This chapter is a presentation of the various kinds of uninflected word classes in Tzutujil. In the first half of the chapter (7.1), minor word classes are presented, such as conjunctions (7.1.1), prepositions (7.1.2), relativizers and complementizers (7.1.3), interrogative particles (7.1.4), negatives (7.1.5), locative and demonstrative particles (7.1.6), as well as some others (7.1.7). In the second half of the chapter (7.2), various kinds of adverbs and adverbial particles are presented.

Many adverbs and many members of the minor word classes are unanalyzable particles, while many others are morphologically complex. Generally speaking, processes forming new lexical items (or words) in the word classes discussed in this chapter are unproductive or idiosyncratic. That is, there are no regular productive derivational processes employed to augment these word classes, although in the case of adverbs there are productive ways in which novel adverbial phrases are formed (see 7.2). Morphological analyses or etymologies are provided, if they are known, when the forms are first presented in the chapter.

7.1 MINOR WORD CLASSES

Generally speaking, most member lexical items of the various minor word classes are function words having syntactic and discourse relevance, indicating relations among various kinds of constituents. In this section they are listed, and some sentence examples are provided. However, many of them are discussed and exemplified further in the chapters that follow on syntax. References to relevant discussions in
subsequent chapters are made in the subsections on each of the minor word classes.

7.1.1 Conjunctions

The conjunctions that have been recorded so far are listed below. Note that a number of them are preceded by the definite article *ja*(<i>) (see 7.1.7.1).

Conjunctions

- **k'iin** 'and' < -uuk'iin RN 'with, and' (see 5.2.1)
- I ~ 11 'and' < Sp y
- *pro* 'but' < Sp pero
- oo 'or' < Sp o
- toq ~ ja toq 'when'
- wi k'a ~ ja wi k'a 'when' < wi 'if; at times', k'a 'well, then'
- chi utz ~ ja chi utz 'so that, in order that' < chi 'at, to; that', utz 'good'
- jan17 ~ kan17 'as, like'
- maanaan 'even though, although, nonetheless, nevertheless'
- maaski ~ maaske 'even though, although, nonetheless, nevertheless' < Sp mas que
- piki 'because' < Sp porque
- kómó 'since, because' < Sp como
- wi ~ ja wi 'if; at times'
- o wi 'or, neither, nor' < Sp o, wi 'if; at times'
- níxta k'a ... ta 'nor even, neither' < níxta 'not even', k'a 'well, then', ta írreal
- che7ewi7 'because of the preceding'
- rmaal ari7 ~ rmaal k'aari7 'because of that (the preceding)'
- < -umal RN 'cause; because of, on account of; by', ari7 'that' ~ k'aari7 'that (contrastive)'
- k'a ja7 k'a 'thus, therefore, and then' < k'a jaa7 'right now, just', k'a 'then, well'
- k'a ja7 k'aari7 'and then; afterwards, later' < k'a jaa7 'right now, just', k'aari7 'that (contrastive)'
Conjunctions occur at the beginning of the clause that they conjoin to some other clause. All clauses introduced with a conjunction may occur following the clause to which they are conjoined, and those clauses introduced with (ja) toq, (ja) wi, (ja) wi k'a, jani7 ~ kani7, maanaan, maaski ~ maaske, piki, and kómo may also occur preceding the clause to which they are conjoined. The last six conjunctions (i.e. che7ewi7, rmaal ari7 ~ rmaal k'aari7, k'a ja7 k'a, k'a ja7 k'aari7, k'a jaa ri7, and k'aa toq k'aari7) are both 'syntactic' conjunctions that conjoin sentences as well as 'discourse' conjunctions. These discourse conjunctions may connect a sentence to a whole preceding discussion (or discourse), not simply to a single preceding clause. Conjunctions and conjoined sentences are also discussed and exemplified in chapter 10, section 10.1. One sentence example of each of the conjunctions is provided below.

(1) Jaa7 nb'ano juun chike k'in neertzursaaj.
   "It B3-make-foc one to-them and B3p-A3-straighten-out
   'It is what makes them one and straightens them out.'"

(2) Neekeya7 kalk'waal i neekik'ijtisiij.
   "They give (their) children and raise them."

(3) Inin ninb'e pro jaa7 ma traaj07 nb'e.
   "I B1-go but she not B3-A3-want B3-go
   'I am going but she doesn't want to go.'"

(4) Newojb'eej nixb'e oo ma kan ta?
   "Do you all want to go or not?"
(5) Ja toq nkojb'ej kii7 nkuk'aj kii7 chee when B3-A3p-love each-other B3-A3p-take each-other in ka7i7.
two
'When they love each other they take each other, the two of them.'

(6) Ja wi k'a k'o jun kamnaq, chee ajsanjwaan neeb'i7x when exist a deceased to one-of-San-Juan go-be-told
kan wi7 rmaal ja rajawal kamnaq.
stay front by the owner-of deceased
'When there is a deceased (i.e. a death), the one (i.e. the
leader) of San Juan is advised by the owner (i.e. relative) of
the deceased.'

(7) Ja sakramento rxiiin ja k'ulub'ik neeto70 rmaal jar
the sacrament of the marriage B3p-help-foc by the
uutzii1 ... 
'It's the sacrament of the marriage that helps them by the
goodness of God, so that then they'll love each other.'

(8) Neekiq'aasteej ja ch'uul7, neeb'eekimina7 to, 
the sacrament of the marriage B3p-help-foc by the
the sacrament of the marriage that helps them by the
even-though B1-wi11-go not exist irreal B3-go-A1-do emph
'Ven though I'll go there's nothing I'll go do, really.'

(9) Maanaan xkinb'e ma k'o ta neenb'ana7 chik.
even-though B1-wi11-go not exist irreal B3-go-A1-do emph
'Even though he'll go he won't do anything.'

(10) Maaski xtib'e majun nub'an.
even-though B3-wi11-go nothing B3-A3-do
'Even though he'll go he won't do anything.'
(11) Xa nkíke7eej ja keetz'oo7 chwa kaan7
only B3-A3p-grind the their-grits on metate
píki ma k'o ta máakina b'anol ke7eej.
because not exist irreal machine doer-of grinding
'They only grind their grits on a metate
because there weren't any machine grinders.'

(12) Kómo jor oojeer ma k'o ta 'boláada',
since the before not exist irreal volada
k'o k'a jule7 'kámara'.
exist then some cámaras
'Since before there were no 'voladas',
there were then some 'cámaras'.'
['volada' = type of fireworks, 'cámara' = another type
of fireworks]

(13) Wi jaa7 nb'e, inin ninb'e.
if he B3-go I B1-go
'If he goes, I go.'

(14) Ma ya7tal ta chi kii7 chi xeeruuuya7 kan ta,
not deserving irreal about them that he-leave-them stay irreal
o wi xtkeetij ta rpoqonaal wa7tiyaal.
or they-feel-it irreal pain-of hunger
'They are not deserving of him abandoning them,
or of them experiencing pain of hunger.'

(15) Ma k'o ta móoda xtuuch'ey ta,
not exist irreal way he-hit-her irreal
nixta k'a xtuutz'uj ta, o xtuuyaq' ta jar
nor-even he-maltreat-her irreal or he-molest-her irreal the
fixoq, woman
'There is no way that he should hit the woman,
or even maltreat her, nor molest her.'

(16) Ma k'o ta plíla oojeer, che7ewi7
not exist irreal tank before because-of-that
k'a najt neek'amar wi7 ja ya7.
then far go-be-fetched front the water
'There were no tanks before, because of that
from far away water was fetched.'
(17) Ja k'aar aachi, nb'e najt naqsaaj, the contrast man B3-go far near xa rmaal ari7 nojel ja muuch'ak ee ka7i7 chrlij. only because-of that all that B3-A3-earn B3p two about-it 'As for the man, he goes far and near (to work), only because of that all that he earns is both of theirs.'

(18) ... k'a ja7 k'a ja taq'ajq'iiij nujrtija7 and then the afternoon B3-came-A3-drink jutz'ilij ti q'oor. a-little little atol '... and then in the afternoon he came to drink a little bit of atol (= thick corn drink).'

(19) ... k'a ja7 k'aari7 xok chik and then entered another jun Presidéente Jeneraal Uwliko, one Presidente General Ubico k'a ja7 k'aari7 xeerlasaaj ja winaq pa taq and then B3p-A3-took-out the people from plr plinka. plantation '... and then another entered, one President General Ubico, and then he took the people off of the plantations.'

(20) B'antaj julee7 b'atz', was-made some thread pa ñibra k'olok'aq nkeeb'an chee, in pound balls B3-A3p-make to-it k'a jaari7 nkeeq'in k'in nkeemaj rkejmiik. and then B3-A3p-warp and B3-A3p-begin its-being-woven 'Some thread having been made, they made balls out of it by the pound, and then they warped it and began to weave it.'

(21) Toq winaqir to jule7 b'atz' chîma, when appeared here some thread Chinese k'a toq k'aari7 xkeek'ax to jutz'ilij. then B3-A3p-changed here a-little 'When some Chinese thread appeared, they changed them (huipils) a little.'
7.1.2 Prepositions

There are four prepositions in Tzutujil that are used to introduce and form adverbial prepositional phrases.

Prepositions

pa ~ pan 'in, into, on, to, from'
  pa occurs before consonant-initial forms and before vowel-initial forms of only one syllable;
  pan occurs before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable;

ch ~ chi ~ cha 'at, to, with (an instrument)'
  ch occurs before vowels, and may occur before any consonant, but
  cha optionally occurs instead of ch before postvelars like q, j, and q', and
  chi optionally occurs before non-postvelar consonants, especially n and k.

tza7n 'with (an instrument)'
tza7 'on, at, to'

tza7n forms instrumental prepositional phrases, and tza7 forms locative prepositional phrases.

The first two prepositions, pa and ch, are by far the most important grammatically and are the most frequently encountered in Tzutujil. Both of them regularly form locative prepositional phrases, and they are also used in forming prepositional phrases indicating time and manner. Some of these place, time, and manner prepositional phrases have been lexicalized as adverbs (see 7.7 on adverbs). Ch is also used to form instrumental prepositional phrases. Both pa and ch are used in conjunction with relational nouns to form prepositional-relational noun phrases that indicate dative, instrumental, locative, substitutive, solitary, and topical relations (see section 5.2 on relational nouns). And finally, both pa and ch(j) are used as complementizers introducing embedded clauses (see 7.1.3).
(22) Qas xinchuq' tza7 rchaq jun wajkax chi chee7.
'I really B3-Al-poked on its-butt a cow with stick.'

