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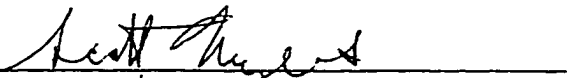
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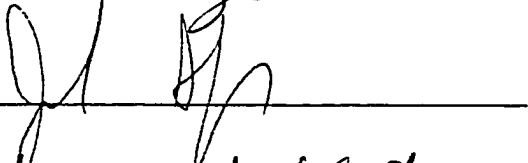
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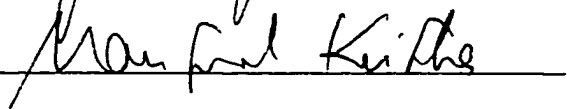
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A GRAMMAR OF SIPAKAPENSE MAYA

by

Edward Rush Barrett, III, B.A., M.A., M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

May, 1999

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all, I am grateful to the people of Sipacapa, especially the officials of the local branch of the Academy of Mayan Languages of Guatemala, for all their support and help during my stay in Sipacapa. I am particularly thankful to Mario Perfecto Tema Bautista and Carlos Lorenzo Pérez Ambrocio, both presidents of the local *comunidad lingüística*. My greatest thanks go to my primary linguistic consultants, Vicente López Bámaca and Delfino Felipe Tema Bautista, without whom I would know nothing at all about Sipakapense. Also, thanks to Marcos Ambrosio Zacinto for sharing his knowledge of the history of Sipacapa.

Also, during my research in Guatemala, I benefited greatly from periodic discussions with members of Oxlajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib'. I am especially thankful to Waykan José Gonzalo Benito Perez, Saqijix Candelaria Dominga López Ixcoy, Nik'te' Maria Juliana Sis Iboy, Ajpub' Pablo Garcia Ixmatá, and Lolmay Pedro Oscar Garcia Matzar. I also am extremely grateful to Nora England for her help both in discussing Sipakapense grammar, but also for her advice and understanding about how to conduct research in Guatemala. Thanks also to the staff of CIRMA in Antigua, Guatemala for providing use of their facilities and library during my stay in Guatemala.

Financial support for this research was provided by a National Science Foundation doctoral dissertation grant (SBR 94-15044) and a IEE/USIA Fulbright

fellowship for research in Guatemala. I am also grateful to the University of Texas Graduate School for financial support.

I am especially thankful to Tony Woodbury for his on-going encouragement, support and help. I am also thankful to the other members of my committee, Scott Myers, Joel Sherzer, Manfred Krifka and Steve Wechsler for their support and suggestions. I am also thankful to the late Linda Schele for encouraging me in Mayan studies. Also, thanks to Jack DuBois for providing data and notes on Sipakapense. Thanks also to Gregorio Tum for teaching me K'ichee' and to Judith Maxwell and the teachers of Oxlajuuj Keej for teaching me Kaqchikel.

I am eternally thankful to my parents for all their patience, kindness and understanding throughout graduate school and during the course of this research. I am also thankful to Michal Brody, Jabier Elorrietta, Dolores Garcia, Brian Price, Robin Queen, Kathy Ross, Yukako Sunaoshi, and Keith Walters. I am particularly thankful to Susan Guion and Brad Sunday for their friendship and support both during the course of this research and throughout graduate school. Special thanks to Albert Zapata for finally making everything so easy. Finally, thanks to God in whom all things are possible.



## A GRAMMAR OF SIPAKAPENSE MAYA

Publication No. \_\_\_\_\_

Edward Rush Barrett, III, Ph.D.  
The University of Texas at Austin, 1999

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Sipakapense is a (K'ichean) Mayan language spoken in and around the municipio of Sipacapa in the San Marcos Department of western Guatemala. Unlike other K'ichean languages, Sipakapense allows for sequences of up to six word-initial consonants. Sipakapense is an ergative language with primarily VSO word order and several voices, including two distinct passives and two distinct antipassives. This grammar describes the primary features of Sipakapense phonology, morphology, and syntax.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	absolute antipassive
ABS	absolutive
CAUS	causative
COM	completive
CPS	completive passive
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional clitic
DRV	derivational suffix
DUB	dubative/dislocative
EMP	emphatic
EPE	epenthetic vowel
ERG	ergative
EXS	existential
FAP	focus antipassive/agentive voice
FUT	future
IMV	imperative with movement
INC	incompletive
OPT	optative/imperative
MOD	modal suffix
MOV	movement
NOM	nominalizing suffix
NPT	negative potential
PAS	passive
PFM	phrase final marker
PLU	plural
POT	potential
PRF	perfective
PRG	progressive
PRO	pronoun
PST	past
PVT	positional verb = transitive
QUE	question marker
REC	recent past
REP	repetitive marker
STA	stative
TMR	trace marker
VER	versive

## 1.0 Introduction: Sipakapense and its place within Mayan

### 1.1 The language and its speakers

Sipakapense is a Mayan language spoken in and around the municipio of Sipacapa in the mountains of the western highlands of Guatemala. Sipakapense is part of the K'ichean branch of Eastern Mayan. Sipakapense shares numerous characteristics with other K'ichean languages but has also undergone an extensive period of contact with speakers of Mam (a Mayan language of the Mamean branch). Partially because of this contact, Sipakapense is quite distinct from previously described K'ichean languages. A preliminary mutual intelligibility test concluded that “El hablante Sipakapense es el grupo que menos entiende o comprende los otras idiomas de la misma familia” (The Sipakapense speakers are the group that understands other languages of the same family the least) (Cuz Mucú 1993: 95 my translation). This may be partially due to the fact that Sipakapense speakers have less contact with speakers of other K'ichean languages. However, it does suggest that Sipakapense is quite different from other languages in the same family (see 1.5 below for a discussion on the status of Sipakapense as an independent language).

Like all Mayan languages, Sipakapense is ergative, marking ergative and absolutive case within the verbal complex. Sipakapense differs from other K'ichean languages in that its primary word order is VSO, although like other K'ichean languages (England 1981) Sipakapense allows both VSO and VOS with certain combinations



of definite and indefinite subjects and objects. Although the phonemic inventory of Sipakapense is identical to that of K'ichee', the phonology of Sipakapense is quite different, allowing for clusters of up to six consecutive consonants.

Sipakapense is the primary language in all but two of the twelve aldeas surrounding the municipio of Sipacapa<sup>1</sup>. Mam is also spoken in the outlying areas of the municipio. The amount of Mam spoken has increased as more Mames have begun to move into land previously occupied by Sipakapenses. In 1994, the population of the Sipacapa municipio was 13,586 (Zacinto 1995). Adjusting for speakers of Mam and monolingual speakers of Spanish, the number of Sipakapense speakers should be somewhere near 10,000. Tzian's (1994:51) adjusted numbers of speakers of Mayan languages lists Sipakapense as having 6,730 speakers. Tzian's calculation is much higher than the official government number of 3,558 Sipakapense speakers in 1993 (Tzian 1994:40). Given the population of the municipio and the high percentage of Sipakapense speakers in the majority of the area, however, even Tzian's number seems quite low.

Geographically, Sipacapa is situated about 4,800 feet above sea level in the northeast corner of the San Marcos department, about 20 km southwest of Huehuetenango (see map below). The Sipakapense area is surrounded by Mam speakers except for the eastern border of the municipio which borders on an area

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<sup>1</sup> Spanish is the primary language in Canoj and Quequesiguan.

that is now primarily Spanish speaking (but has been historically K'ichee' speaking). Sipacapa is a vacant center type municipio (Tax 1937) in that the vast majority of the population resides in the countryside near the milpas. People generally travel into the town center during the week to work or tend to business. The weekly Sipacapa market is on Friday, after which almost everyone returns to the countryside, leaving the town center virtually vacant for the weekend, except for people who may enter town to attend church.



Map 1: Location of Sipacapa in Guatemala

Residents of the municipio primarily work in milpa agriculture, growing corn and beans for their own families. As in much of the highlands, the amount of corn is

usually not enough to provide for a family for an entire year. Thus, many residents travel to the coast during the coffee-picking season (January and February) to work on *fincas* (coffee plantations) to help support their families. In addition, some residents of Sipacapa weave woolen blankets and make rope to earn extra money. Traditional weaving of *traje* (traditional Maya clothing) is rare in Sipacapa. Men no longer wear traditional clothing and women almost always buy their skirts and huipils at the market. Thus, the traditional patterns for Sipacapa *traje* are almost never seen. The government system is typical for highland Guatemala, with a dual system of government officials (*auxiliares*) and church officials (*catequistas*). There are no traditional Mayan priests (*aj q'ij*) in Sipacapa.

Linguistics has played a major role in the cultural preservation movement that arose among the Maya during and after the civil war (1968-1995) in Guatemala. (see for example Garzon et al. 1998, Fischer and Brown 1996, and England 1998). Through meeting the members of Oxlajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib' at the Texas Maya Meetings in 1992, I became aware of the language preservation movement in Guatemala. In order to try and promote Maya unity and to facilitate language planning and preservation efforts, some Maya have argued that, where possible, language planners should work to merge languages that are similar enough to be considered dialects of the same language. For example, Benito Perez (1992) has argued that Poqomam and Poqomchi', traditionally considered two independent

languages, should be merged into a single language Poqom. Similarly, Sis Iboy and Lopéz Ixcoy (1992) have argued that Achi (currently considered a separate language by the Academy) should be treated as a dialect of K'ichee'. In addition to reducing the amount of work needed in language planning and bilingual education, merging dialects into languages also promotes pan-Maya unity by reducing the number of distinct linguistic communities. In this context, Sakapulteko and Sipakapense (both K'ichean languages) have posed difficulties for language planners. Both of these languages have few speakers compared to the other languages of K'ichean proper (K'ichee', Kaqchikel and Tz'utujil). For example, Tzian (1994: 51) estimates 43,439 speakers of Sakapulteko and 6,118 speakers of Sipakapense compared to 1,896,007 for K'ichee', 1,032,128 speakers of Kaqchikel, and 160,907 speakers of Tz'utujil. In addition, the population of Sacapulas is divided between speakers of Sakapulteko and speakers of K'ichee'. Because both languages are spoken in Sacapulas, Sakapulteko speakers are generally able to understand K'ichee'. For example, in Cuz Mucú's (1993) mutual intelligibility study, speakers of Sakapulteko were able to understand 89% of spoken K'ichee'. Because Sakapulteko speakers understand K'ichee' and because the population of Sakapulteko speakers is so small compared to K'ichee', some language planners suggest that Sakapulteko should be treated as a dialect of K'ichee' (see DuBois 1981 for arguments on the status of Sakapulteko as an independent language.

Similarly, many language planners feel that Sipakapense should be treated as a dialect of K'ichee'. However, Sipakapense has not been previously described. Without even a basic description, it would be impossible to determine Sipakapense's status as an independent language or as a dialect of K'ichee'. I chose to work on Sipakapense in the hopes that my research would provide the information necessary to debate and decide whether or not Sipakapense could be considered a dialect of K'ichee'. It is hoped that this grammar will provide Mayanists and language activists with sufficient background on Sipakapense to decide the question. For arguments relevant to the status of Sipakapense as a distinct language, see 1.3 below.

Fieldwork for this grammar was conducted from September 1994 to July 1995 in Sipacapa. The project was overseen by the local *comunidad lingüística*, which provided use of their facilities and assisted me a great deal throughout my stay in Sipacapa. The primary linguistic consultants for this fieldwork were Delfino Felipe Tema Bautista and Vicent López Bámaca. Both speakers were in their late twenties and were active in the linguistic projects of the local branch of the Academy of Mayan Languages of Guatemala. The two speakers are from different dialects, Tres Cruces (Tema) and Chual (López). These two dialects basically represent the basic southern (Tres Cruces) and northern (Chual) distinction in Sipakapense dialects. In addition to elicitations from the speakers, tape texts of

conversations and narratives from speakers of various dialects were collected and analyzed. Sample texts are included at the end of this grammar.

## 1.2 Previous research on Sipakapense

Sipakapense (or Sipacapa) was first reported in Kaufman (1976a) who listed it (along with Sakapulteko and Teko) as one of three previously unreported Mayan languages. Other than Kaufman's initial report, little research has been done on Sipakapense. Robertson (1980) reports some brief fieldwork on Sipakapense and three texts (listed as K'ichee' texts from Sipacapa) were translated and analyzed by Hoiland and published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Townsend 1980). Campbell (1977) presents a few examples in his study of the history of the K'ichean family, but because Campbell treats Sipakapense as a dialect of K'ichee', he does not fully investigate or report on the language. Before Kaufman's report, it had been assumed that the language of Sipacapa was Mam. After Kaufman's report, many linguists and language planners have followed Campbell in assuming Sipakapense a dialect of K'ichee'. However, one early Spanish visitor to Sipacapa, Pedro Cortes y Larraz, listed the language as Kaqchikel. Writing about the parish of Tejutla, he wrote "En esta parroquia se hablan dos idiomas, el general es el mam y en el pueblo de Cipacapa el kacchiquel" In this parish two languages are spoken, the most general is Mam and in the town of Sipacapa (they speak) Kaqchikel. ([1775] 1958, v.2:143, quoted in DuBois 1981:47). Also, a native of Sacapulas in a

sixteenth century document includes “la lengua [de] Sipacapa” in an extensive list of languages of Guatemala (DuBois 1981: 49), thus treating it as a distinct language that is neither K’ichee’ nor Kaqchikel.

### 1.3 Sipakapense and the dialect question

The people of Sipacapa do not feel that they are speakers of K’ichee’ (primarily because they do not understand K’ichee’). Within Sipacapa it is generally felt that any move to make Sipakapense a dialect of K’ichee’ would be detrimental to the local community. Such a merger would probably lead to a program of Spanish/K’ichee’ bilingual education in Sipacapa. For speakers of Sipakapense, this would lead to a situation where children would enter schools taught in two languages, both of which are unintelligible to Sipakapense-speaking children<sup>2</sup>. Another argument against treating Sipakapense as a dialect of K’ichee’ is that the two languages are quite distinct from each other (more distinct than Kaqchikel and Tz’utujil). For example, the word order in Sipakapense is primarily VSO for sentences that would be VOS in all other K’ichean languages. Thus, a K’ichee’ sentence meaning “Mary saw John” would be interpreted as “John saw Mary” by speakers of Sipakapense. Also, because of extensive vowel dropping and borrowings from Mam, much of the Sipakapense vocabulary differs a great deal from other K’ichean languages. In a study of mutual intelligibility between Mayan

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<sup>2</sup> Most adult Sipakapense speakers are bilingual in Spanish.

languages of particular families, Cuz Mucú found that Sipakapense was the least intelligible for speakers of other K'ichean languages. The highest amounts of intelligibility for Sipakapense were found when the language was compared with Tz'utujil and K'ichee' and even the intelligibility with these languages is only at 33%. The full results of Cuz Mucú's study are shown below.

Lang. of listener	Language of speaker and level of mutual intelligibility in %						average
	K'ichee'	Kaqchik	Achi	Sakapult	Sipak	Tz'ut	
K'ichee'	--	67%	67%	78%	17%	25%	58.8
Kaqchik	84%	--	33%	50%	25%	33%	44.8
Achi	72%	17%	--	12%	25%	20%	29.2
Sakapult	89%	25%	22%	--	33%	25%	38.8
Sipakap	33%	25%	25%	17%	--	33%	26.6
Tz'utujil	75%	67%	17%	25%	33%	--	43.4
average	70.4%	40.2%	32.8%	36.4%	27%	27%	39

Table 1: Mutual intelligibility among speakers and listeners of different K'ichean languages (after Cuz Mucú 1993)

#### 1.4 Sipakapense and the K'ichean family

In his description of Sakapulteko, DuBois (1981) argues for the status of Sipakapense and Sakapulteko as independent languages more closely related to Kaqchikel and Tz'utujil than to K'ichee'. DuBois argues for a Kaqchikelan branch of the K'ichean family which includes Kaqchikel, Tz'utujil, Sakapulteko and Sipakapense. The relationship between Sakapulteko and Sipakapense was recognized by Kaufman in his first report on the language (1976a). Although



Campbell (1977) treats Sipakapense and Sakapulteko as dialects of K'ichee', he does note that Sipakapense and Sakapulteko share many of the same characteristics, including the use of the past perfect participle *+maj*, the positional versive suffix *+b'*, the 3 person possessive *+r*, and a sound change from proto-Mayan *\*h* to *y*. What Campbell does not note, however, is that all but one of these shared features (the use of *+maj* as the past perfect participle) are also shared by Kaqchikel and Tz'utujil. These shared features are the basis of DuBois' (1981) Kaqchikelan subgrouping, which places Sipakapense and Sakapulteko closer to Kaqchikel and Tz'utujil than to K'ichee'. The most telling evidence for the Kaqchikelan subgrouping is perhaps the shared sound change from *\*h* to *y*. The table below shows examples of reflexes of proto-K'ichean *\*h*.

K'ichee'	Kaqchikel	Tz'utujil	Sakapulteko	Sipakapense	gloss
b'aah	b'aay	b'aay	b'aay	b'aay	gopher
ha?	ya?	ya?	ya?	ya?	water
nahb'eeh	nab'eeey	nahb'eeey	nab'eeey	naab'eeey	first
tfooh	tfooy	tfooy	tfooy	tfooy	mouse

Table 2: Proto-K'ichean *\*h* > *y* in Kaqchikelan

Accepting DuBois' Kaqchikelan hypothesis, the position of Sipakapense in Eastern Mayan is as shown in the tree below:

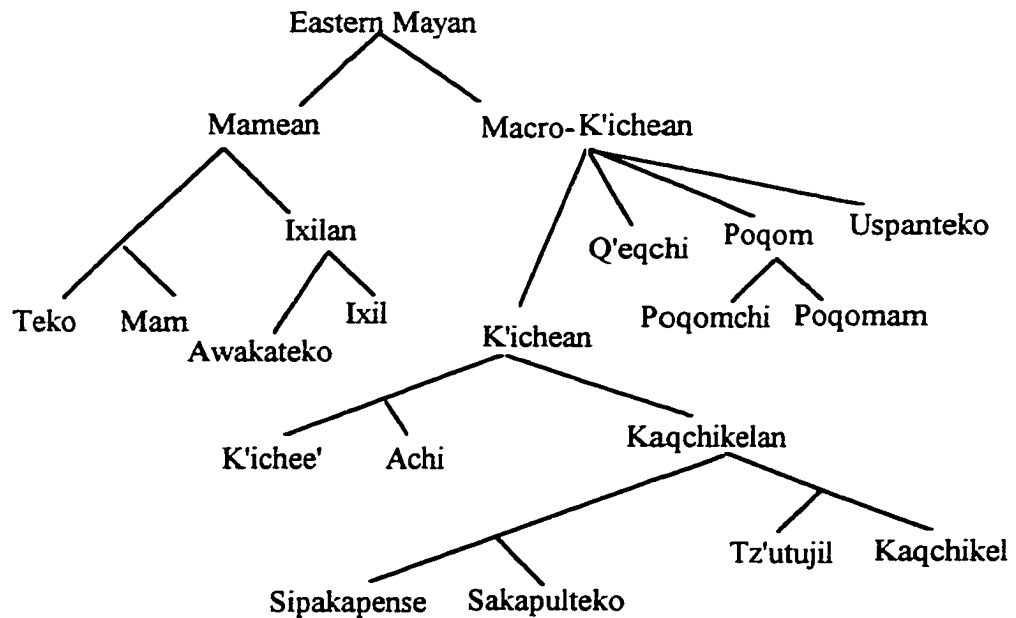


Figure 1: Genetic relationships in Eastern Mayan

This tree follows Kaufman (1974) with revisions from DuBois (1981). It should be noted that Robertson (1992, 123) argues for a different classification for Mamean, suggesting that Awakateko is closer to Mam and Teko than to Ixil. As Robertson's claim is based solely on the structures of the verbal complex in these languages, I have retained Kaufman's classification for the time being. Also, there are arguments for classifying K'ichee' and Achi as a single language (Sis Iboy and López Ixcoy 1992). Similarly it has been argued that Poqomchi and Poqomam be classified as a single language (Benito Perez 1992).

The Kaqchikelan languages were most likely separated into Sipakapense-Sakapulteko and Tz'utujil-Kaqchikel by the westward expansion of the K'ichee' (see

DuBois 1981: 84-6). This movement would have separated northern Kaqchikelan (Sipakapense-Sakapulteko) from southern Kaqchikelan (Kaqchikel-Tz'utujil). According to Sipakapense oral history (Ambrosio Zacinto 1995), the Sipakapense and Sakapultekos were originally a single people, living in the area of present day Sacapulas, with the Sipakapense occupying Saquil, just to the southeast of Sacapulas. Several hundred years before the conquest, the Sipakapense were forced to leave Saquil because of land disputes and moved into the Mam region to their current home. After fighting a battle against the Mames at what is now Pueblo Viejo, the Sipakapense remained in their current location. Later, during the 14th century, the K'ichee' ruler K'iq'ab' (Q'uik'ab'), moved westward, conquering the Mam capital of Saqulew (Zaculeu).<sup>3</sup> During this period, the Sipakapense were surrounded by Mam speakers, but dominated by speakers of K'ichee'. Even after the K'ichee' left the Mam region, the K'ichee' region and the Sipakapense area shared a border up until fairly recently, when this area became primarily Spanish speaking (Cojti et al. 1992). After the conquest, Spanish also began to infiltrate into the Sipacapa area, so that today the vast majority of speakers are bilingual in Spanish and Sipakapense.

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<sup>3</sup> Carmack 1981, 135-37) discusses this campaign. The original manuscript sources include Recinos 1984 (1957), 140 ff, and the Popul Vuh (e.g. Tedlock 1985, 213-6).

### 1.5 Sipakapense contact with Mam

After splitting off from Sakapulteko, Sipakapense began a period of intense contact with Mam. This contact continues today and is currently increasing due to the influx of Mam speakers into the Sipakapense region. The effect of Sipakapense contact with Mam is a case of language maintenance with moderate to heavy structural borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988), as Mam influences can be found at all levels of Sipakapense grammar.

Sipakapense contains numerous lexical borrowings from Mam which do not occur in Sakapulteko (or any other K'ichean language). Some examples are given in table 3 below, with corresponding examples from Kaqchikel for comparison with K'ichean.

<u>Sipakapense</u>	<u>Mam</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>Kaqchikel</u>
yol	yoolat	to speak, converse	tziχ
wiʔtoon	wiʔtan	cypress tree	k'isis
muuχ	muuχ	cloud	suts'
puʔt	puʔt	butterfly (Sip) moth (Mam)	malaʃ, palamaʃ

Table 3: Some borrowings from Mam into Sipakapense<sup>4</sup>

Contact with Mam has also influenced the phonology of Sipakapense. In Mam, short unstressed vowels are usually dropped before a stressed vowel (cf. England 1983,

43-4). Sipakapense has adopted this process of dropping vowels before stress (which generally falls on the last syllable of a word). Thus, many root vowels drop or surface depending on morphology:

- |                 |   |  |           |
|-----------------|---|--|-----------|
| 1: Sipakapense: | iʃíim "corn"<br>1sERG+corn                        | w+ʃim                                    | "my corn" |
| 2:              | ʃt+ø+in+b'án<br>COM+3sABS+1sERG+do<br>"I did it." | tʃt+ø+a+b'n+áʔ<br>OPT+3sABS+2sERG+do+OPT | "Do it."  |

Primarily due to differences in morphological structure, vowel dropping in Sipakapense produces series of up to six consecutive consonants (compared with only four in Mam):

- |                 |   |  |
|-----------------|---|--|
| 3: Sipakapense: | ʃtqpʃox<br>ʃt+ø+q+poʃ<br>FUT+3sABS+1pERG+shatter<br>We are going to shatter it. | ʃtqsb'χax<br>ʃt+ø+q+sb'χax<br>FUT+3sABS+1pERG+whack<br>We are going to whack him/her/it. |
|-----------------|---|--|

Contact with Mam has also affected Sipakapense syntax. England (1991) has reconstructed Proto-Mayan word order as VOS, with VSO allowed for certain marked objects. The majority of Mamean languages (all but the Cotzal dialect of Ixil) have a fixed VSO word order. The spread of VSO word order in Mamean is part of a local diffusion of a variety of linguistic features, including a series of retroflex consonants and the use of noun classifiers (England 1992: 45-57).

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<sup>4</sup> Mam data from Maldonado et al. 1986. Kaqchikel from Rodríguez Guaján et al

Although Sipakapense is located in the area of this diffusion, the only of these features found in Sipakapense is the change to VSO word order, which is incomplete (for details on Sipakapense word order, see 4.4 below).

## 2.0 Phonology

### 2.1 Phonemes, minimal pairs, and articulation

#### 2.1.1 Phonemic inventory

The phonemic inventory of Sipakapense is as follows:

#### OBSTRUENTS

stops	p	t	k	q	ʔ
glottalized stops	b'	t'	k'	q'	
affricates		ts	tʃ		
glottalized affricates		ts'	tʃ'		
fricatives		s	ʃ	χ	

#### SONORANTS

nasals	m	n		
lateral		l		
central trill		r		
glides			y	w

VOWELS	short		long	
	front	back	front	back
high	i	u	ii	uu
mid	e	o	ee	oo
low		a		aa

This inventory differs from those of Kaufman (1976b) and the official Mayan alphabet for Sipakapense (cf OKMA 1993) in that it does not include a palatal stop. As shown below (2.3.6) palatalization is a regular phonological process, with [kʲ] (or [cʲ] in some dialects) being an allophone of /k/. Throughout the remainder of this work the implosive bilabial will be transcribed as b', to maintain consistency with the rest of the glottal series.

### 2.1.2 Minimal pairs

Examples of minimal pairs are given below. There are no examples of contrast between presence and absence of initial glottal stop (see 2.3.7 below).

a ≠ o	aχ	"ear of corn (elote)"	oχ	"us"
a ≠ i	al	"heavy"	il	"offense, crime"
a ≠ u	qal	"negative marker"	qul	"neck"
a ≠ e	ak'	"chicken"	ek'	"bromeliad"
e ≠ i	tʃik	"again, another" (clitic)	tʃek	"work" (noun or verb)
e ≠ u	nχul	"my cave"	nχel	"all"
e ≠ o	reʃ	"green"	roʃ	"pink" (<Sp "rosa")
o ≠ i	kotʃ	"borrowed thing"	kitʃ	"torn fabric"
o ≠ u	pu't	"butterfly"	po't	"huipil" (blouse)
u ≠ i	sub'	"tamalito" (small unfilled tamale)	sib'	"smoke"



aa ≠ ee ≠ uu ≠ oo ≠ ii	kaaχ “sky” kooχ “lion” kiiχ “their backs (or behind them)”	kuuχ “their necklaces” keeχ “horse”
a ≠ aa	tfaaχ “ashes”	tfaχ “pine”
ii ≠ i	k’iiʃ “thorn”	k’iʃ “shame”
oo ≠ o	ooχ “avocado”	oχ “us”
u ≠ uu	pus “pus” (<Spanish)	puus “mold”
ee ≠ e	k’eʃ “pain”	k’eeʃ “collateral”
VV ≠ V’	ʃa’n “mosquito” mu’χ “shade” ke’m “mill, grinder”	ʃaan “adobe” muuχ “cloud” keem “weaving”
b’ ≠ p ≠ tʃ	b’ek “to go (verb root)” tʃek “work”	pek “boulder”
p ≠ t	poχ “matter”	toχ “to pay (verb root)”
p ≠ k	pook’ “worm that eats corn”	kook’ “fine” (ground things)
p ≠ q	qoom “marimba”	poom “copal”
t ≠ k	kaʔ “grinding stone” (metate)	taʔ “Don (title)”
k ≠ χ ≠ q ≠ k’	kooχ “lion” qooχ “our avocados”	χooχ “crow” k’ooχ “mask”
t ≠ t’ ≠ ts ≠ ts’	t’uq “gallina culeca” tsuq “maintain”	tuq “overhanging fabric edge” ts’uq “noise squirrels make”
t ≠ tʃ	tik “to plant”	tʃik “another, again”

t' ≠ tʃ'	t'iw	"eagle"	tʃ'iw	"the sound of chicks"	
k' ≠ q'	k'eq	"flea"	q'eq	"black"	
k ≠ k'	kuuk	"squirrel"	kuuk'	"with them"	
q ≠ q'	q'aχ	"crack (n), broken"	qaχ	"to lower"	
t ≠ y	tol	"cockroach"	yol	"to speak"	
t ≠ l	tel	"opener"	lel	"the taste of something that isn't ripe yet"	
t ≠ r	tiʔ	"cooked meat (for eating)"	riʔ	"this"	
b' ≠ t'	b'aaq	"bone"	t'aaq	"wet (of fabric)"	
b' ≠ k'	b'iiʃ	"song"	k'iiʃ	"thorn"	
b' ≠ q'	b'iiχ	"to say"	q'iiχ	"day, sun"	
t' ≠ k'	k'oot	"stative negative"	t'oot'	"snail"	
t' ≠ q'	t'iq	"to light (a fire)"	q'eq	"black"	
ʃ ≠ s ≠ tʃ	l ≠ t	saq	"white"	ʃaq	"leaf"
		laq	"plate"	tʃaq	"excrement"
		taq	"when"		
S ≠ tʃ'	tʃ'a'n	"plucked chicken"	ʃa'n	"mosquito"	
tʃ ≠ tʃ' ≠ ts'	tʃul	"to urinate" (root - transitive)	tʃ'ul	"dirty face"	
	ts'ul	"to hug" (root)			
tʃ' ≠ ts	tʃ'maay	"huisquil" (chayote squash)	tsmaay	"jicara"	
t ≠ ts	tʃaaχ	"to put out (a fire)"	tʃaaχ	"ashes"	

q ≠ χ	qal	“negative marker”	χal	“ear of corn” (mazorca)
q' ≠ χ	χool	“to scold”	q'ool	“ocote resin”
y ≠ w	wo'q	“to eat”	yo'q	“to give”
l ≠ r ≠ w	aʔ	“that”	raʔ	“his/her leg”
	waʔ	“my leg”		
ʃ ≠ y ≠ χ ≠ q'	ʃab'	“comb”	yab'	“sick (adj)/illness”
	χab'	“rain”	q'ab'	“hand”
ʃ ≠ w ≠ r	ʃiik	“hawk”	wiik	“my pepper”
	riik	“his/her pepper”		
s ≠ r ≠ w	saak'	“crayfish”	waak'	“my chicken”
	raak'	“his/her chicken”		
s ≠ y	k'i iy	“much, many”	k'i is	“to end”
s ≠ ts	tsuk'	“very hard, rigid”	suk'	“straight, upright”
s ≠ ts'	stux	“to spin” (transitive)	ts'tux	“flower of corn plant”
s ≠ tʃ	uutʃ	“raccoon”	us	“fly”
s ≠ t'	siis	“a parasite that lives on chickens”	t'iis	“to sew”
s ≠ k	kiib'	“them (reflexive marker)”	siib'	“smoke”
k ≠ tʃ	kiʔ	“sweet”	tʃiʔ	“mouth”
k' ≠ tʃ'	k'ooy	“monkey”	tʃ'ooy	“mouse, rat”
k ≠ ts	tsiix	“word”	kiiχ	“their backs”
k' ≠ ts'	ts'iil	“dirt”	k'iil	“toasted grains”

k ≠ w	wetʃ	“mine, of me”	ketʃ	“theirs, of them”
p ≠ m	pom	“inside”	mom	“male (adj), big”
b' ≠ w	wotʃ'	“to crush, mash”	botʃ'	“vien”
p ≠ w	piʃ	“callous”	wiʃ	“cat”
r ≠ χ ≠ q	ral	“his/her son”	χal	“ear of corn” (mazorca)
	qal	“negative marker”		
b' ≠ m	wiim	“my chest”	wiib'	“me, myself (reflexive)”
n ≠ m	mutʃ'	“mound (of things)”	nutʃ'	“small”
n ≠ w	waχ	“to hide, conceal”	naχ	“far”
n ≠ l	il	“offense, crime”	in	“I” (1st singular pronoun)
n ≠ r ≠ s	nuk'	“to join”	ruk'	“with him/her”
	suk'	“straight, upright”		
n ≠ t ≠ y	naaʔ	“to feel”	taaʔ	“to hear”
	yaaʔ	“to give”		
χ ≠ ʔ	χoʔ	“let's go”	χooχ	“crow”
	tooʔ	“to help”	toχ	“to pay”
q ≠ ʔ	laq	“plate”	laʔ	“this” (demonstrative)
q' ≠ ʔ	waq'	“my tongue”	waʔ	“my leg”
n ≠ t'	niq	“sound a pig makes”	t'iq	“to light (a fire)”
s ≠ χ	koos	“to tire”	kooχ	“lion”

### 2.1.3 Details of articulation

Substitutions between short tense and lax vowels (i.e. +/- ATR) are common in K'ichean languages. For example, in Kaqchikel and in the coastal and Chichicastenango dialects of K'ichee', Proto-K'ichean short tense vowels have been replaced by their lax counterparts (cf OKMA 1993, 62-3). Although distinctions between short and long vowels are primarily dependent on relative duration, the tense short vowels are in free variation with their lax counterparts. Thus, short vowels may be lax, while long vowels are always tense. The short tense variants dominate, although there are a few lexicalized exceptions which almost always occur with a lax vowel rather than a short tense vowel. Examples include /wɪʃ/ "cat" and /lɛχ/ "tortilla" (UMA<sup>1</sup> = "wix", "lej"). As such cases are relatively rare and as the short tense variants are far more common, the short tense variants will be used in transcriptions throughout this work.

In Sipakapense, strings of up to six consonants may occur in syllable onsets. Back stops ([k] and [q]) which occur before other stops or word-finally are pronounced with a slight affrication. Thus /k/ is pronounced as [kx] before another stop. Note, however, that these stops do not become full fricatives. For example, uvular stop [q] is clearly distinguished from a uvular fricative [χ], even when preceding another stop consonant. In addition, [k] and [q] are phonetically affricate word finally. Finally, [r] is generally produced as a trill, except word-initially, where it is usually a flap.

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<sup>1</sup> UMA refers to the Unified Mayan Alphabet adopted by the Academy of Mayan Languages of Guatemala.

## 2.2 Syllable structure and phonotactics

### 2.2.1 The syllabic template, minimal word and vowel dropping

As in other Mayan languages, the majority of roots in Sipakapense have the form CV(V)C or CVV. The possible syllables in Sipakapense are (C)CV, (C)CVV, (C)CVC, (C)CVVC, (C)CV?, (C)CVV?, (C)CV?C. Light (C)CV syllables do not occur word-finally (except for a single word *achi* “man”). Coda clusters are extremely rare. Other than *b'aalm* “jaguar”, all examples of coda clusters are loan words from Spanish. The only acceptable coda cluster is ?C and syllables of the form (C)CV?C are quite common (although (C)CVV?C and (C)CV(V)C? do not occur).

1:	ke?q	plural marker	qa?l	“sheets (bed clothes)”
	ʃpa?k	“hoof”	kmi?ʃ	“shirt” (Sp. “camisa”)

Onsets in roots and stems may consist of clusters of up to two consonants. Word-internal syllables may have onsets of up to two consonants restricted only in that geminates are prohibited and that the first of the two consonants may not be glottal stop. In terms of sonority, the combination of consonants is fairly free, as shown by the following examples:

#### 2: Initial CC clusters:

stop-stop	k'tul b'eyy “guide”	tkon “blackberry”
stop-fricative	t'sil re “tailor”	kχib' “four”
stop-liquid	tlul “zapote (fruit)”	proχlb'al “kiln”
stop-nasal	k'mol tʃ'iit ʃ' “bus driver”	b'nol χay “construction worker”
stop-glide	k'yel re “seller”	

affricate-stop	ts'kin "bird"	tSkop "animal"
affricate-nasal	ts'nun "hummingbird"	
affricate-glide	tʃwaq "tomorrow"	
fricative-stop	χme't "bark"	χb'ul re "shaker"
fricative-fricative	sχiʔl "coyote"	
fricative-glottal	χʔooχ "five"	sʔaaq "clothes"
fricative-glide	χyub' "highlands"	χruχ "how many"
fricative-liquid	χlom "head"	
nasal-nasal	nmaaɣ "big"	
nasal-affricate	mtʃ'iit ʃ "live oak"	mtʃuχ "pile of things cut into pieces"
nasal-fricative	mʃuʔʃ "belly button"	
nasal-liquid	mlaχ "large pile"	
liquid-stop	lq'el re "licker"	rkal re "scratcher"
glide-liquid	wrom "sleepiness"	
glide-nasal	wnaq "person"	
glide-affricate	wts'ol re "one who grills"	yts'al re "squeezer"
glide-stop	yt'ulb'al "seat"	ykal re "thing that lifts"

Onsets are obligatory in Sipakapense syllables and stem-initial vowels are always produced with an word-initial glottal stop:

3:	ʔats'om	"salt"	(root = ats'om)
	ʔaχow	"lord, father"	(root = aχow)
	ʔuleew	"land"	(root = uleew)

Glottal stop may also occur in onset clusters, but it only occurs as the final member of a cluster as in *sʔaaq* "clothing" (i.e. \*# ʔC) . Consonants followed by a glottal stop are distinct from glottalized consonants as seen in the near minimal pair *kʔaam* "their spider" (k = 3pp possessive, aam = spider): *k'am* "to be taken, transported".

In addition to CC onset clusters, an additional *f* or *s* may occur word-initially. Although these CCC clusters are acceptable word-initially, they do not occur word-internally and there are no word-internal CCCC clusters.

4:	ʃpleey	"yellow bean"
	ʃklob'	"intestines"
	ʃklet	"tadpole with limbs (i.e. a young frog)"
	sktol	"twisted" (< root /skot/)

Geminate consonants are not allowed within roots and stems. If suffixation places two like consonants together, only one will occur in the surface form:

5:	ts'iib'	"to write"
	+b'al	instrumental nominalizing suffix
	ts'iib'al	"pencil" (*ts'iib'b'al)

The minimal (phonological) word in Sipakapense consists of a bimoraic foot. That is, either a heavy syllable (i.e. one with a final coda consonant or long final vowel) or two short syllables. The latter (bisyllabic roots with final light syllables) are quite rare. The Sipakapense root *achi* "man," is one example.<sup>2</sup> There are no roots consisting of only a single light syllable (i.e. degenerate feet do not occur). Although there are several particles that consist of only a single light syllable, they do not occur in isolation and merge with other particles or stems to form a larger phonological word (see 3.0.1 below).

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<sup>2</sup>DuBois (1985) has argued that final light syllables were acceptable (although rare) in Proto-Mayan (and Proto-K'ichean). DuBois' argument is based in part on the fact that in Sakapulteko, reflexes of what might be considered Proto-K'ichean final light syllables take a final enigma consonant to produce a heavy syllable.



Short unstressed vowels are generally dropped when they occur before the stressed vowel of a root. Stress occurs on the final syllable of a word (see 2.4 below). The process of vowel dropping is due to contact with Mam (see 1.5 above). Vowel dropping always occurs as long as the resulting string creates a syllable that is acceptable according to the structure discussed above. There are numerous instances in which a vowel may surface or be dropped according to morphology<sup>3</sup>. That is, suffixation often adds a stressed vowel to a root, causing the root vowel to drop.

