This chapter is a description of the most important kinds of variations, permutations, and/or elaborations of simple sentences. The topics discussed are negation (9.1), imperatives (9.2), fronting (9.3), interrogatives (9.4), reflexives and reciprocals (9.5), and voice changes (9.6).

9.1 NEGATION

Negation of major constituents in a sentence is accomplished with the general negative proclitic particle ma 'not, no' (see section 7.5), usually used in combination with the irrealis enclitic particle ~ (see section 7.2.1). These two particles surround the negated constituent (e.g. ma utz ~ta 'it's not good' < ma 'not, 0 B3, utz 'good', ~ta irreal). However, when verbs in the present and future tenses and the optative mode are negated, ma alone is used without ~ta (e.g. ma tuub'an 'he doesn't do it; he won't do it; hope he doesn't do it' < ma 'not', ~optative/oblig, 0 B3, uu- A3, b'an- 'do, make'). As the preceding example illustrates, the present and future tenses and optative mode are inflectionally collapsed together in the negative, all being indicated with the optative/obligative verbal prefixes ~-/l- (see sections 4.1.2 and 4.1.3 on verbal tense/aspect/mode inflections, and section 7.5 for examples of how the positive and negative inflections of verbs differ).

In the following sentence examples the predicates are negated with ma...~ta or with ma alone in the negative present/future/optative.
(1) a. Ma tib’e jar Aa Lu7.
not B3-go the youth Pedro
'Pedro isn't going/won't go; hope Pedro doesn't go.'
b. Ma xb’e ta jar Aa Lu7.
not B3-went irreal the youth Pedro
'Pedro didn't go.'

(2) a. Ja nata7 ma qooruutaq pa saamaaj.
the my-father not B3p-A3-send to work
'My father isn't sending/won't send us to work; hope my
father doesn't send us to work.'
b. Ja nata7 ma xoqruutaq chik ta pa saamaaj.
the my-father not B3p-A3-sent already irreal to work
'My father didn't already send us to work.'

(3) a. Ja ch’ooy ma tuutij ja kéeso.
the rat not B3-A3-~t the cheese
'The rat isn't eating/won't eat the cheese; hope the rat
doesn't eat the cheese.'
b. Ja ch’ooy ma xuutij ta ja kéeso.
the rat not B3-A3-ate irreal the cheese
'The rat didn't eat the cheese.'

(4) Ja taalaa7 ma xpa7?\(\) ta.
the little-boy not B3-fell irreal
'The little boy didn't fall down.'

(5) Ja woochooch ma ním ta.
the my-house not big irreal
'My house isn't big.'

(6) Mat utz ta atet.
not-B2 good irreal you
'You aren't good.'

Other major constituents besides predicates may also be negated with ma...ta. For example, in (7) and (8) adverbs are negated.

(7) Ma utz ta at tz’atoon rmal atata7.
not well irreal B2 treated by your-father
'You are not treated well by your father.'
(8) Jar aak'aalsaa7 ma qas ta neewa7i.
the children not really irreal B3p-eat
'The children don't really eat (i.e. they don't eat very much).'

When nouns or noun phrases are negated, ma...ta surround the head noun if it is indefinite (e.g. (9a) and (10a)). But if the noun is definite then ma...ta surround the third person independent pronoun ja7 (optionally >ja), which is then followed by the definite noun phrase (e.g. (9b) and (10b)). Negated noun phrases are fronted and sentences containing them behave much like cleft sentences in English. Note that if the agent noun phrase is negated then the verb must be in the focus antipassive voice (e.g. (10); see section 9.8.2).

(9) a. Ma jaasay ta nqaaj07.
not house irreal B3-Alp-want
'It's not a house that we want.'
b. Ma ja(a7) ta ja jaasay nqaaj07.
not it irreal the house B3-Alp-want
'It's not the house that we want.'

(10) a. Ma ch'ooy ta xtíjwi ja kéeso.
not rat irreal B3-ate-foc the cheese
'It wasn't a rat that ate the cheese.'
b. Ma ja(a7) ta ja ch'ooy xtíjwi ja kéeso.
not it irreal the rat B3-ate-foc the cheese
'It wasn't the rat that ate the cheese.'

9.2 IMPERATIVES

Generally speaking, imperative sentences with verbal predicates are syntactically indistinguishable from other sentences. They are distinguished from nonimperative sentences solely by morphological marking on the verb (see section 4.1.2): (1) Imperative verbs require the obligatory/imperative/optative prefixes k-/t-, and root transitive verbs additionally require the suffix -a7 (~ -a7 ~-u7) in positive imperatives. (2) Transitive verbs may optionally take the 'go'
imperative prefix j- instead of k-/-, if the agent is second person and
the patient is third person singular (indicated with absolutive null).
And (3) a few verbs have irregular imperatives (e.g. jat 'go!', jix 'you
all go!', jo? 'let's go!', cp. b'eeenam 'to go', katajo? 'come!', kixajo7
'you all come!'. cp. pejteem 'to come'), and a few have contracted or
short forms (e.g. tya7 'put/give it!' short form of taya7a7 'put/give
it!). Some examples of imperative sentences with verbal predicates are
provided below.

(11) a. (Atet) katwa7i! Katwa7 atet!
you B2-eat B2-eat you
'(You) eat!'
b. (Ixix) kixwa7i! ~ Kixwa7 Ixix!
you-all B2p-eat B2p-eat you-all
'(You all) eat!'
c. (Ooj) qoowa7i! ~ Qoowa7 ooj!
we B1p-eat B1p-eat we
'Let's eat!'
d. Twa7i ja ch'uuch'!
B3-eat the baby
'Let the baby eat!'
e. Keewa7i ja ch'uuch'as7i!
B3p-eat the babies
'Let the babies eat!'
(12) Ejoal katb'ijni piki lawalo7 ja b'eey!
slowly B2-walk because dangerous the road
'Walk slowly because the road is dangerous!'
(13) Tya7 (~ Taya7a7?) rpaq Aa' Xwaan!
B3-A2-give his-money youth Juan
'Give John his money!'
(14) Tek'ama7 to oxi7 liiwra muuti7!
B3-A2p-carry hither three pound my-meat
'You all bring me three pounds of meat!'
(15) Ma ke7aak’am el ta ja ch’uuch’aa7!
not B3p-A2-carry away irreal the babies
'Don’t take the babies away!'

(16) Tajuub’iij ja chi7 jaay!
B3-A2-close the mouth house (= door)
'Close the door!'

Imperative sentences with stative predicates are formed either with the irrealis particle ta and the necessitative particle na (~ nii) following the predicate word (i.e. adjective or noun), or with the irrealis adverb taxa preceding the predicate with na following it.

(17) a. At utz ta na!
   B2 good irreal nec
   'Be good!'

   b. Taxa at utz na!
   irreal B2 good nec
   'Be good!'

(18) a. Utz ta nii jaay7!
   good irreal nec he

   b. Taxa utz nii jaay7!
   irreal good nec he
   'Let him be good!'

9.3 FRONTING

As discussed in the previous chapter (8.2.3), Tzutujil is basically a verb-first language in that major constituents normally occur after the verb or predicate, except that both subjects of one-place predicates and agents of transitive verbs normally occur before the verb or predicate when they are given information and/or the main topic of the discourse. There are also a number of adverbial and syntactic particles that normally occur in prepredicate position (see chapter 7).