(23) Xuuchoy tza7n machat.
B3-A3-cut with machete
'He cut it with a machete.'

(24) In k'o ch(a) jasy.
Bl be at house
'I am at home.'

(25) Xinb'e ch(a) jasy.
Bl-go to house
'I went (to) home.'

(26) Qas xuupoq chi tz'uum.
really B3-A3-whip with whip
'He really hit her with a whip.'

(27) In k'o pa jasy.
Bl be in house
'I am in (the) house.'

(28) Xinkoj pa kaxoon.
B3-Al-put in crate
'I put it in (the) crate.'

(29) Jar aaloq'oom xok pan awoochooch.
the thief entered in your-house
'The burglar entered into your house.'

(30) Jun iik' xineemasaj pa taq'asaj.
one month Bl-went-work on coast
'For one month I went to work on the coast.'

(31) Iiwiir xinb'e pa Nawala7.
yesterday Bl-went to Nahualá.
'Yesterday I went to Nahualá.'

(32) Iiwiir ximpí pa k'ayib'al.
yesterday Bl-came from market
'Yesterday I came from (the) market.'
7.1.3 Relativizers and Complementizers

7.1.3.1 Relativizer and Clefting Particle

The definite article \( ja(\cdot) \) functions as a relativizer or relative pronoun ('that, who, which') introducing relative clauses. (N.B.: \( ja \) is used before consonants and monosyllabic vowel-initial forms, and \( jar \) is used before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable; see rule 16, section 1.6.1). Normally relative clauses immediately follow their head noun phrases, although they may be shifted to the end of the sentence, and some relative clauses may be headless. \( ja(\cdot) \) may be combined with the interrogative \( b'arkii7 (~ b'aar ~ b'ankii7 ~ b'aag) \) 'where' to introduce relative clauses of locative noun phrases. Note that the appearance of \( ja(\cdot) \) as a relative pronoun seems to always be optional (see section 10.2.1 on relative clauses and section 3.2). Examples of sentences with relative clauses are provided in (33)-(38).

(33) Neeqaatzu7 ja winaq ja neesamaj
B3p-A1p-look-at the people who B3p-work
chwach ja loq'o laj uleep.
on-face-of the sacred very land
'We are looking at the people who work on the face of the very sacred earth.'

(34) Xa ryon paas ja kaq k'in rexa tînta oknaq.
just only band that red with green tint has-been-used
'Only waist bands that were red with green tint had been used.'

(35) Jar aachi ja xch'eyo Aa Keel xb'e.
the man who B3-hit-foc youth Miguel went
'The man who hit Miguel left.'

(36) Jar aachi ja xuuch'ey AA Keel xb'e.
the man who B3-A3-hit youth Miguel went
'The man who Miguel hit left.'
(37) [prophecy:]
Taa k'aarî7 jar ee kab'lajuj tyooxsa7 jar ee rb'anoon, with respect-to the B3p twelve images that B3p has-made ja neeq'a7x na pa taq q'otb'al txiij, kkeetz'nqat which B3p-pass nec to plr presidency B3p-will-finish ari7, k'aja7 k'aaarî7 xtipeeti ja nchojmaasani. thus and then B3-will-come who B3-straighten-out-foc 'With respect to the twelve images that he had made, which will pass to the (12) presidencies, they will finish, and then will come he who will straighten it all out.'

(38) Xajrb'ilij waawe7 chike juun ka7i7 winaq B3-came-A3-told here to-them a couple people pa tinaamit ja b'aar nujk'eje7 wi7. in town where B3-came-be front 'He came here to tell something to a couple of people in town where he stayed.'

ja(r) is also used as a clefting particle, moving constituents to the beginning of the sentence and making predicates of them. In its capacity as a clefting particle, ja(r) is best translated as 'it's...' or 'it's the case that...' (see section 10.2.3 on clefting). Examples of cleft sentences occur in (39)-(42).

(39) Jar oojoj jar ooq k'o waawe7 pa tinaamit. cleft we who B1p be here in town 'It's us who are here in town.'

(40) Ja jun masaat ja xinkamsaj iiwir qas nim. cleft a deer that B3-A1-killed yesterday very big 'It's the case that a deer that I killed yesterday is very big.'

(41) Ja pa tinaamint waawe7 San Jwaan cleft in town here San Juan k'o jun ti taa7 ja xujk'eje7e. be one little Señor who B3-came-be 'It's the case that in town here, San Juan, there is a little Señor who came to stay.'
(42) Ja cha ja Ta Mari?y nb'e anij qatziij wi7.

cleft that the Miss Maria goes always true front
'It's the case that that Maria is going is true.'
[cp. (42) with (49)]

7.1.3.2 Complementizers

There are a number of complementizers, each with different functions, that introduce clauses embedded in other larger clauses or sentences (see section 10.2 for a more detailed discussion of embedded clauses).

Complementizers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Complementizer</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chi</td>
<td>that; to, in order to; so that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>to, in order to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja</td>
<td>for . . . to; that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq</td>
<td>what, whatever, that which, whichever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naq Dora</td>
<td>what time, when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'ajan</td>
<td>when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'aarkii7</td>
<td>where, wherever</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi, pa, and ja occur before consonants and before monosyllabic vowel-initial forms; ch, pan, and jar occur before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable. The alternations of b'aarkii7 are optional variants.

Chi(!) and pa(~) are also prepositions as discussed in 7.1.7. Note, however, that the allomorphy of chi(!), the complementizer, is somewhat different from ch(!), the preposition. The vowel ! of the complementizer is stable and is not optionally omitted before forms beginning with a consonant, as is the ! of the preposition. Ja(!) is also the definite article, relative pronoun, and clefting particle (see 7.1.3.1). Naq, naq Dora, b'sjan, and b'aarkii7 are also interrogatives (see 3.3 and 7.1.4).

Chi(!) introduces several kinds of embedded clauses whose verbs are formally verbal nouns or infinitives (i.e. they are not finite inflected forms), and whose Subjects are omitted under identity with the Subject of the higher clause. When the patients of transitive verbs in infinitival
clauses introduced with ch(i) are not definite, the active infinitive is used. When the patients are definite, the passive infinitive of the transitive verb is used, and the patient is cross-referenced with a possessive ergative prefix on the passive infinitive. The most important kinds of infinitival clauses introduced with ch(i) are: (1) purpose adverbial clauses with transitive verbs; (2) clauses following the intransitive auxiliary verb ookeem 'to begin, start; enter'; and (3) clauses following the intransitive auxiliary verb tajiin-, which indicates progressive aspect or that someone/something is in the process of doing something.

(43) a. Xpi chi ch'eyooj.
   'He came to hit.'
   B3-came to hit

b. Xpi chi ch'eyojo winaq.
   'He came to hit people.'
   B3-came to hit people

c. Xpi chi kich'ejyiik ja winaqi?.
   'He came to hit the people.'
   B3-came to their-being-hit the people

   'I began to eat.'
   Bl-began to eat

b. Xinok chi tijoj tii?iij.
   'I began to eat meat.'
   Bl-began to eat meat

   [tijoj RTV 'to eat']

   [wa?lim IV 'to eat']

   'I began to eat the meat.'
   Bl-began to its-being-eaten the meat
(45) a. Nintajin chi wa7iim.
   Bl-be-in-act-of to eat
   'I am eating.'
b. Nintajin chi tij oj tii7iij.
   Bl-be-in-act-of to eat  meat
   'I am eating meat.'
c. Nintajin chi tii7iik ja tii7iij.
   Bl-be-in-act-of to its-being-eaten the meat
   'I am eating the meat.'

Ch(i) is also used to introduce various kinds of embedded clauses whose verbs are fully inflected finite forms. Syntactically, most of these clauses are sentential arguments of higher predicates (i.e. they are noun phrases), many of which are extraposed to the end of the sentence. Some example sentences are provided below.

(46) Aa Xwaan nb'ij chi Ta Mari7y ma traajo7.
youth Juan B3-A3-say that Miss María not B3-A3-want
   'Juan says that María doesn't want it.'
(47) Nwaajo7 chi jaa7 nb'e.
   B3-Al-want that he B3-go
   'I want him to go.'
(48) Ja Ta Mari7y nuuch'ob' chi ja Aa Xwaan xb'e.
   the Miss María B3-A3-believe that the youth Juan B3-went
   'María believes that Juan left.'
(49) Anij qatziij wi7 chi ja Ta Mari7y nb'e.
   always true from that the Miss María B3-go
   'It's true that María is going (= that María is going is
true).' [cp. (49) with (42)]

Pa(n) introduces purpose adverbial clauses whose verbs are always formally infinitives, and whose Subjects are always omitted under identity with the Subject of the higher clause. If the verb of a purpose clause introduced with pa(n) is transitive, then either the absolutive (detransitivized) infinitive is used without a patient, or the active infinitive is used with a patient that may never be definite.
(50) Xinb'e pa wa7iim.
B1-went to eat
'I came (in order) to eat.'

(51) Ja Tan Cho7r b'enaq pa k'ayineem.
the Miss Melchora has-gone to sell
'Melchora has gone to sell.'

(52) Xpi pa k'ayin ixim.
B3-came to sell corn
'She came to sell corn.'

The definite article jae(r) is used as a complementizer introducing embedded clauses with fully inflected finite verbs. These clauses are usually sentential arguments (or NPs) and are semantically much like 'for...to' clauses in English.

(53) a. Ma utz ta ja natmajkuuni.
not good irreal for-to B2-sin
'For you to sin is not good.'

b. Itzeel ari7 ja natmajkuuni.
ugly that for-to B2-sin
'It's ugly for you to sin.'

(54) a. Utz ja npit Aa Xwaan.
good for-to B3-come youth Juan
'For Juan to come is good.'

b. Utz ari7 ja npit Aa Xwaan.
good that for-to B3-come youth Juan
'It's good for Juan to come.'

The interrogatives naq, naq bora, b'ajan, and b'aarki7 are used to introduce what have been traditionally called indirect question clauses.

(55) Nkeeb'an naq nkaaj.
B3-A3p-do what B3-A3p-want
'They do what(ever) they want.'