6:	ʃ+ø+k'is	"finished (trans)"	tʃ+ø+a+k's+aʔ	"finish it"
	COM+3sABS/3sERG+finish		OPT+3sABS+2sERB+finish+OPT	

In keeping with the prohibition on initial ?C sequences, vowels are never dropped from an initial position. Initial vowels are, however, dropped when following possessive prefixes (in polysyllabic roots):

7:	ʔatz'om	"salt"	wtz'om	"my salt"
	ʔaxow	"lord, father"	wxow	"my father"
	ʔuleew	"land"	rlew	"his land"

In addition to not dropping word-initially, vowel dropping in Sipakapense is constrained in other ways. These constraints do not hold to full words with extensive prefixing (see below), but are valid for roots and stems and all forms of suffixation. In addition to the two onset consonants allowed word internally, an optional appendix of s or ʃ is allowed word-initially (or root initially for words with

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<sup>3</sup>Details concerning the behavior of specific morphemes with regard to vowel dropping will be discussed with each morpheme class in the following chapter.

prefixation). Finally, geminates are not allowed. The unstressed vowel is never dropped when the resulting syllable would violate these constraints on syllable structure. Thus, vowels are maintained if the resulting root would have an initial CCC cluster, except in cases in which such a cluster would begin with  $\text{ʃ}$  or  $\text{s}$  as in the following examples:

8:	$\text{ʃpleey}$	"yellow bean"
	$\text{ʃklob'}$	"intestines"
	$\text{ʃklet}$	"tadpole with limbs (i.e. a young frog)"
	$\text{sktol}$	"twisted" (< root /skot/)

The process of vowel dropping does not occur if the resulting string would have three consecutive consonants (unless the first is  $\text{s}$  or  $\text{ʃ}$ ). Below are some examples of roots in which a vowel is maintained, preventing a CCC cluster:

9:	$\text{ʃkaypáʃ}$	"lightning" (* $\text{ʃkypaʃ}$ )
	$\text{ʃq'axlob'}$	"friend" (* $\text{ʃq'χlob'}$ )
	$\text{tʃoq'b'il}$	"raccoon" (* $\text{tʃqb'il}$ )
	$\text{q'aʔtsuy}$	"toadstool" <sup>4</sup> (* $\text{q'ʔtsuy}$ )

Clusters of four consonants are universally prohibited for roots (even when beginning with  $\text{ʃ}$ ) as evidenced by forms like  $\text{ʃkaypaʔ}$  "lightning" or  $\text{ʃq'axlob'}$  "friend"<sup>5</sup>. This makes sense, of course, since a cluster of 3 consonants without the  $\text{ʃ}$  would also be ruled out anyway.

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<sup>4</sup>This form, of course, cannot drop the vowel without also violating the constraint against /C in onset clusters.

<sup>5</sup>Although the *ob'* in this word is the historical reflex of the +/b' K'ichean plural suffix, it is not a plural marker in this word. The plural suffix has been lost in Sipakapense (see 3.1.4 below). In this case, the K'ichean plural form has been reanalyzed as the root (which is unmarked for plurality).

As geminates are not allowed, vowel dropping does not occur if the resulting string would produce a geminate cluster:

- 10: seseb' "liver" (\*sseb')  
 wiχixik "to neigh" (\*wiχχik)

The process of vowel dropping (and the constraints on vowel dropping) applies both within roots and across phonological words. For example, when a preposition precedes a stem, the vowel is dropped unless the resulting string would not meet the constraints on syllable structure. This holds for both the preposition *tʃi/tʃu* and with the preposition *pi* (see 4.3 below on prepositional phrases):

*tʃi/tʃu* "at, to, for" (*tʃi* and *tʃu* are dialectal variants of the same word)

- 11: mu ʃkiʃb'ek tʃwaq tʃχay Are you going to the house tomorrow?  
 mu ʃk+iʃ+b'e+k tʃwaq [tʃu+[χay]stem]phon.wd.  
 INT FUT+2pABS+go+PFM tomorrow PREP+house
- 12: qaqtʃe k'uʔl tʃpom, tʃaʃ They say there was nothing inside it.  
 qaqtʃe k'o ul [tʃu+[pom]stem]phon.wd. tʃaʃ  
 nothing exist+DIR(toward here) PREP+insides, say
- 13: qk'amik wu χal tʃu qtʃetʃ  
 ø+ø+q+k'am+ik wu χal [tʃu [q+tʃetʃ]stem]phon.wd.  
 PERF+3sABS+1pERG+carry+PFM DET ear of corn PREP 1pPOS+house  
 We carry the ears of corn to our houses.
- 14: kiib'ek tʃi tq'aχ They are going to the coast  
 k+ii+b'e+k [tʃi [tq'aχ]stem]phon.wd.  
 INC+3pABS+go+PFM PREP coast

- 15: ...ri imul tʃa' tʃu sɣiʔl... ...the rabbit said to the coyote  
 ...ri imul tʃa' [tʃu [sɣiʔl]stem]phon.wd...  
 DET rabbit say PREP coyote

pi/pu “in, at”

- 16: tʃe tab'na? k'a p̄tinmit “What are you going to do in town, then?”  
 tʃe t+ø+a+b'an+a? k'a [pi+[tinmit]stem]phon.wd.  
 what DUB+3sABS+2sERG+do+MOD then PREP(in)+town
- 17: roq' k'oo p̄k'eyb'al. “Roq' is in the market”  
 roq' k'oo [pi+[k'ey+b'al]stem]phon.wd.  
 Roq' exist PREP(in)+sell+LOC

Vowel maintained:

- 18: Ya tʃa'n pi qyolb'al “He already speaks our language”  
 ya ø+tʃa'+n [pi [q+yol+b'al]stem]phon.wd.  
 already 3sABS+say+AAP PREP(in)+1pPOS+speak+LOC
- 19: p̄inʃkin “my earrings” /pi+n+ʃkin/=in+1sPOS+ears

In full words with prefixation, the process of vowel dropping does not apply. In addition, none of the previously mentioned constraints on syllable structure hold for tense/mode/aspect prefixes and person marking prefixes (absolute and ergative prefixes on verbs and possessive prefixes on nouns). Rather, these prefixes do not undergo any phonological changes and strings of prefixes are allowed to violate all of the previously mentioned constraints on syllable structure. The verb template of Sipakapense is as follows:

20: tense/aspect-absolutive-(movement)-ergative-[ROOT-(Stem derivation)]<sub>stem</sub>-(VOICE)-(MODE)-(phrase marker) (directional clitics) (other clitics)

The prefixes that are not affected by vowel dropping are as follows:

21: Tense/mode/aspect prefixes:

ø+	perfective
ʃ+	completive
k+	incompletive
k+/t+	dubative/dislocative (t+ before 3s)
χ+	optative/imperative with movement
k+/tʃ+	optative/imperative (tʃ+ before 3s)
ʃk+/ʃt+	future (ʃt+ before 3s)
mik+/mit+	proximate past (mit+ before 3s)
miʃ+	past completive
mVʔ+	negative potential/negative imperative

22: Absolutive markers:

in-	1 singular
at-	2 singular
ø-	3 singular
uχ-	1 plural
iʃ-	2 plural/formal
iʔ-, ii	3 plural

23: Ergative markers:

__C	__V	person
in-	inw-	1 singular
a-	aw-	2 singular
r-	r-	3 singular
q-	q-	1 plural
i-	iw-	2 plural/formal
k-	k-	3 plural

24: Possessive pronouns (=ergative)

__C	__V	person
n-	w-	1 singular
a-	aw-	2 singular
r-	r-	3 singular
q-	q-	1 plural
i-	iw-	2 plural/formal
k-	k-	3 plural

For example, with possessive prefixes on nouns, initial CCC clusters are allowed.

25: q+tʃnoχ 1p+milpa	"our milpa"	(root = /tʃnooχ/ "milpa")
n+knaq' 1p+beans	"my beans"	(root = /knaq'/ "beans")
r+mʃuʔʃ 3s+belly button	"his belly button"	(root = /mʃuʔʃ/ "belly button")

In verb forms, where more prefixing occurs, fairly long sequences (up to six) of consonants may occur as long as all of the consonants are tense/aspect/mode or person-marking prefixes:

- 26:    ʃtqpfɔχ       ʃt+ø+k+pʃɔχ  
                           FUT+3sABS+3pERG+shatter  
                           They are going to shatter it.
- 27:    ʃtqsb'χaχ     ʃt+ø+q+sb'χaχ  
                           FUT+3sABS+1pERG+whack  
                           We are going to whack him/her/it.
- 28:    tkk'is        They will (probably) finish it.  
                           t+ø+k+k'is  
                           DUB+3sABS+3pERG+finish

In other K'ichean languages these prefixes either contain vowels or do not produce series of consonants due to epenthesis.

In addition to allowing consonant clusters not found within roots or stems, these prefixes violate the constraint against geminate consonants. Within stems and with suffixation, geminate consonants do not occur. With person-marking or tense-mood-aspect prefixes on verbs and with possessive prefixes on nouns, however, geminate consonants are quite common, especially word-initially. These word-initial geminates are produced either as a single articulation of extended duration (compared to non-geminates) or as two distinct articulation separated by a short voiceless schwa.

- 29: r+ref+al "It's ripeness" (also "greenness")  
3ps+ripe/green+NOM
- 30: ʃ+ø+ʃim "He/she tied it (up)"  
COM+3sABS/3sERG+tie
- 31: k+ø+k+ts'ul+iix "They hug him/her"  
INC+3sABS/3pERG+hug+DRV

Thus, these prefixes do not follow the regular phonotactic constraints found in stems and with suffixation. These prefixes are immune to the basic phonology that affects fully inflected stems and phonological words. Because the process of vowel dropping occurs across phonological words, its domain includes these prefixes. However, these prefixes are not at all influenced by the phonology that affects other parts of any given string. In addition, as in K'ichee' (cf. Barrett 1993), the final person-marking prefix on verbs is a common position for phrasal pausing (in cases where the prefixes contain a vowel). Also, the only phonological process referring to syllable structure (syllable-final resonant devoicing, 2.3.2 below) does not occur in these strings of prefixes.

### 2.2.2 Segmental constraints on root shapes

In his analysis of Yukatek phonology, Straight (1976) proposes four constraints on the shape of CVC roots. Because these constraints have been used in arguments concerning phonological theory (e.g. McCarthy 1989), their relationship to root shapes in Sipakapense is worth noting.

The first constraint is that "if both consonants in the root are ejectives (p', t', ts', tʃ', k'), then they must be identical in every other respect." (Straight 1976, 49) In



Sipakapense, this constraint is true for voiceless (ejective) consonants, but not for the voiced implosive *b'*, as there are many cases in which *b'* occurs with another glottal consonant: *q'ab'*, "hand, arm"; *ch'ob'*, "moment, hour"; *k'eb'*, "two", etc.<sup>6</sup>

Another of Straight's constraints states that "...if both consonants are nonejective nonsonorant fricatives [or affricate] (s, ts, ʃ, tʃ) then they must be identical." (1976: 49) This constraint would hold for Sipakapense so long as the uvular fricative (*χ*) was excluded from the set of relevant fricatives. There are numerous roots in which *χ* occurs with another fricative or affricate: *tʃaaχ*, "ashes"; *tsiiχ*, "word", etc.

The other constraints do not seem to hold for Sipakapense. One states that "if both consonants in the root are occlusive obstruents, but only one is an ejective then the two must differ either in place of articulation...or in abruptness of offset ([fricative])." (1976: 49) (cf. *kook'* "fine" (of ground things)). The other states: A) If the final consonant is a velar (rounded) semivowel (w), then the vowel in the root must be unrounded (i, e, a) and B) If the final consonant is a palatal (high front) semivowel (y), then the vowel must not be the high front vowel (i). There are numerous examples contradicting this constraint for Sipakapense: *miiy*, "today (before now)"; *ksiy*, "skunk" (historically bisyllabic); *kow*, "hard"; *tʃuw*, "smelly, rotten", etc.

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<sup>6</sup>In his discussion of this constraint for Mayan in general, McCarthy (1989: 81) disregards forms such as these, arguing that *b'* seems to be derived. He offers no explanation as to what they might be derived from, however. Their presence seems quite normal in terms of typologies of glottal series (cf Greenberg 1970) and they are historically derived from Proto-Mayan \**b'* (Campbell 1973).

## 2.3 Segmental rules

### 2.3.1 Place assimilation of n

When an alveolar nasal consonant /n/ follows a vowel, it assimilates in place to a following obstruent. As this is a restriction on codas (the coda condition), the alternation does not occur word initially, as shown in 3) below.

32:            [+nasal] --> [α place]/ V\_\_[α place]

33:    /ʃ+in+ø+b'an/            [ʃ+im+b'an]  
      past+1sA+3sE+do        "I did (it)"

34:    /ʃ+in+ø+kaʔiχ/            [ʃ+iN+ø+kaʔiχ]  
      past+1sA+3sE+"watch"    "I watched it"

35:    /n+keex/                    [n+kʲeex]  
      1sA+"horse"                "my horse"

### 2.3.2 Syllable-final resonant devoicing

Non-nasal sonorants (r, l, y, and w) are devoiced syllable finally. While this process occurs in all K'ichean languages, it is typically described as devoicing in the environment before a consonant or at the end of a word rather than syllable finally (cf. DuBois 1981, 105; Dayley 1985, 20)<sup>7</sup>. However, all examples given for other

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<sup>7</sup>Note that in Tz'utujil the process has been extended to include nasal consonants as well (Dayley 1985, 21). DuBois (1981, 105) transcribes the voiceless resonants as a sequence of voiced resonant plus a corresponding voiceless consonant (eg. apical [s] after /r/ or a palatal fricative after /y/). I assume that DuBois' transcriptions depict the expected phonetic outcome of a phonological process of devoicing with a partially-voiced transition period followed by a voiceless version of a particular resonant.

languages occur in syllable codas as this is the only environment in which resonants occur before another consonant. In Sipakapense, however, syllable onsets may be quite complex (see 2.2 above) allowing for instances in which resonants occur before other consonants in onset positions.<sup>8</sup> As the process of resonant devoicing does not occur before consonants in onsets, describing the environment as {\_C, \_#} would give the wrong result for resonants in a string of onset consonants. In addition, non-final coda resonants do not devoice, as in *b'aalm* "jaguar" (\**b'aal̥m*) or *klawf* "keys" (from Spanish, "clavo") (\**klaw̥f*). Thus, the process must refer to directly syllable structure.

36: [+sonorant, -nasal] --> [-voice]/ \_\_\_<sub>σ</sub>

/winq+il/ "person"+noun suffix	[winq̥il]	"body"
/imul/	[imul]	"rabbit"
/k'ey+b'al/ to sell+locative	[k'eyb'al]	"plaza, marketplace"
/tukr/	[tukr̥]	"owl"
/kar/	[kar̥]	"fish"
/χey/	[χey]	"tail" (UMA = "jey")
/ub'oy/	[ub'oy]	"armadillo"

<sup>8</sup> DuBois (1985, 108-9) notes that the process of resonant devoicing does not apply to resonants that are preconsonantal due to the vowel loss. DuBois attributes the lack of devoicing to the fact that these resonants are syllabic in Sakapulteko. In Sipakapense, however, such consonants are not syllabic so DuBois' proposal would not apply.

/t'iw/                      [t'iw̥]                      "eagle"

/uleew/                      [uleew̥]                      "land"

### 2.3.3 Word-final b'-devoicing

A bilabial voiced implosive (b') is devoiced (p') at the end of a word.

37:     b' --> [-voice] / \_\_\_#

/kaab'/                      [kaap'] "honey, sweet, candy"

/aχ ts'iib'/                      [aχ ts'iip']                      "writer, secretary" (> ts'iib' "to write")  
UMA = aj tz'iib'/tz'iib'

/nq'ab'/                      [nq'ap'] "arms" (compare unpossessed [q'ab'aaj])

### 2.3.4 Word-final aspiration

Stops that are not glottalized, including glottal stop (p, t, k, q and ?) are aspirated in word-final position.<sup>9</sup> In the rule below, it is assumed that glottal stop is [-constricted glottis].

38:                      C                      -->     C<sup>{h, ʔ}</sup> / \_\_\_#  
                         [-constr. glottis]

/poop/                      [poop<sup>h</sup>]                      "petate (straw mat)"

/top/                      [top<sup>h</sup>]                      "crab"

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<sup>9</sup>Although this process is common in K'ichean languages, most grammars have not included glottal stop in their descriptions. However, phonetic analysis shows that glottal stop does aspirate word-finally in Nahuala K'ichee'. Similarly, DuBois (1985, 99) notes that word-final glottal stop in Sakapulteko is (optionally) followed by a voiceless schwa release. This suggests that in Sakapultek glottal stop might also be included in the process of word-final stop aspiration (DuBois 1985, 93).

/tʃaat/	[tʃaat <sup>h</sup> ]	"bed" UMA = ch'aat
/ʃot/	[ʃot <sup>h</sup> ]	"comal (griddle)" UMA = xot
/taat/	[taat <sup>h</sup> ]	"father, Sir"
/tʃak/	[tʃak <sup>h</sup> ]	"work" UMA = chak
/saqrik/	[saqrik <sup>h</sup> ]	"Good morning"
/ʃpeq/	[ʃpeq <sup>χ</sup> ]	"frog" UMA = xpeq
/saq/	[saq <sup>χ</sup> ]	"white"
/ya//	[yaʔ <sup>ʎ</sup> ]	"water" UMA = ya'
/atʃiʔ/	[atʃiʔ <sup>ʎ</sup> ]	"your mouth" UMA = achi'

### 2.3.5 k' voicing

Although phonemically /nk'i/, the discourse marker "then" is almost always pronounced with a voiced (nonglottal) stop. The process of /k'/ becoming [g] after /n/ has also been noted for Kaqchikel (Chacach 1990, 178). In Sipakapense, this is not a productive phonological alternation.

### 2.3.6 Velar palatalization and the status of kʎ

Kaufman (1976b) included ky (=cʎ) in his original list of phonemes for Sipakapense. However, palatalization is a regular predictable phonological process

in all dialects of Sipakapense. A velar stop (k, k') is palatalized before a front vowel (i, e) or before another consonant followed by a front vowel. In some dialects the palatalized consonant is a palatal stop [c], while in other dialects it has a strong off-glide [cʏ].

39:	/keex/	[cʏeex]	"horse"
	/ʃkin/	[ʃcʏin]	"ear"
	/k+uleew/ 3sgErg+land	[cʏlew]	"their land"
	/k+tʃiix/ 3sgErg+sheep	[cʏtʃiix]	"their sheep"

Most K'ichean languages contain a process of dissimilatory palatalization in which a velar stop is palatalized before short non-back (= unrounded) vowels when followed by a uvular consonant (cf. Grimes 1969b, Campbell 1974). Thus, /k(ʼ)/ is palatalized before short {i, e, a} when the following consonant is uvular {q, q', χ}. In Sipakapense this process has been lost due to a sound change in which short /a/ in this environment went to short /e/. Hence those examples in which palatalizations due to dissimilation (i.e. short /a/ before a uvular) were regularized (becoming /e/) to fit the less marked palatalization before front vowels. Examples include the following:

40:	/ikeχ/	[icʏeχ]	"axe" (UMA=ikej)	(cf. K'ichee' [icʏax]	"axe")
	/keq/	[cʏeq]	"red" (UMA=keq)	(cf. K'ichee' [cʏaq]	"red")
	/k'eq/	[cʏeq]	"flea" (UMA = k'eq)	(cf. K'ichee' [cʏaq]	"flea")

### 2.3.7 Pre-glottal vowel loss

When morphological concatenation results in a sequence of two different vowels separated by a glottal stop, the first vowel is always lost and the glottal stop and the second vowel metathesize. In other words, a sequence  $V_1\text{?}V_2$  will always appear as  $V_2\text{?}$  (but see 3.2.7.1 for an important exception to this process).

41: [miʔnits'ulix]  
/mVʔ+in+i+ts'ul+ix/  
NPT+1sABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
Don't hug me.

42: [miʔʃwrik]  
/mVʔ+iʃ+wor+ik/  
NPT+1pABS+sleep+PFM  
Don't sleep! (plural/formal)

43: [kawiʔm]  
/ka+waʔ+im/  
2nd+to eat+nominalizer  
lunch

### 2.3.8 Initial glottal stop insertion

All words that are (phonemically) vowel-initial are produced with an initial glottal stop. As in other Eastern Mayan languages<sup>10</sup>, nouns may or may not have an initial glottal stop under possession. For example, in Sipakapense the first person singular possessive prefix is *n-* before consonants and *w-* before vowels (see section

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<sup>10</sup>cf. England 1983: 35 for Mam, DuBois 1981 for Sakapultek

3.1 for more detail). Vowel-initial nouns (which take *w-*) do not have the initial glottal stop, as in the following examples<sup>11</sup>:

44:	ʔak'	"chicken"	waak'	"my chicken"
	ʔik	"chile (pepper)"	wik	"my chile (pepper)"

Most nouns that are not typically possessed (such as nouns for wild animals or categories of humans) as well as all Spanish loan words maintain the initial glottal stop and take the preconsonantal possessive marker:

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<sup>11</sup>For simplification, the examples are both monosyllabic. Polysyllabic nouns typically drop the initial vowel when possessed (see section 2.3.1 below for more detail). The long vowel in the possessed form of "chicken" is a morphological property of the root (see section 2.3.2)



45:	utiw	"wolf"	nʔutiw	"my wolf"
	aanʃ	"garlic"	nʔaanʃ	"my garlic" (Spanish "ajo")
	aχ tiiχ	"teacher"	nʔaχ tiiχ	"my teacher"

#### 2.4 Stress

Primary stress falls on the final syllable of a word, except in a small class of lexically marked exceptions in which stress falls on the penultimate syllable. All the words in the class of exceptions have the form CV<sup>́</sup>CV<sup>?</sup> and, as noted by Campbell (1977, 19), are descended from Proto-Mayan \*CV<sup>́</sup>CV<sup>́</sup>? roots. Some original \*CVVC<sup>́</sup>? roots have become CVVC roots through loss of the final short vowel following the stress shift and loss of final glottal stop (eg. /meeb'/ < \*meeb'aʔ).

Secondary stress is marked on alternate syllables moving right-to-left starting with the antepenultimate syllable.

46:	/k+ø+u+i+ts'ul+iχ/	
	[kuwits'ulíχ]	
	"(2p pl) Come hug him/her."	
	cont+3ps+mov+2pp+hug+deriv	UMA = kuwitz'ulij
	/k+uχ+u+i+ts'ul+iχ/	
	[kùχuwits'ulíχ]	
	INC+1pABS+mov+2pERG+hug+deriv	
	"(2p pl) Come hug us."	UMA = kujuitz'ulij

Examples of words with penultimate stress include:

47:	núuʃtaʔ	"prickly pear fruit (nopal)"
	q'áawaʔ	"clay jar" (tinaja)
	ʃóoyaʔ	"Comitancillo" (a town)
	ʃkóoya(?) <sup>12</sup>	"tomato" (<Mixe-Zoquean)
	úukaʔ	"horns"
	íixaʔ	"seed"

## 2.5 Nonconcatenative morphology

### 2.5.1 Vowel length

For verb roots with short vowels (CVC), the passive voice is may be marked by vowel-lengthening (although vowel lengthening is in free variation with an alternate passive suffix, see section 3.2.5.4.1.1 below for further details).

48:	Ri tz'i' xxiimik rum Mink.
	Ri tz'i' x+ø+xim+WOWEL LENTGH+ik r+um Mink.
	DET dog COM+3sABS+tie+PAS+PFM 3sERG+by Mink
	The dog was tied up by Mink

### 2.5.2 Root and pattern morphology

In the formation of agentive nouns from transitive verb roots (cf 3.1.5 ) the suffix vowel matches the root vowel if the verb root is an underived CVC root (the [re] in the following examples is a 3rd person pronoun; noun incorporation is obligatory with these agentives):

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<sup>12</sup>The glottal stop in this word is absent in some dialects.

49:	χk'al re	“its cutter”	root = /χak'/
	mq'el re	“its heater”	root = /meq'/
	ʃmil re	“one who ties it”	root = /ʃim/
	b'sul re	“one who folds it”	root = /b'us/
	wʃ'ol re	“one who chews it”	root = /wotʃ'/

In the formation of optative/imperative constructions from transitive underived CVC roots, the vowel of the dependent suffix (+V?) corresponds to the root vowel unless the root vowel is /i/ or /e/, in which case the suffix vowel is always [a] (cf 3.2.4.4 below):

50: tʃak'tu? “show it!” root = /k'ut/  
tʃ++ø+a+k'ut+V?  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+show+MOD

51: tʃatχo? “pay for it!” root = /toχ/  
tʃ+ø+a+toχ+V?  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+pay.for+MOD

52: tʃak'sa? “stop it!” root = /k'is/  
tʃ+ø+a+k'is+V?  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+stop+MOD

53: tʃapχa? “weight it!” root = /paχ/  
tʃ+ø+a+paχ+V?  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+weigh+MOD

54: tʃatʃ'ka? “win it!” root = /tʃ'ek/  
tʃ+ø+a+tʃ'ek+V?  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+win+MOD

### 2.5.3 Underspecified vowels, epenthesis and reduplication.

#### 2.5.3.1 Epenthesis

Although strings of up to six consonants are allowed with the tense/aspect/mode and person-marking prefixes, epenthesis is used to break up other (coda) clusters. Word-final coda consonant clusters (other than ?C) are not allowed unless they are in borrowings from Spanish (with two exceptions: *b'aalm* “jaguar” and *tukr* “owl”). Many verbal suffixes consist of only a single consonant. In all other K'ichean languages, these suffixes consist of a VC sequence, but the vowel has been lost due to Sipakapense vowel dropping. Some of these suffixes contain *i* as their (historically) original vowel. I have chosen to analyze them all as single consonants (whether the original vowel was *i* or not) to demonstrate the consistency within the system as the suffixes with proto-K'ichean *i* (such as the phrase final marker) behave exactly like those historically derived from roots with other vowels.

When suffixes are affixed to a verb the complex coda is prevented by epenthesis or through metathesis in which a CVC root becomes CCV, blocking the word final CC cluster. For example, in 55 below, the root /sut/ become [stu] when followed by the absolutive antipassive suffix *+n*. In examples 61 and 62, an epenthetic default vowel [i] is inserted to block a final CCC cluster:

- 55:            Kstun nwoch.  
 k+∅+sut+n n+woch  
 INC+3sABS+twist+AAP 1pPOS+face/head  
 I'm dizzy.
- 56:            Ksutnik nwoch  
 k+∅+sut+n+i+k n+woch  
 INC+3sABS+twist+AAP+PFM 1pPOS+face  
 I'm dizzy.
- 57:            Chinaq xpoxwik ri meex?  
 chinaq x+∅+pox+w+ik ri meex  
 who COM+3sABS+break+FAP+PFM DET table  
 Who broke the table?
- 58:            Chinaq xpxow ri meex?  
 chinaq x+∅+pox+w ri meex  
 who COM+3sABS+break+FAP DET table  
 Who broke the table?

If the epenthetic vowel precedes a /w/, it may surface as a back vowel, [u] or [o]:

- 59:            Qi? Liiy ʃb'now qwoy.  
 Qi? Liiy ʃ +∅+b'an+w q+woy  
 DIM Liiy COM+3sABS+make+FAP 1pPOS+food  
 It was little Liiy that cooked our food.
- 60:            Mu'wrik  
 MV'+∅+wor+ik  
 NPT+3sABS+sleep+PFM  
 He won't sleep

Although the CVC/CCV alternation is quite regular, there are a few CVC roots that do not display this alternation. For these roots, an epenthetic [i] always occurs with single-consonant suffixes:

61:   ʃkowir  
      ʃ+ø+kow+i+r  
      COM+3sABS+hard+EPE+VERS  
      It became hard.

62:   ʃkowrik  
      ʃ+ø+kow+r+i+k  
      COM+3sABS+hard+VERS+EPE+PFM  
      It became hard.

### 2.5.3.2 Underspecification

The default vowel [i] is also used for vowels that are morphologically underspecified. For example, with the negative potential aspect marker mV?+, the vowel is filled by the second vowel in a CV?V through the regular process by which V<sub>1</sub>?V<sub>2</sub> become V<sub>2</sub>? (see 2.3.7 above). If no vowel follows the negative potential prefix, the prefix vowel is [i]:

63:   Mu?χelik  
      MV?+ux+el+ik.  
      NPT+3pABS+go out+PFM  
      We aren't going to go out.

64: Maʔtwrik  
 mVʔ+at+wor+ik  
 NPT+2sABS+sleep+PFM  
 Don't sleep!

65: Miʔkosik  
 mVʔ+ø+kos+ik  
 NPT+3sABS+tire+PFM  
 He won't get tired.

Finally, in the dialect of Tres Cruces, epenthetic vowels may occur in the tense/mode/aspect and person-marking prefixes. Forms with strings of several consecutive consonants are perfectly acceptable for speakers from Tres Cruces. However, speakers in Tres Cruces routinely epenthesize a default [i] into the preverbal complex, breaking up the word-initial clusters.

66: May kirb'an jun jaay.  
 May k+i+ø+r+b'an jun jaay  
 May INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+make one house  
 May made a house.

67: Stey tjin kiryuj wu uleew ruk' wu ab'aj.  
 Stey tjin k+i+ø+r+yuj wu uleew r+uk' wu ab'aj  
 Stey PROG INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+mix DET earth  
 3sPOS+REL(with) DET rock  
 Stey is mixing the dirt with the rocks.

For a few verbs with [o] as the root vowel, the epenthetic vowel matches the root vowel of the verb:

- 68: Jun chkop xo'ok chkxo'l.  
 jun chkop x+o+ø+'ok ch+k+xo'l  
 one animal COM+EPE+3sABS+enter PREP+3pPOS+middle  
 An animal came into their midst.

With the verb “to come” *pon*, speakers from Tres Cruces use an epenthetic *o* while dropping the *o* in the root. This is the only root where the root vowel ever surfaces to the left of the root itself.

- 69: Ri imul xopnik  
 ri imul x+ø+pon+ik  
 DET rabbit COM+3sABS+come+PFM  
 The rabbit arrived.

### 2.5.3.3 Reduplication

There are two distinct patterns of reduplication in Sipakapense. The suffix for forming verbs from affect word (onomatopoeia) (C)C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> roots consists of copying the vowel and coda consonant (with the optional phrase-final marker *+ik*).

- |     |          |                                     |             |
|-----|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| 70: | kususik  | “to make the sound a vulture makes” | root = kus  |
|     | tojojik  | “to make the sound a river makes”   | root = toj  |
|     | skololik | “to make the sound a marimba makes” | root = skol |
|     | wixixik  | “to make the sound a horse makes”   | root = wix  |

Adjectives formed from positional C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> roots are formed by a suffix that copies the initial root consonant followed by *+ik*:



71:	setsik	“round and flat”	root = set
	t’ort’ik	“spherical”	root = t’or
	tuqtik	“long, thin, and flexible”	root = tuq
	yuqyik	“long and hanging”	root = yuq

Adjectives derived from other adjectives (or from noun roots) with a meaning similar to English “+ish” are also formed by copying the initial consonant, followed by a suffix +Coχ (cf 3.5.1 below).

72:	saq+soχ	“light blue, whitish”	root = saq “white”
	q’eqq’oχ	“grey, brown”	root = q’eq “black”
	keqkoχ	“pink”	root = keq “red”
	k’e]k’oχ	“painful”	root = k’e] “pain”
	kik’koχ	“bloody”	root = kik’ “blood”

### 3.0 Morphology

#### 3.0.1 Introduction

Before describing the morphology of Sipakapense, I will give a brief overview of the basics of Sipakapense morphosyntax. Sipakapense is an ergative language, with ergative and/or absolutive agreement marked on all verbs. The basic verb template of Sipakapense is as follows:

tense/aspect-absolutive-(movement)-ergative-[ROOT-(Stem derivation)]<sub>stem</sub>  
(VOICE)-(MODE)-(phrase final marker) (directional clitics) (other clitics)

The ergative and absolutive slots in the verb are filled with pronominal elements so that the ergative marker agrees with the subject of transitive verbs and the absolutive marker agrees with the subject of intransitive verbs or the object of transitive verbs. The ergative agreement markers also match (with minor exceptions) the possessive prefixes for nouns.

In addition to ergative/absolutive agreement, verbs are marked for tense/aspect and mode. The set of mode suffixes basically marks a threeway distinction between simple, dependent (hortatives and imperatives) and perfective modes. These suffixes correspond with a larger set of prefixes marking tense and aspect (such as future, incompletive, completive, recent past, etc). In addition, movement may be incorporated into the verb in two ways. Placing roots for “come” and “go” into the verb template between the absolutive and ergative agreement markers conveys that the agent moved (came or went) in order to perform the action conveyed by the verb. A variety of directional clitics may also be used to indicate movement towards or away from the speaker, as well as movements like

“up” and “down.” These directional clitics are also used in a variety of idiomatic expressions (much like prepositions in English expressions such as “throw out,” “throw up,” etc.).

Finally, verbs are marked for voice, including two passive and two antipassive voices. In the passives, patient noun phrases are promoted to subject and agents may only be expressed through oblique relational noun phrases. The antipassive voices either focus the agent noun phrase (as in the focus antipassive) or diminish the patient (as in the absolutive antipassive). Changes in voice are often reflected by changes in word order. The basic sentence order of Sipakapense is as follows (following England 1992 on word order across Mayan):

TOPIC	FOCUS	VERB	SUBJECT	OBJECT
-------	-------	------	---------	--------

Subject and object noun phrases need not be expressed overtly. When both subject and object are expressed, the most common word order is VSO. Although VSO is the most common word order, the subject may be preposed before the verb in either a topic or a focus position. For example, the focus antipassive voice requires that the subject be in the focus position. Thus, in addition to morphological marking of the antipassive voice, the subject must be preposed into the focus position. The object may also be fronted to the focus position. It is also possible to have both subject and object preposed before the verb, although such cases are rare..

From this point on, examples will be given in the Unified Mayan Alphabet (UMA) set by the Academy of Mayan Languages of Guatemala for use with Mayan languages (using IPA only where specific questions of phonology arise). The primary differences between IPA and UMA are as follows: IPA tʃ(ʼ) = UMA ch(ʼ); IPA ɣ = UMA j; IPA ʃ = UMA x; IPA ts(ʼ) = UMA tz(ʼ); IPA ʔ = UMA ʼ (apostrophe). In UMA, when a glottal stop follows an unglottalized consonant (which corresponds to a glottal consonant with the same place of articulation), a hyphen is placed between the consonant and the glottal stop to prevent ambiguity (as in Sipakapense *kam* “dead” vs. *k-ʼaam* “their spider.” For clarity, I will place a hyphen between every Cʔ sequence (even though this is not required by UMA orthography).

### 3.0.2 Phonological versus morphological word

A morphological word may consist of a single light syllable, whereas a minimal phonological word must consist of at least a bimoraic foot, almost always a heavy syllable (i.e. a syllable ending in a long vowel or a consonant). The primary exceptions are borrowings from Spanish (e.g. *áawa* “soda”, *wáana* “Juana”) and a very small set of native words (e.g. *achi* “man” *xkóoya* “tomato” [<Mixe-Zoquean>]). Particles such as determiners and prepositions that consist of a single light syllable (which form legitimate morphological words) join with the following word in natural speech. For example, the preposition *pu* “in, at” typically joins with a following noun and undergoes the phonological process of vowel deletion, as in *pkʼeybʼal* “in the marketplace”. It does not, however, join with a following CV particle, such as a determiner *pu wu kʼeybʼal* “in the marketplace”. Also, this

process does not occur where it would create violations of Sipakapense syllable structure. In cases where vowel dropping does not occur, single syllable determiners and prepositions preceding longer words generally receive regular secondary stress according to regular stress assignment (as discussed in section 2.4 above). There are exceptions, however, such as the clitics *ne* and *tlo* (section 3.2.8. below) which may occur as unstressed light syllables sentence-finally (without forming a larger phonological word).

### 3.1 Noun classes and noun morphology

K'ichean nouns are traditionally broken into classes according to alternations between possessed and unpossessed forms. This section outlines these classes for Sipakapense.

#### 3.1.1 Possession (ergative person markers) *\_C* and *\_V* markers

Noun possession in Sipakapense is more complicated than in other K'ichean languages, primarily due to the process of dropping unstressed vowels. In all of the K'ichean languages, there are two sets of possessive (ergative) prefixes: one for nouns beginning with a consonant and one for nouns beginning with a vowel (cf. Dayley 1985, 64 for Tz'utujil; López Ixcoy 1994, 71 for K'ichee'; López and Sis Iboy 1993, 56 for Achi; Rodríguez Guaján 1994, 90 for Kaqchikel; DuBois 1981, 184 for Sakapultek). There are only slight differences between these and the ergative prefixes only in slight differences (e.g. *n-* 1sPOS vs. *in-* 1sERG in Sipakapense). In Sipakapense, the preconsonantal and prevocalic classes exist, but their use does not correspond exactly to the preconsonantal/prevocalic distinction. The ergative possessive prefixes for Sipakapense are as follows (As with verbs, 2nd person plural = 2nd singular formal):

1: Possessive prefixes in Sipakapense

preconsonantal	prevocalic	person
n-	w-	1 singular
a-	aw-	2 singular
r-	r-	3 singular
q-	q-	1 plural
i-	iw-	2 plural/formal
k-	k-	3 plural

There are several anomalies in the preconsonantal/prevocalic distinction, most due to historical processes related to vowel dropping. In addition, vowel dropping has erased the distinction between these two classes for the 3rd singular, 1st plural, and 3rd plural prefixes. In other K'ichean languages the preconsonantal variants of these prefixes occur with a vowel (e.g. *ru+*, *qa+*, and *ki+* in Kaqchikel, Rodriguez Guaján 1994, 90). In Sipakapense, these vowels have been lost.

3.1.1.1 Nouns that take  $\_V$  but lose the initial vowel

The majority of words that begin with a vowel lose their initial vowel when possessed, even though they take the prevocalic prefixes. This is due to the regular loss of unstressed vowels.

2: atz'om- "salt"	wtz'om - "my salt"
ixiim - "corn"	wxim - "my corn"
uleew - "land"	wlew - "my land"

### 3.1.1.2 Nouns that start with a vowel, but take \_C markers

Some words begin with a phonemic glottal stop and thus take the preconsonantal prefixes. This occurs in other K'ichean languages (cf DuBois 1981, 185-6 for Sakapultek, Dayley 1985, 66-7 for Tz'utujil, for others Benito Pérez, personal communication). Typically, this only occurs with nouns that are generally unpossessed (such as words for animals or human beings). It also happens with all words borrowed from Spanish. In addition, in most dialects of Sipakapense phonemic word-initial glottal stop occurs before the *aj+* prefix (see 3.1.5 below). This is understandable since, as nouns for classes of human beings, most words with the *aj+* prefix are never possessed. The phonemic glottal stop carries over to nouns that may in fact be possessed frequently, such as "teacher" or "doctor." In addition, some words that are typically unpossessed may take either the regular prevocalic form or the form with an initial glottal stop. This is understandable, considering the rarity of using such forms.