Despite the fact that Tzutujil is basically a verb-first language, most major constituents may precede the verb or predicate when they are in contrastive focus or are emphatic in some other way, such as when they are questioned (see section 9.4) or relativized (see section 10.2.1). In
other words, contrastive or emphatic constituents are fronted to prepredicative position. When certain constituents are fronted under contrastive focus or emphasis, special syntactic operations or markers are required; when others are fronted no special marking is necessary. The constituents that are commonly fronted under contrast or emphasis are: subjects, agents, patients, possessors, prepositional and relational noun phrases, object-possessors of relational nouns, and adverbs. Major constituents that cannot be fronted are objects of prepositions, benefactives, individual constituents within noun phrases (e.g. articles, demonstrative and modifying adjectives), and individual constituents within verb phrases (e.g. directional and modal clitic particles).

In addition to fronted contrastive or emphatic constituents, possessors and objects of relational nouns may be fronted when they are main discourse topics.

It should be noted that if some noun phrase argument (direct or oblique) is fronted in a transitive sentence where the agent precedes the verb because it is given information, then the fronted argument occurs between the agent and the verb. In other words, fronted arguments precede the verb but not the agent. The only exception to this is when the agent is fronted because it is contrastive or emphatic and the verb is in the focus antipassive voice (see below and 9.6.2). In this case other fronted contrastive/emphatic arguments precede the agent as well as the verb. When constituents are fronted in sentences with one-place predicates, the subject normally follows the verb. (N.B.: in the example sentences that follow the fronted constituents are underlined and in some cases the symbol [*] is used to indicate where a fronted constituent would normally occur.)

When subjects are fronted under contrast of emphasis, they are normally preceded by a contrastive or emphatic demonstrative (see 7.1.6).

(19) *Ja la7 jaay pinta7iin chee ksaq.*
  that house painted in red
  'That house is painted in red (= It's that house that is painted in red).'
(20) Ja k'ala7 jaaay mk'ajti.
that house burned
'That house burned down (= it's that house that burned down).'

Sentences like those above with contrastive subjects are best viewed as clefts (see 10.2.3), and they are usually translated as such into Spanish by native Tzutujil speakers.

Fronted patients occur before verbs without any special marking (see more examples in section 8.2.3.2). These sentences are also often translated as clefts.

(21) Ja nchiib'aal xuutij [*l tz'i7.
the my-leftover B3-A3-ate dog
'(Some) dog ate my leftovers (= it's my leftovers that some dog ate).'

When agents are fronted because they are contrastive or emphatic, the verb must be in the focus antipassive voice (see section 9.6.2 for details and more examples).

(22) Jan ri7 xeeto7owi ja winaq.
this-one B3p-helped-foc the people
'This is the one who helped the people.'

(23) Ajmaq'anya7 xb'anowi ja saamaaj.
one-of-Totonicapan B3-did-foc the work
'It was one from Totonicapan who did the work.'

When agents and patients are both contrastive or emphatic, then the word order is PAV and the verb is in the focus antipassive voice (see more examples in sections 8.2.3.2 and 9.6.2).

(24) Ja paq'b'al sajki7 naq la xelaq'aani.
the smasher-of maguey who wonder B3-stole-foc
'Wonder who was the one who stole the maguey smasher.'

When agents are main topics (but not necessarily contrastive or emphatic) they may also be fronted from a position in an embedded clause
to the beginning of the complex sentence containing the embedded clause. This type of fronting requires no special marking, and it usually only occurs when the predicate of the main clause is one-place.

(25) Jar Aaximoon qas nimaq rajil ja tzyaq
the Maximôñ really big-plr its-price the clothes
[*] nuukoj.
B3-A3-uses
'Maximôñ, prices of the clothes he uses are great (= prices of the clothes Maximôñ uses are great).'

(26) Ja tz'i7 anij juua ja ak' [*] xuutij.
the dog always one the chicken B3-A3-ate
'The dog, the chicken it ate was whole (= the chicken the dog ate was whole).'

When possessors are contrastive or emphatic, or when they are main topics, they are fronted without special marking.

(27) Jar fixoq ja wh'isn chee chi ninb'e xpi
the woman who B3-told-foc to-me that B1-go B3-came
her-anger
'The woman who told me to go, her anger came' or
'the anger of the woman who told me to go came' (i.e. 'the woman who told me to go got angry').
['the woman who told me to go' is main topic or contrastive/emphatic]

(28) Ja ti xten chiton ti ruujq [*],
the little girl pleated little her-skirt
'The little girl, her little skirt is pleated' or
'the little skirt of the little girl is pleated'.
['the little girl' is main topic or contrastive/emphatic]

(29) Ja nata7 k'o jun ruukeej [*].
the my-father exist a his-horse
'My father has a horse.'
['my father' is main topic]
Objects of relational nouns are also fronted when they are contrastive or emphatic and when they are main topics. There is no special marking of fronted objects of relational nouns. It should be noted that 'objects' of relational nouns are formally possessors of the relational nouns (see 5.2.1 and 8.1.2).

When prepositional phrases and whole relational noun phrases (i.e. not just their possessor-objects) are fronted under contrastive focus or emphasis, then the fronting and emphatic particle wiʔ (see 7.1.7.2) must occur after the verb or stative predicate. Wiʔ must also occur after the verb or predicate when locative adverbs are fronted whether or not they are in prepositional or relational noun phrases. And finally, wiʔ must occur after verbs when anij 'always' is used. It should be noted that anij is always fronted to prepredicate position.
(34) (Inin) pa k'ayib'al xinloq' wi7 jun kotoon [*].
I in market B3-Al-bought front a huipil
'In the market, I bought a huipil.'

(35) (Inin) chee jaa7 xinya7 wi7 ja kotoon [*].
I to-him be B3-Al-gave front the huipil
'To him, I gave the huipil.'

(36) Awk'iin atet xinb'e wi7 [*].
with you B1-went front
'With you, I went.'

(37) Waawe7 in k'o wi? [*].
here B1 be front
'Here I am.'

(38) Anij ninb'e wi? always B1-go front
'I always go.'

When other adverbs are fronted then no special marking is required.

(39) Aaq'ab'il myeer xinb'e [*] pa ya?aneem.
in-morning earlier-today Bl-went to water
'In the morning earlier today I went to water.'

(40) Ejqaal katb'ijni [*]!
slowly B2-walk
'Walk slowly!'

9.4 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

9.4.1 Yes/No Questions

Interrogative sentences requesting a 'yes' or 'no' response are formed in Tzutujil by placing the particle la (see section 7.1.4) at the beginning of an otherwise normal declarative sentence. However, if the subject of a one-place predicate or the agent of a transitive verb occurs in initial position because it is given information and/or the main topic, then la follows the subject or agent but precedes the verb or
predicate. Note that in transitive yes/no questions, the word order normally is (A)VP; no transitive questions with VPA word order have been recorded.

(41) a. La k’ol Aa Teeko chjaay?
    Q be youth Diego at-home
    ’Is Diego at home?’

b. (Aa Teeko) la k’o chjaay?
    youth Diego Q be at-home
    ’(Diego,) is he at home?’

(42) a. La xwari ja ch’uuch’?
    Q slept the baby
    ’Did the baby sleep?’

b. (Ja ch’uuch’) la xwari?
    the baby Q slept
    ’(The baby,) did he sleep?’