(56) Nkikaanooj naq nkeeb'an.
B3-A3p-look-for what B3-A3p-do
'They're looking for what(ever) they'll do.'
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(57) Xtinb’ij na chaawe b’aajan mu7uuli.
B3-A1-will-tell nec to-you when B3p-arrive-here
'I'll tell you when they're coming.'

(58) Najiini nqaach’ob’ naq oora rajwaxiik noqb’e wi7
progressive B3-A1p-think what time be-necessary B1p-go front
ch’aaq.
tomorrow
'We are thinking about what time we need to go tomorrow.'

(59) Nkikaanooj b’aar neeb’e wi7 chi ch’ojkiik.
B3-A3p-look-for where B3p-go front to its-being-earned
‘They’re looking for where(ever) they’ll go to earn it
(i.e. money).’

7.1.4 Interrogatives

The interrogative particles are listed below (see section 3.3 on
interrogative pronouns and section 9.4 on questions).

Interrogative Particles

naq 'who, what, which'
choq ~ choj 'whom; what'
b’aajan 'when'
b'aarkii7 ~ b’aar ~ b’aalii7 ~ b’aa 'where (from, to, in)'
jaru7 'how much, how many, for how much'
    ee jaru7 'how many animates'
jani7 ~ kani7 (... chee) 'how'
la yes/no question particle

Naq is used to question direct arguments in a sentence, namely:
subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates, and agents and
patients of transitive verbs (see section 9.6.2 on antipassive voices,
especially for an explanation of person marking on transitive verbs in
questions with naq). Some examples are given below.

(60) a. Naq aawach?
    what your-face/character
    'Who are you?'
b. Naq rwach?
   what its-face/character
   'What/who is it?'

(61) Naq xeeli?
   who B3-left
   'Who/what left?'

(62) Naq xatz'at?
   what B3-A2-saw
   'What/who did you see?'

(63) Naq xattz'atowi?
   who B2-saw-foc
   'Who saw you?'

Naq is also used to question instruments with transitive verbs in the instrumental voice (marked with the suffix -b'e):

(64) Naq xab'anb'eej?
   what B3-A2-did-with
   'What did you do it with?'

Naq is used in combination with the dative prepositional relational noun chee to form two other interrogatives. First, naq immediately followed by chee forms the interrogative naq chee 'why':

(65) Naq chee xaab'an?
   what to-it B3-A2-did
   (= why)
   'Why did you do it?'

Second, with naq introducing the interrogative sentence and chee following the predicate, the interrogative naq...chee 'how' is formed:

(66) Naq xaab'an chee?
   what B3-A2-did to-it
   'How did you do it?'
There are a number of other interrogative phrases based on naq; these are listed below. It should be noted that in the phrases naq varies with naj when the following word begins in a consonant.

Some Interrogative Phrases Based on naq

naq taq 'who all, what all' < taq plr particle
naq chi [+ abstract noun] 'what kind of' < chi 'at, to; that'
naq rwach 'who/what is it?' < rwach 'its/his/her face/surface/character/appearance/being/type/kind'
naq chike 'which ones' < chike 'to them'
naq la '(I) don't know what...' < la yes/no question
naq la waan '(I) wonder what...' < waan 'certainly'
naq õora 'what time is it?' < Œhora
naq pe7 'how is that? what did (you) say?' < pe7 (?)
naq ruq'iij 'what is its intrinsic worth?' < ruq'iij 'its day/sun'
naq tb'iij 'how are you? what do you say?' < tb'iij 'that he/she/it say it'
naq [+demonstrative] 'what is this, that, etc.?', e.g.
naq awo? 'what's this?'
naq k'awa? 'what's this?'
naq ala? 'what's that (pointing; emphatic)?'
naq k'ala? 'what's that (pointing; emphatic)?'
naq ar1? 'what's that (yonder; in mind)'
naq k'ar1? 'what's that (yonder; in mind)'
(see section 7.1.6 on the demonstrative/locative particles)

Choq is always used in conjunction with a relational noun (see 5.2.1) to question oblique arguments such as datives, instruments, benefactives, comitative, and possessors; e.g.

choq chee ~ choj chee 'to whom; with what' < chee 'to; with (instrument)'
choq k'iin ~ choj k'iin 'with whom' < uuk'iin 'with, and'
choq xiin ~ choj xiin 'for whom, of whom, whose' < -Vxiin 'for, of'
Note that naq may optionally be used along with choq xiin: naq choq xiin ~ naq choj xiin 'for whom, of whom, whose'. Note also that when datives, instruments, and comitatives are questioned the fronting enclitic particle wi7 is required after the predicate (see section 7.1.7.2).

(67) a. Choq chee xaaya7 wi7?
   whom to B3-A2-gave front
   'To whom did you give it?'
   b. Choq chee xaachoy wi7?
      what with B3-A2-cut front
      'With what did you cut it?'

(68) a. Choq k'iin xaab'an wi7?
   whom with B3-A2-did front
   'With whom did you do it?'
   b. Choq kuuk'iiin xaab'an wi7?
      whom with-them B3-A2-did front
      'With who all did you do it?'

(69) a. Choq xiin ja jaay?
   whom of the house
   'Whose house is it?' or 'For whom is the house?'
   b. Choq xiin xaab'an?
      whom for B3-A2-did
      'For whom did you do it?'

Examples of b'ajan and b'aarkii7 are given in (70) and (71). Note that questioned locatives also require that the fronting enclitic particle wi7 occur after the predicate.

(70) B'ajan natb'e?
   when B2-go
   'When do you go?'

(71) a. B'aarkii7 natpi wi7?
   where B2-come front
   'Where do you come from?'
b. B'aarki7 at k'o wi7?
   where B2 be front
   'Where are you?'

c. B'aarki7 nstb'e wi7?
   where B2-go front
   'Where are you going?'

When jaru7 is used to question the number of humans or animals, it must be preceded by the third person plural absolutive proclitic ee. Ee is not used with inanimates.

(72) Jaru7 aab'aj?
    how-many rock
    'How many rocks are there?' or 'How much rock is there?'

(73) Ee jaru7 achi7aa??
    B3p how-many men
    'How many men are there?'

(74) Jaru7 rajil?
    how-much its-price
    'How much is it?'

Jani7 (~ kani?) is also an adverb and conjunction meaning 'like, as'. When jan17 (~ kani?) functions as an interrogative meaning 'how', it is always used in conjunction with the prepositional-relational noun chee 'to', which follows the verb in the sentence.

(75) Jani7 xaab'an chee?
    like B3-A2-did to-it
    'How did you do it?'

The particle la is used to mark questions requesting a 'yes' or 'no' response.

(76) La natwarif?
    Q B2-sleep
    'Are you going to sleep?'
(77) La xe7aach'ey Aa Pala7s k'in Aa Teeko?
  Q B3p-A2-hit youth Francisco and youth Diego
  'Did you hit Francisco and Diego?'
(78) La utz aawach?
  Q good your-face/character
  'How are you?'

La is also used to express a self-directed question, or doubt, on
the part of the speaker. These sentences are best translated with 'I
wonder...' in positive sentences, and 'I don't know if...' in negative
sentences.

(79) B'aar la qas neepi wi7?
  where Q really B3p-come front
  'I wonder where they come from?'
(80) Ma xkinrkamsaj la?
  not B1-A3-kill Q
  'I don't know if he is going to kill me.'

Note that as a marker of yes/no questions la occurs initially in the
sentence, but when it indicates doubt it follows the doubtful constituent.

7.1.5 Negatives and Affirmatives

The negatives are listed below. All but two of them are built on
the negative proclitic particle ma, which is the general marker of
negation used in negating predicates and other major constituents. The
two negatives that are not built on ma are based on ni, which probably
has been borrowed from Spanish ni 'neither, not even'. (See section 9.1
on negative sentences.)

Negatives
ma (...ta) 'not, no' general marker of negation
[N.B.: the a of ma is omitted before the absolutive person
markers beginning with a vowel and before vowel-initial forms
of more than one syllable; e.g. mix utz ta 'you all aren't
good' < ma 'not', ix B2p, utz 'good', ta irreal.]
Uninflected Words

majalaal 'never' < jalaal 'little bit'
anij ma 'never, always not' < anij 'always'
maja7ni 'still is not, still have/has not' (?)
  [N.B.: this form occurs with k-/t- verbal prefixes only.]
sixta...ta 'not even' < xa 'only', ta irreal
sixta k'a...ta 'neither, not either' < k'a 'well, then'
majuun 'nothing, no one, nobody, not any(thing); not; there
isn't/aren't any, don't/doesn't exist, don't/doesn't
have' < juun 'one'
ma k'o ta 'there isn't/aren't any, don't/doesn't exist, don't/
doesn't have; nothing, no one, nobody, not any(thing); not'
< k'o(oli) 'there is/are, exist, have', ta irreal
ma kan ta 'no' < kaan 'staying, remaining', ta irreal
ma kan ta wi7 'never, not at all, no' < wi7 emphatic
mani7 'no' < -ni7 (?)

When predicates and other major constituents are negated with the
general marker of negation ma, they are normally followed by the irrealis
particle ta. Specifically, the following kinds of negated predicates
must occur with ta after them:
(1) negated stative predicates;
(2) negated verbs in the perfect aspect marked with -maq on
  intransitive verbs and -oon/-Vn on transitive verbs;
(3) negated verbs in the completive aspect marked with -;
(4) negated verbs in the habitual aspect marked with -;
(5) negated verbs in the imperative/obligative mode marked with
  k-/t-;
(6) negated verbs in the potential aspect marked with xk-/xt-.