3:	'aanx - "garlic"	n-'aanx - "my garlic"
	'aj tiij - "teacher"	n-'aj tiij - "my teacher"
	'utiw - "wolf"	n-'utiw- "my wolf" (also wtiw)





### 3.1.2.1 Nouns that are always possessed

Nouns for some kinship terms are always possessed. Generally if these nouns are historically derived from roots with initial vowels, the vowel is not recoverable from the current root (unless there are other related roots as with the terms for “husband” and “wife”).

6:	nji'	"my in-laws"	
	wchjil	"my husband"	[< achi "man" and +il (see 3.1.5)]
	wxqil	"my wife"	[<ixaq "woman" and +il (see 3.1.5)]

### 3.1.2.2 Nouns that are never possessed

Words for parts of nature or natural phenomena are not possessed and thus do not display differences related to possession.

7:	q'ij	"day, sun"
	iik'	"moon"
	jab'	"rain"

### 3.1.2.3 Nouns that do not change when possessed

Many nouns have the same form whether or not they are possessed.

8:	poop	- “petate/straw mat”	npoop	- “my petate/mat”
	mxu'x-	“navel”	amxu'x-	“your navel”
	tlul	- “zapote”	ntlul	- “my zapote (or mamey)”

### 3.1.2.4 Nouns with vowel shortening upon possession

The overwhelming majority of monosyllabic roots with long vowels shorten when possessed. This class does not occur in other K'ichean languages and is historically due to the shortening of vowels in syllables with complex onsets.

- 9:      keej - “horse”                                      nkej - “my horse”  
           k’aas - “debt”                                        nk’as - “my debt”  
           ch’iich’ - “car”                                    nch’ich’ - “my car” (or “radio,” “metal object”)  
           q’oor - “masa, atole”    nq’or - “my masa, atole” (corn meal or corn drink)

### 3.1.2.5 Nouns with vowel lengthening upon possession

A few roots have a short root vowel which becomes long when possessed. This class of nouns is much smaller in Sipakapense compared with other K’ichean languages.

- 10:      ak’        - “chicken”                                      waak’ - “my chicken”  
           uq         - “skirt”    ruuq - “her skirt”

### 3.1.2.6 Nouns that lose a suffix when possessed

Some roots lose a suffix (+*aaj*) when possessed. These are all inalienable possessives and the suffix has no meaning other than to mark the unpossessed form.

- 11:      qul+aaj - “neck”                                      nqul - “my neck”  
           tlok’+aaj - “shoulder”                            atlok’ - “your shoulder”  
           tza’m+aaj - “nose”                                   ntza’m - “my nose”

### 3.1.2.7 Nouns that add a suffix when possessed

Another class of inalienable possessives add a suffix when possessed.

- 12:      tz’uum - “skin”                                      ntz’um+il - “my skin”  
           xk’eq - “nail”                                        rxk’eq+il - “his/her nail” (finger or toe)  
           kik’ - “blood”                                      nkik’+el - “my blood”  
           mu’j - “shadow”                                    nmuj+il - “my shadow”

### 3.1.2.8 Nouns with possessive markers as an “infix”

Two roots take the possessive markers as an infix and lose a suffix when possessed. This is another class unique to Sipakapense. The part of the root preceding the possessive prefix is derived historically from a compound containing lexicalized possession (as in 3.1.3.3 below) including a root that loses a suffix upon possession (as in 3.1.2.6 above). However, because the first element of the compound is not recoverable synchronically (i.e. native speakers do not recognize them as compounds), I have placed these roots as a separate class.

- 13:    ru'ey+aaj - “tooth”                    ruwey - “my tooth”  
      ruchaq+aaj - “back”                    ruwchaq - “my back”

### 3.1.2.9 Nouns with special possessed forms (suppletives)

A small set of nouns display a distinct root when possessed. The word for “corn” also has a regular plural form that does not change. The alternation in the word for “house” occurs in many Mayan languages. In the alternation for the word for “necklace,” the unpossessed form is historically K'ichean, while the possessed form is a borrowing from Mam.

- 14:    aj - “ear of corn”                    nk'xu'n - “my ear of corn” (Trés Cruces)  
      jaay - “house”                    wchoch - “my house”  
      uwaj - “necklace”                    wuuj - “my necklace”

### 3.1.3 Classes of complex/compound nouns according to composition

#### 3.1.3.1 Compound nouns

Compound nouns may be formed by combining a nominalized verb root and a noun root:

15:	k'mol ch'iich'	"driver" [guide + car/truck/bus]
	b'noi jay	"construction worker" [maker + house]
	muqb'al wnaq	"cemetery" [burial place + people]

#### 3.1.3.2 Complex nouns

Complex nouns may be formed from a noun root and an adjective root:

16:	saqq'ijj	"summer"
	[saq] "white" + [q'ijj] "day, sun"	
	saqb'uch	"hail"
	[saq] "white" + [b'uch] "grain"	
	nimaq'ijj	"party" [big+day]
	[niim] "big" + [q'ijj] "day, sun"	

#### 3.1.3.3 Lexicalized possession

Compound nouns may also consist of a noun root and a possessed noun. The possessor is marked on the head noun with the possessive (ergative) third person singular prefix:

17:	rb'aq' wochaj	"eyes" [it's seeds + face]
	rqan chee'	"trunk (of a tree)" [it's leg + tree]
	rb'ey ya'	"arroyo" [it's road + water]

#### 3.1.3.4 Noun + noun compounds (semantic couplets)

Compounds composed of two noun roots are fairly rare in Sipakapense (in comparison with other Mayan languages in which these compounds are extremely common).

18:           q'iiq' jab'       "cloudy" (wind + rain)

#### 3.1.4 Pluralization

There are few words in Sipakapense with actual plural forms. Most K'ichean languages have a relatively small set of nouns (usually for people or concepts in the Mayan calendar) that are marked for plurality. In Sipakapense there are only two nouns with plural forms. The plural form is not +*ʋb'*, which is found in other K'ichean languages (except Sakapulteko). The plural marker on these two nouns is actually the root extension for these two forms in other K'ichean languages, which occurs in conjunction with the actual plural suffix.

19:    aliit - "girl, young woman"   altom - "girls, young women"  
      alab' - "boy, young man"       alo'm - "boys, young men"

Other plurals are formed with the particle *ke'q*, which may be added to any noun (including those above with plural forms). This is an innovation in Sipakapense, possibly formed from the 3rd plural pronoun *ke* colliding with the K'ichean plural marker *taq*.

20:	achi - "man"	ke'q achi - "men"
	ixoq - "woman"	ke'q ixoq- "women"
	wix- "cat"	ke'q wix - "cats"

### 3.1.5 Derivation of nouns/noun roots

The following affixes are used in the derivation of nouns:

*aj-* This is a highly productive prefix added to noun and transitive and intransitive verb roots to produce nouns for professions, agents or to mark place of origin. The agentive meaning does not indicate the agent of a specific singular action, but is a property of the individual (as in the case of profession), one who X-es. This is similar to the *-er* suffix in English in that it produces both professional/agent and place of origin nouns (eg. farmer, New Yorker, etc).

21:	aj q'iij	"Mayan preist" from the noun root [q'iij] "day, sun"
	aj chak (chek)	"farmer, campesino" from the root [chak]"to work"
	aj tiij	"teacher" from the verb root [tiij] "to teach"
	aj kun	"doctor, healer" from the verb root [kun] "to heal"
	aj xóoya'	"person from Comitancillo (Xooya) Comitancillo"
	aj chuqul	"person from Tejutla" from noun root [Chuqul]"Tejutla"

Another interesting example of this prefix is the word for "mayor," *aj kalt* which is a folk etymology based on the Spanish "alcalde." The root *kalt* has no meaning without the *aj+* prefix.

*-kV(')l* This suffix produces nominalizations of adjectival and positional roots. The suffix may take the form *-kVl*, or *-Vl* with the same meaning. The suffix vowel is *a* when the root vowel is *a* or *u*. Otherwise the suffix vowel is *i*. However, there are exceptions (see *saq* "white" below). In addition, a number of these adjectival nouns take the form *+i'l*. All of these adjectival nouns are generally possessed as the adjectival noun is a property of some other noun (e.g. it's redness). It is highly productive.

22:

keq+al, keq+kal "redness" from the adjective root /keq/ "red"  
 tz'il+al, tz'il+kal "dirtiness" from the adjective root /ts'il/ dirty  
 sas+i'l "lightness (weight)" from the adjective root /sas/ "light"  
 utz+il "goodness, kindness" (also "favor") from /utz/ "good"  
 k'o'x+kal "concavity" from the positional root /k'o'x/ "concave"  
 set+kal "roundness" from the positional root /set/ "round, flat"

Note: There are two distinct adjectival nouns that can be derived from the root /saq/, meaning "white, clear": *saq+il* meaning "clarity" and *saq+al*, *saq+kal* meaning "whiteness."

*+eel* This suffix forms agentive nouns from intransitive verbal roots or from transitive verbal roots that have been intransitivized by the addition of the antipassive suffix *+n*. The agentive nouns may be animate or inanimate (as in machine or device).



23: rumum+eel	"runner" from the verb stem /rum+um/
atinsn+eel	"bather" /atin/ "bathe", /s/ "causative"
t'isn+eel	"sewing machine, one who sews"/t'is+n/ "to sew"
tijn+eel	"student" from the verb stem /tijn+n/ "to study/teach"

**+(V)l** This suffix forms agentive verbal nouns from transitive verb roots.

The patient NP is incorporated into the agentive NP. Forms without an incorporated patient NP are ungrammatical unless they occur with the *aj+* prefix (see above), in which case the patient NP is optional. Most of the forms below are given with a generic 3rd singular incorporated pronoun, *re*. With this morpheme, underived C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> roots take the form C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>VI. In a few cases (e.g. with the verb "to do") the root may undergo a vowel change. (The case of "to do" below is probably due to dialect borrowing, as there are dialects in which many short /a/'s go to /o/ in closed syllables.)

24: b'nol jay	"construction worker" ([b'an] "to make" and [jay]"house")
aj xjol	"dancer" (from the verb root [xoj]"to dance")
t'sil re	"seamstree/tailor" (from the verb root [t'is] "to sew"and 3rd singular pronoun [re] "it")
k'tul b'eey	"guide" (from the verb root [k'ut] "to show" and [b'eey] "road/bath")
jk'al re	"cutter" (from the verb root [jak'] "to cut (with knife or scissors)" and 3rd singular pronoun [re] "it")

For derived roots the suffix is either *+l* (for roots ending in a vowel or glottal stop) or *+il*.

- 25: to'+l wa "my lawyer" or "my helper" (from verb root [to'] "to help" and [wa] 1st singular pronoun)  
 tz'ib'+il re "writer" (from verb root [tz'iib'] "to write" and 3rd singular pronoun [re] "it")  
 choms+il re "fattener" (from adjective root [chom] "fat" + [s] "causative" and 3rd singular pronoun [re] "it")

**+(V)m** This forms nouns for the action of a particular verb. The vowel is usually [e], although [o] occurs in a few exceptional cases. For roots ending in a glottal stop the vowel does not occur.

- 26: wr+om "sleeping/sleepiness" (from the verb root [wor] "to sleep")  
 ta'+m "listening (noun)" (from the verb root [taa'] "to listen")  
 atn+em "bathing (noun)" (from the verb root [atin] "to bathe")  
 ok+em "entering (noun)" (from the verb root [ok] "to enter")

**+b'al** This forms locative or instrumental nouns from verb roots. The locative/instrumental distinction varies from stem to stem and in some cases the word may have either meaning.

- 27: t'is+b'al "sewing machine" (from the root [t'is] "to sew")  
 wor+b'al "bedroom" (from the root [wor] "to sleep")  
 yol+b'al "message, discourse, language" (from the root [yol] "to speak")  
 ch'aj+b'al "sink" (from the root [ch'aj] "to wash")

### 3.1.6 Independent pronouns

Pronouns are not marked for case and may serve as either subject or object NPs. There are two sets of pronouns in Sipakapense, both of which are optional (as the subject and object are always marked within the verb complex - see 3.2.2 below). While the independent pronouns simply indicate participants (subject or object) in a given sentence, the emphatic or focus pronouns are only used when the participant is under focus (such as with the focus antipassive voice - 3.2.5.6).

#### 3.1.6.1 Independent pronouns

28:	wa	1 singular	qe	1 plural
	awa	2 singular	iwa (iwe)	2 plural/formal
	re	3 singular	ke	3 plural

- 29: Xuj-'ek qe rech Todos Saant ruk' naan.  
x+uj+'e+k qe r+ech Todos Saant r+uk' naan  
COM+1pABS+go+PFM 1pPRO 3sPOS+REL(for) Todos Santos  
3sPOS+rel(with) mother  
We went to the Todos Santos services with mother.

#### 3.1.6.2 Emphatic/focus pronouns

The emphatic pronouns are as follows:

30:	in	1 singular	oj(uj)	1 plural
	at	2 singular	ix	2 plural/formal
	are	3 singular	are'/aree	3 plural

Emphatic pronouns are used to mark the subject of focus antipassive constructions. Verbs in the focus antipassive require either an overt NP subject (which is under focus) or an emphatic pronoun. The emphatic pronoun always precedes the verb (i.e. it is in the focus position, see 4.4 below).

- 31: No'j at xatya'wok!  
 no'j at x+at+ya'+w+ok  
 But 2sEMP COM+2sABS+give+FAP+DIR(enter)  
 But you were the one who put them there!

In addition, pronouns from the two sets (independent and emphatic) may be combined to add additional emphasis to focus constructions:

- 32: Are re xpaq'wik ri si'.  
 are re x+ø+paq'+w+ik ri si'.  
 3sEMP 3sPRO COM+3sABS+split+FAP+PFM DET firewood.  
 He was the one who split the firewood.

## 3.2 Verb classes and verb morphology

### 3.2.1 Classes of verbs

As in other K'ichean languages, intransitive and transitive verbs in Sipakapense form distinct classes with somewhat different inflections. In addition, there are three distinct classes of transitive verbs: root transitives, verbs ending in V' (=V/), and derived transitives. Root transitives are generally made up of CVC roots with no derivational suffixes, while -V' verbs may be underived (e.g. *ta'* "to hear," *ya'* "to give," *to'* "to help.") or derived (e.g. verbs derived from positional roots, cf. 3.4.2). In terms of suffixation, verbs ending in glottal stop generally behave the same way whether they are transitive or intransitive.

#### 3.2.1.1 Infinitives

The infinitive in Sipakapense is basically a verbal noun, as infinitives do not play a large role in Sipakapense syntax. The form of the infinitive varies according to verb

class, but is identical to the uninflected form in the simple mode (see 3.2.5.1.1) and active voice (see 3.2.5.3).

#### 3.2.1.1.1 Root transitives

For root transitives, the infinitive form is simply the CVC verb root itself, with no additional affixation:

33:	k'ut	“to show”	tzaq	“to lose”
	muq	“to bury”	leq'	“to lick”
	wiq	“to decorate”	loq'	“to buy”
	qit	“to rub”	riq	“to find”
	yaq'	“to kick”	muq	“to bury”
	ch'aj	“to wash”	t'is	“to sew”
	ch'ek	“to win”	tor	“to open”

#### 3.2.1.1.2 Derived transitives

The class of derived transitives includes transitive verbs formed from derivational prefixes and all transitives that do not have CVC roots. In addition, there are some CVC roots that pattern with derived transitives rather than with root transitives. For derived transitives the infinitive is formed by the addition of the suffix *-j* (the dependent mode suffix, see 3.2.5.2 below). For CVC roots that belong to the derived class, the vowel of the suffix matches the root vowel (which is missing from the root in this case, see section 2.5 on root and pattern morphology in Sipakapense). For roots that are not CVC and for transitives containing derivational affixes (such as causative), the suffix vowel is [a] (except for *ka'yij* where the *i* is probably due to the influence of the preceding *y*).

34: CVC roots

sk'ij	“to call” [root = sik']
tz'noj	“to request/ask” [root = tz'oon]
pxoj	“to smash” [root = pox]
proj	“to burn” [root = por]
tz'b'uj	“to kiss” [root = tz'ub']
wtz'oj	“to toast” [root = wotz']

35: Non-CVC roots:

wichk'aj	“to dream”
ka'yij	“to watch/look”
tz'iib'aj	“to write”
tzurtzaj	“to bless”
elq'aj	“to rob/steal”
wi'taj	“to kill”

Roots with derivational suffixes:

36:	chqijsaj	“to dry (something)” [chqij = “dry”, +s = CAUS]
	keb'saj	“to divide/split” [keb' = “two”, +s = CAUS]
	nojsaj	“to fill” [noj = full, +s = CAUS]

3.2.1.1.3 Glottal-stop-final:

Transitive or intransitive verbs ending in glottal stop do not take any additional suffixes in the infinitive. This is true both for underived verbs and verbs derived from positional roots with the *+b'* (versive) and *+a'* (transitivizing) suffixes (see 3.2.6.3). These verbs differ from other CVC classes (derived and underived) in that they take a unique set of mode suffixes (see 3.2.5.1).

37: Underived glottal-final verbs:

su' "to clean"  
ta' "to hear"  
to' "to help"  
na' "to feel/think"

38: Verbs from positional roots with the +b'+a' suffixes:

suk'b'a' "to fix"  
yut'b'a' "to seat (someone)"

3.2.1.1.4 Intransitives:

In the infinitive, intransitive verbs always occur with the phrase-final marker (+ik).

This suffix marks the infinitive whether the root is CVC or a derived intransitive

39: Underived intransitives:

b'inik "to walk"  
q'eyik "to rot"  
tzaqik "to fall"

40: Derived intransitives:

chomrik "to become fat" (chom = [fat], r = versive)  
yaklik "to be set up straight" (yak = [setting straight up],  
+l = [positional stative])  
wa'b'ik "to stop" (wa' = [stand], b' = positional versive])

3.2.2 Verbal template

3.2.2.1 Intransitives

The fully inflected intransitive verb always contains a tense/aspect/mode (TMA) prefix, an absolutive agreement marker, and the verb root. Optional affixes include a

movement (come/go) prefix, stem derivation, voice, and mode. Also, as in K'ichee' (cf. Barrett 1993) a phrase final suffix may occur and various clitics may follow the verb. The full verb template is as follows (with optional morphemes in parentheses):

42: TMA-absolutive-(movement)-ROOT-(Stem derivation)-(VOICE)-(MODE)-  
(phrase final marker) (directional clitics) (other clitics)

#### 3.2.2.2 Transitives

Transitive verbs contain the same elements as intransitive verbs with the addition of the ergative agreement marker, which follows the absolutive agreement marker and the movement prefix (when it occurs):

43: TMA-absolutive-(movement)-ergative-ROOT-(Stem derivation)-(VOICE)-  
(MODE)-(phrase final marker) (directional clitics) (other clitics)

#### 3.2.3 Agreement-marking

All verbs in Sipakapense are marked for the person, number and agreement of one or two verbal arguments, regardless of whether or not the corresponding NPs are overtly marked within a sentence. The absolutive pronominal element corresponds in number and person with subject of intransitive verbs or the object of transitive verbs. The ergative pronominal element corresponds in number and person with the subject of transitive verbs.



### 3.2.3.1 Absolutive markers

The absolutive agreement prefixes mark the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs. The absolutive agreement markers are as follows:

44:	in-	1 singular
	at-	2 singular
	∅-	3 singular
	uj-	1 plural
	ix-	2 plural/formal
	i', ii	3 plural

The third person plural absolutive may also be marked by insertion of glottal stop or vowel lengthening. Also, the third person plural marker is often subjected to the phonological rule by which  $V_1'V_2$  sequences have the surface form  $V_2'$ . The paradigm for an intransitive verb is demonstrated with the verb "to sleep," below:

45:	kinwrik	
	k+in+wr+ik	[root <wor> "to sleep"]
	INC+1sABS+sleep+PFM	
	I sleep	
	katwrik	
	k+at+wr+ik	
	INC+2sABS+sleep+PFM	
	You sleep	
	kwrik	
	k+∅+wr+ik	
	INC+3sABS+sleep+PFM	
	S/he sleeps	

kujwrik  
k+uj+wr+ik  
INC+1pABS+sleep+PFM  
We sleep

kixwrik  
k+ix+wr+ik  
INC+2pABS+sleep+PFM  
You (plural/formal) sleep

ki'wrik  
k+i'+wr+ik  
INC+3pABS+sleep+PFM  
They sleep.

### 3.2.3.2 Ergative markers

As in other K'ichean languages, there are two sets of ergative agreement markers in Sipakapense, one which occurs before consonants and one which occurs before vowels. The prevocalic/preconsonantal distinction holds for verbs (as opposed to nouns as discussed in 3.1.1 above) because the initial vowel of verb roots is not lost due to vowel dropping. The maintenance of the initial vowel is due to the phonological shape of verb roots (and not because of some specific phonological property of verbs). The first person singular of the verb *aaʃ* "to want" is irregular, taking the ergative marker *w+*.

46: Kwaaj  
 k+ø+w+aaj  
 INC+3sABS+1sERG+want  
 I want

The ergative agreement markers are as follows:

47:	__C	__V	person
	in-	inw-	1 singular
	a-	aw-	2 singular
	r-	r-	3 singular
	q-	q-	1 plural
	i-	iw-	2 plural/formal
	k-	k-	3 plural

The preconsonantal ergative agreement markers are demonstrated with the verb “to hug,” below:

48: Katintz’ulij  
 k+at+in+tz’ul+ij  
 INC+2sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I hug you

Kintz’ulij  
 k+ø+in+tz’ul+ij  
 INC+3sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I hug him/her

Kixintz’ulij  
 k+ix+in+tz’ul+ij  
 INC+2pABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I hug you (plural/formal)

ki'ntz'ulij  
k+i'+in+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3pABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I hug them

Kinattz'ulij  
k+in+at+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1sABS+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You hug me

Kattz'ulij  
k+ø+at+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You hug him/her

Kujattz'ulij  
k+uj+at+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You hug us

Ka'ttz'ulij  
k+i'+at+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You hug them

Kinrtz'ulij  
k+in+r+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1sABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he hugs me

Katrtz'ulij  
k+at+r+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2sABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he hugs you

Krtz'ulij  
k+ø+r+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he hugs him/her

Kujrtz'ulij  
k+uj+r+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he hugs us

Kixrtz'ulij  
k+ix+r+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he hugs you (plural/formal)

Ki'rtz'ulij  
k+i'+r+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he hugs them

Katqtz'ulij  
k+at+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2sABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We hug you

Kqtz'ulij  
k+ø+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We hug him/her

Kixqtz'ulij  
k+ix+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2pABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We hug you (plural/formal)

Ki'qtz'ulij  
k+i'+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3pABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We hug them

Kinitz'ulij  
k+in+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1sABS+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural/formal) hug me

Kitz'ulij  
k+ø+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural/formal) hug him/her

Kujitz'ulij  
k+uj+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural/formal) hug us

Ki'tz'ulij  
k+i'+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3pABS+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural/formal) hug them.

Kinktz'ulij  
k+in+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1sABS+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They hug me

Katktz'ulij  
k+at+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2sABS+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They hug you

Kktz'ulij  
k+ø+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They hug him/her

Kujktz'ulij  
k+uj+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They hug us

Kixktz'ulij  
k+ix+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2pABS+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They hug you (plural/formal)

Ki'ktz'ulij  
k+i'+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3pABS+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They hug them

The prevocalic ergative markers are demonstrated with the verb “to bathe (causative)” below:

49: Xtinwatinsaj  
xt+ø+inw+atin+s+aj  
FUT+3sABS+1sERG+bathe+CAU+MOD  
I will bathe him/her

Xtawatinsaj  
xt+ø+aw+atin+s+aj  
FUT+3sABS+2sERG+bathe+CAU+MOD  
You will bathe him/her

Xtratinsaj  
xt+ø+r+atin+s+aj  
FUT+3sABS+3sERG+bathe+CAU+MOD  
He/she will bathe him/her

Xtqatinsaj  
xt+ø+q+atin+s+aj  
FUT+3sABS+1pERG+bathe+CAU+MOD  
We will bathe him/her

Xtiwatinsaj  
xt+ø+iw+atin+s+aj  
FUT+3sABS+2pERG+bathe+CAU+MOD  
You (plural/formal) will bathe him/her

Xtkatinsaj  
xt+ø+k+atin+s+aj  
FUT+3sABS+3pERG+bathe+CAU+MOD  
They will bathe him/her

The ergative marker is generally obligatory when a verb is transitive. However, in the case of third person singular subjects acting on third person (plural or singular) objects, the ergative marker is sometimes omitted with both the ergative and absolutive unmarked (or marked by the zero morpheme of third singular absolutive):

- 50:    Mariy xyatz' wu s-'aaq.  
           Mariy x+ø+yatz' wu s-'aaq.  
           Mariy COM+3sABS/3sERG+wring.out DET clothes  
           Mariy wrung out the clothes.
- 51:    Lex xb'an jun jay.  
           Lex x+ø+b'an jun jay.  
           Lex COM+3sABS/3sERG one house  
           Lex built a house
- 52:    Pey xmulb'a' ri ke'q aj.  
           Pey x+ø+mul+b'a' ri ke'q aj.  
           Pey COM+3sABS/3sERG+pile+PVT DET PLURAL ears.of.corn  
           Pey piled up the ears of corn.

#### 3.2.4 Tense, aspect, and mode markers

Tense, aspect and mode are marked by a set of prefixes which occur before the agreement markers in the verbal complex. The tense/aspect/mode prefixes have a corresponding set of suffixes which mark mode (these suffixes are discussed in 3.2.5, the following section). Tense/mode/aspect marking in Sipakapense is more complex than in other K'ichean languages due to the retention of older forms (such as the recent past) which have been lost in other K'ichean languages and the occurrence of innovative forms (such as the potential/dubative). For a general history of tense/mode/aspect marking in Mayan see Robertson (1992). The



tense/mode/aspect categories marked by these prefixes in Sipakapense are: perfective, completive, incompletive, optative/imperative, potential/dubative/dislocative, future, hortative/imperative with movement, recent past, completed/distant past, and negative potential.

#### 3.2.4.1 Perfective

Perfective aspect is marked by a zero morpheme (or is unmarked). The set of mode suffixes for perfective verbs are not shared with any other tense/mode/aspect prefixes so that the perfective is overtly marked through suffixation (as well as marked by the absence of a tense/mode/aspect prefix). The perfective aspect indicates that an action has been fully completed. In a few special cases, it may also express the state resulting from the completion of the act, such as the perfective of “to see,” which means “to know (a person).”

- 53: Toch'maj chik ri chnoj  
 ø+ø+toch'+maj chik ri chnoj  
 PRF+3sABS+cut+PRF-trans REP DET milpa  
 The milpa has already been cut.
- 54: Inrilmaj  
 ø+in+r+il+maj  
 PRF+1psABS+3pERG+see+PRF-trans  
 He knows me.
- 55: Ri q'aaq' tzajnoq  
 Ri q'aaq' ø+ø+tzaj+noq.  
 DET fire PRF+3sABS+go out+PRF  
 The fire has gone out.
- 56: Ri chak k'isnoq  
 Ri chak ø+ø+k'is+noq.  
 DET work PRF+3sABS+finish+PRF  
 The work is finished.

### 3.2.4.2 Completive

The completive prefix is *x+*. Completive aspect indicates that an action has been or will soon be completed. Although it generally refers to actions in the past, it can also be used for completed acts in the present or immediate future. For example the phrase *ya xinb'ek* (literally “I have already gone”; idiomatically “I’m coming”) may be used to call out to another that you are on your way or will arrive soon (such as in responding to a call to the dinner table). In contrast, the completed past tense (3.2.4.9 below) cannot be used in this manner. Thus, the primary distinction between the completive and the completed past is that the completive may refer to the immediate future or the present, where the completed past is always in the (remote) past.

- 57: Jun wnaq xylow ruk' Lex.  
Jun wnaq x+ø+yol+w ruk' Lex  
One person COM+3sABS+*speak*+FAP 3sERG+with Lex.  
A man spoke with Lex.
- 58: Ri nimaq'ijj rech pChun xtikrok iwir.  
Ri nima+q'ijj r+ech p+Chun x+ø+tik+r+ok iwir  
DET big+day 3sPOS+REL(for) PREP+Chun  
COM+3sABS+*begun*+VERS+DIR(out) yesterday  
The festival of Chun(Pueblo Viejo) started yesterday
- 59: Woyo xtaq jun rjuuj chu ri rchaq'.  
Woyo x+ø+taq jun r+juuj chu ri r+chaq'  
Woyo COM+3sABS+*send* one 3sPOS+letter(paper) PREP DET  
3sPOS+younger sister  
Woyo sent a letter to his younger sister.

- 60: Náacho xloq' la ch'iich' la'.  
 Naacho x+ø+loq' la ch'iich' la'.  
 Naacho COM+3sABS+buy DET car(metal) DEM  
 Naacho bought that car there.

### 3.2.4.3 Incompletive

The incompletive prefix is *k+*. Incompletive aspect refers to any action without reference to the initial or final state of the action. It is generally used for on-going actions in the past and present and may also be used for actions in the future. It contrasts with progressive aspect in that it does not stress the immediate present on-going nature of the action, but simply marks that the action is not completed (or that the completion of the action is not under focus). It is the most commonly used aspect in Sipakapense.

- 61: Beta kirtaqij wu rchij.  
 Beta k+ø+r+taq+ij wu r+chij.  
 Beta INC+3sABS+3sERG+search+MOD DET 3sPOS+sheep  
 Beta is looking for her sheep.
- 62: B'ech kirmeq'saj riib' chi q'aaq'.  
 B'ech k+ø+r+meq'+s+aj r+iib' chi q'aaq'.  
 B'ech INC+3sABS+3sERG+heat+CAUS+MOD 3sPOS+REFL PREP fire  
 B'ech warmed himself by the fire.
- 63: Meech kb'inik pnimaq'ij.  
 Meech k+ø+b'in+ik p+nima+q'ij  
 Meech INC+3sABS+walk+PFM PREP+big+day  
 Meech walked to the party

### 3.2.4.4 Optative/imperative

The optative/imperative is used for imperatives and for optatives (“that X might Y”). It has the form *k+*, except before the 3rd person singular absolutive marker, in

which case it take the form *ch+*. Historically, this prefix is the optative/imperative marker in K'ichee', but not in Kaqchikelan languages (such as Sipakapense). It is probably a borrowing from K'ichee' into Sipakapense, replacing the earlier optative/imperative prefix (*k+/t+*) which is now the potential/dubative/dislocative prefix (see 3.2.4.4 below).

64: Katwroq!  
 k+at+wor+oq  
 OPT+2sABS+sleep+MOD  
 Sleep!

65: Kujwroq!  
 k+uj+wor+oq  
 OPT+1pABS+sleep+MOD [root <wor>]  
 That we might sleep/Let's sleep.

66: Chab'su' la s-'aaq!  
 Ch+ø+a+b'us+V' la s-'aaq!  
 OPT+3sABS+2sERG+fold+MOD DET clothes  
 Fold the clothes.

#### 3.2.4.5 Potential/dubative/dislocative

The potential/dubative/dislocative has the form *k+*, except before the 3rd person singular absolute marker, in which case it has the form *t+*. The prefix *k+/t+* marks the optative/imperative in other Kaqchikelan languages. The occurrence of potential/dubative/dislocative aspect is an innovation related to the borrowing of the K'ichee' optative/imperative prefix *k+/ch+* into Sipakapense. Potential/dubative/dislocative aspect is most often used to indicate the potential nature of an action or to suggest doubt about the occurrence of an action. Thus, it is often used in questions and speculative statements about the past or future. In cases where the

prefix indicates doubt or potentiality, it occurs with the simple mode suffix (see 3.2.5.1 below). It may also occur with the dependent mode suffix, however, in which case it indicates that the location of an action is far away from the speaker. In these ‘dislocative’ examples, there is no doubt that the action occurred and the prefix simply indicates that the action occurred at a distant location.

- 67:    Mariy muja’ tulik  
           Mariy muja’ t+ø+ul+ik  
           Mariy already POT+3sABS+arrive+PFM  
           Mariy hasn’t arrived yet (but still might, we’re still waiting).
- 68:    Jruj tpe ri ch’iich’?  
           Jruj t+ø+pe ri ch’iich’?  
           When POT+3sABS+come DET bus  
           When is the bus coming?
- 69:    Tintja’.  
           T+ø+in+tij+V’. (with dependent modal suffix)  
           POT+3sABS+eat+MOD  
           I’m going to eat (over there). [It will definitely happen, just not here]
- 70:    Tchkun k’a? Mu wuen k’a?  
           T+ø+chuk+n k’a? Mu wuen k’a?  
           POT+3sABS+work+AAP then? Or good (Sp. bueno) then?  
           Does it work? Is it good then?
- 71:    Tinya’ pon jun iwa chi’ wu wa  
           T+ø+in+ya’ pon jun iwa chi’ wu wa  
           POT+3sABS+1sERG+give DIR one 2sPRO then DET 1sPRO  
           Then I’ll give it to one of you.
- 72:    Kumu tel wu jaay?  
           Kumu t+ø+el wu jaay  
           how POT+3sABS+enter DET house  
           How could it have entered the house?

- 73: Che tab'na' k'a ptiinmit?  
 Che t+ø+a+b'an+V' k'a p+tiinmit  
 What POT+3sABS+2sERG+do+MODE then PREP+town  
 What are you going to do in town, then?

#### 3.2.4.6 Future

The future prefix takes the form *xk+* and *xt+* when it occurs before the 3rd person singular absolutive agreement marker. It indicates that an action has yet to occur. The action is generally fairly certain to occur and will be completed. Thus, it does not convey the degree of doubt indicated by the potential/dubative aspect nor does it convey the non-finality of incompletive aspect.

- 74: Xkinatnik  
 xk+in+atin+ik  
 FUT+1sABS+bathe+PFM  
 I'm going to bathe.
- 75: Xkujwrik  
 xk+uj+wor+ik  
 FUT+1pABS+sleep+PFM  
 We are going to sleep.
- 76: Wan xtulik wre'.  
 Wan xt+ø+ul+ik wre'.  
 Wan FUT+3sABS+come+PFM here.  
 Wan will come here.
- 77: Xkatintz'ulij  
 xk+at+in+tz'ul+ij  
 FUT+2sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I'm going to hug you.

78: Ya xtuleqaj rq'ij Santa Crus, weeno pwes,  
 ya xt+ø+ul+eqaj r+q'ij Santa Crus, weeno pwes,  
 already FUT+3sABS+arrive+DIR(down) 3sPOS+day Santa Cruz, well then,

xtalq'ul tray,  
 xt+ø+a+loq'+ul tray,  
 FUT+3sERG+2sABS+buy+DIR(arrive) drink,

xtalq'ul jun tz'ek, xki'xojwik  
 xt+ø+a+loq'+ul jun tz'ek, xk+i'+xoj+w+ik  
 FUT+3sABS+2sERG+buy+DIR(arrive), FUT+3pABS+dance+FAP+PFM

The day of the Holy Cross is about to arrive, well then, you will buy a drink,  
 you will buy a rooster, and they will dance.

#### 3.2.4.7 Hortative/imperative involving movement

When hortative/imperative aspect (usually marked with the prefix *k+/ch+*) co-occurs with movement of the agent, a different prefix *j+* is used. The meaning is the same as hortative/imperative aspect only with the added implication of “coming” or “going.” The implied movement is generally “going” unless of course, the speaker is the object of the imperative (as in “Come give me a hug” below). Related to this special treatment of movement-oriented imperatives, the hortative/imperative form of the verb “to go” *b'ek* is irregular, having the following conjugation:

79: Jáne "I'm going (That I go)"  
 Jat "Go (2nd person singular)"  
 Je' "That she/he/it goes"  
 Jo' "Let's go"  
 Jix! "Go! (2nd person plural/formal)"  
 Je'n "That they go. "

80: Jo', ji'cha'n k'chi' ruk' Liy tla'.  
 Jo', j+i'+cha'+n k'a+chi' r+uk' Liy tla'  
 1pIMP/go, IMV+3pABS+talk+AAP then+well 3sPOS+REL(with)  
 Liy over.there  
 Let's go, Let's go talk with Liy over there, then.

81: Jilq'o!  
 j+ø+i+loq'+V'  
 IMV+3sABS+2pERG+buy+MOD  
 Go buy it!

82: Forms for "go and hug"

Jintz'ulij  
 j+ø+in+tz'ul+ij  
 IMV+3sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I'll go and hug him/her.  
 ("That I go and hug him/her.")

Jinatz'ulij!  
 J+in+a+tz'ul+ij  
 IMV+1sABS+2sERG+hug+MOD  
 Come give me a hug!

Jinitz'ulij  
 J+in+i+tz'ulij  
 IMV+1sABS+2pERG+hug+MOD  
 Come (plural/formal) give me a hug!

Jujitz'ulij  
 J+uj+i+tz'ul+ij  
 IMV+1pABS+2pERG+hug+MOD  
 Come(plural/formal) give us a hug!

Jujatz'ulij  
 J+uj+a+tz'ul+ij  
 IMV+1pABS+2pERG+hug+MOD  
 Come give us a hug!



Jatz'ulij  
J+ø+a+tz'ul+ij  
IMV+3sABS+2sERG+hug  
Go hug him/her!

Ji'atz'ul la'  
J+i'+a+tz'ul la'  
IMV+3pABS+2sERG+hug there  
Go over there and hug them!

Jintz'ulij  
J+ø+in+tz'ul+ij  
IMV+3sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
Oh, that I go and hug him/her!

Jixintz'ulij  
J+ix+in+tz'ul+ij  
IMV+2pABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
Oh, that I go and hug you (plural/formal)!

Jixrtz'ulij  
J+ix+r+tz'ul+ij  
IMV+2pABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
That he/she would go and hug you (plural/formal)

Ji'rtz'ulij  
J+i'+r+tz'ul+ij  
IMV+3pABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
That he/she would go and hug them.

Jrtz'ulij  
J+ø+r+tz'ul+ij  
IMV=3sABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
That he/she would go and hug him/her.

#### 3.2.4.8 Recent past

The recent past prefix is *mik+*, except before the third person singular absolutive agreement marker, when it is *mit+*. Historically, this prefix is the combination of *miy* meaning “today before the present moment” and the potential/dubative/dislocative aspect marker *k+/t+* (historically the proto-Kaqchikelan hortative/imperative marker). Although other K’ichean languages do not mark the recent past, Mam has a similar recent past prefix *ma+* as well as the temporal adjective *maak’y* “today before the present” (England 1983). The recent past aspect refers to events that have been fully completed fairly recently (often the event has just occurred). Unlike completive aspect, the recent past may not be used for actions that are (will be) completed in the present or immediate future. The recent past is also used to indicate the onset of a change of state, especially when the change of state is surprising or has important implications. In such cases (which speakers usually translate as “already”), it is not the “recentness” of the action that is stressed, but the fact that the action represents the onset of a change of state/status. For example, the sentence “But they’ve already gotten a little hard” was spoken concerning tortillas that were beginning to go stale. Here the use of the recent past does not seem to emphasize that the hardening of the tortillas just happened, but that a surprising change of state had recently occurred (i.e. that had started to go bad before they should have). The change of state is often incomplete, however, as a complete change of state is more likely to be expressed with the completed past (see 3.2.4.9 below).