(43) a. (Aa Teeko) la xuuch’ey Aa Li7p?
    youth Diego Q B3-A3-hit youth Felipe
    ’(Diego,) did he hit Felipe?’

b. La xuuch’ey?
    ’Did he hit him?’

c. (Aa Teeko) la xutruuch’ey?
    youth Diego Q B2-A3-hit
    ’(Diego,) did he hit you?’

d. (Atet) la xaach’ey Aa Li7p?
    you Q B3-A2-hit youth Felipe
    ’(You,) did you hit Felipe?’

e. La xaach’ey?
    ’Did you hit him?’

(44) a. (Aa Teeko) la nraj siik’?
    youth Diego Q B3-A3-want cigarette
    ’(Diego,) does he want a cigarette?’

b. La nraaj?
    ’Does he want it?’
c. (Atet la nawaj olik)?
   you Q B3-A2-want cigarette
   '(You,) do you want a cigarette?'
d. La nawaj?
   'Do you want it?'

When the agent of a transitive sentence is being questioned contrastively, then the verb is in the focus antipassive voice (see 9.6.2) and la precedes the agent.

(45) a. La Aa Teeko xch'eyo Aa Li7p?
   Q youth Diego B3-hit-foc youth Felipe
   'Was it Diego who hit Felipe?'
b. La Aa Teeko xch'eyowi?
   'Was it Diego who hit him?'
c. La Aa Teeko xatch'eyowi?
   Q youth Diego B2-hit-foc
   'Was it Diego who hit you?'
d. La atet xatch'eyo Aa Li7p?
   Q you B2-hit-foc youth Felipe
   'Was it you who hit Felipe?'
e. La atet xatch'eyowi?
   'Was it you who hit him?'

9.4.2 Questions With Interrogative Words

Interrogative sentences in which a particular major constituent is questioned are formed by placing the appropriate interrogative word (see 3.3 and 7.1.4) at the beginning of the sentence, and by leaving a syntactic 'gap' in the position where the questioned constituent would normally occur. However, when some constituents are questioned, further syntactic operations or marking are required.

The interrogative nax 'who, what, which' is used to question direct arguments such as subjects (e.g. (46)-(48)), patients (e.g. (49)), and agents (e.g. (50)-(52)); and it is also used to question instruments
(e.g. (53)). When subjects and patients are questioned no further marking is necessary. On the other hand, when agents of transitive activities are questioned the verb must be in the focus antipassive voice (see 9.6.2). When instruments are questioned with naq the verb must be in the instrumental voice (see 9.6.3). When naq means 'which' in the sense of 'which NOUN' of a possible set, then the questioned noun immediately follows naq at the beginning of the sentence (e.g. (47)).

(46) Naq awaʔ?
    what this
    'What's this?'

(47) Naq jaay k’aariʔ?
    which house that
    'Which house is that?'

(48) Naq npit chwaq?
    who/what B3-come tomorrow
    'Who/what is coming tomorrow?'

(49) a. Naq nawaaj7?
    what B3-A2-want
    'What do you want?'

   b. Naq nawaajo7 chwe?
    what B3-A2-want to-me
    'What do you want of/from me?'

   c. Naq nawaajo7 nb’ij chaawe?
    what B3-A2-want B3-Al-say to-you
    'What do you want me to say to you?'

(50) Naq najoʔni?
    who B3-want-foc
    'Who wants it?'

(51) Naq xti:jowi ja wajaacheʔ?
    who/what B3-ate-foc the my-white-zapote
    'Who/what ate my white zapote?'

(52) Naq neechajini1 jar a'ak’aalaaʔ?
    who B3p-care-for-foc the children
    'Who is going to care for the children?'
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(53) Naq neechoyb'eej ja q'aayiis?
what B3-A2-cut-with the weed
'What do you all cut the weeds with?'

The interrogative choq (~ choj) 'whom, what' is used in combination with certain relational nouns (see 5.2.1) to question oblique arguments:

(1) choq chee 'to whom, with what' to question datives and instruments;
(2) choq k'iin 'with whom' to question comitatives; and
(3) choq xiin ~ naq choq xiin 'for whom, of whom, whose' to question benefactives and possessors. Note that when choq is used to question datives, instruments, and comitatives, the fronting/emphatic particle wi7 (~ wir before vowels; see 7.1.7.2) must follow the predicate or verb (just as it must when these oblique arguments are fronted; see 9.3).

(54) a. Choq chee xab'ij wi7?
whom to B3-A2-said front
'To whom did you say it?'
b. Choq chee naachoy wi7 ja q'aayiis?
what with B3-A2-cut front the weed
'With what did you cut the weeds?'

(55) Choq k'iin xatbe wi7?
whom with B2-went front
'With whom did you go?'

(56) (Naq) choq xiin awa7 sijp ri7?
what whom off/for this present here
'For whom/whose is this present here?'

The interrogative b'aarkii7 (~ b'askii7 ~ b'a) 'where' is used to question locatives. The fronting particle wi7 (~ wir) must follow the verb or predicate when locatives are questioned (just as it must when locatives in contrastive focus are fronted; see 9.3).

(57) a. B'aarkii7 k'o wir awan?
where be front corn-field
'Where's the corn field?'
b. B'aarkii7 neepi wi??
   where B3p-come front
   'Where do they come from?'

c. B'aarkii7 neeb'e wi??
   where B3p-go front
   'Where are they going?'

d. B'aarkii7 xaaya7 wi??
   where B3-A2-put front
   'Where did you put it?'

B'ajan 'when' is used to question time in general. Naq plus a
following noun denoting a time period is used to question time more
specifically (e.g. naq aora 'what time' < aora 'hour'; naq q'iij 'what
day' < q'iij 'day, sun'; naq iik' 'what month' < iik' 'month, moon'; naq
juunaa7 'what year' < juunaa7 'year').

(58) B'ajan natpeeti?
   when B2-come
   'When are you coming?'

(59) a. Naq aora xeeb'e?
   what hour B3p-went
   'What time did they go?'

   b. Naq q'iij xaab'an ja saamaaj?
   what day B3-A2-did the work
   'What day did you do the work?'

Manner adverbial notions are questioned with either of the two dis­
continuous interrogatives: naq...chee 'how' or jani7...chee
(~ kani7...chee) 'how'. With both of these forms, the first element,
naq 'what' or jani7 (~ kani?) 'as, like', begins the interrogative
sentence, and the second element, chee 'to, with', follows the predicate.

(60) a. Naq nkeeb'an chee?  ~ Jani7 nkeeb'an chee?
   what B3-A3p-do to-it like
   'How do they do it?'
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b. Naq nb'17x chee ale?? ~ Jani7 nb'17x chee ale??
   what B3-is-said to that like
   'How is that said?'

c. Naq nb'ajn chee q'oor?
   what B3-is-made to corn-dough
   ~ Jani7 nb'ajn chee q'oor?
   like
   'How is corn dough made?'

The reason for doing something is questioned with naq chee 'why'.
Note that in the case of naq chee 'why' (as opposed to naq...chee 'how'),
chee immediately follows naq.

(61) a. Naq chee xb'e?
   why B3-went
   'Why did she go?'

b. Naq chee ma xaab'an ta ala??
   why not B3-A?-did irreal that
   'Why didn't you do that?'

Quantities are questioned with jaru7 '(for) how much, how many'. If
the quantity in question is of animate beings, then the third person
plural absolutive proclitic, ~, is used along with jaru7 (i.e. ee jaru7
'how many animates'). Note the use of the fronting/emphatic particle wi7
in (62b) to distinguish its meaning from that of (62a).