However, negations of verbs in the present and future tenses and the
optative mode never have ta following them. Furthermore, contrary to
what one might expect, negated verbs in the present and future tenses and
optative mode are not distinguished, since they all require the
optative/imperative/obligative prefixes k-/t-, despite the fact that
their corresponding positive forms have different prefixes. The
following forms are presented for comparison in order to illustrate the
use of ta with negated predicates, as well as the differences in
tense/aspect/mode inflections in negative and positive verbs. The
adjective utz 'good' is used as an example of a stative predicate, and
the transitive verb b'anoon 'to do, make' is used as an example of a
verb. (See sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 on verb inflections.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>utz</td>
<td>ma utz ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'it's good'</td>
<td>'it's not good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rb'anoon</td>
<td>ma rb'anoon ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he has done it'</td>
<td>'he hasn't done it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xuub'an</td>
<td>ma xuub'an ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he did it'</td>
<td>'he didn't do it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuub'an</td>
<td>ma nuub'an ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he does it habitually'</td>
<td>'he habitually doesn't do it/ he never does it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tab'ana?</td>
<td>ma taab'an ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'do/make it!'</td>
<td>'don't do/make it!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke7ab'ana?</td>
<td>ma ke7ab'an ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'make them!'</td>
<td>'don't make them!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtuub'an</td>
<td>ma xtuub'an ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he would do/make it'</td>
<td>'he wouldn't do/make it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xkeeruub'an</td>
<td>ma xkeeruub'an ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he would make them'</td>
<td>'he wouldn't make them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuub'an</td>
<td>ma nuub'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he does/is doing it'</td>
<td>'he doesn't do/isn't doing it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuub'an na</td>
<td>ma tuub'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hope he does/makes it'</td>
<td>'hope he doesn't do/make it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keeruub'an na</td>
<td>ma keeruub'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'hope he makes them'</td>
<td>'hope he doesn't make them'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xtuub'an na</td>
<td>ma tuub'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he'll do/make it'</td>
<td>'he won't do/make it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xkeeruub'an na</td>
<td>ma keeruub'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'he'll make them'</td>
<td>'he won't make them'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some example sentences of negatives are provided below.

(81) Ma tinb'an ja chenooj.
    not B3-Al-do the fieldwork
    'I don't do (the) fieldwork.'

(82) Jo7ee7 majalaal xeewa7i.
    they never A3p-ate
    'They never ate.'

(83) Ja winaq maja7n keeb'e.
    the people still-not A3p-go
    'The people still haven't gone.'

(84) Mixta nkaajo7 ta neepeeti.
    not-even B3-A3p-want irreal B3p-come
    'They don't even want to come.'

(85) Mixta k'a xqoob'e ta.
    not-either B3p-go irreal
    'We won't go either.'

(86) a. Majuuun xintz'at.
    nothing B3-Al-saw
    'I didn't see anything/I saw nothing.'

    b. Majuuun nuuk'aay.
    nothing my-sale
    'I don't have any sales.'

(87) a. Ma k'o ta jaay.
    not exist irreal house
    'There aren't any houses.'

    b. Ma k'o ta woochooch.
    not exist irreal my-house
    'I don't have a house.'

    c. Ma k'o ta xpeeti.
    not exist irreal B3-came
    'No one came.'

(88) 'Ma kan ta', xinch1 chee jar l1xoq.
    No B1-said to the woman
    '"No", I said to the woman.'
(89) 'Ma kan ta wi7', me7e ja q'apooj chwe.

'Never', says the girl to me.

(90) Mani7, ma xinsamaj ta.

'No, I didn't work.'

The affirmative particle is jee7 'yes', and it is used as a positive response to yes/no questions.

7.1.6 Demonstrative and Locative Particles

The demonstrative and locative system in Tzutujil is quite complex and is not yet fully understood, and therefore it warrants further study. Nevertheless, there are a number of generalizations that can be made. The system is based on three important particles that have both demonstrative and locative functions and that, in combination with other particles, play an important role in keeping track of referents in discourse.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative/Locative (Dem/Loc) Particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wa7 ~ awa7 'here/this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>la7 ~ ala7 ~ la7 'there/that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(used deictically in pointing at something, and in discourse to refer emphatically to something)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ri7 ~ arl7 'there yonder/that yonder; here/there/this/that in mind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(used to refer to objects and places out of sight or at a great distance, and in discourse to refer to information previously mentioned or in mind)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three dem/loc particles are never used in isolation, nor do they ever occur alone in utterance-initial position. Rather, they are always used in combination (1) with each other, (2) with a number of other particles, or (3) as sentence constituents in noninitial position, as in (91)-(94).
(91) Choj xin awa7 jasy ri7?
whom of this house here
'Whose is this house here/there?'

(92) Iiwiir xink'ayij ala7 tz'i7.
yesterday B3-A1-sold that dog
'Yesterday I sold that dog.'

(93) Toq nb'antaji le7 nkeemaj b'anoj b'atz'
when B3-be-done that B3-A3p-begin to-make thread
'When that is done they begin to make thread.'

(94) Naq ar17 nooq'i?
who that B3-cry
'Who/what is that crying?'

When the dem/loc particles are used in combination with each other or with other particles they often form demonstrative and adverbial compounds. Some of the compounds are simple compounds that function as single words. Others are phrasal compounds that function as semantic and syntactic units but whose constituent parts are only loosely tied to each other, and in some cases may be separated by other morphemes. The meanings of the compounds formed with the dem/loc particles are not always predictable from their constituent parts, nor are some of the phonological alternations that occur. The compounds that have been recorded so far are presented and exemplified below. Note that some of them never occur in initial position; they must either be preceded by other particles or by some other major sentence constituent (e.g. a verb or a noun). These forms are marked with a preceding '+'.

In combination with each other, the dem/loc particles form the following locative adverbs and demonstratives:

waawe7 'here' < wa7 reduplicated
waari7 ~ waari7 'right here' < wa7 reduplicated + ri7
+waw7 'this' < wa7 reduplicated
+wala7 'that (pointing; emphatic)' < wa7 + la7
+wari7 'that yonder; this/that in mind' < wa7 + ri7
(95) Waawe7 in k'o wi7.
   here  B1 be  front
   'Here I am.'

(96) Naq nok wasawa7?
   what be-used-for this
   'What is this used for?'

Combined with the topic-shifting and contrasting particle k'aaf(r)
(see section 7.1.7.3), the dem/loc particles form the following
contrastive/emphatic demonstratives:

+k'aawa7 'this'
+k'aala7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
+k'aari7 'that (yonder; in mind)'
+k'aawaari7 'this/that in mind'

(97) Naq k'aala7?
   what that
   'What's that?'

The dem/loc particles are used in combination with the third person
singular independent pronoun jaa(2) 'he/she/it' and the third person
plural independent pronoun ja7ee7 - je7ee7 'they' to form, respectively,
singular and plural demonstrative pronouns that may also be used as
adjectival demonstratives (see 3.5). The glottal stop of jaa7 is always
omitted in these forms.

ja7ee7 wa7 'these'
ja7ee7 la7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
ja7ee7 ri7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'
ja7ee7 ri7 'those (yonder; in mind)'
ja7ee7 wari7 'that yonder; this/that in mind'
ja7ee7 awari7 'those yonder; these/those in mind'
Uninflected Words

jaa lale7 'that (pointing; emphatic)' < la7 reduplicated
ja7ee7 alale7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'
jaa laari7 'probably that' < la7 + ri7
ja7ee7 laari7 'probably those'

When these forms are used with a noun as demonstrative adjectives, the dem/loc particle(s) may occur before or after the noun, and the vowel of jaa7 is usually, but not obligatorily, shortened, e.g.

ja(a) wa7 tz'ii7 'this dog'
ja(a) tz'ii7 wa7 'this dog'
ja7ee7 la7 winaq 'those people'
ja7ee7 winaq la7 'those people'

Some sentence examples are given below:

(98) Jaa wa7 ja chenooj xinloq'.
this the field B3-Al-bought
'This is the field I bought.'
(99) Jaa ri7 ja jaay k'ajtinaq chiki.
that the house has-burned already
'That is the house that had already burned down.'
(100) Ja jaay ri7 xk'sjti.
it house that B3-burned
'That house burned down.'
(101) Xintz'et chi jaa lale7 aachi kansaani ja ak'
B3-Al-saw that that man B3-killed-foc the chicken
'I saw that that man was the one who killed the chicken.'
(102) Je7ee7 wari7 juut ma xa ko7 neeti70oni.
these worm not only little B3p-bite
'These worms bite a lot.'

The third person pronouns are also used in combination with the contrastive demonstratives mentioned above to form contrastive demonstrative pronouns:
jaa k'aawa7  'this'
ja7ee7 k'aawa7  'these'
jaa k'aala7  'that (pointing; emphatic)'
ja7ee7 k'aala7  'those (pointing; emphatic)'
jaa k'aari7  'that (yonder; in mind)'
ja7ee7 k'aari7  'those (yonder; in mind)'
jaa k'aawari7  'this/that in mind'
ja7ee7 k'aawari7  'these/those in mind'

(103) Ma jaa ta k'aari7.
    not it irreal that
    'It's not that.'

(104) Je7ee7 k'aala7 achi7aa7 keech'eyo wxin.
    those men B3p-hit-foc of-me
    'Those men were the ones who hit me.'

(105) Ja7ee7 k'aawa7 chikop ma xa ko7 neeti7ooni.
    these animal not only little B3p-bite
    'These animals (i.e. bugs) bite a lot.'

It should be stated that the distinction between the following pairs of demonstratives (one used with jaa7 and one used without jaa7, in each case) is not entirely clear:

+aawa7 vs. jaa wa7  'this'
aala7 vs. jaa la7  'that (pointing; emphatic)'
+aari7 vs. jaa ri7  'that (yonder; in mind)'
+aawari7 vs. jaa warari7  'that yonder; this/that in mind'

and similarly for the contrastive demonstratives:

+k'aawa7 vs. jaa k'aawa7  'this'
+k'aala7 vs. jaa k'aala7  'that (pointing; emphatic)'
+k'aari7 vs. jaa k'aari7  'that (yonder; in mind)'
+k'aawari7 vs. jaa k'aawari7  'this/that in mind'
To a large degree the members of each pair are in complementary distribution. The forms without jaa7 usually occur immediately after interrogatives, verbs, relational nouns, and certain particles, whereas the forms with jaa7 rarely occur in these environments. On the other hand, the forms with jaa7 usually occur initially in a clause (the normal position for topics), whereas the forms without jaa7 never occur initially in a clause. The view held here is that the forms with jaa7 overtly mark topics whereas the forms without jaa7 are never topics. Further evidence supporting this view is that rarely, if ever, is there more than one demonstrative with jaa7 in a single clause.