- 83: No'j miki'kowir qi'n  
 No'j mik+i'+kow+ir qi'n  
 but REC+3pABS+hard+VERS DIM  
 But they've already gotten a little hard
- 84: Mikatul awa ruk' wu nsikl, Nax?  
 Mik+at+ul awa r+uk' wu n+sikl, Nax?  
 REC+2psABS+arrive 2pPRO 3sERG+with DET 1sERG+bicycle, Nax?  
 Did you arrive with my bicycle, Nax?
- 85: Mitink'is ri chak.  
 Mit+ø+in+k'is ri chak.  
 REC+3sABS+1sERG+finish DET work.  
 I already finished my work.
- 86: Mitb'ek aq'ab'.  
 Mit+ø+b'e+ik aq'ab'  
 REC+3sABS+go+PFM night  
 It's already late (lit. "night has come")
- 87: Ri jal mitxijxik.  
 Ri jal mit+ø+xij+x+ik  
 DET corn.ear REC+3sABS+degrain+PASS+PFM  
 The ear of corn has already been degraigned.

#### 3.2.4.9 Completed or distant past

The completed or distant past is marked with the prefix *mix+*. This is historically derived from the same root as the recent past *miiy* with the completive aspect prefix. This aspect marker is probably pan-Kaqchikelan and is found in Kaqchikel documents from the colonial period, such as the *Annales de los Kaqchikeles* (Garcia Matzár, personal communication). Although *mix+* has been retained in Sipakapense, it is no longer used in other Kaqchikelan languages. The completed past aspect differs from the completive aspect in that it may not refer to completed acts in the present or immediate future (i.e. "I'm coming" as discussed in 3.2.4.2

above). It differs from the recent past in that the actions must have occurred in the relatively “distant” past. Like the recent past, the completed past is often used to describe a change of state. With the completed past, however, the change of state must be complete and irreversible (unlike the recent past which usually emphasizes the initiation of a change of state).

- 88:    *Mixwa'*  
          *mix+ø+wa'*  
          PST+3sA+eat(intrans).  
          She/he ate.
- 89:    *Mixi'qyo'k wu lej pxot.*  
          *mix+i'+q+ya'+ok wu lej p+xot*  
          PST+3sABS+2pERG+give+DIR(enter) DET tortilla PREP+grill(comal)  
          We put the tortillas on the grill.
- 90:    *Ri ooj mixq'enrik.*  
          *Ri ooj mix+ø+q'en+r+ik.*  
          DET avocado PST+3sABS+ripe/yellow+VER+PFM  
          The avocado is already ripened.
- 91:    *Mu ya mixnaq'taj ik'u'x*  
          *Mu ya mix+ø+naq'+taj i+k'u'x*  
          QUE already PST+3sABS+adjust+PASS 2pPRO+stomach  
          Has your stomach already adjusted? (to the food here)

#### 3.2.4.10 Negative potential – *mV'+*

The negative potential is marked by the prefix *mV'+* and is used for negative imperatives/hortatives and negative potential statements. The negative potential prefix may occur alone or in conjunction with the potential/dubative/dislocative aspectual marker (see below). The use of the negative potential in Sipakapense differs from that described by DuBois (1981) for Sakapulteko and by Mondloch (1978) for K'ichee' in that the scope of negation in Sipakapense differs from that in

Sakapulteko and K'ichee'. In K'ichee' and Sakapulteko, the scope of negation is over the verb itself:

92: K'ichee' (Mondloch 1978: 120) [alphabet and abbreviations altered to match this work]:

Marelaq'aaj  
Ma+ø+r+elaq'+aaj  
NPT+3sABS+3sERG+steal+MOD  
Let him not steal it.

93: Sakapulteko (DuBois 1981:165) [alphabet and abbreviations altered to match this work]:

Mipeetaq.  
Mi+ø+peet+aq  
NPT+3sABS+come+MOD  
Let him not come.

These examples from K'ichee' and Sakapulteko demonstrate that the scope of negation is over the action of the verb and not the potentiality of the aspectual marker. In Sipakapense, however, the scope of negation is over the potentiality. Thus, Sipkapanese verbs with negative potential aspect carry the meaning "Don't let it be the case that X" (as opposed to "Let it be the case that NOT X" as in K'ichee' and Sakapulteko):

94: Me'lik re.  
MV'+ø+el+ik re.  
NPT+3sABS+go out+ 3sPRO  
Don't let him go out. (or "He's not going to go out")

The negative potential aspect may be used for negative imperatives and for declarative sentences in which something is preventing the action conveyed by the verb from occurring. Thus, “Don’t let him go out” above may also mean “He’s not going to get out” in a case where there is something preventing “him” from leaving (such as a person trapped in a cave or protected by a guard, etc). The vowel of the prefix is underspecified. The vowel is often lost due to the  $V_1?V_2 \rightarrow V_2?$  phonological alternation (see 2.3.7). Thus, whenever the prefix occurs before a vowel, the underspecified vowel in the prefix does not surface (being replaced by the vowel following the prefix). When the negative potential prefix occurs before a consonant, the default vowel [i] occurs (for more on [i] epenthesis, see 2.5).

- 95: Mi'nitz'ulij  
 MV'+in+i+tz'ul+ij.  
 NPT+1sABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
 Don't hug me.
- 96: Mu'jelik  
 MV'+uj+el+ik.  
 NPT+3pABS+go out+PFM  
 We aren't going to go out.
- 97: Mi'nwrik  
 MV'+in+wor+ik  
 NPT+1sABS+sleep+PFM  
 I'm not going to sleep. (i.e. "I'll never get to sleep!")
- 98: Ma'twrik  
 MV'+at+wor+ik  
 NPT+2sABS+sleep+PFM  
 Don't sleep!

- 99: Mu'wrik  
 MV'+ø+wor+ik  
 NPT+3sABS+sleep+PFM  
 He won't sleep
- 100: Mu'ujwrik  
 MV'+uj+wor+ik  
 NPT+1pABS+sleep+PFM  
 Let's not sleep
- 101: Mi'xwrik  
 MV'+ix+wor+ik  
 NPT+1pABS+sleep+PFM  
 Don't sleep! (plural/formal)
- 102: Mi'wrik  
 MV'+ii+wor+ik  
 NPT+3pABS+sleep+PFM  
 They won't sleep.
- 103: Ma'tintz'ulij  
 MV'+at+in+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+2pABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
 I'm not going (to be able to) hug you.
- 104: Mi'ntz'ulij  
 MV'+ø+in+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+3sABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
 I'm not going to hug him
- 105: Ma'ch'ey.  
 MV'+ø+a+ch'ey.  
 NPT+3sABS+2sERG+hit  
 Don't hit him.
- 106: Mi'nch'ey.  
 MV'+in+ø+ch'ey.  
 NPT+1sABS+3sERG+hit.  
 He won't hit me.

- 107: Ma'tij.  
 MV'+ø+a+tij  
 NPT+3sABS+2sERG+eat  
 Don't eat that!

In addition, at least in the dialect of P-'ooj/Chwal, the negative potential prefix may occur in addition to another regular tense/mode/aspect prefix which carries the temporal and aspectual information. The *mV'*+ prefix occurs before the other tense/mode/aspect prefixes, with the main difference being that the forms with two distinct tense/mode/aspect markers carry more nuanced meaning. For example, sentences with the negative potential and the potential/dubative carry the sense of "X won't be able to" rather than simply "X won't" (as with the negative potential and the incompletive).

- 108: Mi'katintz'ulij  
 MV'+k+at+in+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+INC+2sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I won't hug you
- 109: Mi'katqztz'ulij  
 MV'+k+at+q+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+INC+2sABS+1pERG+hug+MOD  
 We won't hug you.
- 110: Mi'katrtz'ulij  
 MV'+k+at+r+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+INC+2sABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
 He won't hug you.
- 111: Mi'tintz'ulij  
 MV'+t+ø+in+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+POT+3sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I'm not going to be able to hug him/her



- 112: Mi'tqtij  
 MV'+t+ø+q+tij  
 NPT+POT+3sABS+1pERG+eat  
 We aren't going to be able to eat(trans)
- 113: Mi'tktij  
 MV'+t+ø+k+tij  
 NPT+POT+3sABS+3pERG+eat  
 They aren't going to be able to eat (trans)
- 114: Mi'xkintz'ulij  
 MV'+xk+ø+in+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+FUT+3sABS+1sERG+hug+MOD  
 I'm not going to hug him/her (in the future)
- 115: Mi'xkujrtz'ulij  
 MV'+xk+uj+r+tz'ul+ij  
 NPT+FUT+1pABS+3sERG+hug+MOD  
 He isn't going to hug us.

#### 3.2.4.11 Progressive

The progressive aspect is marked with the particle 'tjin' and the incompletive aspectual prefix *k+*. The particle 'tjin' is historically derived from the auxiliary verb *tajin(ik)* found in other K'ichean languages. In some dialects of other K'ichean languages, *tajin(ik)* occurs in the third person singular with the incompletive aspect marker (because of the ongoing nature of the progressive). In Nahualá K'ichee', for example, (Mondloch 1978: 99-100), for example, the progressive marker takes tense/mode/aspect and third person absolutive agreement marker:

K'ichee' (Mondloch 1978: 100):

- 116: Katajin kujwa'ik.  
 k+a+ø+tajin                      k+uj+wa'+ik  
 INC+EPE+3sABS+PROG INC+1pABS+eat+PFM  
 We are eating.

In Kaqchikel and Tz'utujil, *tajin* is always marked for incompletive aspect and may be marked for absolutive agreement with any number or person (Garcia Matzar and Rodriguez Guaján 1997, Garcia Ixmatá 1997). In Sipakapense, the verbal affixes on the progressive *tjin* have been lost, so that the original verb root behaves like an aspectual particle, rather than a conjugated verb. This uninflected *tajin* also occurs in some dialects of K'ichee' (López Ixcoy 1997)

- 117: Roq' tjin kirmich' rij jun ak'  
 Roq' tjin k+ø+r+mich' r+ij jun ak'  
 Roq' PROG INC+3sABS+3sERG+pluck 3sPOS+back one chicken  
 Roq' is plucking a chicken.
- 118: Max tjin kirtz'aj jun chee'.  
 Max tjin k+ø+r+tz'aj jun chee'.  
 Max PROG INC+3sABS+3sERG+draw one tree  
 Max is drawing a tree.
- 119: Lex tjin ki'rb'us wu s-'aaq.  
 Lex tjin k+i'+r+b'us wu s-'aaq  
 Lex PROG INC+3pABS+3sERG+fold DET clothes  
 Lex is folding the clothes.

### 3.2.5 Mode and voice marking and phrase final suffixes

#### 3.2.5.1 Mode suffixes

Following Kaufman (1990), I have divided modal suffixes into three basic classes of “simple,” “dependent” and “perfective” modes. Modal suffixes agree with

the tense/mode/aspect prefixes. The dependent mode suffixes are used with prefixes indicating optative/imperative and hortative with movement. The simple prefixes are used with all other tense/mode/aspect prefixes. The perfective mode suffixes are used only with the perfective (zero morpheme) prefix. Like perfectives, stative constructions do not have an overt tense/mode/aspect prefix. However, statives take the simple modal suffix (in addition to the stative suffix). The simple modal suffix is used with all other tense/mode/aspect prefixes except when movement is incorporated into the verb or when dislocation is indicated by the potential/dubative prefix. If movement is incorporated into the verb (see 3.), the dependent suffixes are used. With the potential/dubative/dislocative prefix, either the simple or the dependent suffix may be used, according to the intended meaning of the verb. With the simple suffix, this prefix indicates potential or doubt. With the dependent suffix, the potential/dubative indicates that the action took place in a location far away from the speaker. The modal suffixes are as follows:

mode	root transitives	derived trans.	trans in V'	intransitives
simple	-∅	-Vj	-∅	(-ik)
dependent	-V'	-Vj	-∅	-oq
perfective	-maj	-maj	-maj	-noq

Table 4: Sipakapense modal suffixes

#### 3.2.5.1.1 Suffixes for "simple" mode

The "simple" mode is unmarked for root transitive verbs and transitive verbs ending in glottal stop, including those ending in +b'a' derived from positional roots:

- 120: Sant xto' wu Mund.  
 Sant x+ø+to' wu Mund.  
 Sant COM+3sABS+help DET Mund.  
 Sant helped Mund.
- 121: Xsu' Chus wu meex.  
 X+ø+su' Chus wu meex.  
 COM+3sABS+clean Chus DET table.  
 Chus cleaned the table.
- 122: Monch xmulb'a' ri ke'q aj  
 Monch x+ø+mul+b'a' ri ke'q aj.  
 Monch COM+3sABS+pile+PVT DET PLU corn ear.  
 Monch piled up the ears of corn.
- 123: Xi'rtij Lex ri sub'  
 X+i'+r+tij Lex ri sub'  
 COM+3pABS+3sERG+eat Lex DET tamale.  
 Lex ate the tamales.
- 124: Wiixa xloq' jun tz'i'.  
 Wiixa x+ø+loq' jun tz'i'.  
 Wiixa COM+3sABS/3sERG+buy one dog.  
 Wiixa bought a dog.
- 125: Xk'ut Roq' ri b'eeey  
 X+ø+k'ut Roq' ri b'eeey.  
 COM+3ABS/3ERG+show Roq' DET road  
 Roq' showed the way.

For derived transitives, the simple mode is marked with *+aj*. For  $C_1VC_2$  roots, the suffix vowel is the same as that of the root, with the full verb stem taking the form  $C_1C_2Vj$ . Thus, the basic suffix is *+j*, with the default vowel [a] preventing the formation of a complex coda. Although the default vowel in Sipakapense is usually

[i], the [a] in this case may be due to the presence of the following [+low] consonant (see 2.5 above).

- 126: Xkeb'saj Beta jun q'ooq'.  
 X+ø+keb'+s+aj Beta jun q'ooq'.  
 COM+3sABS/3sERG+two+CAU+MOD Beta one ayote.  
 Beta split an ayote.
- 127: Tjin krchomsaj Stewn wu rkuch.  
 Tjin k+ø+r+chom+saj Stewn wu r+kuch.  
 PRG INC+3sABS+3sERG+fat+CAU+MOD Stewn DET 3sERG+pig  
 Stewn is fattening his pig.
- 128: Xrtzuj Pey wu Ma'el  
 X+ø+r+tzuj+j Pey wu Ma'el.  
 COM+3sABS+3sERB+accuse+MOD Pey DET Ma'el.  
 Pey accused Ma'el.
- 129: Xwxij Liino wu jal  
 X+ø+wix+j Liino wu jal.  
 COM+3sABS/3sERG+degrain+MOD Liino DET corn ear  
 Liino degraigned the ear of corn.
- 130: Xrpxoj Yáago wu rch'iich'  
 X+ø+r+pox+j Yáago wu r+ch'iich'.  
 COM+3sABS+3sERB+smash+MOD Yaago DET 3sERG+radio (lit. metal)  
 Yaago smashed his radio.

For intransitives, the simple mode is either unmarked, or is marked by the optional presence of the phrase final marker *+ik*. Unlike in K'ichee' (cf. Barrett 1993), the phrase final marker *+ik* is not obligatory utterance-finally. In addition, its use in other positions is perfectly acceptable. The phrase final marker in Sipakapense is primarily a prosodic marker used much like a pause to mark a break in the prosody. Like pausing before a constituent, the use of the phrase final marker *+ik* may add

emphasis on the following noun phrase. However, this emphasis is weak compared to the types of focus that require fronting of a noun phrase to verb-initial position.

- 131: Chwaq tk'isik ri woy  
 Chwaq t+ø+k'is+ik ri woy.  
 Tomorrow POT+3sABS+end+PFM DET food.  
 Tomorrow the food will run out.
- 132: Ri ajk'al kkoq'ik.  
 Ri ajk'al k+ø+koq'+ik  
 DET child INC+3sABS+cry+PFM  
 The child is crying.
- 133: Maks xwi'k  
 Maks x+ø+wa'+ik.  
 Maks COM+3sABS+eat+PFM  
 Maks ate
- 134: Maks tjin kwa'  
 Maks tjin k+ø+wa'.  
 Maks PRG INC+3sABS+eat.  
 Maks is eating.
- 135: Xpetik jun wix chjay  
 X+ø+pe+tik jun wix ch+jay.  
 COM+3sABS+come+PFM one cat PREP+house  
 A cat came into the house.

### 3.2.5.1.2 Dependent mode suffixes

Root transitives take the suffix V' (vowel+glottal stop). When the suffix is added, C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> roots take the form C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V'. The suffix vowel corresponds to the vowel of

the root if the root vowel is /a/, /o/, or /u/. If the root vowel is /i/ or /e/, the suffix vowel is [a].

- 136: Chato' la achag'  
Ch+ø+a+to' la a+chag'.  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+help DET 2sERG+younger brother  
Help your little brother.
- 138: Chatzuyb'a' la akmi'x.  
Ch+ø+a+tzuy+b'a' la a+kmi'x.  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+hanging+PVT DET 2sERG+shirt  
Hang up your shirt.
- 139: Chaxma' la wakx.  
Ch+ø+a+xim+a' la wakx.  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+tie+MOD DET cow  
Tie up the cow.
- 140: Chakma'.  
Ch+ø+a+kem+a'.  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+weave+MOD  
Weave it!
- 141: Chajla' la akmi'x  
Ch+ø+a+jal+a' la a+kmi'x.  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+change+MOD DET 2sERG+shirt  
Change your shirt.
- 142: Chatch'o' la chnoj la'  
Ch+ø+a+toch'+o' la chnoj la'  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+cut+MOD DET milpa there  
Cut this milpa!
- 143: Chab'su' la s-'aaq.  
Ch+ø+a+b'us+u' la s'aaq.  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+fold+MOD DET clothes  
Fold the clothes.

For intransitives, the dependent mode suffix is +oq.

- 144: Katrumumoq  
K+at+rum+um+oq!  
OPT+2sABS+run+DRV+MOD  
Run!
- 145: Katwroq!  
K+at+wor+oq  
OPT+2sABS+sleep+MOD  
Sleep!
- 146: Katatnoq!  
K+at+atin+oq  
OPT+2sABS+bathe+MOD  
Bathe!
- 147: Ki'yolwoq!  
k+i'yol+w+oq  
OPT+3pABS+speak+AAP+MOD  
That they would speak.

For roots ending in glottal stop, the simple mode is unmarked:

- 148: Chasu'.  
ch+ø+a+su'  
OPT+3sA+3sE+clean  
Clean it.
- 149: Chato' la achaq'.  
ch+ø+a+to' la a+chaq'  
OPT+3sA+3sE+help DET 2sPOS+younger.brother  
Help your little brother.
- 150: Chaya' pon wu atz'ib'al chu Pey.  
ch+ø+a+ya' pon wu a+tz'ib'+b'al chu Pey  
OPT+3sA+2sE+give dir(arrive.there) DET 2sPOS+write+LOC PREP Pey  
Give Pey your pencil.



### 3.2.5.2 Perfectives

For all transitive roots, the perfective suffix is *+maj*. It always co-occurs with the perfective tense/mode/aspect prefix, which is a zero morpheme. In other words, the perfective suffix may not occur when a (non-zero) tense/mode/aspect prefix is present.

- 151: Ri ke iitzujmaj.  
ri ke  $\emptyset$ +ii+tzuj+maj  
DET 3pPRO PRF+3pABS+accuse+PRF  
They have been accused.
- 152: Ri awa' attzujmaj.  
ri awa'  $\emptyset$ +at+tzuj+maj  
DET 2sPRO PRF+2sERG+accuse+PRF  
You have been accused.
- 153: Ri ajk'al to'maj.  
Ri ajk'al  $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ +to'+maj  
DET child PRF+3sABS+help+PRF  
The child has been helped.
- 154: Ya'maj ri kotz'a'j.  
 $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ +ya'+maj ri kotz'a'j.  
PRF+3sABS+give+PRF DET flower  
The flowers have been given.
- 155: Ri limet nojsmaj chik.  
ri limet  $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ +noj+s+maj chik.  
DET bottle PRF+3sABS+fill+VER+PRF again.  
The bottle has been filled again.
- 156: Ch'ajmaj chik ri s-'aaq  
 $\emptyset$ + $\emptyset$ +ch'aj+maj chik ri s-'aaq.  
PRF+3sABS+wash+PRF REP DET clothes  
The clothes have already been washed.

For intransitives, the perfective suffix is *+noq*. Again, the suffix always occurs with the zero morpheme perfective prefix.

157: K'isnoq ri chak.  
ø+ø+k'is+noq ri chak.  
PRF+3sABS+finish+PRF DET work  
The work is finished.

158: Wornoq ri ajk'al.  
ø+ø+wor+noq ri ajk'al.  
PRF+3sABS+sleep+PRF DET child  
The child has slept.

### 3.2.5.3 Statives

Stative verbs are marked by the suffix *+til*. Statives differ from perfectives in that they emphasize the final state of the action expressed by the verb. Because statives place focus on the fact that the patient/morphological subject (marked by the absolutive prefix within the verb) has undergone some action or change, they do not occur with intransitive verbs. (For the syntax of statives, see 4.4.1).

159: Mu ch'ajtlík ri s-aaq?  
Mu ø+ch'aj+til+ik ri s'-aaq?  
INT 3sABS+wash+STA+PFM DET clothes  
Are the clothes washed?

160: Chomstlík wu ak'  
ø+chom+s+til+ik wu ak'.  
3sABS+fat+CAU+STA+PFM DET hen.  
The hen is fattened.

- 161: Ri jaay wiqtil.  
 Ri jaay ø+wiq+til.  
 DET house 3sABS+decorate+STA  
 The house is decorated.
- 162: Mu itzuyb'tlik ri ikmi'x?  
 Mu i+tzuy+b'a+til+ik ri i+kmi'x?  
 INT 3pABS+hang+PVT+STA+PFM DET 2pERG+shirt  
 Are your shirts hanging?

#### 3.2.5.4 Voice

The active voice is unmarked in Sipakapense. All other voices display morphological and syntactic differences from the active voice. For the syntax of voice constructions, see section 4.9 below.

#### 3.2.5.5 Passive voices

Sipakapense has two passive voices. The simple passive is marked either by a suffix or by lengthening the root vowel of CVC transitive verb roots. The completed passive is marked by a suffix. Both forms of the passive occur with the completive tense/mode/aspect prefix. Both are regular passives in that the patient is promoted to the subject position and the agent may only be expressed in an oblique phrase (in Sipakapense using the relational noun *+um*). For the syntax of Sipakapense passives, see 4.9.1 below.

##### 3.2.5.5.1 Simple passives

###### 3.2.5.5.1.1 Vowel lengthening

Under the passive voice, the patient is promoted to the subject position, with the agent unexpressed or expressed through an oblique phrase using the relational noun

POS+um. For transitive CVC roots with a short vowel, the passive may be formed by lengthening the root vowel.

- 163: Ri tz'i' xxiimik rum Mink.  
 Ri tz'i' x+ø+xim+VOWEL LENTGH+ik r+um Mink.  
 DET dog COM+3sABS+tie+PAS+PFM 3sERG+by Mink  
 The dog was tied up by Mink.
- 164: Ri kmi'x xt'iisik rum Roq'.  
 Ri kmi'x x+ø+t'iis+ik r+um Roq'. [root <t'is>]  
 DET shirt COM+3sABS+sewPAS+PFM 3sERG+by Mink  
 The shirt was sewn by Roq'.
- 165: Ri tz'ab'il xtoor ken rum ri Yel.  
 Ri tz'ab'il x+ø+toor ken r+um ri Yel. [root <tor>]  
 DET door COM+3sABS+openPAS DIR 3sERG+by Yel  
 The door was opened by Yel.

#### 3.2.5.5.1.2 The simple passive suffix

The passive voice is marked by the suffix +x, with the optional addition of the phrase-final suffix +ik. When the phrase-final marker does not occur, an epenthetic [i] occurs to give the CCVC final syllable. (For vowel epenthesis, see 2.5). This suffix may be used for both derived and root transitive verbs, including short vowel roots that may also mark the simple passive with vowel lengthening.

- 166: Ri jaay xtzurtzik rum Max. = Ri jaay xtzurtzix rum Max.  
 Ri jaay x+ø+tzurtz+ix+ik r+um Max.= Ri jaay x+ø+tzurtz+ix r+um Max  
 DET house COM+3sABS+bless+PAS(+PFM) 3sERG+by Max.  
 The house was blessed by Max.
- 167: Méema xtz'ulxik rum Lex.  
 Méema x+ø+tz'ul+ix+ik r+um Lex.  
 Meema COM+3sABS+hug+PAS+PFM 3sERG+by Lex.  
 Meema was hugged by Lex.

- 168: Ri aj xi'mulb'xik rum Chaan.  
 Ri aj x+i'+mul+b'+ix+ik r+um Chaan.  
 DET corn=ears COM+3pABS+pile+PVT+PAS+PFM 3sERB+by Chaan  
 The ears of corn were piled up by Chaan.
- 169: Ri ajk'al xkunxik rum Woy.  
 Ri ajk'al x+ø+kun+ix+ik r+um Woy.  
 DET child COM+3sABS+cure+PAS+PFM 3sERB+by Woy  
 The child was cured by Woy.

### 3.2.5.5.2 The completed passive

The completed passive is marked with the suffix *+taj* for all transitive roots. The completed passive is syntactically identical to the simple passive. The main distinction between the two passives is that the completed passive conveys the sense that the action was performed completely and/or rapidly (in addition to forming a passive construction).

- 170: Ri chee' xtoch'taj.  
 Ri chee' x+ø+toch'+taj.  
 DET tree COM+3sABS+cut+CPS  
 The tree was cut down.
- 171: Ri chee' xtoch'taj rum Saant.  
 ri chee' x+ø+toch'+taj r+um Saant.  
 DET tree COM+3sABS+cut+CPS 3sPOS+REL(by) Saant.  
 The tree was cut down by Saant.
- 172 Ri ya' xmeq'staj.  
 Ri ya' x+ø+meq'+s+taj.  
 DET water COM+3sABS+heated+CAU+CPS  
 The water was heated quickly.

### 3.2.5.6 Absolutive antipassive +*n*

In the absolutive antipassive voice the patient is suppressed. This voice is generally used when the patient is unknown or irrelevant (or the speaker chooses not to mention the patient). It is also used for habitual actions performed by the same agent. Although the suffix is +*n*, the phonology prevents the formation of a final complex coda. If the absolutive antipassive is followed by the phrase final marker +*ik*, the antipassive appears as +*n*. For C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> roots without the phrase final marker, the root vowel shifts, creating the sequence C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>Vn. For derived transitive roots, the epenthetic vowel [i] occurs between the root and the antipassive suffix (to prevent the complex coda). (For the syntax of the absolutive antipassive, see 4.9.2 below).

- 173: Kstun nwoch.  
k+∅+sut+n n+woch  
INC+3sABS+twist+AAP 1pPOS+face/head  
I'm dizzy. (literally "my head is spinning," where "to spin" is transitive)
- 174: Pey kwjan.  
Pey k+∅+waj+n  
Pey COM+3sABS+hid+AAP  
Pey hides things.
- 175: Ma'el tjin kt'sin.  
Ma'el tjin k+∅+t'is+n  
Ma'el PROG INC+3sABS+sew+AAP  
Ma'el is sewing.
- 176: Ri q'ijj xib'al kpron.  
Ri q'ijj xib'al k+∅+por+n  
DET sun much INC+3sABS+burn+AAP  
The sun burns a lot.

- 177: Chéela tjin kb'ixnik.  
 Chéela tjin k+ø+b'ix+n+ik.  
 Chéela PROG INC+3sABS+sing+AAP+PFM  
 Cheela is singing.
- 178: Ri rxjab' Wan xi'poq'snik pirqan  
 ri r+xjab' Wan x+i'+poq'+s+n+ik pi+r+qan  
 DET 3sPOS+shoe Wan COM+3pABS+scalded+CAUSE+AAP+PFM  
 PREP+3sPOS+feet  
 Wan's shoes gave his feet blisters. (lit. = "Wan's shoes blistered his feet")
- 179: Keti xtch'ij taq kumu keti utz  
 Keti xt+ø+ch'ij taq kumu keti utz  
 not.like.this FUT+3sABS+endure SUBJ COMP not.like.this good
- kch'ojin taq.  
 k+ø+ch'oj+in taq.  
 INC+3sABS+fight+AAP SUBJ
- He won't last since he's not good at fighting.

### 3.2.5.7 Focus antipassive

The focus antipassive +w is similar to the absolutive antipassive, except that it is used when the agent NP is in focus or contrasts with another NP in the discourse. It is often used with wh-question, as wh-words are always placed in the focus position before the verb. In other K'ichean languages, there are two distinct morphemes for the focus antipassive (+Vw and +Vn with the latter used for derived transitives and transitives ending in glottal stop) (cf Daley 1985:347, etc). In Sipakapense these forms have undergone paradigm levelling so that a single morpheme +w is used for all classes of verbs. If the focus antipassive is followed by the phrase final marker

+*ik*, the focus antipassive is +*w*. For C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> roots without the phrase final marker, the root vowel shifts, creating the sequence C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>Vw. For derived transitive roots, the epenthetic vowel [i] occurs between the root and the antipassive suffix (to prevent the complex coda).

- 180: Chinaq xk'eywik ri tz'i'?'  
 Chinaq x+ø+k'ey+iw+ik ri tz'i'?'  
 Who COM+3sABS+sell+FAP+PFM DET dog  
 Who sold the dog?
- 181: Chinaq xchulwik wu si'?'  
 Chinaq x++ø+chul+iw+ik wu si'?'  
 who COM+3sABS+pee(trans)+FAP+PFM DET firewood.  
 Who peed on the firewood?
- 182: Are re xpaq'wik ri si'.'  
 are re x+ø+paq'+w+ik ri si'.'  
 3sEMP 3sPRO COM+3sABS+split+FAP+PFM DET firewood.  
 He was the one who split the firewood.
- 183: At awa xkattojwik.  
 at awa xk+at+toj+w+ik  
 2sPRO 2sEMPH FUT+2sABS+pay+FAP+PFM  
 You will be the one who will have to pay.
- 184: Chinaq xk'eqtiw wu awoch?  
 Chinaq x+ø+k'eq+t+w wu a+woch?  
 Who COM+3sABS+scratch+DRV+FAP DET 2sPOS+face  
 Who scratched your face?
- 185: Chinaq tjin ktz'jaw wu b'eyy?  
 Chinaq tjin k+ø+tz'aj+w wu b'eyy  
 Who PROG INC+3sABS+paint+FAP DET road  
 Who is painting the road



- 186: Qi' Liiy xb'now qwoy.  
 Qi' Liiy x+ø+b'an+w q+woy  
 DIM Liiy COM+3sABS+make+FAP 1pPOS+food  
 It was little Liiy that cooked our food.
- 187: Ri ixoq ri kchuknik pXóoya' kyolwik ruk' rtzik.  
 ri ixoq ri k+ø+chuk+n+ik p+Xóoya' k+ø+yol+w+ik r+uk' rtzik.  
 DET woman DET INC+3sABS+work+AAP+PFM PREP+Comitancillo  
 INC+3sABS+speak+FAP+PFM 3sPOS+REL(with)  
 3sPOS+younger sibling  
 The woman who works in Comitancillo is speaking with her younger sister.

### 3.2.5.8 Instrumental voice

The instrumental voice (+*b'ej* in Sipakapense) occurs throughout K'ichean languages. It is used to indicate focus on an instrument used by the agent in conducting a particular action. The instrumental voice is used when the instrument is emphasized, in contrastive focus or is questioned (for example, see Dayley 1985:354 for Tz'utujil). As in many dialects of K'ichean languages, this voice is not widely used by many Sipakapense speakers. The first two examples are taken from a recording of a speaker (who has since died) who was born at the turn of the century. The later three examples are from elicitations with a younger speaker, but are not generally found in everyday usage. Although the instrumental voice has been lost, a few verbs have (non-instrumental) forms historically derived from the instrumental suffix.

- 188: Chi ya' kink'am b'ik jun nxu'k waa kinch'ajb'ej wu laan.  
 chi ya' k+in+ø+k'am b'e+ik jun n+xu'k  
 PREP water INC+1sABS+3sERG+carry DIR(go)+PFM one 1sPOS+basket  
 waa k+in+ø+ch'aj+bej wu laan.  
 where INC+1sABS+3sERG+wash+INSTR DET wool.  
 I would carry my basket to the river where I would wash the wool (with it).
- 189: Xaq keek' kinriqb'ej qi'n poq ri xk'oo.  
 xaq keek' k+in+ø+riq+b'ej qi'n poq ri x+k'oo.  
 Only like.this INC+1sABS+3sERG+earn+INSTR DIM money  
 DET COM+EXIST  
 This was the only way I would earn a little money back then (with the wool).
- 190: Yel xk'owsaj rjnob'  
 Yel x+ø+k'ows+aj r+jnob'  
 Yel COM+3sABS+celebrate+MOD 3sPOS+year  
 Yel celebrated his birthday.
- 191: Yel ruk' q'aaq' xk'owsb'ej rjnob'.  
 Yel r+uk' q'aaq' x+ø+k'ows+b'ej r+jnob'  
 Yel 3sPOS+COM fire COM+3sABS+celebrate+INSTR 3sPOS+year  
 Yel celebrated his birthday with fireworks
- 192: Mariy kb'antjik ryolwik pqyolb'al no'j qal kraaj kiryolb'ej.  
 Mariy k+ø+b'an+taj+ik r+yolw+ik p+q+yol+b'al  
 Mariy INC+3sABS+make+CPS+PFM 3sERG+speak+PFM  
 PREP+3pPOS+speak+LOC  
 no'j qal k+ø+r+aaq k+i+r+yol+b'ej  
 but NEG INC+3sABS+3ERG+want  
 INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+speak+INSTR  
 Mariy can speak in Sipakapense, but she doesn't want to speak it.

### 3.2.6 Derivational suffixes on verbs

The majority of derived transitives are either CVC, CV'C or CVCC roots. The CVCC roots are not canonical forms in Mayan (and even in Sipakapense they do not occur without some following suffix which prevents a complex coda. With the exception of forms presented in this section, these CVCC roots are lexicalized forms and are not created from CVC roots with an additional suffix. Forms in which a suffix produces a derived verb are presented below.

#### 3.2.6.1 Reduplication

Though rare and not productive, a few forms are created through reduplication of the CVC root or the nucleus or the CVC root:

- 193:   tzajtzaj            (root = tzaj)   “to erase”  
          rumum(ik)        (root = rum)   “to run”

#### 3.2.6.2 – Lexicalized forms (historically) derived from the instrumental voice

Although the instrumental voice is no longer productive (as a voice construction) in Sipakapense, a few verb roots have derived forms which are created using the instrumental suffix.

- 194:   “to think” = na'b'ej  
195:   “to become engaged, to promise” = k'owsb'ej  
196:   Mitatchoq'b'ej  
          mit+ø+at+choq'+b'ej  
          REC+3sABS+2sERG+promise+INSTR  
          You already promised (it).

- 197: Wiixa xchoq'b'ej chi Wan  
 Wiixa x+ø+choq'b'ej chi Wan  
 Wiixa COM+3sA/3sE+promise PREP Wan  
 Wiixa is engaged to Wan
- 198: Qa xna'b'ej Méma xpon rchjil.  
 Qa x+ø+na'+b'ej Méma x+ø+pon r+chjil  
 NEG COM+3sA+think+INSTR Méma COM+3sA+arrive 3sPOS+husband  
 Méma didn't think her husband had arrived.

### 3.2.6.3 Causative

The causative (to make X do Y) is formed with the suffix +s. The suffix creates a derived transitive from an intransitive root. Causative constructions may also be formed with the relational noun POS+mal/POS+um without the causative suffix.

- 199: Xinworsaj.  
 x+ø+in+wor+is+aj  
 COM+3sABS+1sERG+sleep+CAU+MOD  
 S/he made me sleep
- 200: Xinratinsaj  
 x+in+r+atin+is+aj  
 COM+1sABS+3sERG+bathe+CAU+MOD  
 I bathed him/her.
- 201: Xinrchkunsaj  
 x+in+r+chuk+n+s+aj  
 COM+1sA+3sE+work+DRV+CAU+MOD  
 He made me work.
- 202: Xinrmum rmal.  
 x+in+rum+um r+mal  
 COM+1sA+run+DRV 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 He/she made me run.

203: Xintze'm rmal.  
 x+in+tze'm r+mal  
 COM+1sA+laugh 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 He/she made me laugh.

### 3.2.6.4 Versive

The versive “to become X(adj)” creates an intransitive verb from an adjective root. The suffix is *+r*. Like other suffixes (such as the antipassives) the versive occurs with the epenthetic [i] (as *+ir*) phrase finally (although CVC adjective roots do not become CCVr).

204: Xkowrik.  
 x+ø+kow+ir+ik  
 COM+3sABS+hard+VER+PFM  
 It became hard

205: Xkowir.  
 x+ø+kow+ir  
 COM+3sABS+hard+VER  
 It became hard

206: Xkeqrik  
 x+ø+keq+ir+ik  
 COM+3sABS+red+VER+PFM  
 It turned red

207: Xpusrik  
 x+ø+pus+ir+ik  
 COM+3sABS+moldy+VER+PFM  
 It molded.

208: Xt'aqrik  
 x+ø+t'aq+ir+ik  
 COM+3sABS+wet+VER+PFM  
 She/he got wet.

209: Xlu'qrik  
x+ø+lu'q+r+ik  
COM+3sA/3sE+weak+VER+PFM  
It made him/her weak.

210: Xyaxrik.  
x+ø+yaax+r+ik  
COM+3sA/3sE+thin(animals)VER+PFM  
It got thin.

As the versive creates an intransitive verb root, it may co-occur with the causative (creating a derived transitive) to give the meaning “To make X become Y(adj).” Because the intransitive verb is the root of the transitive causative, the versive precedes the causative.

211: Xtinkowsaj  
xt+ø+in+kow+ir+is+aj  
FUT+3sABS+1sERG+hard+VER+CAU+MOD  
I'm going to make it turn hard

212: Xintz'ilrsaj  
x+ø+tz'il+ir+is+aj  
COM+3sABS+1sERG+dirty+VER+CAU+MOD  
I got it dirty

### 3.2.6.5 +p

The suffix *+p* (usually *+p+ij* where *+ij* is the regular active ending for derived transitive verbs) is a derivational suffix for transitive verbs which indicates that an action was done in an irregular or disorderly manner. The corresponding derivational suffix in Kaqchikel (cf. Chacach Cutzal 1990: 170) carries the meaning “done with force.”