(62) a. Jaru7 xasya7 ja xampare7m?
   how-much B3-A2-gave the hat
   'How much did you give for the hat?'

b. Jaru7 xasya7 wi7 ja xampare7m?
   how-much B3-A2-gave emph the hat
   'For how much did you give the hat? (i.e. how much did you
sell the hat for?).'

c. Jaru7 q'ii7 xatsamaji?
   how-many day B2-worked
   'How many days did you work?'
d. Ee jaru? xeekam kaamiik?
'B3p how-many B3p-died today'
'How many died today?'

9.5 REFLEXIVES AND RECIPROCALS

Reflexives and reciprocals in Tzutujil are both indicated with the relational noun -iit (riiiii absolute form) 'self, each other' (e.g. wiiit 'myself', aawiiit 'yourself', riiit 'him/her/itself', qiiit 'ourselves, each other', eewiiit 'yourselves, each other', kiiit 'themselves, each other'; see 5.2.1). Reflexive and reciprocal constructions only occur with active transitive verbs. The transitive verb is inflected with the appropriate ergative prefix indicating the reflexive or reciprocal agent, but the absolutive person marker on the verb is always third person singular null. The reflexive and reciprocal relational noun -iit follows the transitive verb in the normal patient position, and is always inflected for possessor with an ergative prefix identical in person and number with the ergative prefix on the verb. Compare the examples below, with the transitive verb tz'atooj 'to see, look at' in the completive aspect in -t.

Note that the semantic distinction between reflexives and reciprocals in the plural persons can only be differentiated from context.

Reflexives and Reciprocals With Tz'atooj 'to see, look at'

xintz'at wiiit 'I saw myself'
xatz'at aawiiit 'you saw yourself'
xuutz'at riiit 'he/she/it saw him/her/itself'
xqaatz'at qiiit 'we saw ourselves/each other'
xeetz'at eewiiit 'you saw yourselves/each other'
xkeetz'at kiiit 'they saw themselves/each other'

Some sentence examples with reflexives and reciprocals follow:

(63) Ja kumatz qas nuusii riiit.
'the snake really B3-A3-move itself'
'The snake really moves itself.'
(64) \( \text{Inin xintzyaquj na wii7 chi utz.} \)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I B3-Al-dressed nec myself well} & \\
'I \text{ had to dress myself well.}'
\end{align*}
\]

(65) \( \text{Xtur ari7, k'aja7 k'aari7 nkipaxij kii7} \)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{finished that then B3-B3p-break themselves} & \\
\text{ja winaq.} & \\
\text{the people} & \\
'\text{When that is finished, then the people break (themselves) up (i.e. they separate from each other).}'
\end{align*}
\]

(66) \( \text{Ja jun aachi k'lin jun ixoq: ja toq nkob'ej} \)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{the a man and a woman when B3-A3p-love} & \\
\text{kii7, nkuk'aj kii7 neekeeya7} & \\
\text{each-other B3-A3p-take each-other B3p-A3p-give} & \\
\text{kalk'waal i neekik'ijtisiij.} & \\
\text{their-children and B3p-A3p-raise} & \\
'\text{It's a man and a woman: when they love each other, they take each other, and they give children and raise them.}'
\end{align*}
\]

There are a few transitive verbs that commonly occur in reflexive constructions, some of which are rather idiomatic; e.g.

silooj rii7iil 'to move (oneself)'
\(<\) silooj 'to move (something)'

tzyaquxik rii7iil 'to dress (oneself)'
\(<\) tzyaquxik 'to dress (another)'

xib'en rii7iil 'to be afraid'
\(<\) xib'exik 'to frighten (someone)'

eye?en rii7iil 'to hurry'
\(<\) ye?exik 'to make hurry'

yonaxik rii7iil 'for a young married couple to separate from parent's home'
\(<\) yonaxik 'to separate'

b'atataxik rii7iil 'to run'
\(<\) b'atataxik 'to chase, pursue'

k'aqoj rii7iil 'to jump'
\(<\) k'aqooyj 'to shoot'
9.6 VOICE CHANGES

Tzutujil has a rather complex voice system that includes an active voice, several passive voices, two antipassive voices, and an instrumental voice. Before actually describing the various voices in Tzutujil, a few words are in order about voice in general. As viewed herein, voice is an overt grammatical category basically pertaining to transitive verbs. The function of voice is to indicate the status of the relationship(s) the verb has with its arguments. The active voice is the normal (unmarked) voice, and it manifests the fundamental transitive relationship in which there are two arguments, agent and patient (see note 4, chapter 8), in direct relationship with a transitive verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normal Active Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be reiterated that in Tzutujil transitive verbs in the active voice are inflected both for agent with the ergative prefixes and for patient with the absolutive person markers (3.1 and 4.1.1). Active transitive verbs are not discussed further in this section, but the reader may wish to consult section 4.1 on verb inflection, and especially sections 8.2.3.2 and 8.2.3.3 for a large number of example sentences with active transitive verbs.

A change in voice involves a modification or disruption of the fundamental transitive relationship, along with overt morphological and/or syntactic marking of such a change.

One important kind of voice change is that which makes possible the omission of one of the basic arguments of a TV. This is a discourse device that allows the speaker to talk about a transitive activity without mentioning one of the basic arguments because it is unknown or irrelevant, or because the speaker wants to withhold such information. However, since omitting one of the basic arguments disrupts the fundamental transitive relationship, some sort of grammatical marking is necessary in order to overtly indicate the disruption, and to indicate which argument, agent or patient, is omitted and, of course, which one is not omitted. When one of the arguments is omitted the normally
transitive verb becomes a (derived) intransitive and the remaining argument is usually treated like any other subject of an intransitive verb. In terms of verb inflection in Tzutujil, this means that since the remaining argument, whether agent or patient, is the subject of an intransitive verb, it is referenced on the verb with an absolutive person marker (and there is no person marking on the verb for the omitted argument).

Thus, for example, when the agent is omitted from a transitive sentence, the verb becomes intransitive and occurs in the absolutive passive voice, and the patient becomes the subject (see 9.6.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Voice</th>
<th>Absolutive Passive Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV Pat Agt</td>
<td>IV Subj (= Pat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to understand that in the absolutive passive voice, the agent is simply not specified lexically or referentially, although a nonspecific agent is implied in this construction. The medio-passive voice differs from the absolutive passive only in that no agent is implied. In other words, the medio-passive voice is used to indicate that an activity that might normally be viewed as transitive occurs without an agent.

Another example of a voice change where there is an omitted argument is the absolutive antipassive voice (see 9.6.2), which is the obverse of the absolutive passive. The absolutive antipassive is used when the patient is omitted from the discussion of a transitive activity. In this case, the verb becomes intransitive and the agent becomes subject. It is important to remember that since the agent becomes subject of an intransitive verb (albeit derived), it is referenced on the verb with an absolutive person marker, and not with an ergative prefix as it would be on a normal active transitive verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Voice</th>
<th>Absolutive Antipassive Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV Pat Agt</td>
<td>IV Subj (= Agt)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another important kind of voice change is that which makes possible the rearrangement of the arguments in relationship with a transitive
verb. In a rearranging voice change none of the arguments basic to a transitive activity are omitted from the sentence, but rather the status of their relationship to the verb is modified by promotional and demotional processes. These rearrangements are usually motivated by syntactic constraints (e.g. what may or may not be syntactic pivot; see Dixon (1979)), and by discourse requirements or restrictions (e.g. what may or may not be topic, or what may or may not be in contrastive focus).