The dem/loc particles combine with the preposition ch(i) 'at, to' forming the following two locative adverbs:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chila7} & \sim \text{chila7} \quad \text{'there (yonder; pointing)'} \\
\text{chiri7} & \sim \text{chri7} \quad \text{'there (near; in mind)'}
\end{align*}
\]

(106) Chila7 k'o wi7.
\hspace{1cm} \text{there B3-be front}
\hspace{1cm} \text{'There yonder it is.'}

In combination with the (otherwise unattested) particle kaaz, the dem/loc particles form the following locative and/or manner adverbs.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaawa7} & \quad \text{'near here, around here'} \\
\text{kaala7} & \quad \text{'there; in that manner'} \\
\text{kaari7} & \quad \text{'thusly, in that manner'} \\
\text{kaawa(a)ri7} & \quad \text{'near ... around here; in this manner'}
\end{align*}
\]

(107) Kaawari7 k'o wi7 ja woochnooch.
\hspace{1cm} \text{near-here be front the my-house}
\hspace{1cm} \text{'Near here is my house.'}

(108) Kaari7 nb'ajn chee.
\hspace{1cm} \text{thusly B3-is-done to-him}
\hspace{1cm} \text{'Thusly, it is done to him.'}
When combined with the manner adverbial particle ke7 'thus(ly), so'
the dem/loc particles form the following demonstrative manner adverbs:

ke7 waawa7 'like this'
ke7 waala7 'like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 waari7 'like that (yonder; in mind)'

(109) Anij ke7 waari7 xuub'an chee, jani xinb'ij chee.
always thus that B3-A3-did to-it like B3-Al-told to-him
'Always like that he did it to it, like I told him to.'

The contrastive demonstratives mentioned above are combined with
ke7 'thus(ly), so' to form contrastive demonstrative manner adverbs:

ke7 k'aawa7 'like this'
ke7 k'aala7 'like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 k'aari7 'like that (yonder; in mind)'

(110) Ke7 k'aawa7 xuub'an chaqe ojoj.
thus this B3-A3-did to-us we
'Like this he did it to us.'

The dem/loc particles combine with kee7 'thus(ly), so', along with
na necessitative, ta irrealis, and na negative, forming the following
demonstrative manner adverbs:

ke7 na awa7 'it has to be like this'
ke7 na ala7 'it has to be like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 na ari7 'it has to be like that (yonder; in mind)'

(111) Kee na ari7 xuub'an na ja tinaamit.
thus nec that B3-A3-do nec the town
'It must be like that, that which has to happen to the town.'

ke7 ta awa7 'that it be/were like this'
ke7 ta ala7 'that it be/were like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ke7 ta ari7 'that it be/were like that (yonder; in mind)'

(12) Ke7 ta awa7 ja nch'aakaat.
thus irreal this the my-chair
'That my chair were like this.'

ma ke7 ta awa7 'not like this'
ma ke7 ta ala7 'not like that (pointing; emphatic)'
ma ke7 ta arli7 'not like that (yonder; in mind)'

(13) Jaa la7 ma ke7 ta ala7 mb'aajn chee.
that not thus irreal that B3-is-done to-it
'That is done not like that (= that isn't done like that)'

The irrealis particle ta and the contrastive demonstrative *k'aari7
combine to form:

taa k'aari7 'with respect to, as in the case of'

(14) Taa k'aari7 ja k'exooj ja nkeeb'aa....
with respect to the cotton that B3-A3p-make
'With respect to the cotton that they make....'

The dem/loc particles le7 and ri7 combine with juun 'one' to form:

juun le7 'another one there'
juun ri7 'another one here'

(15) Jaa wa7 jaay kaari7 jaani7 juun le7.
this house so like one there
'This house is so like the other one there.'

Xer 'only' and juun 'one' combine with the dem/loc particles forming:

xer wawa7 'only this'
xer wala7 'only that (pointing; emphatic)'
xer wari7 'only that (yonder; in mind)'
(116) Xer waawa7 b'atz' xya7 pi chwe.
    only this thread was-given come to-me
    'Only this thread was given to me.'

xer waawa7 juun 'the (this) only thing'
xer waala7 juun 'the (that) only thing (pointing; emphatic)'
xer waari7 juun 'the (that) only thing (yonder; in mind)'

(117) Xer waari7 jun xk'e7 kan chwe ja laapis.
    only that one was remain to-me the pencil
    'The only thing I was left with was the pencil.'

7.1.7 Some Other Particles

In this subsection a number of other important particles are discussed and illustrated.

7.1.7.1 The Definite and Indefinite Articles

The definite article is ja(r). Ja is used before consonants and monosyllabic forms beginning with a vowel; jar is used before vowel-initial forms of more than one syllable. The definite article is probably a short form of, or at least related to, the third person singular independent pronoun jaa7 'he/she/it'. The indefinite article is jun 'a, an', which is a short form of the number and indefinite pronoun juun 'one'. The plural indefinite pronoun julee7 'some' also sometimes functions as a plural indefinite article. Both ja(r) and jun are amply exemplified throughout this work; an example sentence of the plural indefinite pronoun used as a plural indefinite article follows:

(118) K'o julee7 mwaay.
    exist some my-tortilla
    'I have some tortillas.'
There are a number of facts that should be noted about the articles:
(1) the definite article may be used before any noun indicating a definite or identifiable referent, including possessed nouns and proper names, especially if the latter are Subjects or topics; e.g.

(119) Ja waanaa7 k'lo ch jasy.
    the my-sister be at house
    'My sister is at home.'

(120) Jar Aa Teeko xya7o chwe.
    the youth Diego B3-gave-foc to-me
    'Diego was the one who gave it to me.'

(2) The definite article is often used with non-third person pronouns when they are topics or Subjects; e.g.

(121) Jar oojoj oq k'lo waawo7.
    the we Blp be here
    'We are here.'

(3) The definite article is often used before nouns referring to a class as a whole if they are topics or Subjects; e.g.

(122) Jar iixoqi7 nkeeb'an way.
    the women B3-A3p-make tortilla
    '(The) women make tortillas.'

(4) The definite article and the indefinite article may be used in conjunction to indicate a definite or identifiable referent but one that is also not yet given information or in mind (in the sense of Chafe 1976); e.g.

(123) Ja jun taa7 xuuk'am to nkáaja rxin nkaxlaan.
    the a Señor B3-A3-carried here my-box of my-soap
    'The (identifiable but not yet mentioned) Señor brought me a box of soap.'
(5) After prepositions and relational nouns the definite article is often omitted even though the object of the preposition or relational noun may be understood to be definite; e.g.

(124) K'olaani ja ooj chwach mësa.
    be-sphere the avocado on table
    'The avocado is on (the) table.'

7.1.7.2 Fronting Topical and Emphatic wi7

Normally, locative adverbs, and prepositional and relational noun phrases indicating locatives, instruments, datives, and comitatives, occur after the predicate (either verbal or stative; see section 8.2.3.3). However, whenever they are fronted (i.e. occur before the predicate) because they are questioned, contrastive, or emphatic, the enclitic particle wi7 (~ wir before vowels) must occur after the predicate. Compare the examples below.

(125) a. B'askii7 k'o wi7 nmaachaat?
    where be front my-machete
    'Where is my machete?'

b. Chri7 k'o wi7 jar nmaachaat.
    there be front the your-machete
    'There is your machete.'

    the my-machete be there
    'My machete is there.'

(126) a. Choj chee xaab'an wi7?
    what with B3-A2-did front
    'With what did you do it?'

b. Inin chee xteerex xinb'an wi7.
    I with scissors B3-Al-did front
    'I, with scissors, did it.'
Uninflected Words

(127) a. Choj chee xaaya7 wi7?
   whom to  A3-A2-gave front
   'To whom did you give it?'

b. Chaawe xinya7 wi7.
   to-you B3-Al-gave front
   'To you I gave it.'

c. Xinya7 chaawe.
   B3-Al-gave to-you
   'I gave it to you.'

(128) a. Choj k'in xaab'an wi7?
   whom with  B3-A2-did front
   'With whom did you do it?'

b. Awk'iin atet xinb'an wi7.
   with-you you B3-Al-did front
   'With you I did it.'

c. Xinb'an awk'iin.
   B3-Al-did with-you
   'I did it with you.'

Wi7 is also required when the adverb anij 'always' is used with verbs (but not necessarily with stative predicates). Note that anij is the only time adverb that obligatorily precedes the predicate.

(129) Inin anij ntij wi7 leeche pa taq rsaqariik.
   I always B3-Al-drink front milk in plr morning
   'I always drink milk in the mornings.'

Wi7 is also used to indicate that a preceding element is emphatic; e.g.

(130) a. Jar aachi k'in jar iixoq k'o wi7 keeq'a7
   the man and the woman exist emph their-right
   chee ja k'ulub'ik.
   to the marriage
   'The man and the woman have the right to marry.'
b. Piki jar siixoq xa ryon b'atz'in b'atz' wi7
because the woman just only hands pun thread emph
nuub'an.
B3-A3-make
'Because the woman makes only handspun thread.'

7.1.7.3 Contrasting and Topic-Shifting Particles

The two particles k'aa(~) and k'ii(~) are both used to indicate a
shift to a new or different topic in discourse, and they also indicate
that the new or different topic directly contrasts with one previously
under discussion. In other words, k'aa(~) and k'ii(~) contrast a
particular referent with one previously under discussion (the old topic),
and indicate that the contrasted referent is the new topic. The
contrastive new topics introduced by k'aa(~) and k'ii(~) always seem to
be ones that are definite or identifiable but not necessarily given
information (i.e. in mind; see Chafe 1976). The best translations for
both of the particles are usually 'with respect to...' or 'as for...'.
K'iij(~) is always used following the definite article ja and before the
noun or personal pronoun denoting the contrastive new topic. K'aa(~)
is also used following ja before the noun or pronoun denoting the contrastive
new topic, but it is is also used with one (or more) of the dem/loc particles
to form contrastive demonstratives (see examples in 7.1.6). The variants
of k'aa(~) and k'ii(~) with ~ occur before vowel-initial forms of more than
one syllable; the variants without ~ occur before consonants and vowel-
initial monosyllabic forms. Sometimes k'ii(~) ends in a glottal stop in
preconsonantal position (i.e. k'ii7). Some sentence examples follow.

(131) [after talking about various peoples who have come to settle on
and take over San Juan lands...] 
Ja k'iiir oojoq oq ajtinaamit, majun qaxiin.
the contrast we B1p one-of-town nothing ours
'With respect to us who are of town, nothing is ours.'