- 213: Xqitpij  
 x+ø+qit+pi+j  
 COM+3sA/3sE+drag+DIS+MOD  
 S/he led it along, jerking bit by bit.
- 214: Xtzuyb'pij  
 x+ø+tzuy+b'+pi+j  
 COM+3sA/3sE+DIS+MOD  
 It was balanced, hanging unstable.
- 215: Xjach'pij  
 x+ø+jach'+pi+j  
 COM+3sA/3sE+shuck+DIS+MOD  
 S/he shucked the corn in a disorderly way.
- 216: Jun keej xt'oq pij wu rklob'  
 jun keej x+ø+t'oq+pi+j wu r+klob'  
 one horse COM+3sA/3sE+broke+DIS+MOD DET 3sPOS+rope  
 A horse broke free from its rope. (1:178)

### 3.2.6.6 Verbs derived from positional roots

Another class of derived verbs is formed through suffixation on positional roots.

These forms are described in the section on positional roots, 3.4.2 below.

### 3.2.7 Movement

As in other K'ichean languages, prefixes indicating movement (“coming” and “going”) may be placed after the absolutive agreement marker in the verb template. The prefix consists of the regular root for the verbs “to come” and “to go” and indicates that the subject came or went in order to perform the action of the main verb. The inclusion of “come” or “go” indicates that the subject moved (came or went) in order to perform a given action.

### 3.2.7.1 “Go”-insertion

There are (at least) two variants for the insertion of “go” in Sipakapense verbs, both derived from variant forms of the verb “to go” – *b'e(k)* or *ek..* In the (southern) dialect of Tres Cruces, the form of the prefix is *+Vb'V+*. In the Tres Cruces dialect, the consonant [b'] occurs after the first vowel of the absolutive or ergative markers. The vowel is sometimes repeated following the [b'] prefix (following regular epenthesis of the Tres Cruces dialect (see 2.5.3.1). If no vowel occurs (as with the 3sABS agreement marker, which is a zero morpheme), the default epenthetic vowel [i] occurs on either side of the [b'].

- 217: Xib'irtz'ulij  
x+ii+b'+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+go+3sERG+hug+MOD  
“she/he went to hug them” (Tres Cruces)
- 218: Xib'intz'ulij  
x+ii+b'+in+tz'ul+ij  
x+3pABS+go+1sERG+hug+MOD  
“I went to hug them” (Tres Cruces)
- 219: Xab'atz'ulij  
x+ø+b'+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+go+1sERG+hug+MOD  
“You went to hug him/her.”



220: Xuj-'ek qe rech Todos Saant ruk' naan, xibiq't'qa' rkandela ri Papá.

x+uj+'ek qe r+ech Todos Saant r+uk'  
COM+1pABS+go 3pPRO 3sPOS+REL(for) All Saints' Day 3sPOS+REL(with)

naan, x+ø+ibi+q+t'iq+a' r+kandela ri papa  
mother, COM+3sABS+go+1pERG+light+MOD 3sPOS+candle DET father.

We went to the All Saints' Day service with mother; we lit a candle for father.  
(Tres Cruces)

221: No'j si xkaya'ken wu alej, xkub'urkach'ka' wix.  
No'j si xk+a+ya'+ken wu a+lej xk+u+b'+u+r+kach'ka' wix  
but if FUT+2sABS+give+dir(leave) DET 2sPOS+tortilla  
FUT+3pABS+go+3sERG+chew cat  
But if you leave your tortillas out the cat will chew on them. (Tres Cruces)

In the (northern) dialect of Chual/Pooj, the form of the prefix is + 'e+ (i.e. [+e+]). Usually, there is a phonological alternation between two different vowels separated by a glottal stop surface as the second vowel followed by glottal stop (i.e. a sequence  $V_1/V_2$  appear as  $V_2/$ , c.f. 2.3.7). In Chual go-insertion, however, this phonological process is blocked. Either the second vowel is lost (when go-insertion precedes the first person singular ergative) or both vowels are maintained. This is the only instance in which two different vowels separated only by a glottal stop occur in Sipakapense. This is somewhat understandable, since the loss of either vowel in the cases where they are maintained would delete one of the basic morphemes of the verbal complex. Also, this lack of alternation occurs in the set of tense/aspect/mode/agreement prefixes where other phonological processes are blocked (see 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 above).

222: Xat-'entz'ulij  
x+at+'e+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2sABS+go+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I went to hug you (singular).

X-'entz'ulij  
x+ø+'e+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+go+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I went to hug him/her.

Xix-'entz'ulij  
x+ix+'e+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2sABS+go+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I went to hug you (plural).

Xi'entz'ulij  
x+i+'e+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+go+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I went to hug them.

Xin-'e'atz'ulij  
x+in+'e+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1sABS+go+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You went to hug me.

X-'e'atz'ulij  
x+ø+'e+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+go+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You went to hug him/her.

Xuj-'e'atz'ulij  
x+uj+'e+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1pABS+go+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You went to hug us.

Xi'e'atz'ulij  
x+i+'e+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+go+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You went to hug them.

Xin-'ertz'ulij  
x+in+'e+r+tzul+ij  
COM+1sABS+go+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he went to hug me.

Xat-'ertz'ulij  
x+at+'e+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2sABS+go+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he went to hug you (singular).

X-'ertz'ulij  
x+ø+'e+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+go+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he went to hug him/her.

Xuj-'ertz'ulij  
x+uj+'e+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1pABS+go+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he went to hug us.

Xix-'ertz'ulij  
x+ix+'e+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2pABS+go+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he went to hug you (plural).

Xi'ertz'ulij  
x+i+'e+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+go+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/he went to hug them.

Xat-'eqtz'ulij  
x+at+'e+q+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2sABS+go+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We went to hug you (singular).

X-'eqtz'ulij  
x+ø+'e+q+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+go+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We went to hug him/her.

Xix-'eqtz'ulij  
x+ix+'e+q+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2pABS+go+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We went to hug you (plural).

Xi'eqtz'ulij  
x+i+'e+q+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+go+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We went to hug them.

Xin-'e'itz'ulij  
x+in+'e+i+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1sABS+go+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural) went to hug me.

X-'e'itz'ulij  
x+ø+'e+i+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+go+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural) went to hug him/her

Xuj-'e'itz'ulij  
x+uj+'e+i+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1pABS+go+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural) went to hug us.

Xi'e'itz'ulij  
x+i+'e+i+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+go+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural) went to hug them.

Xin-'ektz'ulij  
x+in+'e+k+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1sABS+go+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They went to hug me.

Xat-'ektz'ulij  
x+at+'e+k+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2sABS+go+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They went to hug you.

X-'ektz'ulij  
x+ø+'e+k+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+go+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They went to hug him/her.

Xuj-'ektz'ulij  
x+uj+'e+k+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1pABS+go+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They went to hug us.

Xix-'ektz'ulij  
x+ix+'e+k+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2pABS+go+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They went to hug you (plural)

Xi'ektz'ulij  
x+i+'e+k+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+go+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They went to hug them.

### 3.2.7.2 “Come”-insertion

The insertion of “come” operates exactly as the insertion of “go.” The verb root *ul* “to come” is reduced to *u* for “come”-insertion, except in cases in which the inserted morpheme occurs before a vowel, in which case it takes the form *uw* (preventing the co-occurrence of two vowels. When the inserted morpheme occurs after the third person plural absolute marker, it surfaces simply as *w*. (On the phonology of co-occurring vowels, see section 2.3.7).

223: Xatuwintz'uij  
x+at+u+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2sABS+come+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I came to hug you (singular)

Xuwintz'ulij  
x+ø+u+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+come+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I came to hug him/her.

Xixuwintz'ulij  
x+ix+u+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2pABS+come+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I came to hug you (plural)

Xi'wintz'ulij  
x+i'+u+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+come+1sERG+hug+MOD  
I came to hug them.

Xinuwatz'ulij  
x+in+u+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1sABS+come+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You (singular) came to hug me.

Xuwatz'ulij  
x+ø+u+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+come+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You (singular) came to hug him/her.

Xujuwatz'ulij  
x+uj+u+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1pABS+come+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You (singular) came to hug us.

Xu'watz'ulij  
x+i'+u+a+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+come+2sERG+hug+MOD  
You (singular) came to hug them.

Xinurtz'ulij  
x+in+u+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1sABS+come+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/He came to hug me.

Xaturtz'ulij  
x+at+u+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2sABS+come+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/He came to hug you (singular).

Xu'rtz'ulij  
x+ø+u'+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sABS+come+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/He came to hug him/her.

Xujurtz'ulij  
x+uj+u+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+1pABS+come+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/He came to hug us.

Xixurtz'ulij  
x+ix+u+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+2pABS+come+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/He came to hug you (plural).

Xu'wurtz'ulij  
x+i'+u+r+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3pABS+come+3sERG+hug+MOD  
S/He came to hug them.

Katuqtz'ulij  
k+at+u+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2sABS+come+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We come to hug you.

Kuwuqtz'ulij  
k+ø+u+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+come+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We come to hug him/her.

Kixuqtz'ulij  
k+ix+u+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2pABS+come+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We come to hug you (plural).

Ku'wuqtz'ulij  
k+i'+u+q+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3pABS+come+1pERG+hug+MOD  
We come to hug them.

Kinuwitz'ulij  
k+in+u+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1sABS+come+2pERG+hug+MOD  
[You (plural)] Come hug me.

Kuwitz'ulij  
k+ø+u+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+come+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural) come to hug him/her.

Kujuwitz'ulij  
k+uj+u+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+come+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural) come to hug us. [Come hug us]

Ku'witz'ulij  
k+u'+w+i+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3pABS+come+2pERG+hug+MOD  
You (plural) come to hug them.

Kinuktz'ulij  
k+in+u+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1sABS+come+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They come to hug me.

Katuktz'ulij  
k+at+u+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2sABS+come+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They come to hug you (singular).

kuwuktz'ulij  
k+ø+u+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3sABS+come+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They come to hug him/her.



Kujuktz'ulij  
k+uj+u+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+1pABS+come+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They come to hug us.

Kixuktz'ulij  
k+ix+u+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+2pABS+come+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They come to hug you (plural).

Ku'wuktz'ulij  
k+i'+u+k+tz'ul+ij  
INC+3pABS+come+3pERG+hug+MOD  
They come to hug them.

In the dialect of Chual, “come”-insertions with the third person plural absolutive may have two different forms. The glottal stop of the third plural absolutive marker may fall before or after the inserted “come” morpheme. The two forms have distinct meanings depending on the distance the subject has actually moved. Forms with the glottal stop before “come” indicate short distances, while those with the glottal stop after “come” indicate long distances:

224: xi'wintz'ulij  
x+ii'+u+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sA+come+1sE+hug+MOD  
They came (from nearby) to hug me.

225: xiwi'ntz'ulij  
x+ii'+u+in+tz'ul+ij  
COM+3sA+come+1sE+hug+MOD  
They came (a long way) to hug me.

### 3.2.8 Clitics

#### 3.2.8.1. Directional clitics

3.2.8.1.1 *b'ik* - The directional clitic *b'ik* is historically derived from the verb "to go" *b'e* with the phrase-final verb ending *+ik*. The meaning of *b'ik* typically entails movement away from the speaker upon completion of an action, as in "completed doing X and left."

226: Mariy xtz'ulij b'ik Wan.  
Mariy x+tz'ul+ij b'ik Wan.  
Mariy COM+hug+MOD DIR(go) Wan.  
Mariy hugged Wan and left

227: Xk'is b'ik  
x+ø+k'is b'ik  
COM+3sA/3sE+finish DIR(go)  
Everything is (totally) finished.

228: Ktor b'ik  
k+ø+tor b'ik  
COM+3sA/3sE+open DIR(go)  
S/he just opened it and left.

229: Ri ixaq xqaj b'ik chi ya'.  
Ri ixaq x+ø+qaj b'ik chi ya'  
DET woman COM+3sA+descend DIR(go) PREP water.  
The woman went down to the river (leaving from here).

3.2.8.1.2 *pon* - The clitic *pon* is derived from the verb "to arrive there" and basically refers to arrival away from the speaker. The use of *pon* may indicate: 1) that the action occurred far away from the speaker, 2) that the

action took place over a long distance (moving away from the speaker), or  
3) that the action took place ("here") before someone arrived.

- 230: Xtoyxij pon  
x+ø+tyox+ij pon  
COM+3sA/3sE+thank+MOD dir(arrive.there)  
COMS/he thanked him/her from far away. (e.g. by letter)
- 231: Xto'pon  
x+ø+to' pon  
COM+3sA/3sE+help DIR (arrive.there)  
S/he helped him/her from far away. (e.g. helped the  
people in the next town over).
- 232: Xxb'ij pon  
x+ø+xib'+j pon  
COM+3sA/3sE+scare+MOD DIR(arrive.there)  
S/he scared him/her from far away.
- 233: Xb'iin pon  
x+ø+b'iin pon  
COM+3sA/3sE+walk DIR(arrive.there)  
S/he walked a long distance.
- 234: Xmesaj pon  
x+ø+mes+aj pon  
COM+3sA/3sE+sweep+MOD dir(arrive.there)  
S/he swept before they (he/she) arrived.
- 235: Xloq' pon  
x+ø+loq' pon  
COM+3sA/3sE+buy dir(arrive.there)  
S/he bought it before they (he/she) arrived.

3.2.8.1.3 *ul* - The clitic *ul* (from the verb “to arrive here”) is similar to *pon*, but with reversed points of reference (i.e. arrival at the point of the speaker). It may mean 1) that the action took place across a distance (moving towards the speaker) or that the action occurred before someone came (in which case the action also takes place away from the speaker). It may also mean that the action took place inside something.

- 236: Xxib'j ul  
 x+∅+xib'+j ul  
 COM+3sA/3sE+scare+MOD DIR(arrive.here)  
 S/he scared them over here. (i.e. they came this way because they were scared)
- 237: Xsuk'j ul  
 x+∅+suk'+j ul  
 COM+3sA/3sE+point+MOD DIR(arrive.here)  
 S/he pointed over here. (from far away)
- 238: Xb'iin ul  
 x+∅+b'iin ul  
 COM+3sA/3sE+walk DIR(arrive.here)  
 S/he walked here.
- 239: Xtj ul  
 x+∅+tij ul  
 COM+3sA/3sE+eat DIR(arrive.here)  
 S/he ate (it) before coming here.
- 240: Xtz'ubj ul  
 x+∅+tz'ub+j ul  
 COM+3sA/3sE+kiss+MOD DIR(arrive.here)  
 S/he kissed him/her before coming here.

- 241: Kwor ul  
 k+ø+wor ul  
 INC+3sA/3sE+sleep DIR(arrive.here)  
 S/he is sleeping inside.
- 242: Xkwuut'l ul  
 x+k+wuut' el ul  
 COM+3pA+huddle DIR(behind) DIR(arrive.here)  
 They were huddled together back inside something. (like a cave)
- 243: Ri ixaq xqaj ul ptinmit.  
 Ri ixaq x+ø+qaj ul pi+tinmit  
 DET woman COM+3sA+descend DIR(arrive.here) PREP+town  
 The woman came into town (descending from elsewhere to here).

3.2.8.1.4 *ken* - The clitic *ken* as a verb root means "to remain." As a directional clitic, it means "to leave something or someone in the state of having undergone the action of the verb."

- 244: Xtor ken  
 x+ø+tor ken  
 COM+3sA/3sE+open DIR(leave)  
 S/he left it open.
- 245: Xwiq ken  
 x+ø+wiq ken  
 COM+3sA/3sE+decorate DIR(leave)  
 S/he left it decorated.
- 246: XXb'ij ken  
 x+ø+xib'+j ken  
 COM+3sA/3sE+scare DIR(leave)  
 S/he left him/her scared.

3.2.8.1.5 *qaj* - The clitic *qaj* is the verb root "to go down, to descend."

When used as a directional clitic, it carries several meanings: 1) the action occurred

as the agent or patient descended, 2) the action occurred near the ground, 3) the action was done in a disorderly or destructive manner, 4) an action that is normally repeated occurred only a single time or 5) the action was done purely out of boredom (i.e. the agent had nothing better to do, not because it needed to be done).

- 247: Xxb'ij qaj  
 x+ø+xib'+j qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+scare+MOD DIR(down)  
 S/he scared it down. (such as in shooing a chicken off a table)
- 248: Way xpatz' qaj wu rxamprel.  
 Way x+ø+patz' qaj wu r+xamprel.  
 Way COM+3sA/3sE+smash DIR(down) DET 3sPOS+hat  
 Way smashed his hat.
- 249: Xb'iin qaj  
 x+ø+b'iin qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+walk DIR(down)  
 S/he walked there going down.
- 250: Xqaj qaj.  
 x+ø+qaj qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+descend DIR(down)  
 S/he went down a long way. (e.g. down a mountain or into a cave)
- 251: Xxim qaj  
 x+ø+xim qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+tie DIR(down)  
 S/he tied it near the ground. (as in tying one's shoes)
- 252: Xmeqsaj qaj  
 x+ø+meq+s+aj qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+heat+CAU+MOD DIR(down)  
 S/he heated it in a fire (on the floor or ground).

- 253: Xmluj qaj  
 x+ø+mul+j qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+pile.up+MOD DIR(down)  
 S/he piled it up in a disorderly way.
- 254: Xtor qaj  
 x+ø+tor qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+open DIR(down)  
 S/he opened it, but destroyed it in the process.
- 255: Xjach' qaj  
 x+ø+jach' qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+shuck DIR(down)  
 S/he shucked a single ear of corn.
- 256: Xtzajtzej qaj  
 x+ø+tzajtzej qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+erase+DRV DIR(down)  
 S/he erased a single word or letter.
- 257: Xt'isqaj  
 x+ø+t'is qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+sew DIR(down)  
 S/he sewed something just to have something to do.
- 258: Xwxij qaj  
 x+ø+wix+j qaj  
 COM+3sA/3sE+degrain+MOD DIR(down)  
 S/he degraigned corn out of boredom.

3.2.8.1.6 *a'n* – from the verb “to ascend,” *a'n* indicates that the action took place as the agent was moving upwards.

- 259: Ri wix xch'ikpna'n chu meex.  
 Ri wix x+ø+ch'ik+pon+a'n chu meex.  
 DET cat COM+3sABS+jump+DIR(come)+DIR(ascend) PREP table  
 The cat jumped onto the table

260: Wiixa xya'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa x+ø+ya' a'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(up) DIR(arrive.there) DET  
 food PREP table  
 Wiixa put the food on the table.

3.2.8.1.7 *ok* - From the verb root "to enter," the directional clitic *ok* may imply entering, but may also mean that 1) the action took place near the speaker, 2) that the action was done with others or in front of someone else or 3) the action was not complete.

261: Jun kmatz xxib'j ok wu Liyy.  
 Jun kmatz x+ø+xib'+j ok wu Liyy.  
 one snake COM+3sA/3sE+scare+DRV DIR(enter) DET Liyy.  
 A snake scared Liyy (by coming towards her).

262: Xto' ok  
 x+ø+to' ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+help DIR(enter)  
 S/he helped them near here.

263: Xsuk'jok  
 x+ø+suk'+j ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+point+MOD DIR(enter)  
 S/he pointed at something nearby.

264: Xtzujn ok  
 x+ø+tzuj+n ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+accuse+AAP DIR(enter)  
 S/he accused him/her in front of others.

265: Xtyox ok  
 x+ø+tyox ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+thank DIR(enter)  
 S/he thanked him/her in front of others.



- 266: Xb'ixn ok  
 x+ø+b'ix+n ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+sing+AAP DIR(enter)  
 S/he sang along with them.
- 267: Xb'iin ok  
 x+ø+b'iin ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+walk DIR(enter)  
 S/he walked alongside them.
- 268: Xtj ok  
 x+ø+tij ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+eat DIR(enter)  
 S/he ate (it) with them.
- 269: Xtz'ubj ok  
 x+ø+tz'ub'+j ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+kiss+MOD DIR(enter)  
 S/he kissed him/her discretely or by surprise.
- 270: Xkunj ok  
 x+ø+kun+j ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+cure+MOD DIR(enter)  
 S/he cured him/her of a minor ailment. (like a splinter)
- 271: Xchop ok  
 x+ø+chop ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+grab DIR(enter)  
 S/he grabbed him/her a little bit.

3.2.8.1.8 *el* - From the verb root "to leave," the directional clitic *el* implies that the action took place behind something.

- 272: Xwor el  
 x+ø+wor el  
 COM+3sA/3sE+sleep DIR(leave)  
 S/he slept behind something.

273: Xchp el  
x+ø+chop el  
COM+3sA/3sE+grab DIR(leave)  
S/he grabbed him/her from behind.

274: Xch'akj el  
x+ø+ch'ak+j el  
COM+3sA/3sE+shut DIR(leave)  
S/he shut (the door) behind him/her.

3.2.8.2 Uses of directional clitics

3.2.8.2.1 Lexicalized idiomatic usage

The combination of directional clitics with some verb roots may produce a unique idiomatic meaning specific to a particular verb+directional combination. In these cases, the meaning contributed by the directional clitic may not correspond to its usage with other verb roots.

275: *b'ij* “to say” + *pon* = “to advise”

May xb'ij pon chu Max.

May x+ø+b'ij pon chu Max

May COM+3sA/3sE+say dir(arrive.there) PREP Max

May advised Max.

The verb *ya'* “to give,” may be used with various directional clitics to produce a variety of meanings related to the giving, putting or placing of objects.

- 276: Yaago xya' pon jun juuj chu Xux.  
 Yaago x+ø+ya' pon jun juuj chu Xux.  
 Yaago COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(arrive.there) one book PREP Xux.  
 Yaago gave Xux a notebook.
- 277: Lex xya' ken wu rxamprel.  
 Lex x+ø+ya' ken wu r+xamprel.  
 Lex COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(remain) DET 3sPOS+hat  
 Lex left his hat.
- 278: Tiim xyo'k riib' jun chok' chre.  
 Tiim x+ø+ya' ok r+iib' jun chok' chu+re  
 Tiim COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(enter) 3sPOS+REL(reflexive)  
 one hiccup PREP+3sPRO  
 Tiim hiccupped.
- 279: Wiixa xya'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa x+ø+ya' a'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(ascend) DIR(arrive.there)  
 DET food PREP table  
 Wiixa put the food on the table.

### 3.2.8.2.2 Directional clitics without movement

Unlike in other K'ichean languages, Sipakapense directional clitics may be used in constructions that do not involve movement. This is especially common with the directionals *ok* "entering" and *el* "exiting" which indicate that the action took place in front of or behind something (in relation to the speaker):

- 280: Xto'k  
 x+ø+to' ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+help DIR(enter)  
 S/he helped him/her near here (in front of the speaker).

- 281: Xtyox ok  
 x+ø+tyox ok  
 COM+3sA/3sE+thank DIR(enter)  
 S/he thanked him/her in front of other people.
- 282: Xwor el  
 x+ø+wor el  
 COM+3sABS+sleep DIR(exit)  
 S/he slept behind something.
- 283: Xchpel  
 X+ø+chop el  
 COM+3sA/3sE+grab DIR(exit)  
 S/he grabbed him/her from behind.
- 284: Xch'akj el  
 x+ø+ch'ak+j el  
 COM+3sA/3sE+shut+DRV DIR(exit)  
 S/he shut (the door) behind him/her (as s/he left).

In addition, directional clitics may be used in conjunction with *k'o(lik)* “to exist” and a preposition to produce stative locative expressions. In these constructions the directional clitic indicates the relative position of the subject noun in a relative frame of reference. That is, the object in question (referent) is placed in a relation between a second object (relatum) and the speaker. For example, *ok* “to enter” indicates that the referent is between the relatum and the speaker while *el* “to exit” indicates that the relatum is between the referent and the speaker. In these constructions, the relatum is part of a prepositional phrase following the directional clitic.

- 286: Ri kunb'al k'a'n chu meex.  
 Ri kun+b'al k'o a'n chu meex.  
 DET cure+LOC EXIST DIR(ascend) PREP table.  
 The medicine is on (top of) the table.
- 287: Ri ch'iich' k'o'k chu jaay  
 Ri ch'iich' k'o ok chu jaay.  
 DET metal EXIST DIR(enter) PREP house.  
 The car is in front of the house.
- 288: Ri teem k'o'k chu meex.  
 Ri teem k'o ok chu meex.  
 DET bench EXIST DIR(enter) PREP table  
 The bench is in front of the table
- 289: Ri ch'iich' k'el chi jaay  
 Ri ch'iich' k'o el chi jaay  
 DET metal EXIST DIR(leave) PREP house  
 The car is behind the house
- 290: Qaqche re k'u'l pjul  
 Qaqche re k'o ul pu jul  
 nothing 3sPRO EXIST DIR(arrive.here) PREP hole.  
 There was nothing inside the hole

In other K'ichean languages spatial relations are indicated by using a preposition and a relational noun. In these constructions, the relational noun indicates an intrinsic spatial relationship between relatum and referent. Relational nouns such as “its root” or “its ears” carry the details regarding the exact spatial relationship.

Kaqchikel (Rodríguez Guaján 1994: 172):

- 291: chi rij k'ayib'äl  
 chi r+ij k'ay+ib'äl  
 PREP 3sPOS+back sell+LOC  
 behind the market (literally “at the market’s back)

- 292: chi ruxe' ch'at  
 chi ru+xe' ch'at  
 PREP 3sPOS+root bed  
 under the bed (literally "at the bed's root")
- 293: chi ruwäch jay  
 chi ru+wäch jay  
 PREP 3sPOS+face house  
 in front of the house (literally "at the house's face")
- 294: chi ruxikin jay  
 chi ru+xikin jay  
 PREP 3sPOS+ear house  
 beside the house (literally "at the house's ears")

Constructions such as this do occur in Sipakapense, but they are quite rare compared to constructions using *k'o(lik)* + directional clitic + preposition. The preposition+relational noun constructions may be used to produce an intrinsic frame of reference to supplement the relative frame of reference produced by *k'o(lik)*+directional clitic. In the example below, the directional clitic indicates that the car is in front of the house in relation to the speaker (i.e. the car is between the speaker and the house). The relational noun phrase indicates that the car is on the side of the house (in relation to the house itself). The two distinct spatial relationships are indicated by the two distinct locative constructions.

- 295: Ri ch'iich' k'o'k pirxkin jaay  
 Ri ch'iich' k'o ok pi rxkin jaay  
 DET metal EXIST DIR(enter) PREP 3sPOS+ear house  
 The car is in front of /beside the house.

In this example, the directional clitic indicates that Pey is behind May in that May is between the speaker and Pey. The relational noun phrase indicates that Pey is behind May (regardless of the speaker's position). Pey is both behind May and on the opposite side of May from the speaker:

- 296: Pey k'e'l chrij May.  
 Pey k'o el chu r+iij  
 Pey EXIST DIR(leave) PREP 3sPOS+back.  
 Pey is behind May (at his back).

Although locative constructions using relational nouns are productive and understood, they are usually reserved for cases in which intrinsic spatial relationships are desired for clarity, with the *k'o(lik)*+directional clitics constructions being the predominant method for marking spatial relationships in Sipakapense.

### 3.2.8.3 Other clitics

3.2.8.3.1 *taq* - The clitic *taq* marks a type of subjunctive that is used when an action was somehow was prevented or when there is doubt or uncertainty about whether or not the action has or will occur.

- 297: Xtz'ulij taq  
 x+ø+tz'ul+iij taq  
 COM+3sA/3sE+hug+MOD SUBJ  
 S/he would have hugged him/her.

- 298: Xtator taq  
 xt+ø+a+tor taq  
 FUT+3sA+2sE+open SUBJ  
 You will want to open it.

299: Jroq tb'an taq wu nya' rmal.  
 jroq t+ø+b'an taq wu n+ya' r+mal  
 already POT+3sABS+make SUBJ 1sPOS+water 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 My drink has already been made by him.

3.2.8.3.2 *chik* - The clitic *chik* is normally used with noun phrases to indicate “another” or “more.” It may also be used with perfective verbs to indicate that the action has already occurred (and is complete and irreparable):

300: Ri woy chq'ajsmaj chik.  
 Ri woy ø+ø+chq'aj+s+maj chik.  
 DET food PERF+3sABS+heated+CAUS+PERF MORE  
 The food is already cooked.

301: Ri mlob' poxmaj chik.  
 Ri mlob' ø+ø+pox+maj chik.  
 DET egg PERF+3sABS+shattered+PERF MORE  
 The egg is already broken.

In addition, the clitic *chik* may indicate that the action was performed for a second time:

302: Roq' xb'ek tlo chik Chuqul.  
 Roq' x+ø+b'e+k tlo chik Chuqul.  
 Roq' COM+3sABS+go+PFM SUBJ MORE Tejutla  
 Roq' wanted to go to Tejutla again.



### 3.2.8.3.3 The clitic *wi'*

The clitic *wi'* is a resumptive pronoun used to fill traces left when certain elements (such as deictics and prepositional phrases) are fronted under focus constructions.

For details on the syntax of *wi'*-constructions, see 4.5 below:

- 303: Wre' xtulik Wan wi'.  
Wre' xt+ø+ul+ik Wan wi'  
Here FUT+3sA+come+PFM Wan TMR  
Wan will come here.
- 304: Tla k'o ri tz'i' wi'.  
There EXIST DET dog TMR  
The dog is there.
- 305: Wa' xa'loq' wi'?  
Wa' x+V'+a+loq' wi'  
Where COM+3pABS+2sERG+buy TRC  
Where did you buy them?

3.2.8.3.4 *tlo* - The clitic *tlo* marks a subjunctive indicating that the subject has/had the desire or want to perform the action conveyed by the verb:

- 306: Roq' xb'ek tlo Chuqul.  
Roq' x+ø+b'e+k tlo Chuqul.  
Roq' COM+3sABS+go+PFM SUBJ Tejutla  
Roq' wanted to go to Tejutla.
- 307: Kwaaj tlo tinloq' jun wuuq.  
k+ø+w+aaj tlo t+ø+in+loq' jun wuuq  
INC+1sA+want SUBJ DUB+3sE+1sA+buy one skirt.  
I want to buy myself a skirt.

308: Lex xtij tlo ri sub'.  
 Lex x+ø+tij tlo ri sub'  
 Lex COM+3sABS/3sERG+eat(trans) SUBJ DET tamale  
 Lex wanted to eat the tamale.

3.2.8.3.5 *ne* - The clitic *ne* indicates that the action is obligatory or that the agent must (or at least should) perform the action:

309: Lex xb'ek ne Chuqul.  
 Lex x+ø+b'e+k ne Chuqul.  
 Lex COM+3sABS+go+PFM MUST Tejutla.  
 Lex must go to Tejutla.

310: Mu xkixb'ek ne chwaq chjay?  
 mu xk+ix+b'e+k ne chwaq ch+jay  
 QUES FUT+2pABS+go+PFM MUST tomorrow PREP+house  
 Do you have to go home tomorrow?

311: Lex xb'ek ne chik Chuqul.  
 Lex x+ø+b'e+k ne chik Chuqul  
 Lex COM+3sABS+go+PFM MUST MORE Tejutla.  
 Lex must go to Tejutla again.

#### 3.2.8.4 Order of clitics

When more than one clitic occurs, the clitics must fall in a particular order. The basic order of clitics is as follows:

312: {ok, el}{ul, a'n, pon}{b'ik, ken} {taq, tlo} chik

Clitics included in curly brackets either do not co-occur (as in the case of *ok* and *el*) or the order of the particular clitics is unimportant. The following examples demonstrate that the combination of *a'n* and *pon* may occur in either possible order:

- 313: Wiixa xya'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa x+ø+ya' a'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(up) DIR(arrive.there)  
 DET food PREP table  
 Wiixa put the food on the table.
- 314: Ri wix xch'ikpna'n chu meex.  
 Ri wix x+ø+ch'ik+pon+a'n chu meex.  
 DET cat COM+3sABS+jump+DIR(come)+DIR(ascend) PREP table  
 The cat jumped onto the table

The following examples demonstrate the relative ordering of clitics:

- 315: Xb'loj pon ken.  
 x+ø+b'ol+j pon ken  
 COM+3sA/3sE+carry+MOD DIR(come) DIR(remain)  
 S/he carry it beforehand (i.e.before something happened).
- 316: Xb'loj ken taq  
 x+ø+b'ol+j ken taq  
 COM+3sA/3sE +carry+MOD DIR(remain) SUBJ  
 S/he wanted to carry it beforehand.
- 317: Xb'loj ok pon taq  
 x+ø+b'ol+j ok pon taq  
 COM+3sA/3sE+carry+MOD DIR(enter) DIR(come) SUBJ  
 S/he wanted to carry it inside
- 318: Xb'loj el pon taq  
 x+ø+b'ol+j el pon taq  
 COM+3sA/3sE  
 S/he wanted to carry it outside.
- 319: Xb'loj el ul  
 x+ø+b'ol+j el ul  
 COM+3sA/3sE+carry+MOD DIR(leave) DIR(arrive.here)  
 S/he carried it outside.

- 320: Xb'olj el ul ken.  
 x+ø+b'ol+j el ul ken  
 COM+3sA/3sE+carry+MOD DIR(leave) DIR(arrive.here) DIR(remain)  
 S/he carried it outside before s/he left.
- 321: Xya' pon b'ik  
 x+ø+ya' pon b'ik  
 COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(come) DIR(go)  
 S/he gave it and went away.
- 322: Xb'loj b'ik taq  
 x+ø+b'ol+j b'ik taq  
 COM+3sA/3sE+carry+MOD DIR(go) SUBJ  
 S/he wanted to have carried them.
- 323: Roq' xb'ek tlo chik Chuqul.  
 Roq' x+ø+b'e+k tlo chik Chuqul.  
 Roq' COM+3sABS+go+PFM SUBJ MORE Tejutla  
 Roq' wanted to go to Tejutla again.

### 3.3 Relational nouns

Relational nouns are possessed noun phrases which mark grammatical relations between syntactic elements. Relational noun phrases consist of a possessed relational noun (possessive pronoun + relational noun) followed by the possessor noun phrase. In cases where the possessor is not in the third person, the possessor is generally not expressed. In cases where the non-third possessor is contrastive or emphasized the independent pronoun follows the relational noun (e.g. *wuuk' wa* “with me”). Otherwise, person and number are expressed only by the possessive pronoun on the relational noun (and any corresponding pronominal elements in the

verb. A few relational nouns expressing locative relationships act as independent nouns themselves (such as *xə* ‘root’ and *xkin* ‘ear, side’). The majority of relational nouns, however, only occur in relational noun phrases indicating grammatical relations. The types of grammatical relations expressed by relational nouns include agents, patients, indirect objects, instruments, reflexive/reciprocals, benefactives, and comitatives. In addition, the relational noun *+ech* serves as a complementizer introducing subordinate clauses.

3.3.1 *-uuk’* The relational noun *-(u)uk’* is used to indicate the comitative (“with”). It may be used to indicate that another agent participated in an action. The number marking on the verb corresponds to the main noun phrase only. In the example below, the verb is marked for third person singular, corresponding to the noun phrase *May* (and not marked for first plural corresponding to “*May with I.*”

- 324: *May xb’ek wuuk’ pk’eyb’al*  
*May x+ø+b’e+ik w+uuk’ p+k’ey+b’al*  
*May COM+3sABS+go+PFM 1sPOS+REL(with) PREP+sell+locative*  
*May went with me to the market*
- 325: *Wan kylow wuuk’*  
*Wan k+ø+ylow w+uuk’*  
*Wan INC+3sABS+speak 1sPOS+REL(with)*  
*Wan was speaking with me*

If both nouns are third person, however, and the relational noun phrase precedes the verb, the verb may agree in number as if the two noun phrases were coordinated.

For example, below the verb is marked for the third person plural, even though one of the two noun phrases is part of a relational noun phrase:

- 326: May ruk' Roq' xi'b'ek pk'eyb'al  
 May ruk' Roq' x+i'+b'e+ik p+k'ey+b'al  
 May COM+3pABS+go+PFM 1sPOS+REL(with) PREP+sell+locative  
 May and Roq' went to the market

Below are additional examples of *+uk'*:

- 327: Chia xk'ulb'ik ruk' Yel  
 Chia x+ø+k'ul+b'ik r+uk' Yel  
 Chia COM+3sABS+join+DIR(go) 3sPOS+REL(with) Yel  
 Chia married Yel
- 328: Liy xchoq'b'ej ruk' Chaan.  
 Liy x+ø+choq'b'ej r+uk' Chaan.  
 Liy COM+3sABS+be.engaged 3sPOS+REL(with) Chaan  
 Liy is engaged to Chaan.
- 329: Xintikrok ruk' nchek.  
 x+in+tik+r+ok r+uk' n+chek.  
 COM+1sABS+begin+VERS+DIR(enter) 3sPOS+REL(with) 1sPOS+work  
 I have begun my work.

3.3.2 *-ech* - The relational noun *-ech* is used to mark possession and benefactive constructions. It may be used to introduce subordinate clauses with the meaning “in order to” or “for.”

- 330: Roq' xb'ij chwa at awa at rech Liy.  
 Roq' x+ø+b'ij ch+wa at awa at r+ech Liy  
 Roq' COM+3sABS+say PREP+1sPRO 2sPRO 2sEMP 2sPRO  
 3sPOS+REL(for) Liy  
 Roq' told me that you're Liy's boyfriend. (literally “you are Liy's”)

- 331: Xopnik Nax chu wchoch rech xi'ylow ruk' wnob'.  
 X+∅+pon+ik Nax chu w+choch r+ech x+i'+yol+w r+uk' w+nob'  
 COM+3sABS+arrive+PFM Nax PREP 1sPOS+house 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 COM+3pABS+speak+AAP 3sPOS+REL(with) 1sPOS+older sister  
 Nax arrived at my house to speak to my older sister.
- 332: Lex xb'ek pk'eyb'al rum ral rech kktij lo'n.  
 Lex x+∅+b'e+k p+k'ey+b'al r+um r+al r+ech k+∅+k+tij lo'n  
 Lex COM+3sABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+LOC 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 3sPOS+child 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 INC+3sABS+3pERG+eat(trans) fruit  
 Lex went to the market so her children could eat fruit.
- 333: Xk'yej Chaan wu chijj ri weech.  
 x+∅+k'ey+Vj Chaan wu chijj ri w+eech.  
 COM+3sABS+sell+DRV Chaan DET sheep DET 1sPOS+REL(for)  
 Chaan sold my sheep.

3.3.3 *-tkeel* - The relational noun *-tkeel* emphasizes that the possessor noun phrase is the only participant involved in the action expressed by the verb:

- 334: Ntkeel xinb'an wu chak.  
 n+tkeel x+∅+in+b'an wu chak  
 1sPOS+REL(alone) COM+1sABS+3sERG+do DET work  
 I did the work myself/I did the work alone.
- 335: Qtkeel xuj-'ek Xoóya'.  
 q+tkeel x+uj+'ek Xooya'  
 1pPOS+REL(alone) COM+1pABS+go Comitancillo.  
 Only we are going to Comitancillo. (We are going alone).

3.3.4 *-um* - The relational noun *-um* is used for oblique noun phrases to express agents, indirect agents, or causes. It is also used to express agents of passive constructions as oblique arguments.