Thus, for example, in Tzutujil (as in many other languages) there is a constraint such that the patient of an active transitive verb may never be the topic of the discourse. Therefore, if the topic of the discourse is a semantic patient in a transitive activity, then the status of the patient must be modified. This is done by means of a rearranging passive voice (in Tzutujil there are several; see 9.6.1). In a rearranging passive voice, the agent of the transitive activity is demoted to an oblique relationship (or case), the verb becomes intransitive, and the patient is its subject (which may be a discourse topic).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Voice</th>
<th>Rearranging Passive Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV Pat Agt</td>
<td>IV Subj (= Pat) Oblique Agt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other rearranging voices in Tzutujil include the focus antipassive discussed in section 9.6.2.2, and the instrumental voice discussed in section 9.6.3.

9.6.1 The Passive Voices

Tzutujil has several passive voices. All of them have absolutive function such that a transitive activity may be discussed without mention of the agent. And all but the medio-passive also function as rearranging passives, which are used when the patient is the discourse topic and/or when the patient is given or definite information and the agent is new information. The agent in a passive sentence in Tzutujil occurs in an oblique relationship with the verb marked with the relational noun -umal 'by; because of, on account of' (~ ma(l); see 5.2.1).
9.6.1.1 The Simple Passive and the Archaic Simple Passive

The simple passive is formed with the infix -l- (> -l- before i and -v- before j) on root transitive verbs (see affix 4, section 4.2.1), and with the suffix -x on derived transitive verbs (see affix 24, section 4.2.1). The simple passive is essentially like the 'be + past participle' passive in English. Note that virtually all transitive verbs in Tzutujil have a passive infinitive in -l-...ik or -x-ik (see section 4.1.5).

(67) a. Jar iixoq xch'ejy rmal jun aachi. 
   'The woman was hit by a man.'

b. Jar iixoq xch'ejyi. 
   'The woman was hit.'

c. Xch'ejy wmaal (inin). 
   B3-was-hit by-me I 'She was hit by me.'

d. Inin xinch'ejyi (rmal jar iixoq). 
   I B3-was-hit by the woman 'I was hit by the woman.'

e. (Inin) xinch'ejy awmaal. 
   I B3-was-hit by-you 'I was hit by you.'

(68) a. Ja tzyaq xti7j kumal ch'ooya7. 
   'The clothes were eaten by them rats'

b. Ja tzyaq xti7ji. 
   'The clothes were eaten.'

(69) a. Jar iib'ooy xkamsax kumaal ja tz'i7. 
   'The armadillo was killed by them the dog'

b. Jar iib'ooy xkamsaxi. 
   'The armadillo was killed.'
(70) a. Xjech'eb'a7xi ja jaay (rumaal ja B3-was-made-uneven the house by-him the b'anol jaay). maker-of house 'The house was built uneven (by the carpenter).'
b. Xjech'eb'a7xi. 'It was built uneven.'

In addition to the simple passive in -1-, a handful of root transitive verbs (e.g. k'amooj 'to carry', tojooj 'to pay', and chapooj 'to grab, catch; scold') have another passive in the suffix -Vr (see affix 21, section 4.2.1). In meaning and function the passive in -Vr is exactly like the regular passive in -1-. In Dayley (1978, 1981), this is called the 'archaic' passive because it is cognate with the simple passive in some closely related languages (see section 4.1 in Dayley 1981), and because it is not productive in Tzutujil.

(71) Ja nuukeej xk'amar eel rmal the my-horse B3-was-carried away by b'ijnel ya7. walker water (= river)
'My horse was carried away by a river.'

(72) Waaqii7 mui1 xinchapari. six time B3-was-scolded
'I was scolded six times.'

9.6.1.2 The Completive Passive

The completive passive is formed with the suffix -(~)taj (see affix 22, section 4.2.1). It differs in meaning from the simple passive in that it emphasizes the result of the transitive activity on the patient as well as the termination of the activity. The simple passive simply defines or describes the activity. Depending on the context the completive passive is best translated as (1) 'be finished being Xed', (2) 'be already Xed', or (3) 'get Xed' (where 'X' is the meaning of the verb stem).
(73) Xch'eyetaji jar jixoq rmaal rachajfil.
B3-got-hit the woman by her-husband
'The woman got beaten up by her husband.'

(74) Toq k'a nk'ototaj kaam ja jul,
when then B3-is-already-dug staying the hole
neept ch k'amariik ja kamnaq.
B3p-come to take the deceased
'Then when the hole is already dug/is finished being dug,
they come to take the deceased.'

(75) Xtz'etetaj el miisa rumaal.
B3-already-be-seen out mass by-him
'Mass was already seen (i.e. given) by him (the priest).'

(76) Jaqatajnaq ja b'eey rxin Tzolola7.
B3-has-been-opened-already the road of Sololá
'The Sololá road has already been opened up.'

9.6.1.3 Adjectival Passives

As mentioned in section 4.1.2.1 on verbs in the perfect aspect, the perfect stems of active transitive verbs also function as past passive participial adjectives. In other words, the perfect suffixes (i.e. ~oon (~ ~uun) on RTVs, ~Vn on DTJs, and ~oon ~ ~Vn on DT7s) also form past participles from transitive verbs (see affix 3, section 6.4.1). These past participles are one-place stative predicates whose subjects are always identical with the patient of the corresponding perfect active transitive verb. Past participles from transitive verbs function much like a passive voice, even though they are formally adjectives (not intransitive passive verbs). However, past passive participles differ slightly in meaning from true verbal passives in that they emphasize the state (of the patient) resulting from the transitive activity, and semantically they are always in the perfect aspect. For example, ee ch'eyoon (~ ee B3p, ch'ey- RTV 'hit', ~oon perf) may be translated as either 'they are hit' or 'they have been hit, and similarly, in kuunaan (~ in B1, kuuna- DTJ 'cure', ~Vn perf) may be translated as 'I am cured' or 'I have been cured'. It should be noted that, like other passives in Tzutujil, participial passives may be used absolutely without an
expressed agent, or as rearranging passives where the agent is expressed in an oblique case marked with -umaal. Compare the following examples.

(77) Ja ti nuuchaaq' chajil jasy ya7oon
the little my-little-brother guarder-of house put
kan (rmal nuutee?).
staying by my-mother
' My little brother has been made house watcher
(by my mother).'

(78) Ji7oon wiij (rumaal ja q'aapo].)
rubbed my-back by the girl
'My back has been rubbed (by the girl).'

(79) Infn in atzeelaan (rmal njiinaan).
I BI hated by my-father-in-law
'I am/have been hated (by my father-in-law).'

(80) Ee b'aqirrsan ja ch'uu7 (rumaal ja q'tiq').
B3p made-thin the fish by the northwind
'The fish have been made thin (by the wind).'

9.6.1.4 The Medio-Passive

There is no productive medio-passive voice in Tzutujil. However, there are a dozen or so intransitive verbs that are based on monosyllabic roots plus an infixed -2- or -i-. All of these verbs denote an activity or process that has an effect on some semantic patient, but there is never an implied agent in the activity or process; e.g.