(132) [after talking about introduced Chinese threads...]
Ja k'ii b'atz'in b'atz' xel kan pan ejaal.
the contrast handspun thread B3-go-out stay little-by-little
'As for handspun thread, it went out little by little.'
(133) [after talking about women for awhile...]
Ja k'aa k'ichajilaal neeb'e pa taq juyu7 pa kisaamaaj.
the contrast their-husband B3p-go to plr mountain to their-work
'As for their husbands, they go to the mountains to their work.'
Ja k'aar iixoqii7 neeqa7j kan chik chi b'anoj b'atz'.
the contrast women B3p-descend stay again to make thread
'With respect to the women again, they stay down to make thread.'

7.1.7.4 The Particle chik

The particle chik is used as an enclitic on verbs meaning 'again' or 'already'. It is also used with nouns in combination with the indefinite article jun 'a, an' to mean 'another', and in combination with the plural indefinite pronoun and/or article jule7 'some' to mean 'some other'.

(134) Xuuch' ey chik.
B3-A3-hit again
'He hit him again.'
(135) Ja kaamiik, xa nlojq' chik ja b'atz'.
the now just B3-is-bought already the thread
Now, the thread is already just bought (i.e. instead of being handmade).'
(136) Jun aachi chik xb'e.
~ Jun chik aachi xb'e.
a man other went
'Another man left.'
(137) Xa ryan kaq k'in jule7 rekk'el k'in jule7 chik tlinta.
just only red and some greens and some other tint
'They (i.e. the colors) were only red, and some greens, and some other tints.'

Note that when chik precedes either of the modal particles ta irrealis or na necessitative, it is usually reduced to chi.
Nchojmataj chi na. 
B3-is-arranged again nec 
'It'll have to be arranged again.'

7.1.7.5 The Quotative Particle cha7

The quotative particle cha7 is used to indicate that an immediately preceding clause is either a direct quote, or that it is what people generally say. Cha7 may be translated as either 'he/she said', 'they say', or 'it is said'.

"Xb'e Aa Teeko's, cha7.
went youth Diego quote
"Diego left," she said.'

"Ja mundo k'olok'ik', cha7.
the world round quote
"The world is round," they say.'

Cha7 is etymologically related to the irregular quotative intransitive verb che7naq 'to say' "..." to'.

7.1.7.6 The Diminutive and Plural Particles

The proclitic ti functions as a diminutive particle, which may also connote affection; it is used immediately before nouns and adjectives. Before vowel-initial stems of more than one syllable, the j of ti is dropped and the remaining i is contracted with the following vowel-initial stem. Ti is used with singular nouns and adjectives; it has a plural form taq (< ti + the plural suffix -aq), which is used with plural nouns and adjectives. Some examples follow.

ti xten 'little girl' < xten 'girl'
taq xtenii7 'little girls' < xtenii7 'girls'
taalaa7 'little boy' < aalaa7 'boy'
taq ala7ii7 'little boys' < ala7ii7 'boys'
ti ch'ooy 'mouse' < ch'ooy 'rat'
   taq ch'ooyaa7 'mice' < ch'ooyaa7 'rats'
ti tz'i7 'puppy' < tz'i7 'dog'
   taq tz'i7 'puppies'
ti utz 'pretty' < utz 'good'
   taq utz plr
 ti ko7li 'little, small' < ko7li 'little, small'
   taq ko7koj plr < ko7koj plr of ko7li
 tino7y 'little, small' < -no7y 'little, small':
   taqno7y plr

Sentence examples are provided in (141)-(143).

(141) K'o jun ti nuutz'i7 qas ti utz.
exist a little my-dog very pretty
'I have a puppy that is very pretty.'

(142) Ja numix xkamsaj jun ti ch'ooy.
the my-cat B3-A3-killed a little rat
'My cat killed a mouse.'

(143) Ja taq numix xeekam qas ee taq utz.
the little-plr my-cat B3p-died very B3p plr.pretty
'My kitties that died were very pretty.'

The plural diminutive particle taq also functions as a general plural (proclitic) particle, often without any diminutive meaning. In fact, it is the normal marker of plurality on nouns and adjectives that do not have any formal plural inflection (see sections 5.1.1 and 6.1.2). It may also redundantly mark plurality on nouns and adjectives that do have plural inflections. Compare the examples that follow:

(144) a. Ee nimaq taq achi7aa7.
    B3p big-plr plr men
    'The men are big.'
b. Nimaq taq jaay.
    big-plr plr house
    'The houses are big.'
(145) Ja pa taq k'uxtuan ma xa ko7 chi taq
the in plr rock-w all not only little of dim/plr
ch'oooyaa7,
rats
'the rock walls there are a lot of mice.'

7.2 ADVERBS

Adverbs of various kinds are presented and exemplified in this section. Generally speaking, adverbs (but not clitic adverbial particles, which are more restricted) occur in at least one of the following three positions: clause-initial position, clause-final position, and prepredicate position. However, topicalized noun phrases and noun phrases in contrastive focus may occur before clause-initial adverbs.

7.2.1 Modal Adverbs and Modal Clitic Particles

Modal adverbs and modal clitic particles are used to indicate evaluations, attitudes, and opinions on the part of the speaker toward the proposition or situation described by the proposition.

The modal clitic particles are given below. These particles never occur in isolation; rather, they are always loosely attached to some other constituent in the sentence, most commonly to predicates. Some of them may be used together if they are semantically compatible. Note that the last modal enclitic attached to a preceding form usually takes stress, except that the desiderative irrealis particle si is always unstressed.

(N.B. enclitics are indicated with a preceding '+' and proclitics with a following '+'.)

Modal Clitic Particles

+na ~ +nii 'have to, must' necessitative predicate enclitic
+nii is used only immediately preceding jaa7 'he/she/it' and ja7ee7 'they', otherwise +na.
+na is also used in conjunction with the verbal tense/aspect/mode prefixes xk-/xt- for the future and with k-/t to form the optative (see section 4.1).
Note that when +na/+nii is used with stative predicates, they are usually understood as in the past tense.

(146) a. Xinb'e na. 'I had to go.'
    B3-went nec
b. Ninb'e na. 'I have to go.'
    B3-go nec
c. Nb'e nii jaa7. 'He has to go.'
    B3-go nec he

(147) At utz na. 'You must have been good.'
    B2 good nec

+ta irrealis, counter-to-fact, subjunctive

Usually used as a predicate enclitic (especially with negatives; see examples in 7.1.5), but also as an unattached sentential particle.

(148) At utz ta na. 'You must be good.'
    B2 good irreal nec
(149) Wi taxa k'oo mpaq ninb'e ta.
    if irreal exist my-money B3-go irreal
    'If I had money I would go.'
(150) Majun ojer winaq ja chaq ta xtitz'ub'e7e.
    none old-time person who nothing-more irreal B3-would-sit
    'There was no old-time person who just would sit (and do nothing else).'

+waaam 'certainly, surely, it's certain that...'

(151) Xwar waan. 'It's certain that he slept.'
    B3-slept surely

+eeq 'surprisingly' counter-to-expectations predicate enclitic

(152) Xuch'ey eeq. 'He hit him, surprisingly.'
    B3-A3-hit surprise
+si 'it would be/have been nice if...' desiderative irrealis predicate enclitic
Always used in conjunction with the irrealis particle ta or the irrealis adverb taxa, and necessitative na. Note that this particle is always unstressed.

(153) Ja taxa xeek'ule7 na si.
the irreal B3-married nec desiderative
'It would have been nice if they had married.'

+k'a 'well, then'

(154) Jo7 k'a! 'let's to then! or 'Well let's go!'

laj+ 'was/were going to (but didn't)' verbal proclitic

(155) Ja watï7t laj xkami rmal chooy xa7aab'.
the my-grandmother was-to B3-died by diarrhea vomit
'My grandmother was going to die from diarrhea and vomiting (but didn't).'</n

The most common modal adverbs are listed below, followed by a number of example sentences. These adverbs usually occur in sentence-initial position.

Modal Adverbs
cheqe jalaal 'per chance, accidentally, maybe, perhaps; quickly'
< cheqe 'only, just', jalaal 'a little bit'
cheqe mayaj 'per chance, by accident'
< cheqe 'only, just', mayaj (?)
taq ~ taj 'maybe, perhaps' [requires potential aspect verbal inflection]
taqpinaan ~ tajpinaan 'maybe, perhaps'
< taq 'maybe, perhaps', pinaan (?)
winaan 'maybe, perhaps' < (?)
qatziij 'certain(ly), sure(ly), truly'
< qas 'very, really', tziij 'word'
taxa irrealis, counter-to-fact, subjunctive
< ta irreal, xa 'only'
makita ~ mikita 'better that it not/wouldn’t be so'
< ma neg, ki (?), ta irreal
rajwaxik 'necessarily, be necessary that/to...'
< r- A3, aja- archaic DTJ, -xik passive infinitive
maq la '((I) wonder what...')
< naq 'what', la yes/no question
taqaan '((I) wonder why...') post-predicate
< taq 'maybe, perhaps', -aan (?)

(156) Taq xtb'e chwaq. 'Maybe he is going tomorrow.'
maybe B3-will-go tomorrow
(157) Xb'e taqaan ja nk'ajool?
B3-went wonder the my-son
'(I) wonder why my son left.'
(158) Cheqe mayaj xinpit awk'iin.
per chance B1-came with-you
'Per chance I came upon you.'

7.2.2 The Directional Enclitic Particles

The directional enclitic adverbial particles are used immediately following finite verbs in Tzutujil, and they function much like directional particles in English such as 'away', 'out', 'in', 'up', 'down', and 'at' (as in 'look away', 'look out', 'look in', 'look up', 'look down', 'look at', etc.). And, as in English, many of them are used idiomatically with certain verbs. Nearly all of the directional enclitics are related to or identical with the roots of common intransitive verbs of motion. A number of them form compound directional enclitics with the necessitative modal enclitic na. One interesting fact about the directional enclitics is that when they are used with transitive verbs, they indicate the direction of motion of the patient, but not necessarily that of the agent. Note that the last vowel of the directional enclitics takes stress, not that of the preceding verb. However, if they are followed by one of the modal enclitics (7.2.1), then the modal enclitic takes stress.
Directional Enclitic Particles

+eel 'out, away, leaving, going' < eeleem 'to leave, go out'
+ook 'in, into, entering' < ookeem 'to enter'
+pi 'coming over here, (coming) back' < pejteem 'to come'
+pi, +na
+to 'coming over here, (coming) back' < (?)
+qaaj 'down, below, descending; humbly' < qa7jeem 'to go down, descend'
+qaan 'by obligation; by necessity' < +qaaj, +na
+poon 'over there, arriving there, passing by there'
+poonem 'to arrive there'
+pona 'over there still, passing there awhile; ought to'
+kaan 'remaining, staying' (cp. ka7najeem 'to stay, remain')
+kana 'remaining/staying; by obligation'
+qaanj 'up, above, ascending' < (?)