- 336: Lex xtzaq rum nmak.  
 Lex x+ø+tzaq r+um n+mak.  
 Lex COM+3sABS+fall 3sPOS+REL(by) 1sPOS+fault  
 Lex fell because of me.
- 337: Qatz rum wa tb'an rchoch  
 Qatz r+um wa t+ø+b'an r+choch.  
 Really 3sPOS+REL(by) 1sPRO POT+3sABS+make 3sPOS+house  
 I'm sure that he's going to build a house. ("According to me...")
- 338: Ek' wu knaq mu ktortaj rum wix?  
 E+k'a wu knaq mu k+ø+tor+taj r+um wix  
 And+then DET beans QUES INC+3sABS+open+CPS 3sPOS+REL(by) cat  
 And could the beans have been opened by a cat?
- 339: In wa xinwuut wiib' rum teew.  
 In wa x+in+wuut w+iib' r+um teew  
 1sPRO 1sEMP COM+1sABS+curl.up 1sPOS+REFL 3sPOS+REL(by) cold  
 I shuddered from the cold.
- 340: Lukx xxij riib' rum jun kmatz.  
 Lukx x+ø+xiij r+iib' r+um jun kmatz.  
 Lukx COM+3sABS+frighten 3sPOS+REFL 3sPOS+REL(by) one snake  
 Lukx was scared by a snake.
- 341: Cheent yab' rum qulaj.  
 Cheent yab' r+um qulaj.  
 Cheent sick 3sPOS+REL(by) throat  
 Cheent is sick with a cough.



342: Xti'xik Lex rum rtz'i'.  
 x+ø+ti'+x+ik Lex r+um r+tz'i'.  
 COM+3sABS+bite+PASS+PFM Lex 3sPOS+REL(by) 3sPOS+dog  
 Lex was bitten by his dog.

3.3.5 *-mal* - The relational noun *-mal* is also used to express agents. It may be used in conjunction with the question word *che* “what” to indicate “why.” It is typically used as the possessor of a third singular *r+um* in which case it carries added emphasis over a simple *+um* construction. Both *-um* and *-mal* are probably both historically derived from the K'ichean relational noun *-umal* (with the *-mal* form arising due to vowel dropping in Sipakapense).

343: Che rmal xi'rtij Pey njel ri sub'?'  
 che r+mal x+i'+r+tij Pey njel ri sub'  
 what 3sPOS+REL(agent) COM+3pABS+3sERG+eat(trans)  
 Pey all DET tamalitos  
 Why did Pey eat all or the tamalitos?

344: Rum nmal xtz'ulxik Liy.  
 R+um n+mal x+ø+tz'ul+x+ik Liy.  
 3sPOS+REL(by) 1sPOS+REL(agent) COM+3sABS+hug+PASS+PFM Liy  
 It was by me that Liy was hugged.

3.3.6 *-iib'* - The relational noun *-iib'* is used for reflexive and reciprocal constructions (see 4.6 below on the syntax of these constructions):

345: Jun pu't xstuj riib' chij Liy  
 Jun pu't x+ø+stuj r+iib' ch+iij Liy  
 one butterfly COM+3sABS+spin 3sPOS+REFL PREP+back Liy  
 A butterfly circled around Liy.

- 346: Luks xxij riib' rum jun kmatz.  
 Lukx x+ø+xij r+iib' r+um jun kmatz.  
 Lukx COM+3sABS+frighten 3sPOS+REFL 3sPOS+REL(by) one snake  
 Lukx was scared by a snake.
- 347: Ray xjub'a' riib' chu rchaat.  
 Ray x+ø+ju+b'a' r+iib' chu r+chaat.  
 Ray COM+3sABS+laid.down+VERS 3sPOS+REFL PREP 3sPOS+bed  
 Ray laid down on his bed.
- 348: Ke ri ajk'lob' xikwuut kiib' ruk' ri kchuuch  
 Ke ri ajk'lob' x+k+wuut k+iib' r+uk' ri k+chuuch  
 3sPRO DET children COM+3pABS+curl.up  
 3sPOS+REFL 3sPOS+REL(with) DET 3pPOS+mother  
 The children huddled themselves with their mother.

3.3.7 *-ijj* - The relational noun *-ijj* literally means “its back.” It is used to indicate “behind,” “about” or “on the back of.” It is also used in a variety of idiomatic expressions as in the examples below. The relational noun *+ijj* almost always occurs with the preposition *chi*. Unlike other relational nouns, if the pronoun is in the third person singular, no possessive prefix is required.

- 349: Pey k'e'l chqij.  
 Pey k'o'+el ch+q+ijj  
 Pey exist+DIR(exit) PREP+2pPOS+back  
 Pey is behind us.
- 350: Chij keej tqyo'k ul  
 chij keej t+ø+q+ya'+ok ul  
 back mule/horse POT+3sABS+1pERG+give+DIR(enter) DIR(arrive)  
 We'll carry them on a mule.

- 351: Ri wnaq xkpoq'saj kq'ab' chij Cheent  
 Ri wnaq x+ø+k+poq'+s+aj k+q'ab' ch+ij Cheent  
 DET people COM+3sABS+3pERG+clap+CAUS+MOD  
 3sPOS+hand PREP+back Cheent  
 The people clapped for Cheent
- 352: Jun pu't xstuj riib' chij Liy  
 Jun pu't x+ø+stuj r+iib' ch+iij Liy  
 one butterfly COM+3sABS+spin 3sPOS+REFL PREP+back Liy  
 A butterfly circled around Liy.
- 353: Re tjin kcha'n chawij.  
 Re tjin k+ø+cha'+n ch+aw+ij  
 3sPRO PROG INC+3sERG+say+AAP PREP+2sPOS+back  
 S/He's talking about you now.
- 354: Maks kpe ayam chrij pnimaq'ij.  
 Maks k+ø+pe ayam ch+r+ij p+nima+q'ij  
 Maks INC+3sABS+come yawn PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) PREP+big+day  
 Maks was yawning during the party.
- 355: Chia tjin kcha'n chqij  
 Chia tjin k+ø+cha'+n chqij  
 Chia PROG INC+3sABS+say+FAP PREP+3sPOS+back  
 Chia is talking about us.

### 3.3.8 *-opis* “to like”

The relational noun *-opis* is used in conjunction with verbs to mean “to like to do X.” There are two ways to indicate agreement between person and the predicate. The relational noun may be marked for number or for both number and person. When the relational noun is marked only for number, the third person possessive marker is used (with the first or second person marked only on the verb itself). In these cases the number agrees with the subject of the verb, but the relational noun is

unmarked for person (i.e. it is in the third person). When the relational noun is marked only for number, an optional prepositional phrase (*chi* + pronoun) may be used to emphasize person.

- 356: Ri Liy ropis kb'inik.  
 Ri Liy r+opis k+ø+b'in+ik  
 DET Liy 3sPOS+like INC+3sABS+walk+PFM  
 Liy likes to walk.
- 357: Ropis chawa katb'inik.  
 r+opis ch+awa k+at+b'in+ik  
 3sPRO+like PREP+2sPRO INC+2sABS+walk+PFM  
 You like to walk
- 358: Ropis (chwa) kinwa'ktelb'ik.  
 r+opis (ch+wa) k+in+wa'ktel b'ik  
 3sPRO+like (PREP+1sPRO) INC+1sABS+walk DIR  
 I like to walk.
- 359: Kopsis (chqe) kujwa'ktel  
 k+opis (ch+qe) k+uj+wa'ktel  
 3pPOS+like (PREP+2pPRO) INC+1pABS+walk  
 We like to walk
- 360: Kopsis (chiwa) kixwa'ktel  
 k+opis (ch+iwa) k+ix+wa'ktel  
 3pPOS+like (PREP+2pPRO) INC+3pABS+walk  
 You (pl) like to walk.
- 361: Ri chke kopsis ki'b'inik  
 Ri ch+ke k+opis k+i'+b'in+ik  
 DET PREP+3pPRO 3pPOS+like INC+3pABS+walk+PFM  
 They like to walk.
- 362: Qopsis kujb'inik.  
 q+opis k+uj+b'in+ik  
 1pPOS+like INC+1pABS+walk+PFM  
 We like to walk.

363: Awopis katb'iin?  
aw+opis k+at+b'iin  
2sPOS+like INC+2sABS+walk  
Do you like to walk?

3.3.9 *-onjel* - The relational noun *-onjel* is used to express totality or to emphasize that all of the possessor noun is included.

364: Xkix-'ek konjel  
xk+ix+'e+k k+onjel  
FUT+1pABS+go+PFM 3sPOS+all  
You are all going.

365: Qonjel xuj-'ek.  
q+onjel x+uj+'e+k  
1pPOS+all COM+1pABS+go+PFM  
All of us went.

### 3.4 Positional roots

#### 3.4.1 Nouns derived from positional roots

All K'ichean languages contain a class of positional CVC roots which are used in the formation of words related to shape, size, form or position. Nouns referring to a given shape or position may be formed with the addition of the *+(k)VI* suffix described in 3.1.5 above:

366:	setkal	“roundness” (root = [set] round/flat)
	skotkal	“twistedness” (root = [skot] twisted)
	skotil	“twistedness” (root = [skot] twisted)
	plo’ral	“cylindricity” (root = [plo’r] cylindrical)
	mochkal	“crumpledness” (root = [moch] crumpled)

In addition, words related to locations or objects associated with a particular position may be formed by adding the *+b’al* locative prefix shown in 3.1.5 above. The *+b’al* suffix may be added directly to the positional suffix or to an adjective derived from a positional suffix (see 3.4.2 below):

367:	xukb’al	“rug, mat” (thing to kneel on) (root = [xuk] “to kneel”)
	xkulb’al	“rug, mat” (thing to kneel on) (root = [xuk] “to kneel” with the +l adjective suffix)
	yutb’al	“chair, seat” (root = [yut] “to sit”)

### 3.4.2 Adjectives derived from positional roots

There are two basic types of adjectives that may be derived from positional roots. Following Dayley’s (1985: 203) description of Tzutujil, I will call these two classes of adjectives stative and characterizing positional adjectives. Stative positional adjectives indicate that the modified noun temporarily has the form, condition, shape, or position indicated by the positional root. In addition, stative positionals are used to refer to the existence of an entity having the state or position conveyed by the positional root. Characterizing positionals refer to permanent states or characteristics of a given entity. The majority of positional roots may have

both characterizing and stative adjectival forms. For example, the root *set* “round and flat” has two adjectival forms:

- 368: setsik “permanently round and flat”  
 setlik “temporarily round and flat”

#### 3.4.2.1 Stative positional adjectives

Stative positional adjectives are formed with the addition of the suffix +*l* to the CVC root. The resulting adjective has the form C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>V<sub>l</sub>. For roots that are not CVC, such as CV?C roots, the root vowel does not move and the suffix takes the form +*il*. This is the same pattern as found with other suffixes (such as the versive and causative verbal suffixes) in which the default vowel [i] is inserted in cases where suffixation would produce a complex word-final syllable coda (for the phonology of suffixes, see 3.5 above). Stative positionals may be used both as modifying adjectives and as predicate adjectives. When used as modifying adjectives, the attributive particle *laj* must follow the positional adjective. When used as a predicate adjective, the optional phrase final marking suffix +(i)*k* may be optionally added to the positional adjective. In cases where the +*ik* is added, the positional root plus stative adjective suffix takes the form CVC+*l*+*ik*, with no change in the positional root itself.

369:	jch'el	“twisted, slanted”	root = jeech'
	k'o'xlik	“concave”	root = k'o'x
	sktol	“twisted”	root = skot
	mochlik	“crumpled”	root = moch
	ch'kil	“upside down”	root = ch'ik
	yut'lik	“seated”	root = yut'

yt'ul	“seated”	root = yut'
xuklik	“kneeling”	root = xuk
ch'oklik	“seated with feet on the ground”	root = ch'ok
wa'lik	“standing up”	root = wa'
xtel	“sitting with legs apart”	root = xet
xetlik	“sitting with legs apart”	root = xet

### 3.4.2.2 Characterizing positional adjectives

There are three classes of positional roots with regard to the formation of characterizing adjectives. The majority of positional roots form characterizing adjectives with the suffix  $+C_1ik$ . Thus,  $C_1VC_2$  adjectives of this class take the form  $C_1VC_2C_1ik$  under suffixation. The second class (which is somewhat smaller) takes the suffix  $+VC_2ik$ . All positional roots belong to one of these two classes (i.e. there are no roots that take both suffixes). Finally, a third class of adjectives that do not have a regular CVC shape may serve as positional adjectives without any further affixation. These positionals generally include those with long vowels or with the shape CV?C. Although these roots may produce characterizing adjectives without any suffixation, forms created by adding the stative  $+(i)l$  suffix are acceptable and widely used. In addition, all members of this class may take the  $+C_1ik$  suffix. Thus, those roots that may serve as characterizing adjectives with no suffixation have two forms of characterizing adjectives, those with no suffixation and those with the  $+C_1ik$  suffix.

370:	k'o'xk'ik	“curved”	root = k'o'x
	tuqtik	“long (thin and flexible)” [like rope or wire]	root = tuq
	yuqyik	“long (and dangling)” [like an animal's ears]	root = yuq
	setsik	“round (and flat)”	root = set
	t'ort'ik	“spherical”	root = t'or
	tuk'tik	“tall” (of a person)	root = tuk'



tirtik	“short” (of a person)	root = tir
chak’ak’ik	“rough” (for fabric)	root = chak’
skototik	“twisted”	root = skot
jililik	“slippery” (a surface)	root = jil
witz’itz’ik	“noisy”	root = witz’
jololik	“slippery”	root = jol
pililik	“smooth”	root = pil
skototik	“twisted”	root = skot

k’o’x   concave  
jeech’   “one leg longer than the other”

### 3.4.3 Verbs derived from positional roots

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may be derived from positional roots with the addition of the suffix *+b’*. For intransitive verbs, the phrase final suffix *+ik* must accompany the *+b’* verbalizing suffix. For transitive verbs, the suffix *+b’* is followed by *+a’*. A few irregular positional roots take the derived transitive suffix *+ij* rather than the *+a’* suffix. The intransitive verbs carry the meaning of “to place one’s self in the condition or position described by the positional root” or “to move about in the form or position described by the root.” Transitive verbs mean to place something or someone in the condition, shape, or form described by the positional root.

- 371: Xyut’bik  
x+ø+yut’+b’+ik  
COM+3sA+sit+DRV+PFM  
She/he sat down.
- 372: Xxukb’ik  
x+ø+xuk+b’+ik  
COM+3sE+kneel+DRV+PFM  
She/he knelt.

- 373: Xtelb'ik  
x+ø+tel+b'+ik  
COM+3sA/3sE+sit with legs apart+DRV+PFM  
She/he sat down with their legs apart.
- 374: Xinq'elb'ik  
X+in+q'el+b'+ik  
COM+1sA+lying on its side+DRV+PFM  
I laid down on my side.
- 375: Xyut'b'a'  
X+ø+yut'+b'+a'  
COM+3sA/3sE+sitting+DRV+TRANS  
She/he sat him/her down.
- 376: Xpak'b'a' riib'.  
X+ø+pak'+b'+a' r+iib'  
COM+3sA/3sE+lying on one's back+DRV+TRANS 3sPOS+REL(reflexive)  
She/he laid him/herself down on their back.
- 378: Xch'ikb'a'.  
X+ø+ch'ik+b'+a'  
COM+3sA/3sE+upside down+DRV+TRANS  
She/he flipped him/her over onto her/his head.
- 379: Chatzuyb'a' la akmi'x.  
Ch+ø+a+tzuy+b'a' la a+kmi'x.  
OPT+3sABS+2sERG+hanging+PVT DET 2sERG+shirt  
Hang up your shirt
- 380: Xmochb'ij  
x+ø+moch+b'+ij  
COM+3sA/3sE+crumple+DRV+MOD  
“He/she crumpled it”
- 381: Mochmaj  
ø+ø+moch+maj  
PERF+3sA/3sE+crumple+PERF  
It is crumpled.

382: Xtqpxoj  
 xt+ø+q+pa'x+oj  
 FUT+3sABS+2pERG+shatter+DRV  
 We will shatter it.

In addition, these verbalizing suffixes may be added to stative positional adjectives to form verbs meaning to “cause or leave an object in the form or shape of the positional adjective.”

383: Xstelb'ik  
 x+ø+set+l+b'+ik  
 COM+3sA/3sE+round+STA+DRV+PFM  
 He/she rounded it

384: Ri ixoq yt'ulb'ik tjin kk'yew lo'n.  
 Ri ixoq ø+yut'+l+b'+ik tjin kk'ey+w lo'n  
 DET woman 3sABS+seated+STA+VERB+PFM PROG COM+sell+FAP  
 fruit  
 The woman who is sitting down is selling fruit.

In addition, a few verbs formed from positional adjectives may take regular verb suffixes without the derivational +b' suffix:

385: Katch'ikloq  
 k+at+ch'ik+l+oq  
 OPT+2sABS+upside down+STA+MOD  
 Stand on your head!

386: Kixyut'loq  
 k+ix+yut'+l+oq  
 OPT+2pABS+sitting down+STA+MOD  
 Sit down!

Finally, all verbs derived from positional roots may also take directional clitics:

387: Xq'eb'a'qaj  
x+ø+q'e+b'+a'+qaj  
COM+3sA/3sE+lie on one's side+DRV+TRANS+DIR(down)  
She/he placed him/her on his/her side.

### 3.5 Adjectives

#### 3.5.1 Adjective derivation

Adjectives (other than those derived from positional roots) are almost always basic

CVC roots:

388:	rex	“green, blue”	ch'om	“sour”
	niim	“big”	mooy	“blind”
	chom	“fat”	suuk'	“peaceful”
	teew	“cold”	kow	“hard (solid)”
	ki'	“sweet”	nuch'	“small”
	utz	“good”	k'aak'	“new”
	t'aq	“wet”	pqon	“hot (picante)” (cf. K'ichee' [poqom])

Some words that are basically nouns may also act as adjectives with related meanings:

389: q'aaq' “fire, hot”  
k'ooj “mask, funny”  
tq'aaj “flat, lowlands, coast”

A few adjectives are formed by compounds. These compounds always involve an adjective, adverb or noun followed by a possessed noun, relational noun, or spatial noun.

390: utz ruk'  
utz r+uk'  
good 3sPOS+REL(with)  
likeable, friendly

391: xib'al rxe'  
 xib'al r+xe'  
 much 3sPOS+root, feet, underneath  
 deep

392: qaqche rpom  
 qaqche r+pom  
 nothing 3sPOS+insides  
 empty

The suffix +*C<sub>1</sub>oj* may be added to adjectives to give a derived adjective meaning “sort of X” or “X-ish.” Although this suffix is fairly productive, it may not be added to every adjective. In the dialect of Tres Cruces, the meaning of adjective produced by adding +*C<sub>1</sub>oj* to a color usually gives a secondary color term. The basic color terms in Sipakapense are *q'eq* “black”, *saq* “white”, *q'en* “yellow”, *keq* “red”, and *rex* “blue/green”. Adding the +*C<sub>1</sub>oj* suffix produces a corresponding secondary color term. For example, adding the suffix to “yellow” gives “orange.” This is not true for the northern dialect of Chual and P-'ooj where the resulting adjective is regular, meaning “yellowish.”

393: rexroj “greenish, blue”	[root = <rex> “green, blue”]
q'enq'oj “orange, yellowish”	[root = <q'en> “yellow”]
saq+soj “light blue, whitish”	[root = <saq> “white”]
q'eqq'oj “grey, brown”	[root = <q'eq> “black”]
keqkoj “pink”	[root = <keq> “red”]
wixwoj “rough (of solid things)”	[root = <wix> “rough”]
tz'iltz'oj “dirtyish”	[root = <tz'il> “dirty”]
kowkoj “somewhat hard”	[root = <kow> “hard”]
kiikoj “somewhat sweet”	[root = <kii> “sweet”]

The +*C<sub>1</sub>oj* suffix may also be added to mass noun to derive corresponding adjectives:

- 394: k'exk'oj "painful" [root = <k'ex> "pain"]  
 kik'koj "bloody" [root = <kik'> "blood"]

### 3.5.2 Attributive, plurality and comparative adjectives

#### 3.5.2.1 Attributives

Attributive and predicate adjectives differ in that attributive adjectives take the enclitic *laj*. The use of *laj* is not obligatory and noun phrases containing adjectives without *laj* are grammatically acceptable, but forms containing *laj* are generally found to be "better" according to native speaker intuitions. In texts, *laj* is generally used, although attributive adjectives without *laj* also occur widely. In stative sentences, *laj* is used if the noun phrase follows the adjective phrase. If the noun phrase is first the attributive may not be used.

- 395: Utz laj ri tz'i'  
 Good ATTR DET dog  
 The dog is good.

- 396: \*Ri tz'i' utz laj.  
 The dog is good.

- 397: yuqyik laj taq rxkin chijj  
 yuq+y+ik laj taq r+xkin chijj  
 long/hanging+DRV+PFM ATTR PLUR 3sPOS+ears sheep  
 The long ears of a sheep

- 398: jun setsik laj xu'k  
 jun set+s+ik laj xu'k  
 one round+DRV+PFM ATTR basket  
 a round basket
- 399: Xwaj riib' chxe' ri patz laj q'oos k'o'k tla'.  
 x+waj r+iib' ch+xe' ri patz laj q'oos k'o'+ok tla'  
 COM+hide 3sPOS+REFL PREP+bottom DET messy  
 ATTR grass exist+DIR(enter) there  
 He hid himself beneath some messy grass that was there.
- 400: Njel ri chkop xi'rsub' la', njel ri nmaq, ri nuch' laj chkop  
 njel ri chkop x+i'+r+sub' la' njel ri nmaq ri nuch' laj chkop  
 all DET animals COM+3pABS+3sERG there all  
 DET big(pl) DET small ATTR animals  
 He tricked all the animals, the big and the small ones.
- 401: No'j re imul qi' mom nuch' no'j etzel ruk', cha'.  
 no'j re imul qi' mom nuch' no'j etzel r+uk' cha'  
 but 3sPRO rabbit DIM very small but bad 3sPOS+REL(with), say  
 But the rabbit was really small, but very devious, they say.
- 402: Chemo laj kotz'a'j?  
 What ATTR flower?  
 What kind of flowers are those?

### 3.5.2.2 Plural adjectives

Plurality may be marked on adjectives in two different ways. The post-clitic *taq* may be used to indicate that an adjective is plural. The inclusion of *taq* is optional, as shown by the following two examples:

- 403: ri k'eb' nimlaj tz'i'  
 DET two big+ATTR dog  
 the two big dogs

- 404: ri k'eb' nimlaj taq tz'i'  
 DET two big+ATTR PLUR dog  
 the two big dogs (more emphatic)

In addition, plurality on adjectives may be marked with the prefix *i+*. This prefix may be added before any consonant-initial adjective to mark plurality. The two ways of marking plural are not mutually exclusive and a single adjective may have both plural markers.

- 405: iskotl ul ri chee'  
 i+skot+l ul ri chee'  
 PLUR+twist+STA DIR(behind) DET tree/stick  
 twisted sticks

- 406: isaqsoj taq kmi'x  
 i+saq+Coj taq kmi'x  
 PLUR+white+DRV PLUR shirt  
 The shirts are whitish

- 407: inmaq taq lej  
 i+nimaq taq lej  
 PLUR+big PLUR tortillas  
 the tortillas are big

### 3.5.2.3 Comparative adjectives

The most common way of forming comparative adjectives is with the particle *mas* (borrowed from Spanish “more”). As in Spanish, the particle precedes the adjective. To express a compared noun phrase, the preposition *chi/chu* is used:



408: Are' ke ral sji'l mas inmaq chu wu imul.  
 Are' ke r+al xji'l mas i+nmaq chu wu imul  
 3pEMP 3pPRO 3sPOS+child coyote mas PLUR+big PREP DET rabbit  
 The coyote's children were bigger than the rabbit.

409: Krb'ij rech are mas utz laj achi mas ber rchoq'ab', cha'.  
 k+ø+r+b'ij r+ech are mas utz laj achi mas ber r+choq'ab', cha'  
 INC+3sABS+3sERG+say 3sPOS+REL(for) 3sEMP  
 more good ATTR man more much 3sPOS+force, they say.  
 They are saying that he is a better man, that he is stronger, they say.

Comparative adjectives may also be formed without using the Spanish *mas*.

Comparative constructions without *mas* are perfectly acceptable:

410: La juun ixoq chq'ij chu la juun chik.  
 DET one woman thin PREP DET one MORE  
 This woman is thinner than the other one.

In addition, the adverbial particle *per* may be added before any adjective to produce an emphatic meaning "really or very X." With the addition of the nominalizing suffix *+al*, *per* produces comparative adjectives:

411: perch'omal  
 per+ch'om+al  
 per+fat+NOM  
 really fat, more fat

412: perk'eyal  
 per+k'ey+al  
 per+sour+NOM  
 really sour, more sour

### 3.6 Adverbs and Time expressions

Sipakapense contains numerous adverbs and time expression. For the syntax of adverbs see 4.4 below:

413:	tkaal	slowly
	(ch)aniim	quickly
	utz	well
	qa'utz	badly (literally “not good”)
	iwir	yesterday
	ajwi'	now
	miiy	today (up until the present)
	kab'jir	the day before yesterday
	chwaq	tomorrow
	oxjir	three days ago
	qatz	really, very

### 3.7 Deictics and demonstratives

Deictics in Sipakapense fall along three spatial regions: closer to speaker than to listener (what I will call “here”), closer to listener than to speaker (what I will call “there”) and not visible to speaker or listener but known (or previously mentioned but currently not present in the discourse) (what I will call “yonder”). There are three forms for each deictic marker: one for stative constructions, one for constructions involving action at the location in questions, and one for cases which involve movement or a shift to a new location from a location previously mentioned in the discourse. The forms of these nine deictics are as follows:

FORM	HERE	THERE	YONDER
stative	wre'	tla'	titla'
movement	wa'	la'	ri'
action	chi' wa'/chi' wre'	chi' ri'	tuktla'

Table 5: Deictics in Sipakapense

Demonstrative pronouns and definite articles fall along the same three spatial regions as markers for locations. The determiners corresponding to definite articles (i.e. “the”) are dependent on the location of the noun phrase in question. The demonstrative has two forms. If the deictic information is emphasized, the regular demonstrative pronoun may occur with the emphatic pronoun *are*. In addition, there is an emphatic demonstrative form which is used when the location in question is emphasized or is contrastive:

FORM	HERE	THERE	YONDER
DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN	(are) wu we' “this”	(are) le la' “that”	(are) re titla' “that there”
DEFINITE ARTICLE	wu tzi'i' “the dog”	la tz'i' “the dog”	ri tz'i' “the dog”
EMPHATIC DEMONSTRATIVE	wu tz'i' wa' “this dog (here)”	ju tz'i' la' “that dog (there)”	ju tz'i' ri' “that dog (over yonder)”

Table 6: Determiners and demonstratives in Sipakapense

Examples of deictic forms are given below:

- 414: Xpe ti wre'  
x+ø+pe ti wre'  
COM+3sA+come PREP here  
He came here

- 415: Xul tuktla'  
 x+ø+ul tuktla'  
 COM+3sABS+arrive over yonder  
 He arrived over yonder.
- 416: La ke'q alo'm la'  
 DET PLUR boys DEM  
 Those guys
- 417: Tla' k'o ri tz'i' wi'.  
 DEM EXIST DET wi'  
 The dog is over there
- 418: Wan xtulik wre'  
 Wan is coming here  
 Roq' xek kila'  
 Roq' went there
- 419: Wan x-'ek tuktla'  
 Wan x+ø+'e+k tuktla'  
 Wan COM+3sABS+go+PFM  
 Wan went over yonder
- 420: Wan xttij wu sub' wa'  
 Wan xt+ø+tij wu sub' wa'  
 Wan FUT+3sA/3sE+eat(trans) DET tamale DEM  
 Wan is going to eat this tamale here.
- 421: Wan xloq la ch'iich' la'  
 Wan x+ø+loq la ch'iich' la'  
 Wan COM+3sA/3sE+buy DET metal DEM  
 Wan bought that car
- 422: Wan xloq ri ch'iich' ri'  
 Wan x+ø+loq ri ch'iich' ri'  
 Wan COM+3sA/3sE+buy DET metal DEM  
 Wan bought that car (out of sight)

- 423: Keek' wa' wa kwaaj  
 kee+k'a wa' wa k+ø+w+aaj  
 like.that+then DEM 1sPRO INC+3sABS+1sERG+want  
 This is what I want
- 424: Keek' la' tqb'an wu qchoch.  
 kee+k'a la t+ø+q+b'an wu q+choch  
 like.that+then DEM DUB+3sABS+1pERG DET 2pPOS+house  
 I want to build my house like that
- 425: Keek' ri' kraaj re.  
 kee+k'a ri' k+ø+r+aaj re  
 like.that+then DEM INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPRO  
 That's what he wants (heard not seen)
- 426: Tuktla' xinya' ken njuj  
 tuktla' x+ø+in+ya' ken n+juuj  
 yonder COM+3sABS+1sERG+give REL(leave) 1sPOS+paper  
 I left my papers over yonder
- 427: Ri tz'i' wu we' yab'  
 DET dog DEM DEM sick.  
 The dog is sick (here)

### 3.8 Numbers

#### 3.8.1 Cardinal numbers

Sipakapense numbers are used for quantities up to ten or twenty (depending on the speaker), after which Spanish numbers are used. Most speakers are unsure of the correct forms for numbers from 11-19 and even older speakers debate about what the proper forms of Siapakapense numbers might be. The number given as “twenty” (*ok'aal*) is historically the number for one hundred. Other K'ichean languages use *winaq* “person” to mean “twenty”. This is common for MesoAmerican languages (see Hill and Hill 1986 on Mexicano/Nahuatl). For one version of higher K'ichean

numbers, see Rodríguez Guaján's (1994) discussion of number formation for Kaqchikel. For the syntax of number in noun phrases see 4.10. below.

428: The numbers up to twenty are as follows:

jun	"one"
keb'	"two"
oxib'/uxib'	"three"
kjib'	"four"
jo'ob'	"five"
waqib'	"six"
wuqub'	"seven"
waqxaqib'	"eight"
belejeb'	"nine"
lajuuj	"ten"
julajuuj	"eleven"
kab'lajuuj	"twelve"
oxlajuuj	"thirteen"
kajlajuuj	"fourteen"
jo'lajuuj	"fifteen"
waqlajuuj	"sixteen"
wuqlajuuj	"seventeen"
waqxaqlajuuj	"eighteen"
belejlajuuj	"nineteen"
jun ok'aal	"twenty"

### 3.8.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers above two are formed by dropping the +*Vb*' extension and possessing the number:

429:	nab'eey	"first"
	rkaab'	"second"
	roox	"third"
	rkaj	"fourth"
	roo'	"fifth"
	rwaq	"sixth"

### 3.8.3 Combination forms

Numbers up to five have combination forms based on the first syllable of number.

Distributive numbers are formed by reduplicating this first syllable:

430:	jujun	“one by one” (also used to express that two things are identical)
	kakab'	"by twos"
	ox-'ox	"by threes"
	kakaj	"by fours"

Other combination forms are created by adding the first syllable of the number with a designated root (such as “years ago” or “days ago”):

431:	junb'er	"one year ago"
	kawb'er	"two years ago"
	oxb'er	"three years ago"
432:	jumul	"once"
	kamul	"twice"
433:	kab'jir	"the day before yesterday"
	oxjir	"three days ago"

### 3.8.4 Mass versus count nouns

The distribution of mass and count nouns differs from those found in English. For example, blood, salt, sand, and pain are mass nouns, whereas rain, corn, wind and dust may be either mass or count nouns depending on context and meaning:

434:	kik'	“blood”	*jun kik'
	atz'om	“salt”	*jun atz'om
	sanyeb'	“sand”	*jun sanyeb'
	k'ex	“pain”	*jun k'ex

- 435: jun ixiim = "one grain of corn"  
 jun jab' = a big rain  
 jun q'iiq' = a strong wind  
 jun quuq = a big cloud of dust

The noun *q'oor* has two meanings. As a count noun it means "atole (corn gruel)" whereas as a mass noun it may mean "atole" or "masa" (corn dough for making tortillas).

- 436: q'oor = masa, atole  
 jun q'oor = an atole (\*a masa)

### 3.9 Measure words

There are numerous measure words that may be used to quantify noun phrases. For the syntax of measure words, see 4.1 below.

- 437: tz'uj "drop"  
 ytaaj "handful" (what can be held in an open hand)  
 mooq' "fistful" (what can be held in a closed hand)  
 t'u'y "small jar"  
 xb'o'j "large pot"  
 xu'k "basket"  
 chu'y "bag"  
 chiim "net"



### 3.10 Honorifics

All K'ichean languages use honorifics with proper names. In Kaqchikel, for example, personal honorifics are obligatory with all proper names (Rodríguez Guaján 1994:151). In Sipakapense, honorifics are not obligatory and may be used with or without a determiner such as *ri*. When used, the honorific precedes the proper name (and follows the determiner if included):

- 438: ta' "Mr." (Don)  
chu' "Mrs." (Doña)  
taáta' "Mr." (for very old men)  
naánchu' "Mrs." (for very old women)
- ta' Ricardo "Don Ricardo"  
ri ta' Ricardo "Don Ricardo"

### 3.11 Affect words (onomatopoeia)

As in other Mayan languages, Sipakapense contains a large set of "affect words," or onomatopoeic roots. Like positional roots, affect roots are CV(")C in form, but do not occur in isolation. Affect verbs take two forms: *CVC+naj(+ik)* and *C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>+VC<sub>2</sub>(+ik)*. When the phrase final marker *+ik* occurs with *naj*, the *a* is dropped. Both forms mean "to make the sound of the root," but the *+VC<sub>2</sub>* suffix conveys more intensity than the *naj* suffix. For example, the *+VC<sub>2</sub>* suffix may mean that the sound was made by more than one animal (or other source), that the sound echoed, or that the sound was made repeatedly.

- 439: [jan] - the sound of a dog growling or the buzzing of flies or bees  
 Kijjananik  
 k+ii+jan+an+ik  
 INC+3pA+growl+DRV+PFM  
 The dogs are growling.
- 440: [waj] - the sound of a dog barking  
 Ki'wajajik ke tz'i'  
 k+i'+waj+aj+ik ke tz'i'  
 INC+3sA+bark+DRV+PFM 3pPRO dog  
 The dogs are barking.
- 441: kwajnaj jun tz'i'  
 k+ø+waj+naj jun tz'i'  
 INC+3sA+bark+DRV one dog  
 A dog is barking.
- 442: [yoj] - the sound of rain on a rooftop  
 kyojojik  
 k+ø+yoy+oj+ik  
 INC+3sA+rain.noise.+DRV+PFM  
 The rain is making noise on the roof.
- 443: [jul] - mooing  
 kjululik  
 k+ø+jul+ul+ik  
 INC+3sA+moo+DRV+PFM  
 The cow is mooing.
- 444: [to'w] - the noise a turkey makes  
 kto'wnjik  
 k+ø+to'w+naj+ik  
 INC+3sA+gobble+DRV+PFM  
 The turkey is gobbling.
- 445: [rech'] - the sound of parakeets (chocoyos)  
 krech'naj  
 k+ø+rech'+naj  
 INC+3sA+chir+DRV  
 A parakeet is chirping.

446: [rech'] - the sound parakeets make  
krech'ech'ik  
k+∅+rech'+ech'+ik  
INC+3sA+chirp+DRV+PFM  
Many parakeets are chirping.

447: [rin] - the sound of a car starting (revving)  
krininik  
k+∅+rin+in+ik  
INC+3sA+rev+DRV+PFM  
The car is revving up

### 3.12 Other uninflected words

#### 3.12.1 Particles

This section lists particles (primarily adverbial elements) that do not clearly fit into any of the categories discussed elsewhere. Particles related to negation are discussed in the section on the syntax of negation (4.11 below).

3.12.1.1 *k'a* – The particle *k'a* is a discourse marker roughly corresponding to the way that English “then” may be used as a discourse marker.

448: Ruk' ik' k'a kujwi'k.  
r+uk' ik' k'a k+uj+wi'+k  
3sPOS+REL(with) chile then INC+2pABS+eat(intr)+PFM  
We eat with chile, then.

3.12.1.2 *nk'i* – The particle *nk'i* is also a discourse marker meaning “in that case” or “then.”

- 449: Chijmelul nk'i' ri qq'or, Cheent.  
 ch+ø+i+jVm+el+ul nk'i' ri q+q'oor, Cheent.  
 OPT+3sABS+2pERG+pull.out+DIR( )+DIR() then DET  
 2pPOS+atole Cheent  
 Pull out our atole then, Cheent.

3.12.1.3 *teq/taq* – The particle *teq* or *taq* (depending on dialect) is used to mean “when” in statements (but not in questions).

- 450: Teq xtul Wan xkujwi'k  
 teq xt+ø+ul Wan xk+uj+wa'+ik  
 when FUT+3sABS+arrive Wan FUT+1pABS+eat(intr)+PFM  
 When Wan arrives we'll eat.
- 451: Taq kk'iy noddiy k-'ek chu kaaj oche ya kel jun aj.  
 taq k+ø+k'iy noddiy k+ø+'ek chi+wu kaaj oche ya k+ø+el jun aj  
 when INC+3sABS+increase much INC+3sABS+go  
 PREP+DET sky maybe already INC+3sABS+leave one ear  
 When it (a stalk of corn) grows a lot it goes up toward  
 the sky and maybe an ear has already emerged.

The particle *teq* is sometimes realized as *tee*:

- 452: Tee chi' chu Naanch kopon ri Liy.  
 Tee chi' chu Naanch k+ø+o+pon ri Liy  
 then then PREP Naanch INC+3sABS+EPE+arrive DET Liy  
 After Naanch, Liy arrived (Liy arrived after Naanch)

3.12.1.4 *kee* - The particle *kee* means “like this” or “in this manner.”

- 453: Kee wa' wa kwaaj.  
 kee wa' wa k+w+aaj.  
 Like.this THIS 1sPRO INC+1sABS+want  
 This is what I want

454: Keek' la' tqb'an wu qchoch.  
 kee+k'a la' t+ø+q+b'an wu q+choch  
 like.this+then THAT POT+3sABS+1pERG+make DET 1pPOS+house\  
 Then that's how we're going to build our house.

3.12.1.5 *keti/keet* – This particle means “possibly” or “maybe.” It is probably historically derived from the combination of *kee* “like this” and the K'ichean irrealis suffix *+taj* (which was eventually shortened simply to *+ti* or *+t*).

455: Keet mixiyo'kuqaj pjun qi' nait  
 keet mix+ø+i+ya'+ok+uqaj p+jun qi' nait  
 Possibly PST+3sABS+3pERG+give+DIR(enter)+DIR(down)  
 PREP+one dimin bag  
 It was (possibly) put into a nylon bag.

3.12.1.6 *si* – The particle *si* (borrowed from Spanish) corresponds to English “if.”

456: Si xab'ek pk'eyb'al mu xariq ri Pey.  
 si x+a+b'e+k p+k'ey+b'al mu x+a+riq ri Pey  
 If COM+2sABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+LOC or  
 COM+2sABS+find DET Pey  
 If you go to the market you might find Pey.

457: No'j si xkaya'ken wu alej, xkub'urkach'ka' wix.  
 No'j si xk+a+ya'+ken wu a+lej xk+u+b'+u+r+kach'ka' wix  
 but if FUT+2sABS+give+dir(leave) DET 2sPOS+tortilla  
 FUT+3pABS+go++3sERG+chew cat  
 But if you leave your tortillas out the cat will chew on them..