Medio-Passive Verbs
b'o7seem 'to crack (of walls, wood, rock, etc.)' < b'os- (?)
k07seem 'to get tired' < kos- (?)
k'i7seem 'to come to an end, stop' < k'is- RTV 'stop, finish'
no7jeem 'to get filled up' < noj- (?)
pa7jeem 'to fall down' < paj- (?)
pa7xeem 'to break, split (of wood, rock)' < pax- root in DTJ
paxixik 'to break, split' (N.B.: in Quiche pax- is RTV.)
qu7reem ~ qu7weem 'for food to burn too much while cooking'
< quc- ~ quw- (?)
jijq'ik 'to drown' < jiq'- root in several verbs having to do
with gasping, sighing, exhaling, and also jiq' 'whooping
cough'
k'ajteem 'to burn' < k'at- root in k'atan 'hot' (N.B.: in
Quiche k'at- RTV 'to burn')
k'ijyeem 'to grow' < k'iy 'many, much'
tzajqeem 'to fall down' < tzaq- RTV 'drop, lose'
tz'ujkeem 'to bud (of plants)' < tz'uk- (?)

It should be noted that -7- and -i- are both allomorphic variants of the
simple passive infix, and that in some other Mayan languages -2- and/or
-1- are productive medio-passive markers (see Dayley 1981, especially
table 9). It is perhaps the case that an earlier stage of Tzutujil (and
perhaps even Proto-Mayan) had a productive mediopassive in -7- or -1-
that has developed into a productive simple passive in Tzutujil (and other
Quichean languages), but has left vestiges of its earlier function in at
least the verbs above.

9.6.2 The Antipassive Voices

Tzutujil has two antipassive voices: the absolutive antipassive
(9.6.2.1) and the (agent) focus antipassive (9.6.2.2). It also has an
agent focus perfect participle that functions like the focus antipassive
voice and is discussed along with it. Only the absolutive antipassive
has (as the name implies) absolutive function such that a transitive
activity may be discussed without mention of the patient. The focus
antipassive is a rearranging voice.

9.6.2.1 The Absolutive Antipassive Voice

The absolutive antipassive is formed with -oon (-uun) on root
transitive verbs (see affix 11, section 4.2.1), with -Vn on derived tran-
sitives in 1, and with -n on derived transitives in 2 (see affix 20,
section 4.2.1). Virtually all transitive verbs have absolutive
Infinitives formed with the verbal noun suffix -eem added to the absolutive stem (see section 4.1.5). As noted at the beginning of this section (9.6), the function of the absolutive antipassive is to make possible the discussion of a transitive activity without any mention of the patient. It is primarily used (1) to discuss a transitive activity when the patient is unknown or irrelevant, or when the speaker does not wish to mention the patient, and (2) when describing a transitive activity typically performed by some agent. The absolutive antipassive always implies some patient or patients, but they are always nonspecific. That is, no specific patient is ever semantically recoverable from the speech context.

(81) a. Jaa7 ma xa ko7 nchapooni.  
    he a lot B3-scolds/grabs  
    'He scolds/grabs a lot.'

b. Jaa7 ma xa ko7 xchapon 11wiir.  
    he a lot B3-scolded/grabbed yesterday  
    'He scolded/ grabbed a lot yesterday.'

(82) Inin xinch'apooni ja toq xinchajpi.  
    I B1-pinched when B1-was-grabbed  
    'I pinched when I was grabbed.'

(83) Ja d'oktoor ja xuuli qas utz nq'omaani.  
    the doctor who arrived-here very well B3-cures  
    'The doctor who arrived here cures very well.'

(84) Ja nuutee7 b'arata tk'ayin wi7.  
    the my-mother cheaply B3-sells emph  
    'My mother sells cheaply (i.e. at low prices).'

There are a number of facts that should be mentioned about the absolutive antipassive. First, although most transitive verbs have absolutive antipassive forms, there are a few that do not (e.g. elasaxik 'to take out'). Second, a few absolutive antipassive forms always seem to have reflexive meaning (e.g. ch'ajooneem 'to wash oneself' < ch'ajoj 'to wash'). Third, there are a number of lexicalized intransitive verbs derived from transitive verbs that are formally identical with the absolutive antipassives of those same transitive verbs. However, the
subjects of the lexicalized intransitives are semantically the patients of the transitive verbs from which they are derived, not the semantic agents as are the subjects of the absolutive antipassives. Compare the meanings of the intransitive verbs below, all of which are ambiguous as to whether the patient is the subject in the lexical intransitive reading, or the agent is the subject in the absolute antipassive reading.

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
\item paxineem (< paxixik DTJ) 'for some patient to break' or 'for some agent to be breaking (something)'
\item raquuneem (< raquxik DTJ) 'for some patient to burst' or 'for some agent to be breaking (something) by applying pressure from within'
\item chijkalo7neem (< chijkalo7xik DT7) 'for a liquid or grains to spill, splash' or 'for an agent to be spilling/splashing (liquid or grains)'
\item puliineem (< pulixik DTJ) 'for a liquid to spill over' or 'for an agent to be knocking over/spilling (liquid)'
\item pajooneem (< pajooj TVT) 'for something to weigh a certain amount' or 'for an agent to be weighing (something)'
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}

And finally, the absolutive antipassive forms of a few transitive verbs have specialized meanings not necessarily associated with the transitive verbs (e.g. ch'eyooneem 'to be fighting, hitting' < ch'eyooj 'to hit'; b'anoooneem 'to be fucking, making, doing' < b'anooj 'to make, do').

9.6.2.2 The Focus Antipassive Voice

The (agent) focus antipassive voice is marked with the suffix \textit{-ow} (\textit{~uw} after root vowel \textit{u}) on root transitive verbs (N.B.: \textit{-ow} and \textit{-uw} become, respectively, \textit{-o} and \textit{-u} when not in phrase-final position and when not occurring before a definite noun phrase; see affix 12, section 4.2.1). On derived transitive verbs in \textit{i}, the focus antipassive is marked with \textit{-Vn}, and with \textit{-n} on derived transitive verbs in \textit{j} (see affix 20, section 4.2.1). Note that on derived transitive verbs the suffixes marking the focus antipassive voice are the same as those marking the
The focus antipassive is a rearranging voice whose primary function is to indicate that the agent of a transitive sentence is highlighted or in focus. More specifically, the focus antipassive is used: (1) when the agent is in contrastive focus or highly emphatic, (2) when the agent is questioned, and (3) when the agent is relativized. When the agent is in contrastive focus or is questioned, the focus antipassive voice is obligatory; active transitive verbs are never used in these constructions. The focus antipassive is almost always used when agents are relativized; however, very rarely in texts, active transitive verbs have been recorded when their agents are relativized.

Verbs in the focus antipassive voice are morphologically intransitive and therefore they have most of the inflectional characteristics of other intransitive verbs (see section 4.1). However, verbs in the focus antipassive voice are morphologically intransitive, containing both an agent and a patient (although an overt patient noun phrase may be omitted if it is given information). Since in focus antipassive sentences the agent is always in focus, there is always an overt noun phrase in the sentence indicating the agent (whether it be a full noun phrase or a pronoun: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, or relative), and the agent noun phrase always precedes the verb. The normal word order in focus antipassive sentences is: Agent + Verb + Patient; but when the patient is also contrastive (as well as the agent), then the order is: Patient + Agent + Verb (see section 8.2.1.2 on word order, and section 9.3 on fronting). Note that PAV word order in Tzutujil only occurs with focus antipassive verbs, never with active transitive verbs.

Since focus antipassive sentences are semantically transitive but morphologically intransitive, they are in general somewhat peculiar, and person marking in these constructions reflects this situation. Person marking is accomplished in two different ways. The first method of person marking is based on the person hierarchy: Non-third Person > Third Person Plural > Third Person Singular. In this method of person marking, the absolutive person marker on the (intransitive) focus antipassive verb agrees with whichever direct argument, agent or patient,
is higher on the person hierarchy. The direct argument lower on the person hierarchy is therefore not referenced on the verb since intransitive verbs reference only one argument. The roles of agent and patient are distinguished in focus antipassive sentences solely with word order. Compare the sentences below.