An example of each of the directional enclitics is provided below.

(159) Xinujwa7 eel. 'I came to eat and left.'
Bl=came-ate leave

(160) Xinka7y ook. 'I looked in.'
Bl=looked in

(161) Ta Mari7y ma xril pi ta way.
Miss Maria not B3-A3-found come irreal tortilla
Maria didn't get tortillas (to bring) back.'

(162) Xinch'ey pina.
B3-Al-hit still-come
'I hit him (and he's) still coming back.'

(163) Xeerila7 to way.
B3-go-A3-found back tortilla
'She went to get tortillas (and brought them) back.'

(164) Xineewar qaaj.
Bl=go-slept down
'I went down to sleep.'
(165) Ja toq nwari ja nata7 nuulol qana rtyaq.
when B3-sleep the my-father B3-A3-take-off nec his-clothes
'When my father sleeps he has to take off his clothes.'

(166) Inin nineeb'ixan poon chwaaq.
I B1-go-sing there tomorrow
'I am going to arrive there to sing tomorrow.'

(167) Nk'ol pon ja jal chwaq jab'.
B3-A1-put-away ought the ears in-front-of rain
'I ought to put away the corn ears in the rain.'

(168) Xinya7 kaan.
B1-A3-put stay
'I left it.'

(169) Jaa7 xuuch'ey kana keej.
he B3-A3-hit still-stay horse
'He hit the horse (and it's) still there.'

(170) Ja nb'aaluuk xeewa7 q'anajoj ruuk'iin nata7
the my-brother-in-law B3-go-ate up with-him my-father
'Hy brother-in-law went up to eat with my father.'

7.2.3 Degree Adverbs

Degree adverbs indicate the relative intensity of a state, process, or action. The degree adverbs in Tzutujil are listed below. Note that all but the last three are used only with predicates, which they precede.

**Degree Adverbs**

qas 'very, really, a lot; more, most' predicate intensifier

[see plethora of examples in chapter 6 on adjectives]

maas 'more, most' comparative/superlative < Sp mas

maril 'hardly, barely' < ma neg, riil (?)

ma xa ko7 'very, a lot, really; for there to be a lot'
< ma neg, xa 'only', ko7i 'little'

ma xa ko7i ta na ~ ma xa ko? ta na ~ max ko? ta na
'too much; for there to be too much'
< ma neg, xa 'only', ko7i 'little', ta irreal, na nec
+laj 'very, really' modifying adjective intensive enclitic
[see plethora of examples in chapter 6 on adjectives]
sib'ala j ~ sib' laj 'too (much)' used with predicates and nouns
jutz'iit 'a little bit' used with predicates and nouns
< ju- 'a, one', -tz'iit 'little bit'

A few sentence examples are provided in (171)-(174).

(171) Mariil xinkoch’ xinb’ijni.
barely B3-Al-stood B1-walked
'I barely could stand to walk.'
(172) Ja nuuchaaq’ ma xa ko7 nwa7i.
the my-little-brother not only little eats
'My little brother eats a lot.'
(173) Sib'alaj najt.
too far
'It's too far.'
(174) Xkeek’ax to jutz’iit.
B3-A3-changed come a-little
'They changed it a little.'

7.2.4 Quantifying Adverbs

Quantifying adverbs are used with a proposition to delimit the range of other expected or presupposed propositions. Common quantifying adverbs are given below with some sentence examples.

Quantifying Adverbs

xa+ 'only, just' proclitic
xer 'only, just; fixed, all at once, always'
cheqe 'only... and nothing more, just...and nothing more; all at once' clause-initial
nanxa 'even' clause-initial
< nan (?), xa 'only, just'
nixta...ta 'not even' clause-initial
< Sp ni, xa 'only', ta irreal
choqojaa? ~ chaqajaa? 'also, too, besides’ clause-initial or clause-final

(175) a. Xa xinb’e.
   just Bl-went
   'I only/just left (and did nothing else).'

b. Xa inin xinb’e.
   only I Bl-went
   'Only I left (and nobody else left).'

c. Ta xa at uz na.
   irreal only B2 good nec
   'That you would only be good.'

(176) Cheqe xinch’ey.
   nothing-more B3-Al-hit
   'I only/just hit him (and did nothing more).'

(177) Nanxa na k’o chi ta toq xoqopon ojoj.
   even not be already irreal when Bln-arrived we
   'He wasn’t even already there when we arrived.'

(178) Niixta xtikojb’ej ta xkeewa7i.
   not-even B3-A3p-will-want irreal B3p-will-eat
   'They won’t even want to eat.'

(179) a. Ja b’eyoomaa7 neekami choqojaa?
   the rich-plr B3p-die too
   'The rich die too.'

b. Choqojaa? atet natb’e.
   also you B2-go
   'Also you are going.'

7.2.5 Place Adverbs

Place adverbs normally occur in clause-final position, but they may also occur in clause-initial position if they are fronted because they are topics or emphatic (in which case the fronting particle wi7 must occur immediately after the predicate; see 7.1.7.2 and 9.3). Locative adverbial phrases are productively formed either (1) with the prepositions (see 7.2): pa(n) 'in, into, on, to, from', ch(i) 'at, to', or tza7 'on,
at, to'; or (2) with the prepositional relational nouns (see 5.2.1): chi kojoł 'between, among, in the middle of', chi naqaaj 'close to', chpaan 'inside of, in', chi riij in back of, behind, about', chuuchii7 'on the edge of, in the vicinity of, around', chwach 'in front of, on the face of, on the flat surface of', chuuxee7 'under, below, on the bottom of, at the base of', pa ijiqiq'a7 'on/to the right of', pa niik'aaq 'in the middle/center of', pa rwil7 'on top of, over, above', pa rkkin 'on the side of, beside', and pa xokon 'on/to the left of'. Some common place adverbs are given below. Note that a number of the place adverbs are based on the demonstrative/locative particles discussed in section 7.1.6, and some others are frozen prepositional phrases.

Place Adverbs

**waawe7** 'here' < wa7 'here/this' reduplicated

**wawari7** ∼ waawri7 'right here' < wa7 reduplicated + ri7 'that/there in mind'

**kaawa7** 'near here, around here' < kaa (?) + wa7 'here/this'

**kaawa(a)ri7** 'near here, around here; like this' < kaa (?) + wa7 'here/this' + ri7 'that/there in mind'

**kaala7** 'there; like that' < kaa (?) + la7 'that/there (pointing; emphatic)'

**chila7** ∼ chla7 'there (yonder; pointing)'< ch(i) 'at, to', la7 'that/there (pointing; emphatic)'

**chiri7** ∼ chri7 'there (near; in mind)' < ch(i) 'at, to' + ri7 'there/that (yonder; in mind)'

**ajsik** 'up'

**chkaaj** 'above; in the sky, in heaven' < ch(i) 'at, to', kaaj 'sky, heaven'

**ikom** 'below'

**ikom** 'below'

**najt** 'far'

**naqaaj** 'near, close'

**naqt naqaaj** '(from) far and near'

**xa b'artakii7** ∼ cheqe b'artakii7 'wherever, anywhere'

**xa** 'only, just' ∼ cheqe 'only/just...and nothing more', b'aarkii7 'where', ta irreal
puyuj 'in the mountains, out in the country'
< pa(n) 'in, into, to, from', juyu7 'mountain, volcano'
pa rqa7jb'al q'iij 'in the west'
< pa(n) 'in, etc.', rqa7jb'al 'its descending place', q'iij 'sun, day'
pa relab'al q'iij 'in the east'
< pa(n) 'in, etc.', relab'al 'its exit, its coming out place', q'iij 'sun, day'
pa relab'al xokomeel 'in the south'
< pa(n) 'in, etc.', relab'al 'its coming out place', xokomeel 'southwind'
pa relab'al q'iiq' 'in the north'
< pa(n) 'in, etc.', relab'al 'its coming out place', q'iiq' 'northwind'

(180) Jar Aa Te7k b'enaq aj s ik chi q'oloj kape.
the youth Diego has-gone up to pick coffee
'Diego has gone up to pick coffee.'

(181) Ja rtinaamit wxaa y j il k'a najt k'o wi7.
the her-town my-wife then far be front
'My wife's town, then, is far away.'

(182) Najt naqaaj neeb'e wi7.
far near B3p-go front
'Far and near they go.'

(183) Ja woochooch pa relab'al xokomeel k'o wi7 chee tinaamit.
the my-house in south be front to town
'My house is in the south of town.'

7.2.6 Time Adverbs

Generally speaking, time adverbs may occur in clause-final or clause-initial position. When they are in clause-initial position they seem to be somewhat more emphatic (or perhaps contrastive) than when in clause-final position. However, aniJ 'always' always occurs in prepredicate position, and verbs are followed by the fronting particle wi7 when aniJ is used. And, time adverbs based on k'a 'since, until, up
to, from then up to now, then' occur in clause-initial position, never clause-finally. A number of time adverbs are formed with the prepositions \( \text{pa(n)} \) 'in, into, to, from' and \( \text{ch(i)} \) 'at, to' followed by nouns denoting temporal periods. Some other time adverbs are formed by reduplicating these nouns denoting temporal periods. A number of time adverbs are formed with the derivational suffixes \(-iir\) 'before, ago' and \(-iij\) \(-eej\) 'after, hence'. There are a large number of time adverbs, many of them given below.