458: Qy'an che jun keej chemo topnik chjay, no'j si nqaj pwes qeqaj qe pchiim.  
 ø+ø+q+ya' a'n che jun keej chemo t+ø+pon+ik  
 PERF+3sABS+2pERG+give DIR(up) PREP one horse as  
 DUB+3sABS+come+PFM chu+jay, no'j si nqaj pwes  
 ø+ø+q+eqaj qe pi+chiim PREP+house, but if near then  
 PERF+3sABS+2pERG+go.down 2pPRO PREP+nets  
 We put it onto a horse to take it to the house,  
 but if it's nearby then we take it down in nets.

3.12.1.7 *chi'* – The particle *chi'* is a discourse marker, roughly meaning “then.” It typically falls at the end of an utterance and marks the end of a section of discourse or the end of a turn in conversation:

459: Jo' chi'.  
 1pGO(irregular) chi'  
 Let's go then.

3.12.1.8 *xew* – The particle *xew* means “only” and marks focus.

460: Xew ultimo xqtij qaj rech kawim.  
 xew ultimo x+ø+q+tij qaj r+ech ka+wi'+m  
 only last(Sp) COM+3sABS+1pERG+eat(trans) DIR(down)  
 3sPOS+REL(for) two+eat(intrans)+NOM  
 Only we ate the last one for lunch.

3.12.1.9 *xaq* – The quantifier “only” is *xaq*.

461: Xaq jun chwa xtintij qaj  
 xaq jun ch+wa xt+ø+in+tij qaj  
 only one PREP+1sPRO FUT+3sABS+1sERG+eat(trans) DIR(down)  
 I'll eat only one of them.

3.12.1.10 *xuq* – “also, as well, too”

462: Mu xuq atb'enaq chi?  
 mu xuq ø+at+b'e+naq chi'  
 QUES also PERF+2sABS+go+MOD then?  
 Then you went as well?

463: Teq xujpetik kumu xuq xi'pe ke ta' Choon.  
 teq x+uj+pet+ik kumu xuq x+i'+pe ke ta' Choon.  
 when COM+1pABS+come+PFM as also COM+3pABS+come  
 3pPRO Don Choon.  
 When we come, Don Choon's family come too.

3.12.1.11 *ya* – “already,” borrowed from Spanish.

464: Wu qsi' ya xtk'isik.  
 Wu q+si' ya xt+ø+k'is+ik  
 DET 1pPOS+firewood already FUT+3sABS+finish+PFM  
 Our firewood has already run out.

3.12.1.12 *uche/ochē*[Chual] – “maybe, perhaps”

465: Uche k'o wnaq xokul.  
 uche k'o wnaq x+ø+ok+ul  
 maybe exist people COM+3sABS+enter+DIR(come)  
 Maybe a person came in (to the house).

466: Uche qal mit-'ek Wan.  
 Uche qal mit+ø+'ek Wan.  
 Maybe NEG REC+3sABS+go Wan.  
 Maybe Wan hasn't left yet.

467: Jnum nk'i no'j uche tjin kintzaq nodiiy poq.  
 jnum nk'i no'j uche tjin k+ø+in+tzaq nodiiy poq.  
 same then but maybe PROG INC+3sABS+1sERG+lose little money  
 It's the same then, but maybe I'm losing a little money (this way).

468: Oche qaqche' ya'.  
 maybe none water  
 There may not be any water.

3.12.1.13 *mja* /*muja* – “not yet”

- 469: Mariy muja' tulik.  
Mariy muja' t+ø+ul+ik  
Mariy not.yet POT+3sERG+arrive+PFM  
Mariy hasn't arrived yet.

3.12.1.14 *b'er* – “much, a lot”

- 470: B'er kirtij ch'ooy ri chnoj.  
b'er k+ø+r+tij ch'ooy ri chnoj  
MUCH INC+3sABS+3sERG+eat(trans) mouse DET milpa  
Mice will eat the milpa a lot.
- 471: Teq xujulik b'er chik Chent xchajwik.  
eq x+uj+ul+ik b'er chik Chent x+ø+chaj+w+ik  
when COM+1pABS+arrive+PFM MUCH MORE Chent  
COM+3sABS+wash+AAP+PFM  
When we got here, Chent had to wash it (the table) a lot again.

3.12.1.15 *qi* '(n) – the diminutive marker

- 472: No'j miki'kowir qi'n.  
no'j mik+i'+kow+ir qi'n.  
but REC+3pABS+hard+VERS dim  
But they've already gotten a little bit hard.
- 473: Xtinman jun qi' rb'aq' rwoch wik.  
xt+ø+in+man jun qi' r+b'aq' r+woch w+ik  
FUT+3sA+1sE+pull.out one DIM 3sPOS+seed 3sPOS+face 1sPOS+chile.  
I'm going to get out a little chile seed.
- 474: Xb'an xaq jun qi' nuch' jaay.  
x+ø+b'an xaq jun qi' nuch' jaay  
COM+3sA+make just one DIM little house.  
He built a single little house.



3.12.1.16 *kisiri* – The particle *kisiri* means “seems like” or “is similar to.”

475: Nkare' kape k'oqaj chpon, kisiri q'oor.  
nkare' kape k'o+qaj ch+pon kisiri q'oor  
NEG coffee exist+DIR(down) PREP+inside seems.like atole.  
It isn't coffee that's in it, it seems like atole.  
[looking into an almost empty cup]

### 3.12.2 Prepositions

There are three prepositions in Sipakapense: *chi*, *pi*, and *ti*. The prepositions *chi* and *pi* have two dialectal variants. In the northern (Chual, P-'ooj) dialect they have the forms *chi* and *pi* while in the southern Tres Cruces dialect they have the forms *chu* and *pu*. The *u* in the southern dialect is probably the historical result of the merger of *chi* and the determiner *wu* due to vowel dropping (whereby the sequence *chi+wu* is realized as *chwu*). The preposition *chi* is used for movement up to a location and is used for oblique prepositional phrases such as with indirect objects and benefactives. The preposition *pi* is used in cases where an entity is located inside the object of the preposition (regardless of whether or not there is movement involved). The preposition *ti* is only used in cases in which movement is emphasized. The prepositions *pi* and *chi* join with the following NP to form a single phonological word. Thus, they are often realized as *p* and *ch* due to the loss of unstressed vowels. For the phonology of vowel dropping see 2.2.1 above. For the syntax of prepositional phrases, see 4.3 below.

- 476: Mariy xmeq' wu woy chi ri rchjil.  
 Mariy x+ø+meq' wu woy chi ri r+chjil.  
 Mariy COM+3sABS+heat DET food PREP DET 3sPOS+husband.  
 Mariy heated the food for her husband.
- 477: Wan xb'an jun uq chi ri ral.  
 Wan x+ø+b'an jun uq chi ri r+al.  
 Wan COM+3sABS+make one skirt PREP DET 3sPOS+child  
 Wan made a skirt for his daughter.
- 478: Roq' xb'an sub' chqe.  
 Roq' x+ø+b'an sub' chi+qe.  
 Roq' COM+3sABS+make tamale PREP+1pPRO  
 Roq' made us tamales.
- 479: Aq'ab' miy xinb'ek pchnoj.  
 aq'ab' miy x+in+b'e+k pi+chnoj.  
 Night today COM+1sABS+go+PFM PREP+milpa.  
 Early this morning I went to the milpa.
- 480: Xujb'ek pjyub' waachi' k'o rchoch Lex.  
 X+uj+b'e+k pu+jyub' waachi' k'o r+choch Lex.  
 COM+1pABS+go+PFM PREP+mountain where exists 3sPOS+house Lex.  
 We went to the mountain where Lex's house is.
- 481: Xtoch' Pey ri chee' ruk' ri ikaj xqaj chu May.  
 x+ø+toch' Pey ri chee' r+uk' ri ikaj x+ø+qaj chu May.  
 COM+3sA/3sE+cut.down Pey DET tree 3sPOS+REL(with) DET  
 axe COM+3sA/3sE+borrow PREP May  
 Pey cut down the tree with the axe he borrowed from May.
- 482: Che xtb'an chu nab'eey wi'm?  
 Che xt+ø+q+b'an chu nab'eey wa'+im  
 what FUT+3sABS+1pERG+make PREP first eat(intr)+NOM  
 What are we going to make for breakfast?

- 483: Ri rxb'al Mariy ri kchuknik pu wu tiijb'al xb'ek chNajul  
 Ri r+xb'al Mariy ri k+ø+chuk+n+ik pu wu tiij+b'al x+ø+b'e+k ch+Najul  
 DET 3sPOS+sister Mariy DET INC+3sABS+work+AAP+PFM PREP DET  
 learn+LOC COM+3sABS+go+PFM PREP+Huehuetenango  
 Maria's sister that works in the school went to Huehuetenango.
- 484: Psaqq'ij qaqche jab'  
 p+saq+q'ij qaqche jab'.  
 PREP+white+sun nothing rain  
 In summer it doesn't rain.
- 485: Pjab'laj ri ke ajk'lob' ki'b'e ptiijb'al.  
 p+jab'+laj ri ke ajk'lob' k+i'+b'e p+tiij+b'al  
 PREP+rain+DRV DET 3sPRO children INC+go PREP+learn+LOC  
 In the winter the children go to school.
- 486: Ri ixoq ri kchuknik pXóoya' kyolwik ruk' rtzik.  
 Ri ixoq ri k+ø+chuk+n+ik p+Xooya k+ø+yol+w+ik r+uk' r+tzik.  
 DET woman DET INC+3sABS+work+AAP+PFM PREP+Comitancillo  
 INC+3sABS+talk+FAP+PFM 3sPOS+REL(with) 3sPOS+sister.  
 The woman who works in Comitancillo is talking with her sister.
- 487: Ri tz'i' xtzaqb'ik pu ri jul.  
 ri tz'i' x+ø+tzaq+b'ik pu ri jul.  
 DET dog COM+3sABS+fall+DIR(go) PREP DET hole.  
 The dogs fell in a hole.
- 488: Mariy k'o pk'eyb'al  
 Mariy k'o p+k'ey+b'al  
 Mariy EXIST PREP+buy+LOC  
 Mariy is in the plaza.
- 489: Ke ik'el ti Xela.  
 ke i+k'o el ti Xela  
 3sPRO PLUR+EXIST DIR(exit) Xela  
 The are living in Xela/They moved to Xela

490: Xkab'ek aawa wuuk' teq xtqya' jun qwelt ti Xoóya'?'  
 Xk+a+b'e+k aawa w+uuk' teq xt+ø+q+ya' jun q+welt ti Xoóya'?'  
 FUT+2sABS+go+PFM 2sPRO 1sPOS+REL(with) when  
 FUT+3sABS+1pERG+give one 1pPOS+turn PREP Comitancillo?  
 Are you going with me when we make our trip to Comitancillo?

491: Xb'ijok pi nxkin pkastiy.  
 x+ø+b'ij ok pi n+xkin p+kastiy  
 COM+3sABS+speak DIR(enter) PREP 1sPOS+ear PREP+Spanish  
 He said it into my ear in Spanish.

492: Ri tz'i' krumumik xelb'ik chchi' ri jaay  
 Ri tz'i' k+ø+rum+um+ik x+ø+el+b'ik chi+chi' ri jaay  
 DET dog INC+3sABS+run+DRV+PFM COM+3sABS+enter+DIR(go)  
 DET house  
 The running dog came in the door.

Details concerning spatial relationships may be expressed with with *chi* and a possessed spatial noun, such as *+ijj* “its back” or *xø'* “root, feet.” The possessed nouns generally correspond to body parts (see 3.2.8.1.1 above). In addition, directional clitics may be used (alone or with a prepositional phrase) to convey spatial information (see 3.2.8.1.1 above):

493: Ri tz'i' krumumik xk'isok chrij ri tz'ab'iib'  
 Ri tz'i' k+ø+rum+um+ik x+ø+k'is ok chi+rrij ri tz'ab'iib'  
 DET dog INC+3sABS+run+DRV+PFM COM+3sABS+finish DIR(enter)  
 PREP+back DET door.  
 The dog ran behind the door.

494: Ri wix krumumik xk'o chxoxo'l ri tz'i'.  
 ri wix k+ø+rum+um+ik x+k'o chi+k+xo'l ri tz'i'.  
 DET cat INC+3sABS+run+DRV+PFM  
 COM+EXIST PREP+3sPOS+REL(middle) DET dogs  
 The cat ran between the dogs.

495: Ri kumb'al k'a'n chu meex.  
Ri kum+b'al k'o+a'n chu meex  
DET cure+LOC EXIST+DIR(under) PREP table.  
The medicine is on the table

496: Ri ch'iich' k'o'k chu jaay.  
Ri ch'iich' k'o ok chu jaay  
DET car EXIST DIR(enter) PREP house  
The car is in front of the house.

### 3.12.3 Interrogatives

#### 3.12.3.1 Yes/no questions

The particle *mu* is used to turn statements into polarity questions. The addition of *mu* as the initial word in a sentence marks all yes or no questions. Also, the particle *mu* can be used as a conjunction meaning “or.” Thus, the disjunctive particle has been grammaticalized as an interrogative particle in Sipakapense.

497: Mu xkixb'ek chwaq chjay?  
Mu xk+ix+b'e+k chwaq chi jay?  
INTER FUT+2pABS+go+PFM tomorrow PREP house  
Are you going to the house tomorrow?

498: Mu qatz ke, chil?  
INTER really 3sPRO, kid?  
Are those things really true, kid?

499: Mu tak'amb'ik wu abisikleta?  
mu t+ø+a+k'am b'ik wu a+bisikleta?  
INTER DUB+3sABS+1sERG+bring DIR(go) DET 2sPOS+bicycle  
Are you going to bring your bicycle?

- 500: Mu xkixb'ek?  
 Mu xk+ix+b'e+k?  
 INTER FUT+1pABS+go+PFM  
 Are you leaving?
- 501: Teek' chi' xkinloq' la' kyo'qok wre' ruk' sanyeb mu ruk' plomo.  
 tee+k'a chi' xk+ø+in+loq la' ø+ø+k+ya'+oq ok wre' r+uk'  
 sanyeb mu r+uk' plomo.  
 When+well then FUT+3sABS+1sERG+buy that  
 PERF+3sABS+3pERG+give+PERF DIR(enter)  
 3sPOS+REL(with) sand INTER 3sPOS+REL(with) lead.  
 Well then, I'm going to buy some that they put sand in, or lead.
- 502: Chemo kitoj iwa chi' kixchuknik mu chemo?  
 chemo k+ø+i+toj iwa chi' k+ix+chuk+n+ik mu chemo?  
 How INC+3sABS+2pERG+pay 2pPRO then I  
 INC+2pABS+work+AAP+PFM INTER what?  
 How did you pay then, did you work or what?

### 3.12.3.2 Interrogatives

The word for “who” in Sipakapense is *chin*. If it is assumed that the “who” in question is a plural noun phrase, the plural marker *+aq* is also used, giving the plural form *chinaq*. In addition, *chin* may be joined with *chke* (*chi+ke* PREP+3pPRO, “of them”) to give the meaning “which.”

- 503: Chin xi'tjiw ri sub'?  
 chin x+i'+tij+w ri sub'?  
 who COM+3pABS+eat(trans)+FAP DET tamalito  
 Who ate the tamalitos
- 504: Rum chinaq xb'antaj wu jaay?  
 r+um chinaq x+ø+b'an+taj wu jaay?  
 3sPOS+REL(for) who COM+3sABS+make/do+CPS DET house  
 Who was the house built for?

- 505: Chin wuk' chi' kinylow?  
 chin w+uk' chi' k+in+yol+w  
 who 1sPOS+REL(with) then INC+1sABS+speak+FAP  
 Who will I talk to then?
- 506: Chin chke wu ijuj?  
 chin chi ke wu i+juuj  
 who PREP 3sPRO DET 2pPOS+paper  
 Which are your papers?
- 507: Chin chke ri achi ri kk'yej chee'?  
 chin chi ke ri achi ri k+ø+k'ey+j chee'  
 who PREP 3sPRO DET man DET COM+3sA/3sE+sell+DRV tree  
 Which is the man who sells lumber?

The word *che* is used to mean “what”.

- 508: Che xtb'an ajwi'?  
 che xt+ø+q+b'an ajwi'?  
 what FUT+3sABS+1pERG+do today  
 What are we going to do today?
- 509: Che q'ijj xkix-'ek Wáate?  
 Che q'ijj xk+ix+'e+k waate  
 what day FUT+2pABS+go+PFM Guatemala City  
 What day are we going to Guatemala City?
- 510: Che wab'i?  
 Che wu a+b'i  
 what DET 2sPOS+name  
 What is your name?

The interrogative “how” is *chemo*. It may also be used in embedded sentences, as in example 514.

- 511: Chemo rtz'iib'xik ri' pqyolb'al?  
 chemo r+tz'iib'+x+ik ri' p+q+yol+b'al  
 how 3sPOS+write+PASS+PFM this PREP+2pPOS+speak+LOC  
 How to you write this in our language?
- 512: Chemo k'wu tla' ruk' Roq'?'  
 chemo k'a wu tla' r+uk' Roq'  
 how well DET there 3sPOS+REL(with) Roq'  
 How are things there with Roq'?'
- 513: Chemo teq xyaa' Liix chawa?  
 chemo teq x+ø+yaa' Liix chi awa  
 how when COM+3sA/3sE+give Liix PREP 1sPRO  
 How was it when Liix gave it to you? (hit you)
- 514: Chaylo' chemo rtijik leech.  
 ch+ø+a+yol+V' chemo r+tij+ik leech.  
 OPT+3sABS+2sERG+speak+MOD what 3sPOS+eat+PFM milk(Spanish)  
 Tell (us) how milk tastes.

The interrogative *jrub'* means "how much" or "how many."

- 515: Jrub' xa'ya' wu ke'q axjab'?'  
 jrub' x+ii'+a+ya' wu ke'q a+xjab'  
 how.much COM+3pABS+2sERG+give DET PLUR 2sPOS+shoes  
 How much did those shoes cost you?
- 516: Jrub' chqe lo xkuj-'ek?  
 jrub' chi qe lo xk+uj+'e+k  
 how.many PREP 2pPRO SUBJ FUT+2pABS+go+PFM  
 How many of us can go?
- 517: Jrub' ke wu iwchaq' jor kiikulb'ik?  
 jrub' ke wu iw+chaq' jor k+ii+kul b'ik  
 how.many 3sPRO DET 2pPOS+younger.brother  
 already INC+3pABS+marry DIR(go)  
 How many of your younger brothers are married?



518: Jrub' ijnob'  
jrub' i+jnob'  
How many 2pPOS+year  
How old are y'all?

There are three Sipakapense interrogatives that correspond to “when” in English.

For questions in which the action is in the future or is in doubt, the interrogative *jruj* is used:

519: Jruj tulik May?  
jruj t+ø+ul+ik May  
when DUB+3sABS+arrive+PFM May  
When is May coming?

520: Jruj lo' kujchkun ruk' Way?  
jruj lo' k+uj+chuk+n r+uk' Way  
when SUBJ INC+2pABS+work+AAP 3sPOS+REL(with) Way  
When are we going to work with Way?

For questions in which the action is in the past and it is certain that the action happened, the interrogative *jorjil* is used:

521: Jorjil katulik?  
Jorjil k+at+ul+ik  
when INC+2sABS+arrive+PFM  
When did you arrive?

522: Jorjil xb'e k'a?  
jorjil x+ø+b'e k'a  
when COM+3sABS+go then?  
When did he leave, then?

For questions asking for a specific time of day the interrogative *jan(ik)* is used.

Often, the plural marker *+taq* is added to the interrogative followed by the word *or*, meaning “hour.” The word *or* is a borrowing from Spanish (*hora*) and the combination follows the pattern of similar questions in Spanish (*¿A que horas...?*).

523: Jan xkujwi’k?  
jan xk+uj+wi’+k  
when FUT+1pABS+eat(intrans)+PFM  
When are we going to eat?

524: Jantaq or xatulik?  
jan+taq or x+at+ul+ik  
when+plural hour COM+2sABS+arrive+PFM  
At what hour did you arrive?

Questions asking “how long” use the interrogative *jnik chob’*:

525: Jnik chob’ xixk’ob’ik iwa pXóoya.  
jnik chob’ x+ix+k’o b’ik iwa p+Xóoya  
How many time COM+2pABS+exist DIR(go) 2pPRO PREP+Xóoya  
How long were you in Comintacillo?

The interrogative meaning “why” is *che rmal*. This is the interrogative “what” (*che*) plus the relational noun “for” (*+mal*) possessed by the third singular (*r+*), giving the literal meaning “what for.”

526: Che rmal xi’rtij Pey njel ri sub’?  
che r+mal x+i’+r+tij Pey njel ri sub’  
what 3sPOS+REL(for) COM+3pABS+3sERG+eat Pey all DET tamalitos  
Why did Pedro eat all or the tamalitos?

527: Che rmal teq xelul  
che r+mal teq x+ø+el ul  
what 3sPOS+REL(for) when COM+3sABS+leave DIR(arrive)  
Why did he leave?

528: Che rmal qal kna'taj chiiwa'?  
che r+mal qal k+ø+na'+taj chi+iwa  
what 3sPOS+REL(for) NEG INC+3sERG+know+CPS PREP+2pPRO  
Why don't you remember?

529: Che rmal mraj mitul wu ch'iich'?  
che r+mal mraj mit+ø+ul wu ch'iich'  
what 3sPOS+REL(for) REC+3sABS+arrive DET bus  
Why did the bus arrive late?

The interrogative for "where" is *waachi'*.

530: Waachi' mitpe Chent wi'?  
Waachi' mit+ø+pe Chent wi'?  
where REC+3sABS+come Chent wi'?  
Where did Chent come from?

531: Waachi' k'o wu ntz'ib'al?  
waachi' k'o wu n+tz'iib'+b'al  
where EXIST DET 1sPOS+write+LOC  
Where is my pencil?

532: Waachi' xb'ek wu awtzik?  
waachi' x+ø+b'e+k wu aw+utzik  
where COM+3sABS+go+PFM DET 2sPOS+older.sister  
Where did your older sister go?

#### 4.0 Syntax

#### 4.1 Noun-phrases

##### 4.1.1 Simple noun phrases

Noun phrases consisting of a single noun occur only with proper names (as in example 2) or in stative sentences with the verb *k'o(lik)* “to exist” (as in example 1).

- 1: K'o kootz'a'j.  
There are flowers.
- 2: Chent k'o rqu  
Chent k'o r+qu  
Chent EXIST 3sPOS+throat  
Chent has a cough

In all other cases a determiner is required unless a noun is possessed or quantified.

Sipakapense determiners are as follows:

*wu* – definite, closer to speaker than to listener or close to both speaker and listener

- 3: wu tz'i'  
the dog

*la* – definite, closer to listener than to speaker

- 4: la tz'i'  
the dog

*ri* – definite, known, but not visible to speaker or listener, or has been previously mentioned but not present in the current discourse

5:     *ri tz'i'*  
          the dog

*jun* – indefinite, the number “one”

6:     *jun tz'i'*  
          a dog

*ri jun* – specific indefinite, this form combines the definite *ri* with the indefinite *jun* to form a specific indefinite. The specificity of the indefinite often arises because the indefinite noun phrase has been previously referred to in the discourse, but the specifics of which particular noun is referred to is unknown. Nouns marked with *ri jun* are indefinite, but they are also known, usually through previous mention in the discourse. Thus, the form *ri jun* has a meaning somewhat like “this one” in English. For example, if the discourse has referred to “a group of boys” the form “this one boy” to convey that the boy in question is part of the previously mentioned group, although the details concerning the boy (other than that he is part of the group) are not known. (*ri jun tz'i'* = the one dog)

Except for stative existential sentences and proper names, one of these determiners is obligatory for all noun phrases that are not quantified, modified or possessed. Although proper names do not need determiners, they may occur with any determiner. For example, if the person in question is not present, but is known

to all participants in the discourse, the determiner *ri* will be used. If an honorific (see 3.10 above) occurs with the proper noun, the honorific always immediately precedes the proper noun (whether or not a determiner occurs).

8:     *ri Wan*  
       DET Wan  
       Wan (proper name)

9:     *ta' Way*  
       CLAS Way  
       Mr. Way

10:    *ri ta' Way*  
       DET CLAS Way  
       Mr. Way

Nouns may be optionally marked for plurality with the addition of the particle *ke'q* before the head noun (and before any adjective phrases). A noun without *ke'q* may be either plural or singular, but a noun with *ke'q* must be plural. Plural nouns marked with *ke'q* do not require determiners although they may be quantified as well as marked for plurality.

11:    *ri achi*  
       DET man  
       The man/men.

12:    *ri ke'q achi*  
       DET PLU man  
       The men.

13:    *keb' achi*  
       TWO men  
       two men

- 14:    keb' ke'q achi  
       TWO PLU man  
       Two men.
- 15:    keb' ke'q nima tz'i'  
       keb' ke'q nim+a tz'i'  
       TWO PLU big+AFF dogs  
       two big dogs
- 16:    ke'q altom  
       ke'q altom  
       PLUR boys  
       boys

#### 4.1.2 Adjectives

Adjective phrases occur immediately before the head noun of a noun phrase. There are two types of adjective phrases, root adjectives and positional adjectives (i.e. those derived from positional roots. Both types of adjective may take the attributive suffix *+laj* (see 3.5.2.1. above). If both types of adjective phrase occur within the same noun phrase, the root adjectives will always follow positional adjectives. If multiple adjective phrases occur, the suffix *+laj* will only occur on the first adjective. Adjectives may also be marked for plurality with the addition of the post-clitic *taq*, which follows *+laj* and occurs immediately before the head noun. In addition, root adjectives may also be marked for plurality with the prefix *i+*. The prefix *i+* and the post-clitic *taq* may co-occur. As noted above, the plural marker *ke'q* occurs before adjective phrases.

- 17: ri nima tz'i'  
 ri niim+a tz'i'  
 DET big+AFF dog  
 the big dog.
- 18: jun t'ort'ik laj tlul  
 jun t'or+Cik laj tlul  
 one round+DRV ATTR zapote(mamey).  
 A round zapote.
- 19: jun niim laj tz'i'.  
 one big ATTR dog  
 a big dog
- 20: ri niim laj taq tz'i'  
 DET big ATTR PLU dog  
 The big dogs.
- 21: inmaq taq lej  
 i+niim+aq taq lej  
 PLU+big+PLU PLU tortilla  
 big tortillas
- 22: keb' ke'q nima tz'i'  
 keb' ke'q nim+a tz'i'  
 TWO PLU big+AFF dogs  
 two big dogs
- 23: jun set+sik laj rex q'ooq'  
 one round+AFF ATTR green chilacayote  
 A round green chilacayote
- 24: saqsoj laj taq kmi'x  
 saq+soj laj taq kmi'x  
 white+DRV ATTR PLU shirt  
 white shirts



- 25: skotlul laj nmaq taq chee'  
 skot+l ul laj niim+aq taq chee'  
 twisted+DRV dir(arrive) ATTR big+PLU tree  
 big twisted sticks

Only stative positional adjectives may follow nouns.

- 26: jun q'aáwa' paq'+tl+ik  
 one jug crack+STA+PFM  
 a cracked jug
- 27: jun nim+a q'aáwa' paq'+tl+ik  
 a big+AFF jug cracked  
 a big cracked jug

#### 4.1.3 Numbers

Numbers occur immediately before any adjective phrases and before *ke'q* (if it occurs). Numbers may occur with determiners, in which case the number follows the determiner. All other quantifiers (not numbers) occur before the determiner.

- 28: keb' ke'q nima tz'i'  
 keb' ke'q nim+a tz'i'  
 TWO PLU big+AFF dogs  
 two big dogs
- 29: ri k'eb' nim+a tz'i'  
 DET two big+AFF dog  
 The two big dogs
- 30: ri k'eb' ke'q nim+a tz'i'  
 DET two PLU big+AFF dog  
 The two big dogs

- 31: oxib' q'uqlik laj nmaq taq ixaq  
 oxib' q'uq+lik laj niim+aq taq ixaq  
 three seated+DRV ATTR big+PLU PLU women  
 three big seated women
- 32: nk'ej ri ajk'lob'  
 some DET boys  
 some of the boys
- 33: njel ri wnaq  
 all DET people  
 all the people
- 34: qa jun chke ri ajk'lob'  
 qa jun ch+ke ri ajk'lob'  
 NEG one PREP+3pPRO DET boys  
 not a single boy, not one of the boys
- 35: jun ch+ke ri ajk'lob'  
 one PREP+3pPRO DET boys  
 one of the boys
- 36: jun iwa  
 one 2pPRO  
 one of you

#### 4.1.4 Possession

Possession is marked by the addition of the possessive prefix to the head noun. The noun phrase of the possessor immediately follows the head noun, but need not be expressed. In addition, possession may be indicated by a relational noun phrase following the head noun. In this case, the relational noun +*ech* carries the possessive prefix and the possessor noun phrase immediately follows the relational noun. Possessed nouns may be quantified and/or marked by determiners. However,

an adjective phrase may not precede a noun marked by a possessive prefix. If an adjective modifies a noun that is possessed, the possession is indicated through the use of the relational noun phrase, rather than marking possession directly on the head noun.

- 37: ri k'eb' rtz'i' Wan  
 ri k'eb' r+tz'i' Wan  
 DET two 3sPOS+dog Wan  
 Wan's two dogs
- 38: ri k'eb' rtz'i'  
 ri k'eb' r+tz'i'  
 DET two 3sPOS+dog  
 his two dogs
- 39: \*ri k'eb' nima rtz'i' Wan  
 ri k'eb' nim+a r+tz'i' Wan  
 DET two big+AFF 3sPOS+dog Wan  
 \*Wan's two big dogs
- 40: \*ri k'eb' rnima tz'i' Wan  
 ri k'eb' r+niim+a tz'i' Wan  
 DET two 3sPOS+big+AFF dog Wan  
 \*Wan's two big dogs
- 41: ri k'eb' (ke'q) nima tz'i' r+ech Wan  
 DET two (PLU) big dog 3sPOS+REL(for) Wan  
 Wan's two big dogs
- 42: ri k'eb' nima tz'i' rech achi k'o titla'  
 DET two big dog 3sPOS+REL(for) man EXIST over.there  
 The two big dogs of the man who lives over there
- 43: k+xjab' ke'q ajklob'  
 3pPOS+shoe PLU boys  
 boys' shoes

#### 4.1.5 Noun phrases with measure words

Measure words behave like other nouns. When used as measure words, the measured noun phrase immediately follows the measure word. Both noun phrases may be modified in any way, except that if the measure word is possessed, the possession may not be expressed on the measure word itself. Rather the possessing noun phrase must be expressed in a relational noun phrase following the second (measured) noun phrase.

- 44: jun xu'k ke'q ichaaj  
one basket PLU herbs  
a basket of herbs
- 45: jun niim xu'k ichaaj  
one big basket herbs  
a big basket of herbs
- 46: ri niim xu'k ichaaj  
DET big basket herbs  
the big basket of herbs
- 47: uxib' nm+aq xb'o'j sub'  
three big+PLU jars tamale  
three big jars of tamales
- 48: kjib' ytaaj r+xaq chnoj  
four handful 3sPOS+leaves milpa  
four handfuls of corn leaves
- 49: k'eb' nmaq xu'k q'en laj lo'n  
two big baskets ripe ATTR fruit  
two big baskets of ripe fruit

- 50: k'eb' limeet r+kab'+il chkop  
two bottle 3sPOS+sweet+AFF animal  
two bottles of honey
- 51: jun set+sik laj xu'k ichaaj  
one round+AFF ATTR basket herbs  
a round basket of herbs
- 52: jun k'eb' xu'k ichaaj r+ech Roq'  
one two basket herbs 3sPOS+REL(by) Roq'  
Roq's two baskets of herbs
- 53: \*k'eb' rxu'k Roq' ichaaj  
k'eb' r+xu'k Roq' ichaaj  
two 3sPOS+basket Roq' herbs.  
\*Roq's two baskets of herbs.

If a stative positional adjective is used to modify the measure word, it may not occur between the measure word and the following noun phrase. The measured noun phrase may be expressed in a relational noun phrase following the adjective or the adjective may follow the second (measured) noun phrase.

- 54: jun nim+a qaáwa' paq'+tl ul r+um ya'  
one big+AFF jug cracked+STA DIR 3sPOS+REL(for) water  
a big cracked jug of water
- 55: jun xu'k ichaaj jup+tlik  
one basket herbs woven+STA  
a woven basket of herbs
- 56: \*jun xu'k juptlik ichaaj  
jun xu'k jup+tlik ichaaj  
one basket woven+STA herbs  
\*a woven basket of herbs.

#### 4.1.6 *chik*

Finally, any noun phrase may be modified with the clitic *chik* meaning “more, additional, other.” The clitic *chik* occurs after the head noun phrase or after the possessor noun phrase following possessed nouns. If *chik* is used to modify a measure word, the second (measured) noun phrase may not follow *chik* (i.e. it cannot be separated from the measure word). In cases where *chik* is used with measure words, the measured noun phrase is expressed in a relational noun phrase using the relation noun *+ech* (for).

- 57: ri jun i+chaq' chik  
DET one 2p/f+brother MORE  
your other brother
- 58: ri jun r+chaq' Way chik  
DET one 3sPOS+brother Way MORE  
Way's other brother
- 59: jun k'eb' xu'k chik r+ech ichaaj  
one two basket MORE 3sPOS+REL(by) herbs  
two more baskets of herbs
- 60: uxib' tz'uuj chik r+ech ya'  
three drops MORE 3sPOS+REL(by) water  
three more drops of water
- 61: k'eb' xu'k chik r+ech ichaaj r+ech Roq'  
two basket MORE 3sPOS+REL(by) herbs 3sPOS+REL(by) Roq'  
two more of Roq's baskets of herbs

## 4.2 Relational noun phrases

Relational nouns are always possessed and convey syntactic or spatial information concerning the possessed noun phrase (and its role in a given sentence). For a full list of relational nouns and their roles in sentence formation, see 3.3 above. The syntax of relational noun phrases is identical to that of possessed noun phrases, with the relational noun being the head of the phrase:

- 62: In wa xinwuut wiib' rum teew.  
In wa x+in+wuut w+iib' r+um teew  
1sPRO 1sEMP COM+1sABS+curl.up 1sPOS+REFL 3sPOS+REL(by) cold  
I shuddered from the cold.
- 63: Xk'yeyj Chaan wu chiij ri weech.  
x+ø+k'ey+Vj Chaan wu chiij ri w+eech.  
COM+3sABS+sell+DRV Chaan DET sheep DET 1sPOS+REL(for)  
Chaan sold my sheep.
- 64: Pey k'e'l chqij.  
Pey k'o'+el ch+q+iij  
Pey exist+DIR(exit) PREP+2pPOS+back  
Pey is behind us.

## 4.3 Prepositional phrases

Within prepositional phrases, prepositions always precede noun phrases. The noun phrase may take any form including relational nouns which are often used to convey spatial information related to prepositional phrases (for more see 3.8.2.2 above). In the majority of sentences (those without some topicalization or focus-marking), prepositional phrases follow the final noun phrase in a sentence or they

immediately follow the verb. Many place names begin with prepositions (e.g. *Chuqul* “Tejutla,” *P-’ooj* “Pojo,” *Pchun*, “Pueblo Viejo”). For these place names, no preposition is needed if the preposition used is the same as the initial preposition in the place name.

- 65: Xkujpe chik chi’ chu qchoch.  
 xk+uj+pe chik chi’ chu q+choch  
 FUT+1pABS+come more then PREP 1pPOS+house  
 We are coming to our house again
- 66: Aq’ab’ miiy xinb’ek pchnoj.  
 aq’ab’ miiy x+in+b’e+k pi+chnoj.  
 Night today COM+1sABS+go+PFM PREP+milpa.  
 Early this morning I went to the milpa.
- 67: Ri wix krumumik xk’o chkxo’l ri tz’i’.  
 ri wix k+ø+rur+um+ik x+k’o chi+k+xo’l ri tz’i’.  
 DET cat INC+3sABS+run+DRV+PFM COM+EXIST  
 PREP+3sPOS+REL(middle) DET dogs  
 The cat ran between the dogs.
- 68: Ri tz’i’ krumumik xk’isok chriij ri tz’ab’iib’  
 Ri tz’i’ k+ø+rur+um+ik x+ø+k’is ok chi+riij ri tz’ab’iib’  
 DET dog INC+3sABS+run+DRV+PFM COM+3sABS+finish  
 DIR(enter) PREP+back DET door.  
 The dog ran behind the door.
- 69: Mariy xloq’ xjab’ ke kumu xqka’yij Chuqul.  
 Mariy x+ø+loq’ xjab’ ke kumu x+ø+q+ka’y+ij Chuqul  
 Mariy COM+3sA/3sE+buy shoes 3pPRO like  
 COM+3sABS+2pERG+see+DRV Tejutla  
 Mariy bought shoes like those we saw in Tejutla.



#### 4.4 Word order and simple sentences

##### 4.4.1 Stative sentences

In stative sentences in which two noun phrases are equated with one another, no copula is needed.

- 70: Che rb'i' ataat?  
Che r+b'i' a+taat?  
What 3sPOS+name 2sPOS+father  
What is your father's name?
- 71: In aj P-'ooj  
in aj p+ooj  
1sPRO NOM PREP+avocados  
I am from Poj. (lit. I am a person from Poj)
- 72: Way rb'i'.  
Way r+b'i'.  
Way 3sPOS+name  
His name is Way.
- 73: Ri jun chik ri rk'jol May  
ri jun chik ri r+k'jol May.  
DET one MORE DET 3sPOS+son May.  
The other one is May's son.

No copula is needed for statives involving an adjective and a noun phrase. The adjective precedes the noun phrase.

- 74: No'j utz kwoch.  
No'j utz k+woch.  
But good 3pPOS+face  
But they are doing well.

- 75: Xib'al etzel rtz'i' Wan.  
 xib'al etzel r+tz'i' Wan  
 very bad 3sPOS+dog Wan  
 Wan's dog is very bad.
- 76: Saqsoj wu s-'aaq.  
 saq+soj wu s-'aaq  
 White+DRV DET clothes.  
 The clothes are white.
- 77: Yuqyik rxkin ri tz'i'  
 yuq+yik r+xkin ri tz'i'.  
 long 3sPOS+ear DET dog  
 The dog's ears are long.

In addition, the attributive affix, which emphasizes the connection between an adjective and the noun it modifies (see 3.5.2.1 above) may be used in stative sentences.

- 78: Chak' laj chee'.  
 tall ATTR tree  
 The tree is tall.
- 79: Xkin laj achi.  
 deaf ATTR man.  
 The man is deaf.

The noun phrase may precede the adjective phrase if the noun phrase is under emphasis, is topicalized within the discourse.

- 80: Ri tz'i' wu we' yab'  
 DET dog DET this sick  
 That dog there is sick.

In stative sentences involving prepositional phrases, the noun phrase precedes the prepositional phrase. The prepositional phrase may not precede the noun unless *k'o(lik)* (see below) is used. Sentences with a noun phrase and prepositional phrase without *k'o(lik)* are rare and are used if the noun phrase is not under focus or has been previously mentioned in the discourse. For example, such sentences may occur as responses to questions concerning the location of a particular object (i.e. “Where is the basket?”)