(85) a. Inin xinch'eyowi jar aachi.
    I Bl-hit-foc the man
    'I was the one who hit the man.'

    b. Inin xinch'eyowi.
    'I was the one who hit him.'

(86) a. Jar aachi xinch'eyowi.
    the man Bl-hit-foc
    'The man was the one who hit me.'

    b. Jaa7 xinch'eyowi.
    he Bl-hit-foc
    'He was the one who hit me.'

(87) Inin xinch'eyowi jar liixoqii7.
    I Bl-hit-foc the women
    'I was the one who hit the women.'

(88) a. Jar liixoqi7 xinch'eyowi.
    the women Bl-hit-foc
    'The women were the ones who hit me.'

    b. Ja7ee7 xinch'eyowi.
    they Bl-hit-foc
    'They were the ones who hit me.'

(89) a. Jar liixoqi7 xech'eyowi jar aachi.
    the women B3p-hit-foc the man
    'The women were the ones who hit the man.'

    b. Jar liixoqi7 xech'eyowi.
    'The women were the ones who hit him.'

(90) a. Jar aachi xech'eyowi jar liixoqi7.
    the man B3p-hit-foc the women
    'The man was the one who hit the women.'

(91) a. Jar aachi xch'eyowi jar liixoq.
    the man B3-hit-foc the woman
    'The man was the one who hit the woman.'
b. Jar aachi xch'eyowi.
'The man was the one who hit her.'

(97) a. Jar iixoq xch'eyowi jar aachi.
the woman B3-hit-foc the man
'The woman was the one who hit the man.'
b. Jar iixoq xch'eyowi.
'The woman was the one who hit him.'

In the second method of person marking in focus antipassive constructions, the agent is always referenced on the verb with an absolutive person marker and the patient is denoted to an oblique relationship marked with the relational noun -Vxiin 'of, for' (see section 5.2.1). This method of person marking is always used when both the agent and the patient are non-third person (e.g. (93)), but may be used with other person-number combinations as well (e.g. (94)-(97); in the (a) examples -Vxiin is used; in the (b) examples the first method following the person hierarchy is used). However, -Vxiin is rarely used when both agent and patient are third person singular, unless the patient is higher than the agent on the animacy hierarchy: Human >Animate >Inanimate (e.g. (97)).

(93) a. Inin xinch'eyo awxiin.
I B1-hit-foc of-you
'I was the one who hit you.'
b. Atet xatch'eyo wxiin.
you B2-hit-foc of-me
'You were the one who hit me.'

(94) a. Inin xinlasan rxiin jar aak'aal
I B1-got-out-foc of-him the child
pan ajtiijaal.
from school
b. Inin xinlasan jar aak'aal pan ajtiijaal.
I B1-got-out-foc the child from school
'I was the one who got the child out of school.'

(95) a. Jaa7 nilin wxiin.
she B3-serves-foc of-me
b. Jaa7 nfniliini.
    she Bl-serve-foc
    'She is the one who serves me.'

(96) a. Ee ka7i7 ajsantyaago xetx'uju wxiin.
    B3p two one-of-Santiago B3p-mistreated-foc of-me
b. Ee ka7i7 ajsantyaago xintx'ujuwii.
    B3p two one-of-Santiago B1-mistreated-foc
    'Two people from Santiago were the ones who mistreated
    me.'

(97) a. Ja wajkax xtoq'o rxin Aa Lu7.
    the bull B3-gored-foc of-him youth Pedro
b. Ja wajkax xtoq'o Aa Lu7.
    the bull B3-gored-foc youth Pedro
    'It was the bull that gored Pedro.'

The structure of focus antipassive sentences is illustrated diagrammatically below. The circle around the agent indicates that the agent is in focus, and the optional oblique element indicates that the patient may or may not be demoted to an oblique relationship depending on which method of person marking is used. It should be noted that native Tzutujil speakers normally translate focus antipassive sentences into Spanish with the agent clefted (as in the English translations herein). This fact is evidence that the agent is clefted in Tzutujil, and it may explain why focus antipassive verbs are intransitive while the sentences themselves are semantically transitive. That is, to some degree the agent is raised out of the matrix sentence and occurs under a higher sentence node. However, the agent is not entirely removed from the matrix sentence since it is always referenced on the verb when the patient is demoted with -Vxiin, and when the patient is not demoted, the agent is referenced on the verb if it is higher on the person hierarchy than the patient.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Voice</th>
<th>Agent Focus Antipassive Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV Pat Agt</td>
<td>Agt IV (Oblique) Pat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of the focus antipassive with questioned agents occur in (98)-(100), and with relativized agents in (101)-(103). (Other examples of the focus antipassive with questioned agents occur in (63) of section 7.1.4 and in (50)-(52) of section 9.4.2, and with relativized agents in (35) of section 7.1.3 and in (52)-(56a) in section 10.2.1.)

(98) a. Naq xsokowi?  
who/what B3-hurt-foc  
'Who/what hurt him?'

b. Naq xe'esokowi?  
who/what B3p-hurt-foc  
'Who/what hurt them?'

c. Naq xatsokowi?  
who/what B2-hurt-foc  
'Who/what hurt you?'

(99) Naq xb'ojten eel ja wuuj?  
who B3-carried-roll-of-foc away the paper  
'Who carried away the roll of paper?'

(100) Naq xb'ak'ab'a7ni ja si!?  
who B3-tied-up-foc the firewood  
'Who tied up the firewood?'

(101) Jar iixoq ja xloq'o ixim xuyu7 jhwe.  
the woman who B3-bought-foc corn B3-A3-gave to-me  
'The woman who bought (the) corn gave it to me.'

(102) Ajkata7! jar iixoq ja nka'yiini ja ka7.  
one-of-Nahualá the woman who B3-sells-foc the metate  
'The woman who sells the metates is of Nahualá.'

(103) Inin xeenuutz'et ja k'el ja xeetz'tlo7ni 
I B3p-A1-saw the parakeet that B3p-ruined-foc  
jar awan, the cornplant  
'I saw the parakeets that ruined the cornplants.'

In addition to the focus antipassive voice there is also an agent focus perfect participle, which is formally an adjective derived from
transitive verbs with -oyoon (~ -uyun after root vowel u) on root transitives and -yoon on derived transitives (see affix 4, section 6.4.1). The agent focus perfect participle is functionally and semantically like the focus antipassive voice. It is used to highlight an agent or put an agent in focus, and sentences in which agent focus perfect participles occur are always semantically transitive, containing both an agent and a patient. However, agent focus perfect participles are stative predicates, and their meaning in general is 'Y is the one who has Xed Z', where 'Y' is the agent, 'X' is the transitive verb, and 'Z' is the patient. Word order and person marking are also like that with focus antipassive verbs. Person marking is either based on the person hierarchy (e.g. (104), (105a)-(107a), (108)), or the patient is in a relational noun phrase with -xiin (e.g. (105b)-(107b)).

