oyd'aq) 'chopped in pieces (meat)'
   < d'oy- P 'chopped in pieces (meat)'
   b'olob'ik (b'olob'aq) 'cylindrical' < b'ol- P 'cylindrical'
   sanasik (sanasaq) 'naked' < san- P 'naked'
6. N.B.: adjectives in $-V_1C_1ik$ have plural forms in $-V_1C_1aq$ (see examples in parentheses above and those in 6.2).

9) $-V_1C_07$
   adjective formative
   
2. $-V_1C_07 \sim -C_07$:
   The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms the two adjectives given below.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:
   lawalo7 'dangerous; despicable' < law- (?)
   k'ask'07 'surprising' < k'as- P 'alive, awake' and RTV 'wake, resuscitate'
10) 1. \(-V_1^1 C_0^1 o j\)  
   adjective compound  
   stem formative

2. \(-(V_1^1 C_0^1) o j \sim -(V_1^1) C_1^1 u j\):
   The form with \(u\) occurs after root vowel \(u\), otherwise the form
   with \(\_\); after glottal stop \(-V_1^1\) is omitted.

3. Forms stems from monosyllabic roots that are used to form ad-
   jective compounds (see examples and discussion in 6.4.2).

4. Unproductive (semiproductive?).

5. Examples:
   saqperepoj 'whitish' < saq Adj 'white', per- P 'wide and
   flat'
   saqbutubuj 'very white' < b'ut- (?)
   saqtilitoj 'very white' < til- RTV 'knock fruit off
   trees'
   saqtilitoj 'very white' < lo7- RTV 'hurt by rubbing a lot'
   saqmuqumujuj 'cloudy' < muq- P 'cloudy'

6. This suffix is probably related to adjective-formative suffix
   (1)-\(C_0^1\).

11) 1. \(-V_1^0 V_1 j\)  
   adjective formative

2. \(-aaj \sim -iij \sim -ooj \sim -oj\):
   The alternations are lexically determined.

3. Forms a dozen or so adjectives.

4. Unproductive.

5. Examples:
   q'aalaaj 'visible' < q'al- (?)
   aalaaj 'little' < aal N 'child of woman'
   chaqiiij 'dry' < chaq- (?) (cp. form below)
   chaqooj 'not well ground' < chaq- RTV 'grind not very
   well'
   ch'ilch'oij 'smelling of metal or rubber' < ch'ilch' N
   'metal'

12) 1. \(-V_1^1\)  
   stative positional adjective

2. \(-V_1^1 \sim -l \sim -aan:\
   -aan occurs after roots containing an \(\_\), or after a root ending
   in \(r\); otherwise \(-V_1^1\). \(-V_1^1\) is usually omitted after glottal
   stop and sometimes after a continuant.
3. Forms stative positional adjectives from positional roots (see discussion and examples in 6.2).
4. Productive.
5. Examples:

jaqali 'open' < jaq- P
keteli 'discoid, wheel-shaped' < ket- P
sowoli 'floating' < sow- P
tz'ub'uli 'sitting' < tz'ub'- P
pa7li 'standing' < pa7- P
rimili 'stagnant' < rim- P
peraani 'wide and flat' < per- P
lik'aani 'spread out' < lik'- P
k'olaani 'spherical' < k'ol- P

6. N.B.: stative positional adjectives require phrase-final -i, and they have the same basic meaning as the positional root.

13) 1. -Vn adjective formative
2. -an ~ -en ~ -on:
   The alternation is lexically determined.
3. Forms a handful of adjectives from monosyllabic roots.
4. Unproductive.
5. Examples:

maq'an ~ maq'en 'hot' < maq'- P 'hot'
k'atan ~ k'aten 'hot' < k'at- 'hot' (cp. k'ajteem 'to burn')
poqon 'painful, sore' < poq- (?)

14) 1. -Vit tal complete passive stative adjective
2. -Vit tal ~ -tal:

- Vit tal occurs on RTVs and -tal occurs on DTJs and some RTVs.
3. Derives complete passive stative adjectives from transitive stems that indicate that a patient is already in the state of having been affected by the action denoted by the transitive stem.
4. Semiproduc tive.
5. Examples:
jamatali 'already occupied' < jam- RTV 'occupy'
kuyutali 'already pardoned, forgiven' < kuy- RTV 'pardon, forgive'
tz'atetali 'visible, already seen' < tz'at- RTV 'see'
ch'aratali 'already split' < ch'ar- RTV 'split'
evatali 'already hidden' < ewa- DTJ 'hide'
ejtetali 'already measured' < ejte- DTJ 'measure'
ojtaqitali 'famous, already known' < ojtaqi- DTJ 'know'

6. N.B.: adjectives in \(-\)tal require the phrase-final suffix \(-i\) normally used on intransitive verbs in the nonperfect (see section 4.1.2.2). Cp. the completive passive suffix \(-\)tal (affix 22 in section 4.2.1).