**Time Adverbs**

- **alaguuna** '(at) one o’clock’ < Sp a la una
- **alas [+ number]** '(at) X o’clock’ < Sp a las
- **pa [+ number] óra** '(at) X o’clock’ < pa(n), Sp hora
- **kaamiik ~ wkaamiik** 'now, today’
- **kaamiik ri7** 'right now’ < ri7 'there/that (in mind; yonder)’
- **myeer** 'a little while ago, earlier today’
- **oojeer** 'before, formerly, in the past, long ago; ancient, old, antique’
- **ojaer kaan** 'before’ < oojeer 'before, etc.’, kaan 'remaining, staying’
- **kaal7 kaan** 'before’ < kaala? 'there; in that manner’, kaan 'remaining, staying’
- **k’a+** 'since, until, up to, from then up to now, then’
- **k’a jaa7** 'right now; just (finished doing something)’ < k’a 'since, etc.’, jaa7 'he/she/it’
- **k’a ja7 k’aaari7** 'afterwards, later; and then’ < k’a jaa7 'right now; just’, k’aaari7 'that (in mind)’
- **k’a jantaqna** 'once in awhile, at times, occasionally’ < k’a 'since, etc.’, jantaqna (?)
- **k’a [predicate] na** 'still’ < k’a 'since, etc.’, na nec moloo7 ~ maloo7 'late’
- **anij (...wi7)** 'always’
- **ke? waala?** 'always; like that’ < ke? 'thusly', waala? 'that’
- **anij ke? waala?** 'forever’
- **xer** 'always; all at once; only, nothing more, fixed’
xer waari7 'still' < xer 'always, etc.', waari7 'that (in mind)'

najiini 'still' (also indicates progressive aspect with following verbs used only with incompletive verbal prefixes)

<-ajiin 'for an activity to be in progress' irregular IV

ma jalaal 'never' < ma neg, jalaal 'a little bit'

chiik - chi 'again, already; another' (see 7.1.7.4)

byeen 'at times, occasionally' < Sp bien

wi 'at times, occasionally; if'

k'o k'a 'at times, occasionally' < k'ooll 'be, exist',

k'a 'well, then'

iiwiir 'yesterday' < iiw- (?), -iir 'before, ago'

kab'ajijir 'day before yesterday' < kab'- 'two', -aj (?),

-ir 'ago, before'

oxojir 'three days ago' < ox- 'three', -oj (?),

-ir 'ago, before'

juunaa7baiir 'last year' < juunaa7 'year', -iir 'ago, before'

chwaaq 'tomorrow'

ka(a)b'iiij 'day after tomorrow' < kab'- 'two',

-iiij 'after, hence'

ooxiij 'in three days' < ox- 'three', -iij 'after, hence'

koojeej 'in four days' < kaj- 'four', -eej - -iij 'after, hence'

q'iiij q'iiij 'daily' < q'iiij 'day, sun' reduplicated

iiik' iiik' 'monthly' < iiik' 'month, moon' reduplicated

juunaa7juunaa7 'annually' < juunaa7 'year' reduplicated

chaaq'a7 'at night, in the night; last night'

ch(i) 'at, to', aaq'a7 'night'

aaq'ab'iil 'in the early morning before dawn'

< aaq'a7 'night', -iil suf

nim aaq'ab'iil 'in the morning' < nim 'big'

nmqaq'a7 'in the morning' < nim 'big', aaq'a7 'night'

ch(i) q'iiij 'by day, in the daytime' < ch(i) 'at, to',

q'iiij 'day, sun'

pa q'iiij 'by day, in the daytime' < pa(n) 'in, etc.',

q'iiij 'day, sun'

pa nk'aj q'iiij '(at) noon' < niik'saj 'half, middle'
taq'aajq'ij 'in the afternoon' < taq'aaj 'in the afternoon' < -aal suf
pa taq jab' 'in the winter/rainy season'
< pa(n) 'in, etc.', taq plr, jab' 'rain'
pa taq saq'iij 'in the summer/dry season'
< pa(n) 'in, etc.', taq plr, saq 'white, clear',
q'iij 'day, sun'
pa rk'isb'aal 'finally, in the end'<
pa(n) 'in, etc.', rk'isb'aal 'its ending place'
najb'eej 'first' [see other ordinal numbers that may also be
used as adverbs, section 5.2.2]

The following time adverbs are based on the enumeratives +muul, +tijj, and +meej, all meaning 'time(n)' (see section 5.2.3 on enumeratives).
jumuuul 'once'
ka7muul 'twice', oximuul 'thrice', etc.
ja jutaj muul 'each time' < ja 'the', jutaj 'some'
xa jumuuul 'only once, all at once' < xa 'only'
jutijj 'once'
ka7tijj 'twice', oxtitijj 'thrice', etc.
ja jutaj tijj 'each time'
xa jutijj 'only once, all at once'
jutijj chik 'another time' < chik 'again, another'
jumeej 'once'
ka7meej 'twice', oxmeej 'thrice', etc.
ja jutaj meej 'each time'
xa jumeej 'only once, all at once'

Sentence examples of time adverbs follow:

(184) Nkitanab'a7 pa b'eleje7 óora o laujó óora xin tok
B3-A3p-stop-work at nine o'clock or ten o'clock of
night
'They stop working at 9 o'clock or 10 o'clock of the night.'
(185) a. Xeeb'e myeer.
   3p-went a-little-while-ago
   'They left a little while ago.'

   b. Myeer xeeb'e.
   'A little while ago they left.'

(186) a. Kaamiik ninb'e pa saamaaj.
   today BI-go to work
   'Today I go to work.'
   ~ Ninb'e pa saamaaj kaamiik.
   'I go to work today.'

   b. Chwaaq ninb'e pa saamaaj.
   tomorrow BI-go to work
   'Tomorrow I go to work.'
   ~ Ninb'e pa saamaaj chwaaq.
   'I go to work tomorrow.'

   c. Iiviir xinb'e pa saamaaj.
   yesterday BI-went to work
   'Yesterday I went to work.'
   ~ Xinb'e pa saamaaj iiviir.
   'I went to work yesterday.'

(187) Ja nata7 ooxiij nb'e K'oqol Keej.
   my-father in-3-days gees Masatenango
   'My father, in three days, is going to Masatenango.'

(188) Juunaa7 juunaa7 ninb'e pa q'aloj chiij.
   annually BI-go to pick cotton
   'Annually, I go to pick cotton.'

(189) Waaqii7 muul xinchapari.
   six time BI-was-scolded
   'Six times I was scolded.'

(190) K'a xinb'e k'a toq k'aari7 xeeb'e.
   until BI-went then 3p-went
   'Until I left, then they left (i.e. they didn't leave
   until I left).'
7.2.7 Manner Adverbs

Manner adverbs commonly occur in clause-final position, but they also often occur in clause-initial position. In the latter case, they apparently are more emphatic or perhaps contrastive. Common manner adverbs are listed below, followed by some sentence examples. Note that a number of the manner adverbs are formed with the prepositions pa(~) 'in, into, to, from' and ch(!) 'at, to'.

**Manner Adverbs**

kee7 'thus(ly), so' [see manner demonstratives formed in kee7 in section 7.1.6]

jani7 ~ kani7 'like, as, in the manner, in the way'

kaawa7 'thus(ly), so, in this way; near here, around here'
< kaa (?), wa7 'here/this'

kaala7 'thus(ly), so; in that way'
< kaa (?), la7 'there/that (pointing; emphatic)'

kaari7 'thus(ly), so; in this way'
< kaa (?), ri7 'there/that (yonder; in mind)'

kaawa(a)ri7 'thus(ly), so; near here, around here'
< kaa (?), wa7 'here/this', ri7 'there/that (yonder; in mind)'

maril 'barely, hardly' < ma neg, riil (?)

juunaan 'together' < juun 'one', -aan (?)

juunaan wachiil 'equally, evenly' < wachiil 'faceness, surfaceness, character'

utz 'well, good'

chi utz 'well; better that, so that' < chi 'to, at'

chajniim 'rapidly, fast, quickly' < ch(i) 'to, at', ajniin- 'be fast, in a hurry; be in progress' irregular IV

ajniinaq 'hurriedly, in a hurry; agilely, adeptly' past participle of a ajniin- [see above]

k'am ajniim 'running' < k'am (?) (cp. k'am- RTV 'take'), ajniin- [as above]

ejqaal 'slowly'
2.77 Uninflected Words

- **pan ejqaal** 'little by little' < pa(n) 'in, etc.'
- **ejqaal** ejqaal 'little by little'
- **chilajtqaqil** 'little by little'
- **xer** 'all at once; only; always; fixed'
- **cheqe** 'all at once; only, just'
- **cheqe jaa7** 'exact(ly), evenly(lly)' < jaa7 'he/she/it'
- **cheqe jalaal** 'quickly; per chance, maybe, perhaps'
- **jalaal** 'a little bit'
- **cheqe ka7i7 ruuk'u7x** 'reluctantly, without desires'
- **ka7i7** 'two', ruuk'u7x 'its/his/her heart'
- **chi raqan** 'on foot' < chi 'to, at', raqan 'its/his/her foot/leg'
- **d'emb'salde** 'in vain' < Sp de en valde
- **paeq** 'humbly'
- **chi ju7junel** 'one by one, one each' [see section 5.2.2 on numerals]
- **pa ka7ka7** '2 by 2, in twos'
- **pa ox70x** '3 by 3, in threes'
- **pa kajkaj** '4 by 4, in fours'
- **pa jojtaq** '5 by 5, in fives'
- **pa waaqii7 taq** '6 by 6, in sixes'
  etc.

  Q like-this B3-is-done to-it thus
  'Like this it's done?' -- '(Yes) thusly.'
(192) Xoqua7i juunaan.
  B1p-ate together
  'We ate together.'
(193) Xuub'an chi utz.
  B3-A3-did well
  'He did it well.'
(194) Ejqaal chik mvinigir chik jutij ja tinaamit.
  slowly emph B3-appear again once the town
  'Quite slowly the town will appear once again.'
(195) K'am ajnim xinb'ē.
running B1-went
'I left running.'

(196) Chilajtaqil tatija7 ja mansa7n!
little-by-little B3-A2-eat the apple
'Little by little eat the apple! (i.e. not all at once)'

(197) Pa jojtaq xkeemol kii7 ja winaq.
in fives B3-A3p-met each-other the people
'In (groups of) fives the people met each other.'
1. 'Subject' with a capital 'S' indicates the subject of an intransitive verb or stative predicate and the agent of a transitive verb. However, 'subject' with a lower case 's' only indicates the single argument of an intransitive verb or stative predicate, but not the agent of a transitive verb (this usage follows Dixon 1979; see note 4, chapter 8).