(104) Inin in ch'eyoyoon (jar aachi).
  I B1 have-hit-foc the man
  'I am the one who has hit him (the man).'
(105) a. Jar aachi in ch'eyoyoon.
  the man B1 have-hit-foc
b. Jar aachi ch'eyoyon xiin.
  the man have-hit-foc of-me
  'The man is the one who has hit me.'
(106) a. Ojoj oq kamsayoon ch'oooyaa?
  we B1p have-killed-foc rats
  'We are the ones who have killed rats.'
b. Ojoj oq kamsayon xiin.
  we B1p have-killed-foc of-them
  'We are the ones who have killed them.'
(107) a. Nmama7 ee tzuquyuun (ja meeb'a7ii7).
  my-grandfather B3p have-fed-foc the orphans
b. Nmama7 tzuquyun xiin
  my-grandfather have-fed-foc of-them
  (ja meeb'a7ii7).
  the orphans
  'My grandfather is the one who has fed them (the orphans).'
(108) a. Jaa7 k'ayiyon  ixim.
    she have-sold-foc corn
    'She is the one who has sold corn.'

b. Jaa7 k'ayiyoon.
    she have-sold-foc
    'She is the one who has sold it.'

9.6.3 The Instrumental Voice

The instrumental voice is marked with the suffix -b'e on all verbs
(see affix 27, section 4.2.2). A verb stem in -b'e is formally a derived
transitive verb in ij (i.e. a DIJ stem, see section 4.1), no matter
whether -b'e is appended to a root transitive verb or to a derived
transitive verb.

The instrumental voice is a rearranging voice whose primary function
is to indicate that the instrument used in a transitive activity is high-
lighted or in focus (much like the focus antipassive is used to indicate
that the agent is in focus). Specifically, the instrumental voice may be
used: (1) when the instrument is in contrastive focus or highly
emphatic, (2) when the instrument is questioned, and (3) when the
instrument is relativized. It should be noted that the instrumental
voice is not necessarily obligatory in these situations. Instruments may
be contrasted or questioned by fronting the instrumental (prepositional
or relational noun) phrase and placing the fronting/emphatic particle wi7
after the verb (see section 7.1.7.2 and 9.3). However, no examples of
relativized instruments have been recorded without the verbs being in the
instrumental voice (see section 10.2.1).

What the instrumental voice does is promote the instrument out of an
oblique relationship indicated with a relational noun or preposition(e.g.
chee, tza7n, or chi; see sections 5.2.1, 7.1.2, and 8.1.2), and front it
to a position preceding the verb but following an agent noun phrase if
one overtly appears in the sentence preceding the verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Active Voice</th>
<th>Instrumental Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV Pat Agt Oblique Instr</td>
<td>(Instr) TV-b'e Pat Agt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Agt) TV Pat Oblique Instr</td>
<td>(Agt) (Instr) TV-b'e Pat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The instrument noun phrase then appears in the sentence like a direct argument since it is not marked with a preposition or relational noun. However, it is not referenced on the verb as the agent and patient are. Native Tzutujil speakers usually translate sentences with verbs in the instrumental voice into Spanish with the instrument in a cleft sentence (as they are in the English translations below).

(109) Jaraachi machat xchoybeej ja chee7.

the man machete B3-A3-cut-with the tree
'It was a machete that the man cut the tree with.'

(110) Tz'uum xch'eybej jun ixoq jar aachi.

whip B3-A3-hit-with a woman the man
'It was a whip that the man hit a woman with.'

(111) (Jaa7) tz'uum xinrch'eyb'eej.

he whip B1-A3-hit-with
'It was a whip that he hit me with.'

(112) Kaxlaan xinb'aqb'ej nwi7.

soap B3-Al-washed-with my-head
'It was soap that I washed my head with.'

(113) Kuchi71 xinsokb'ej wii7.

knife B3-Al-hurt-with myself
'It was a knife that I hurt myself with.'

Verbs in the instrumental voice have most characteristics of other derived transitive verbs, and therefore they may also at the same time occur in the simple passive voice in -x or as past passive participles in -Vn. However, no verbs have been recorded in the instrumental voice and in the focus antipassive voice at the same time, and instrumental voice stems do not have passive infinitives in -x-ik. Compare (114)-(115) with (109)-(111) above.

(114) a. Machat xachoyb'ej chee7.

machete B3-A2-cut-with wood
'It was a machete that you cut wood with.'
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b. Machat achoyb'een chee7.
machete B3-A2-have-cut-with wood
'It was a machete that you have cut wood with.'
c. Machat xchoyb'ex chee7.
machete B3-was-cut-with wood
'It was a machete that wood was cut with.'
d. Machat choyb'een chee7.
machete B3-has-been-cut-with wood
'It's a machete that wood is/has been cut with.'

(115) a. Jar iixoq tz'uum xch'eyb'exi (rumaal jar aachi).
    the woman whip B3-was-hit-with by the man
'It was a whip that the woman was hit (by the man) with.'
b. Tz'uum xinch'eyb'exi (rumaal jar aachi).
    whip B3-was-hit-with by the man
'It was a whip that I was hit (by the man) with.'

(116) Ja ri7aal pinyoon utz nkunab'ex sokotajik.
    the its-liquid pinon well B3-is-cured-with wound
'It is pinon sap that wounds are cured well with (i.e. pinon sap is good to cure wounds with).'

Examples of the instrumental voice with questioned instruments occur in (117)-(118), and with relativized instruments in (119)-(120). (Other examples of the instrumental voice used with questioned instruments occur in (64) of section 7.1.4 and (53) of section 9.4.2, and with relativized instruments in (65)-(68) of section 10.2.1.)

(117) a. Naq xab'anb'eej?
    what B3-A2-did-with
'What did you do it with?'
b. Naq ab'anb'een?
    what B3-A2-have-done-with
'What have you done it with?'
c. Naq xb'anb'exi?
    what B3-was-done-with
'What was it done with?'
(118) a. Naq xinach'eyb'eej?
    what B3-Al-hit-with
  'What did you hit me with?'
b. Naq xinch'eyb'exi?
    what B3-was-hit-with
  'What was I hit with?'

(119) Nwaajo7 jun palangâana nya7ab'ej nisb'o7yo7y.
     B3-Al-want a basin B3-Al-water-with my-onions
  'I want a basin with which I (can) water my onions.'

(120) Ja nustee7 xuxioq' kokop nb'amb'ej chaqijya7.
     the my-mother B3-A3-bought cocoa B3-A3-make-with chocolate.
  'My mother bought cocoa with which she makes (to make) chocolate.'

As stated at the beginning of this subsection, instruments may be
put into contrastive focus either with the instrumental voice or by
fronting the whole instrumental phrase with the contrastive particle wi7.
It is a noteworthy fact that both of these methods for contrasting the
instrument may be used together. In this construction the instrument is
not promoted out of an oblique relationship. Rather, the preposition or
relational noun indicating the instrumental relation remains in the
sentence and is fronted with the instrumental noun phrase (just as in wi7
fronting alone), but the verb has the -b'e instrumental voice suffix;
e.g.

(121) Jar aachi chee tz'uum xch'eyb'ej wi7 jar ilxoj.
     the man with whip B3-A3-hit-with front the woman
  'It's with a whip that the man hit the woman.'

(122) Chee ala7 machat xinb'amb'ej wi7.
     with that machete B3-Al-did-with front
  'It's with that machete that I did it.'

It is not known how the three methods for contrasting the instrument
differ semantically or functionally, if at all.
Notes to Chapter 9

1. Actually, as discussed in 8.2.3.3, benefactives may be fronted along with fronted contrastive patients, but benefactives are never fronted by themselves.


3. In the instrumental voice in Quiché, a language closely related to Tzutujil, the instrument is not only promoted out of an oblique relation but is promoted to the absolutive position on the transitive verb and the patient is demoted to an oblique relation (see Norman 1978, Dayley 1981).