6.4.2 Adjective Compounds

There are a number of phrasal compounds that function semantically as adjectives but that are formally composed of an adjective plus a possessed noun. The possessor of the possessed noun of the phrasal compound is the entity having the quality indicated by the phrasal compound. Some phrasal compounds are given below.

tino7y raqan (taqno7y kaqan plr) 'short, squat'
< tino7y (taqno7y plr) 'small, little', raqan 'his/her/its leg' (kaqan 'their legs')
tino7y rpaan (taqno7y keepaan plr) 'skinny'
< tino7y (taqno7y plr) 'small, little', rpaan 'his/her/its belly' (keepaan 'their bellies')
tino7y rwach (taqno7y rwach plr) 'narrow'
< tino7y (taqno7y plr) 'small, little', rwach 'its face, surface'
(t) ko7li rwach (taq ko7koj rwach plr) 'narrow'
< t (taq plr) diminutive, ko7li (ko7koj plr) 'small, little', rwach 'its face, surface'
nim raqan (nimaq kaqan plr) 'long, tall'
  < nim (nimaq plr) 'big', raqan 'his/her/its leg' (kaqan 'their legs')
nim rpaan (nimaq keepaan plr) 'fat, thick, deep'
  < nim (nimaq plr) 'big', rpaan 'his/her/its belly, insides'
    (keepaan 'their bellies, insides')
nim rwach (nimaq rwach plr) 'wide'
  < nim (nimaq plr) 'big', rwach 'its face, surface'

Phrasal adjective compounds of this sort are rather interesting syntactically. Compare the sentences in (32-34) containing examples of phrasal adjective compounds.

(32) Aset nim aapaan.
    you big your-belly
    'You are fat.' (literally: 'Your belly is big. ')

(33) Ja nata7 qas nim raqan.
    the my-father very big his-legs
    'My father is tall.' (literally: 'My father's legs are very big. ')

(34) Jar aak’aalaa7 qas taqno7y keepaan.
    the children very little their-bellies
    'The children are skinny.' (literally: 'The children's bellies are little.'

Note that syntactically the possessed nouns of the phrasal compounds actually function as the grammatical subjects of the (predicate) adjectives of the compounds, as can be seen by the fact that the possessed nouns trigger person/number agreement in the predicate with the null third person singular absolutive marker (because they are singular and/or inanimate). The grammatical possessor noun phrases of the possessed nouns of the compounds are the semantic topics of the sentences and therefore are fronted, as topics normally are in Tzutujil (see section 9.3 on fronting). Thus the possessor noun phrases occur in initial position in the sentences rather than in the normal possessor position following the nouns they possess. It is clear that the possessor noun
phrases are not the grammatical subjects of the sentences above, even though they are the topics, since they do not trigger person/number agreement in the predicate. For example, in (32) if atet 'you' were the subject then the predicate would have to be marked with the second person singular absolutive marker at; similarly, in (34) if aak'aalaa7 'children' were subject then the predicate would have to be marked with the third person plural absolutive marker ee.

There is another set of adjective compounds that are built on the monosyllabic color terms: saq 'white, clear', q'eq 'black', rex ∼ rex 'green', and kaq 'red' (but apparently not q'an ∼ q'en 'yellow). Compounded with these color terms are bound stems formed with a monosyllabic root (usually positional or transitive) plus the suffix -yiyi (see affix 10, 6.4.1). Each of the bound stems only occurs with one, two, or three color terms. The compounds formed with the color terms plus bound stems usually indicate either a color very much like the one denoted by the color term (i.e. an example par excellence), or one sort of like it. Below are the only forms of this nature that have been recorded.

+b'utub'uj < b'ut- (?)
  saq b'utub'uj 'very white, very clear'
  kaq b'utub'uj 'very red'
  rex b'utub'uj 'very green'
+julujuj < jul- (?)
  kaq julujuj 'very red'
  q'a julujuj 'very black'
+lo7loj < lo7- RTV 'hurt by rubbing hard'
  saq lo7loj 'very white, very clear'
+mulumuuj < mul- P 'piled up'
  rex mulumuuj 'very green'
+muqumuuj < muq- P 'cloudy'
  saq muqumuuj 'cloudy'
+perepoj < per- P 'wide and flat'
  saq perepoj 'whitish'
*tilitoj < til- RTV 'knock fruit off trees'
   saqtilitoj 'very white'
   kaqtilitoj 'very red'
   q'eqtilitoj 'very black'