81: Ri xu'k purxkin jaay.  
 ri xu'k pu r+xkin jaay  
 DET basket PREP 3sPOS+ear house  
 The basket is in the corner.

The root *k'o(lik)*, meaning “to exist” is used with single noun phrases to form sentences referring to the presence or existence of a particular noun phrase. The use of *k'o(lik)* is similar to similar constructions in other languages, such as *hay* in Spanish, *il y a* in French, *yest'* in Russian, etc. Although *k'o(lik)* is never marked for person or number, it may be marked for tense/aspect. Thus *x+k'oo* (COM+EXIST) means “there used to be” and may also be used as a temporal adverb meaning “long time ago.” The word *xk'oo* may also be used simply to mean “before, long ago.” In sentences with just *k'o(lik)* and a noun phrase, the noun phrase follows *k'o(lik)* unless it is under focus or topicalization (see below).

- 82: K'o niim grasa chpom  
 K'o niim grasa ch+pom.  
 EXIST big fat PREP+inside  
 It has a lot of fat in it.
- 83: K'o nk'ej kootz'a'j.  
 EXIST some flowers.  
 There are some flowers.
- 84: K'o ri tz'i' wre'.  
 EXIST DET dog here  
 The dog is here.
- 85: Ri wix k'o qaj chkxo'l ri ke altem  
 Ri wix k'o qaj ch+k+xo'l ri ke altem.  
 DET cat EXIST DIR PREP+3p+middle DET 3pPRO girls(PLU)  
 The cat is in the middle of the girls.
- 86: K'o Chent rqu  
 k'o Chent r+qu  
 EXIST Chent 3sPOS+throat  
 Chent has a cough
- 87: Kumu ke ri qkostumb'r ri xk'oo.  
 kumu ke ri q+kostumb'r ri x+k'oo  
 like in.this.way DET 1pPOS+custom DET COM+EXIST  
 Because that was our custom long ago.

#### 4.4.2 Intransitive sentences

For sentences containing only a verb and a subject noun phrase, the most common word order is verb-subject. The subject noun phrase may be unexpressed.

- 88: Xinwrik.  
 x+in+wor+ik  
 COM+1sABS+sleep+PFM  
 I slept.

89: Xkmik ri ri'j tz'i'.  
 x+ø+kam+ik ri ri'j tz'i'  
 COM+3sABS+die+PFM DET old dog  
 The old dog died.

90: Kq'oqik ri ajk'al. (root = oq')  
 k+ø+q'oq+ik ri ajk'al  
 INC+3sABS+cry+PFM DET child  
 The child is crying

Uncontrolled bodily functions such as coughing and sneezing are expressed through intransitive verbs such as pe “come” and ya' riib' “to give one's self.”

91: Xpe Chent rqu  
 x+ø+pe Chent r+qu  
 COM+3sABS+come Chent 3sPOS+throat  
 Vicente coughed

92: Chus xpe jun atzyam chrij.  
 Chus x+ø+pe jun atzyam ch+r+iij  
 Chus COM+3sABS+come one sneeze PREP+3sPOS+back  
 Chus sneezed.

93: Tim xyok riib' jun chok' chre.  
 Tim x+ø+ya' ok r+iib' jun chok' ch+re  
 Tim COM+3sABS+give DIR 3sPOS+REL(ref) one hiccup PREP+3sPRO  
 Tim hiccuped.

In all sentences (transitive and intransitive) adverbs immediately precede the verb. If the adverb is modified by an adjective, the adjective precedes the adverb. In stative sentences, adverbs occur sentence initially.

94: Keti xriqnik.  
 keti x+ø+riq+n+ik  
 almost COM+3sABS+catch/find+FAP+PFM  
 S/he almost caught it.

95: Xib'al chaniim kb'iinik  
 xib'al chaniim k+ø+b'iin+ik  
 very quickly INC+3sABS+walk+PFM  
 S/he walks very quickly.

96: Uche mit-'ek Wan.  
 uche mit+ø+ek Wan  
 uche REC+3sABS+go Wan  
 Perhaps Wan has already left.

97: Qatzij qaqche woy.  
 really none food  
 There is really no food.

The subject noun phrase may precede the verb phrase if the subject is preposed. This occurs if the subject is under emphasis, when the subject is introduced for the first time in the discourse, when there is contrastive focus, or in order to clarify the distinction between one or more possible agents.

98: Ri ke'q kotz'a'j utz ksiqik  
 ri ke'q kotz'a'j utz k+siq+ik  
 DET PLU flower good 3pPOS+smell+NOUN  
 The flowers smell good.

99: Wan kwrik.  
 Wan k+ø+wor+ik  
 Wan INC+3sABS+sleep+PFM  
 Wan is sleeping.

100: Ri nimaq'ij rech Pchun xtikrok iwir.  
 ri nima+q'ij r+ech pchun x+tikr+ok iwir.  
 DET big+day 3sPOS+REL(for) Pueblo Viejo COM+begin+DIR(enter)  
 yesterday  
 The festival for Pueblo Viejo began yesterday.

- 101: Beto xqaj b'ik chi ya'.  
 Beto x+ø+qaj b'ik chi ya'.  
 Beto COM+3sABS+descend DIR(go) PREP water.  
 Beto went down to the river.
- 102: Are wu ral Roq' ri xtij njel wu kaab'.  
 are wu r+al Roq' ri x+ø+tij njel wu sweets  
 3sEMP DET 3sPOS+child Roq' DET COM+3sA/3sE+eat(trans) all DET  
 sweets.  
 It was Roq's child that ate all the candy.

#### 4.4.3 Obliques

Prepositional phrases and oblique relational noun phrases occur after the subject noun phrase (i.e. they are sentence final). The prepositional phrase or the oblique relational phrase may occur before the verb only if it is topicalized or under focus.

- 103: Xyol jun wnaq ruk' Jor.  
 x+ø+yol jun wnaq r+uk' Jor.  
 COM+3sABS+speak one person 3sPOS+REL(with) Jor.  
 Someone was talking with Jor.
- 104: Xwab'ik ri nima ch'iich' pb'ey  
 x+ø+wa+b'+ik ri nim+a ch'iich' p+b'ey  
 COM+3sABS+stand.up+PVD+PFM DET big+AFF metal PREP+road  
 The bus stopped in the road
- 105: Xpetik jun wix chjay.  
 x+ø+pet+ik jun wix ch+jay  
 COM+3sABS+come+PFM one cat PREP+house  
 A cat came into the house.

- 106: Xtzo'pnik Loóla rum rku'ktem  
 x+ø+tzopin+ik Loola r+um r+ku'k+t+em  
 COM+3sABS+jump+PFM Loola 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 3sPOS+happy+STA+NOUN  
 Loola jumped for joy

#### 4.4.4 Transitive sentences, word order and topicalization

In transitive sentences, subject and/or object noun phrases need not be expressed. When the noun phrases are both expressed, the most common word order is verb-subject-object (VSO). Under certain conditions, other word orders are possible (see 4.4.5 below). The ergative and absolutive marking on the verb must agree with the noun phrases in the sentence, unless both noun phrases are third person singular. When both subject and object are third person singular, agreement may be optionally marked only with a single zero morpheme (i.e. only the absolutive agreement must be marked).

- 107: Xatrtz'ulij.  
 x+at+r+tz'ul+ij  
 COM+2sABS+3sERG+hug+DRV  
 S/he hugged you.
- 108: Xinwoyb'ej ri nima ch'iich'  
 x+ø+in+woy+b'ej ri nim+a ch'iich'  
 COM+3sABS+3sERG+wait+DRV DET big+AFF metal  
 I am waiting for the bus
- 109: Kirsk'ij Saant wu rjuuj.  
 k+i+ø+r+sk'+ij Saant wu r+juuj  
 INC+EPEN+3sABS+3sERG+read+DRV Saant DET 3sPOS+book  
 Saant is reading his book.



- 110: Ki'rmol Chia wu rchiij  
 k+i'+r+mol Chia wu r+chiij  
 INC+3pABS+3sERG+tie Chia DET 3sPOS+sheep  
 Chia tied up her sheep.
- 111: Kirchqijsaj Liy ri s-'aaq  
 k+i+ø+r+chqij+s+aj Liy ri s-'aaq  
 INC+EPEN+3sABS+3sERG+dry+CAUS+DRV Liy DET clothes  
 Liy is drying the clothes
- 112: Xkeb'saj Kalux jun q'ooq'  
 x+ø+keb'+s+aj Kalux jun q'ooq'  
 COM+3sA3sE+divide+CAUS+DRV Kalux one ayote  
 Kalux divided an ayote.
- 113: Xkayij ri tz'i' jun b'aaq pi rchi'  
 x+ø+kay+ij ri tz'i' jun b'aaq pi r+chi'  
 COM+3sA3sE+carry+DRV DET dog one bone PREP 3sPOS+mouth  
 The dog carried a bone in its mouth.

In addition to VSO word order, SVO order is possible may occur in several particular instances: 1) when the subject noun phrase is first introduced into the discourse, or 2) when the subject is emphasized or is under contrastive focus. Also, subjects of reflexive constructions always occur before the verb (see 4.6 below).

- 114: Ri tz'i' xchulj ok wu Jor.  
 ri tz'i' x+ø+r+chul+ij ok wu Jor.  
 DET dog COM+3sABS+3sERG+pee(trans)+DRV DIR(enter) DET Jor.  
 The dog peed on Jor.
- 115: Chaan xnojsaj wu limet ruk' ya'.  
 Chaan x+ø+r+noj+s+aj wu limet r+uk' ya'.  
 Chaan COM+3sABS+3sERG+fill+CAUS+DRV  
 DET bottle 3sPOS+REL(with) water.  
 Chaan filled the bottle with water.

- 116: Jun k'ooy tjin krq'el wu Luks  
 Jun k'ooy tjin k+ø+r+q'el wu Luks.  
 one monkey PROG INC+3sABS+3sERG+make.fun.of DET Luks  
 A monkey is making fun of Luks.
- 117: Ri rxb'al Liy ri kchuknik pu wu tijb'al xb'ek Chnajul.  
 Ri r+xb'al Liy ri k+ø+chuk+n+ik pu wu tij+b'al x+ø+b'ek Chnajul  
 Ri 3sPOS+sister Liy DET INC+3sABS+work+AAP+PFM PREP DET  
 teach+NOM COM+3sABS+go Huehuetenango  
 Liy's sister who works in the school went to Huehuetenango.
- 118: Max krq'o'lij wu May.  
 Max k+ø+r+q'o'l+ij wu May  
 Max INC+3sABS+3sERB+lie(trans)+DRV DET May  
 Max is lying to May.
- 119: In wa' xintz'ulij ri Liy.  
 In wa' x+ø+in+tz'ul+ij ri Liy  
 1sPRO 1sEMP COM+3sABS+1sERG+hug+DRV DET Liy  
 I was the one who hugged Liy
- 120: At awa' katb'inik.  
 At awa' k+at+b'in+ik  
 2sPRO 2sEMP INC+2sABS+walk+PFM  
 It is you that is walking.

SVO word order is often given in elicitation data. This is probably caused by the combination of translating from Spanish (which has SVO word order) and producing elicited sentences, which almost always introduce new discourse topics. In actual natural language, SVO order is much less frequent than VSO. For example, in a narrative text containing 116 sentences with verbs and at least one expressed noun phrase, SVO occurred in only 3 sentences. Each of these sentences is an example of topicalization.

The text is a series of traditional trickster stories involving the rabbit (trickster) and the coyote. The first example of topicalization is the second sentence of the text, but the actual first sentence of the narrative. (The first sentence is “I am going to tell you a story about what the rabbit did.”) The narrative begins with the following sentence:

121: Xk’oo taq ri qjow xb’an njel ri rochb’lal chkop chu wu uleew...

x+k’oo taq ri q+ajow x+ø+b’an njel  
COM+EXIST when DET 1pPOS+lord COM+3sA/3sE+make all

ri r+och+b’al+al chkop chu wu uleew  
DET 3sPOS+form+LOC+NOM animal PREP DET land

Long ago, when God made all the species of animals on the earth...

In this sentence God is topicalized because He is the first agent in the actual narrative. The second example of SVO word order occurs when the coyote’s children are introduced into the storyline. Here the topicalization represents the introduction of a new discourse referent (the coyotes) and a change in agents from the rabbit (subject of the preceding sentence) to the baby coyotes (the topicalized noun phrase). In addition to occurring before the verb, the agent is expressed both through the third plural pronoun and the noun phrase “the coyotes.” This use of overt pronouns is common for topicalized agents.

122: Xib'i'rka'yjok jun puuq ral sji'l.  
 x+i+b'+i'+r+k'ay+ij ok jun puuq r+al sji'l  
 COM+3pABS+go+3pABS+3sERG+see+DRV DIR(enter)  
 one bunch 3sPOS+child coyote  
 He went and saw a bunch of baby coyotes

Ke ri sji'l taq xkka'yjok wu imul xi'ch'ikponok chrij.  
 ke ri sji'l taq x+ø+k+ka'y+ij ok wu imul x+i'+ch'ik pon ok chu r+iij  
 3pPRO DET coyote when COM+3sABS+3pERG+see+DRV  
 DIR(enter) DET rabbit COM+3pABS+jump  
 DIR(enter) DIR(enter) PREP 3sPOS+back  
 When the coyotes saw the rabbit they jumped on him.

The third instance of SVO word order is a case of contrastive focus. In the following sentence, the rabbit has told the coyote to hold up a boulder that is about to fall. The boulder is actually a cloud and the coyote has been tricked again. The rabbit escapes and hides while the coyote continues to try to hold up the boulder (cloud). Because the actions of two agents are contrasted, the second agent is topicalized under contrastive focus.

123: No'j xranij ri imul, rech xrwuj riib' ek' ri prow sji'l kryo'ken rchoq'ab'  
chu rtikmixik ri pek.

no'j x+ø+ran+ij ri imul,  
but COM+3sABS+escape+DRV DET rabbit,

r+ech x+ø+r+wuj r+iib'  
3sPOS+REL(for) COM+3pABS+3sERG+hide 3sPOS+REL(reflexive)

e+k' ri prow sji'l k+ø+r+ya' ok ken  
CONJ+then DET poor coyote INC+3sABS+3sERG+give DIR(enter) DIR(leave)

r+choq'ab' chu r+tikmix+k ri pek.  
3sPOS+force PREP 3sPOS+push+PFM DET boulder

But the rabbit escaped to hide himself and then the poor coyote gave all his strength to push the boulder.

All examples of SVO word order in natural language are examples of topicalization or focus such as these. In addition to fronting subject noun phrases, an object noun may occur before the verb when the object is under focus, giving an OV sentence. This occurs if the object is in contrastive focus, or is somehow under emphasis. In the first example below, the object noun phrase is in contrastive focus. The second example is from a discussion of a diet, where the speaker is emphasizing the food he will eat when he starts his diet:

124: Ri wa teq kinchuknik xaq kjob' ketzal kinrtoj.  
 ri wa teq k+in+chuk+n+ik xaq kjob' ketzal x+ø+in+toj.  
 DET 1sPRO when INC+1sABS+work+FAP only four  
 quetzals COM+3sABS+1sERG+pay  
 When I work he only pays me four quetzals.

CONTEXT: A: How much does he pay you?  
 B: Ten quetzals an hour  
 A: When I work he only pays me FOUR quetzals.

125: Xaq k'eeb' wu woy xkintij.  
 xaq k'eeb' wu woy xk+ø+in+tij.  
 only two DET tortilla FUT+3sABS+1sERG+eat(trans)  
 I will only eat two tortillas.

Although extremely rare in natural language, both subject and object may be fronted before the verb. Thus, SOV word order is possible if the subject is topicalized and the object is under focus. For example, if both noun phrases are in contrastive focus SOV word order may occur.

126: Krka'yij pon ri Mariy jun wix.  
 Ri Wan jun tz'i' krka'yij pon.

k+ø+r+ka'y+ij pon ri Mariy jun wix  
 COM+3sABS+3sERG+see+DRV DIR(come) DET Mariy one wix

ri Wan jun tz'i' k+ø+r+ka'y+ij pon  
 DET Wan one dog COM+3sABS+3sERG+see+DRV DIR(come)

Mariy is looking at a cat.  
 It's a dog that Wan is looking at.

In order to give some idea about the frequency of possible word orders, the following tables display the number of each order in a narrative text and a conversation with three participants. The number of clauses that are not verb initial is higher for the conversation, as more new topics are introduced during the conversation (compared with the narrative). In the narrative text, 80% of the sentences are verb-initial while in the conversation, 71% of the sentences are verb-initial. This is somewhat misleading, however, because the SV sentences include both regular intransitive verbs and cases in which the subject fronting is accompanied by a change in voice that is morphologically marked on the verb. This is the case with the focus antipassive (see 4.9.3 below), which requires that the subject be fronted under focus. In both texts, clauses with two expressed noun phrases make up less than 10 percent of all clauses.

Word order	n	percent
VS	57	49
VSO	7	6
SV	18	16
SVO	3	3
OV	2	2
VO	29	25
verb-initial total	93	80
non-verb-initial total	23	20
Totals	116	

Table 7: Word order in a narrative text in Sipakapense

## Conversation

Word order	n	percentage
VS	21	26
VSO	3	4
SV	13	16
SVO	3	4
OV	8	10
VO	34	42
verb-initial total	58	71
non-verb-initial	24	29
Total	82	100

Table 8: Word order in a conversational text in Sipakapense

### 4.4.5 Definiteness and word order

Based on a comparison across Mayan languages, England (1991:483-5) suggests that Proto-Mayan word order had two possible preverbal positions for TOPIC and FOCUS. According to England, the basic word order of Proto-Mayan was VOS, with VSO used when the object is marked for animacy, definiteness, or complexity. Thus, the word order for Proto-Mayan had the following form:

127: TOPIC          FOCUS          [VOS]          REORDERED O

This is basically the word order found in other K'ichean languages, which use VOS order except in cases where the object is marked for definiteness or contains a relative clause. England (1991) compared transitive, active, affirmative, indicative sentences with interchangeable subjects and objects in Tz'utujil (San Pedro la Laguna) and found that both VSO and VOS word order occur depending on the



definiteness of the noun phrases in sentences (where *jar* and *ja* correspond to Sipakapense *ri* (the definite article) and *jun* is the indefinite article “one”):

Here we see that VSO is the order when both constituents are marked explicitly definite with *jar*, that VOS is the normal order when the subject is marked with *ja jun* and the object is marked with *jun* or is unmarked, or if the subject is marked with *jar* and the object is unmarked, but that if one constituent is marked with *jar* and the other with either *ja jun* or *jun*, then word order is variable and the constituent marked with *jar* is always interpreted as subject (England 1991: 472).

In addition, if neither constituent is marked with *ja* or *ja jun*, then verb-initial word order is unacceptable.

In Sipakapense, definiteness has an effect on possible word order. For example, if both subject and object are definite and marked with *ri*, VSO and SVO are both acceptable word orders and changing the position of the noun phrases will alter the meaning of the sentence (maintaining VSO or SVO order). When both noun phrases are definite with *ri*, SOV and OSV are both unacceptable:

- 128: Krka'yij pon ri aliit ri alab' (VSO)  
The girl is looking at the boy.
- 129: Krka'yij pon ri alab' ri aliit. (VSO)  
The boy is looking at the girl.
- 130: Ri aliit krka'yij pon ri alab' (SVO)  
The girl is looking at the boy.
- 131: Ri alab' krka'yij pon ri aliit. (SVO)  
The boy is looking at the girl.
- 132: \*Ri aliit ri alab' krka'yij pon. (SOV/OSV)

133: \*Ri alab' ri aliit krka'yij pon. (SOV/OSV)

If one noun phrase is marked with *ri* and the other marked with *wu*, the noun phrase marked with *ri* is always interpreted as the subject. With this combination of definiteness, all word orders are acceptable except for VOS and OSV:

134: Krka'yij pon ri aliit wu alab' (VSO)  
The girl is looking at the boy.

135: \*Krka'yij pon wu alab' ri aliit. (VOS)

136: Ri aliit krka'yij pon wu alab' (SVO)  
The girl is looking at the boy.

137: Wu alab' krka'yij pon ri aliit. (OVS)  
The girl is looking at the boy.

138: Ri aliit wu alab' kirka'yijpon. (SOV)  
The girl is looking at the boy.

139: \*Wu alab' ri aliit krka'yij pon. (OSV)

Similarly, if one noun phrase is definite and marked with *ri* and the other is indefinite marked with *jun*, the noun phrase marked with *ri* is always interpreted as the subject and all word orders are acceptable except for OSV:

140: Krka'yij pon ri aliit jun alab' (VSO)  
The girl is looking at a boy.

141: Krka'yij pon jun alab' ri aliit. (VOS)  
The girl is looking at a boy.

142: \*Jun alab' ri aliit krka'yij pon. (OSV)

143: Jun alab' krka'yijpon ri aliit. (OVS)  
The girl is looking at a boy.

144: Ri aliit krka'yij pon jun alab' (SVO)  
The girl is looking at a boy.

146: Ri aliit jun alab' krka'yij pon. (SOV)  
The girl is looking at a boy.

If both noun phrases are indefinite and marked with *jun*, then the only acceptable word order is SVO and all other word orders (including VSO) are unacceptable:

147: Jun aliit krka'yij pon jun alab'. (SVO) (\*OVS interpretation)  
A girl is looking at a boy.

148: \*Jun aliit jun alab' kirka'yijpon (SOV/OSV)

149: \*Jun alab' jun aliit krka'yij pon (SOV/OSV)

150: Jun alab' krka'yij pon jun aliit. (SVO) (\*OVS interpretation)  
A boy is looking at a girl.

151: \*Krka'yij pon jun aliit jun alab' (VSO/VOS)

152: \*Krka'yij pon jun alab' jun aliit (VSO/VOS)

Sipakapense differs from other K'ichean languages in that VOS word order is unacceptable unless the subject is definite and marked with *ri* and the object is indefinite and marked with *jun*. In contrast, other K'ichean languages are usually analyzed as VOS languages (although VSO occurs in certain combinations of definiteness and complexity<sup>1</sup>). Thus, Sipakapense has switched primarily to VSO

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<sup>1</sup> For example, in K'ichee' VSO word order occurs if the object noun phrase contains a relative clause (Larsen 1988:349).

word order. This change is part of the Huehuetenango Sprachbund (England 1992: 45-57) an areal diffusion which includes the use of retroflex consonants and numerical classifiers in addition to a change to fixed VSO word order. Although located on the edge of the Huehuetenango Sprachbund area, the only characteristic of the Sprachbund found in Sipakapense is a change to VSO word order. However, other languages that have moved to VSO word order (Mam, Teko, Awakateko, Ixil, Q'anjob'al, Popti' and Chuj) all have a fixed VSO word order, in which any word order other than VSO requires grammatical changes that are morphologically marked either on the sentence or on one of the noun phrases. Sipakapense has adopted VSO word order (probably through contact with Mam), but has not adopted a fixed VSO word order, maintaining (although to a lesser degree) the variability found in other K'ichean languages. The table below compares the possible word orders in Sipakapense and Tz'utujil.

Constituents		Possible word orders			
Subject	Object	Sipakapense		Tz'utujil	
		VOS	VSO	VOS	VSO
Definite	Definite	*	√	*	√
Definite	Indefinite ("jun")	√	√	√	√
Indefinite ("jun")	Indefinite ("jun")	*	*	*	*
Indef ("ri/ja jun")	Indef ("ri/ja jun")	*	√	√	*
Definite	Indef ("ri/ja jun")	*	√	√	*

Table 9: Word order in Sipakapense and Tz'utujil

Thus, Sipakapense has VSO word order for all of the cases in which VSO word order would occur in other K'ichean languages. However, both languages allow either VOS or VSO order with the subject is definite and the object indefinite. Similarly, if both subject and object are indefinite, verb-initial order is not acceptable (and the sentence is only interpretable if the subject is topicalized with SVO word order). A more complete listing of the possible word orders in Sipakapense occurs below:

Constituents		Possible word orders					
Subject	Object	vso	vos	svo	sov	ovs	osv
Definite (“ri”)	Indefinite (“jun”)	√	√	√	√	√	*
Definite (“ri”)	Definite (“wu”)	√	*	√	√	√	*
Indef (“ri jun”)	Indefinite (“jun”)	√	*	√	√	√	*
Indef (“ri jun”)	Definite (“wu”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Definite (“wu”)	Indefinite (“jun”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Indefinite (“jun”)	Definite (“wu”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Definite (“la”)	Definite (“wu”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Definite (“wu”)	Definite (“la”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Definite (“la”)	Indefinite (“jun”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Definite (“jun”)	Definite (“la”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Indef (“ri jun”)	Definite (“la”)	√	*	√	√	*	*
Definite (“ri”)	Definite (“la”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“ri”)	Definite (“ri”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Indef (“ri jun”)	Indef (“ri jun”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“ri”)	Indef (“ri jun”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Indef (“ri jun”)	Definite (“ri”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“wu”)	Indef (“ri jun”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“wu”)	Indef (“ri jun”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“la”)	Indef (“ri jun”)	√	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“wu”)	Definite (“wu”)	*	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“la”)	Definite (“ri”)	*	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“la”)	Definite (“la”)	*	*	√	*	*	*
Indefinite (“jun”)	Indefinite (“jun”)	*	*	√	*	*	*
Definite (“wu”)	Definite (“ri”)	*	*	*	*	*	*
Indefinite (“jun”)	Definite (“ri”)	*	*	*	*	*	*
Indef (“jun”)	Indef (“ri jun”)	*	*	*	*	*	*

Table 10: Definiteness and possible word order in Sipakapense

These data suggest that there is a definiteness hierarchy which determines which noun phrases may be possible subjects. The hierarchy is: ri >> unmarked proper names >> ri jun >> la > wu >> jun. Within this hierarchy, the distance between

subject and object noun phrases determines the number of possible word orders. Proper names marked with determiners fall in the hierarchy with other noun phrases having the same determiner. The number of possible orders increases as the distance in definiteness between the subject and object noun phrases increases (as long as the subject is equal or higher in definiteness compared to the object). For example, the largest set of possible orders occurs when the subject noun phrase is marked with *ri* and the object noun phrase is marked with *jun*. This combination allows all possible word orders except for OSV, which is only possible when the verb is marked with the focus antipassive (see 4.9.3 below). If the two noun phrases are marked with the same article, the possible word orders depends on the definiteness of the subject noun phrase. If both are in the upper half of the hierarchy (both *ri* or both *ri jun*), VSO and SVO are possible. If both are in the lower half of the hierarchy (both *wu* or both *jun*), VSO is not a possible order and the sentence is only understandable when the subject is topicalized (SVO order). Those with the greatest distance in the hierarchy are ungrammatical with any order if the lower noun phrase is intended as the subject (e.g. *wu* as subject and *ri* as object). Although *wu* is definite and *ri jun* is a specified indefinite, *ri jun* falls above *wu* in the definiteness hierarchy. Both *ri* and *ri jun* are used for noun phrases that are known to both speaker and listener. The fact that *ri* and *ri jun* pattern together in

the definiteness hierarchy suggests that the hierarchy may have more to do with a discursual constraint on the introduction of new (and unknown) subjects.

#### 4.5 Focused prepositional phrases and the resumptive pronoun *wi'*

Just as subject noun phrases may be fronted for topicalization, prepositional phrases may be focused by placing them before the verb.

153: Chaq'ab' xi'rt'iq kandela.  
Ch+aq'ab' x+i'+r+t'iq kandela  
PREP+night COM+3pA+3sE+light candles  
At night she lit candles

154: Chrij keej tqyo'kul.  
ch+r+iij keej t+ø+q+ya' ok ul  
PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) horse DUB+3sABS+1pERG+give  
DIR(enter) DIR(arrive)  
We'll carry it on a horse's back.

When locative prepositional phrases are under focus, the particle *wi'* generally occurs after the verb (in the position for an unfocused prepositional phrase). Thus, *wi'* acts as a resumptive pronoun, filling the position left vacant by the fronted prepositional phrase.

155: Nkare' ptiinmit xinb'e wi'  
Nkare' p+tiinmit x+in+b'e wi'  
NEG PREP+town COM+1sABS+go TMR  
It wasn't into town that I went

156: Waachi' xatylow wi' ruk' ta' May?  
waachi' x+at+yol+w wi' r+uk' ta' May?  
where COM+2sABS+speaK+FAP wi' 3sPOS+REL(with) CLASS May.  
Where did you talk to May?



- 157: Wa' xt-'ek Chent wi'?  
 Wa' xt+ø+'ek Chent wi'?  
 Where FUT+3sABS+go Chent TMR  
 Where is Chent going?

Although the locative expression and the *wi'* particle always co-occur, they may not both follow the verb. This makes sense, as the particle *wi'* marks the absence of the post-verbal locative expression.

- 158: Wre' xtulik Wan wi'.  
 Wre' xt+ø+ul+ik Wan wi'.  
 Here FUT+3sABS+arrive+PFM Wan wi'  
 Wan arrived here.

- 159: \*Wan xtulik wre' wi'.  
 \*Wan xt+ø+ul+ik wre' wi'.  
 \*Wan FUT+3sABS+arrive+PFM here wi'  
 \*Wan will arrive here.

In stative sentences, the use of *wi'* is variable and sentences with and without *wi'* are judged equally acceptable.

- 160: Tla k'o ri tz'i' wi'.  
 There EXIST DET dog wi'  
 The dog is there.

- 161: Pk'eyb'al k'o nchuch.  
 pi+k'ey+b'al k'o n+chuch  
 PREP+sell+LOC EXIST 1sPOS+mother  
 My mother is in the market.

- 162: Si cha' chamul waa' k'o qaj ri Roq' wi'.  
 Si cha' ch+a+mul waa' k'o qaj ri Roq' wi'  
 For this OPT+2sABS+gather where EXIST DIR DET Roq' TMR  
 Take it down to where Roq' is.

Otherwise, sentences with a fronted locative expression are generally judged ungrammatical if *wi'* does not follow the verb.

- 163: Xopnik Wan tla'.  
x+ø+pon+ik Wan tla'.  
COM+3sABS+come+PFM Wan there.  
Wan arrived there.
- 164: Tla' xopnik Wan wi'.  
tla' x+ø+pon+ik Wan wi'  
there COM+3sABS+come+PFM Wan wi'  
Wan arrived there.
- 165: \*Tla' xopnik Wan.  
\*tla' x+ø+pon+ik Wan  
\*there COM+3sABS+come+PFM Wan  
\*Wan arrived there

However, in sentences in which the subject pronoun is topicalized and the locative expression is focused, the occurrence of *wi'* is variable. Such sentences were judged equally grammatical with and without *wi'*.

- 166: Wan tla' xopnik (wi')  
Wan tla' x+ø+pon+ik (wi')  
Wan there COM+3sABS+come+PFM (wi')  
Wan arrived there.

#### 4.6 Obliques and indirect objects

Oblique constituents, such as indirect objects and benefactives, are expressed through prepositional phrases or relational noun phrases. The oblique phrases falls sentence-finally, that is after the subject noun phrase or after the verb if the subject is topicalized. Indirect objects and recipients are expressed with prepositional

phrases using *chi/chu*. Benefactives are expressed with relational noun phrases using *+um*.

- 167: Lex xyol jun ta'm chi ri ajk'al.  
 Lex x+ø+yol jun taa'+m chi ri ajk'al.  
 Lex COM+3sA3sE+*speak one listen*+NOUN PREP DET child  
 Lex told a story to the child.
- 168: Xatinsaj ri ajk'al rum rchuch.  
 x+ø+atin+s+aj ri ajk'al r+um r+chuch  
 COM+3sABS+bath+CAUS+MOD DET child  
 3sPOS+REL(for) 3sPOS+mother  
 The child was made to bathe by her/his mother.
- 169: Pey xtqok wu Wan chu rb'anik jun jay.  
 Pey x+ø+xtqok wu Wan chu r+b'an+ik jun jay  
 Pey COM+3sA3sE+commit DET Wan PREP  
 3sPOS+make+NOUN one house  
 Pey committed Wan to building a house.
- 170: Liy xya' pon wu juuj chu Wan.  
 Liy x+ø+ya' pon wu juuj chu Wan.  
 Liy COM+3sA3sE+give DIR DET paper PREP Wan  
 Liy gave the letter to Wan.
- 171: Roq' xb'an sub' chi Makx.  
 Roq' x+ø+b'an sub' chi Makx  
 Roq' COM+3sABS+make tamales PREP Makx  
 Roq' made tamales for Makx.

Constructions for putting or placing objects use the verb *ya'* "to give," with a directional clitic to indicate the location/movement of placement. The locational prepositional phrase fills the same place as the indirect object phrase in other sentences with *ya'*.

- 172: Wiixa xya'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa x+ø+ya' a'n pon ri woy chu meex.  
 Wiixa COM+3sA/3sE+give DIR(up) DIR(arrive.there) DET food PREP  
 table  
 Wiixa put the food on the table.

If the direct object is unexpressed, the indirect object need not be part of a prepositional phrase, but may be expressed as the patient noun phrase. In the following example the verb is marked for a third singular object which is unexpressed. The indirect object is a full noun phrase (*jun iwa*) rather than part of an oblique prepositional phrase (*chiwa*)

- 173: Tinya' pon jun iwa chi' wu wa  
 T+ø+in+ya' pon jun iwa chi' wu wa  
 POT+3sABS+1sERG+give DIR one 2sPRO then DET 1sPRO  
 Then I'll give (it) to one of you.

When under focus, oblique prepositional and relational noun phrases occur before the verb. If the subject noun phrase is topicalized, the oblique phrase precedes the subject.

- 174: Rum Pey kraaj Roq' rech Chent xt-e' Chuqul.  
 R+um Pey k+ø+r+aaj Roq' r+ech Chent xt+ø+'e Chuqul.  
 3sPOS+REL(for) Pey INC+3sABS+3sERG+want Roq'  
 3sPOS+REL(by) Chent FUT+3sABS+go Tejutla.  
 Roq' wants Chent to go to Tejutla for Pedro

- 175: Nkare' chre Mariy xintaq ri juuj ri'  
 nkare' chi re Mariy x+ø+in+taq ri juuj ri'  
 NEG PREP 3sPRO Mariy COM+3sABS+1sERG+send DET paper there  
 It wasn't to Mariy that I sent the letter.

- 176: Chi Saant xloq' jun q'oor Ana.  
 chi Saant x+∅+loq' jun q'oor Ana  
 PREP Saant COM+3sA/3sE+buy one atole Ana  
 Ana bought Saant an atole.
- 177: Chi Saant Ana xloq' jun q'oor.  
 chi Saant Ana x+∅+loq' jun q'oor.  
 chi Saant Ana COM+3sA/3sE+buy one atole.  
 Ana bought Saant an atole.

#### 4.7 Reflexives

Reflexive and reciprocal noun phrases are expressed with the relational noun *+iib'*. The relational noun is prefixed by the possessive marker corresponding in person and number to the subject of the verb. The relational noun phrase must immediately follow the verb. Sentences in which the subject noun phrase fall between the verb and the reflexive relational noun are ungrammatical. The only element that may fall between the verb and a reflexive relational noun phrase is an adverbial complement to the verb (as in 181 below). In addition, because of constraints on anaphora (see 4.14. below) a relational noun phrase cannot stand in an anaphoric relation with the subject noun phrase when the relational noun phrase precedes the subject noun phrase. Thus, the subject noun phrase cannot fall between the verb and the reflexive relational noun phrase and the relational noun phrase cannot precede the subject and still maintain the anaphoric relationship between the two noun phrases. These two constraints make it impossible for the subject noun phrases to occur in any post-verbal position (as the only post-verbal position that precedes the relational noun

phrase would fall between the verb and the reflexive relational noun phrase. Because of this, the subject noun phrases of reflexive sentences are either unexpressed or they occur in the position for topicalized subjects (as this preverbal position is the only remaining position for expressing the subject noun phrase).

- 178: Jun us tjin krstuj riib' ajsik  
 jun us tjin k+ø+r+stuj r+iib' ajsik  
 one fly PROG INC+3sABS+3ERG+turn 3sPOS+REL(refl) above  
 A fly is circling above.
- 179: \*Tjin krstuj riib' jun us.
- 180: \*Tjin krstuj jun us riib'.
- 181: Xiikanj ken ruk' xib'al kiib'.  
 x+ii+kan+j ken r+uk' xib'al k+iib'  
 COM+3pABS+stay+DRV DIR(leave) 3sPOS+REL(with) fear  
 3sPOS+REL(refl)  
 They were left afraid.
- 182: Ke xkil kiib'  
 Ke x+ø+k+il k+iib'  
 3pPRO COM+3sABS+3pERG+see 3sPOS+REL(refl)  
 They see each other
- 183: Mu kaxij awiib' katqaj chu swon.  
 Mu k+aw+xij aw+iib' k+at+qaj chi+wu swon.  
 QUE COM+2sABS+scare 2sPOS+REL(refl)  
 INC+2sABS+descend PREP+DET cliff  
 But doesn't it scare you to go down the cliff?

184: Tee ri xinpjul wiib' wu we' k'a xinxij wiib' b'ay.

Tee ri x+ø+in+pj ul w+iib' wu we'  
When this COM+3sABS+1sERB+weigh DIR 1sPOS+reflexive DET there

k'a x+ø+in+xij w+iib' b'ay  
well, COM+1sABS+3sERG+frighten 1sPOS+reflexive well

Well, I weighed myself recently and well, it scared me

185: Ke ri ral sji'l ri', chi' xktkuj kiib'  
Ke ri r+al sji'l ri', chi' x+ø+k+tuk+j k+iib'  
3pPRO DET 3sPOS+child coyote DEM, say,  
COM+3sABS+3pERG+scatter+DRV 3pPOS+REL(refl)  
They say the coyote babies scattered (away from one another).

186: Ri imul xwaj riib'.  
ri imul x+ø+waj r+iib'  
DET rabbit COM+3sA3sE+hide 3sPOS+REL(reflexive)  
The rabbit hid himself.

#### 4.8 Pronouns

There are two sets of pronouns, regular and emphatic pronouns (see 3.1.6 above). A single emphatic or regular pronoun may substitute for object or subject pronouns, as long as the pronoun agrees in number and person. In addition, both the regular and emphatic pronoun may be used. If both pronouns are used in place of the subject noun phrase, the pronouns must be topicalized. Sentences where the verb is in the focus antipassive voice regularly use both an emphatic and a regular pronoun to substitute for the subject noun phrase.

187: Chemo kib'an iwa ruk' El  
 Chemo k+ø+i+b'an iwa r+uk' El  
 what INC+3sABS+2pERG+do 2pPRO 3sPOS+REL(with) El  
 What are y'all going to do with El?

188: Chatz'onjoj awa chwa.  
 ch+ø+a+tz'onj+oj awa chi+wa  
 OPT+3sERG+2sABS+ask+DRV 2sPRO PREP+1sPRO  
 Ask me.

189: Kumu k'ot kuuq chi'xk'oo, arek' ri' kumu jeerk ri uuq rij chijj.

kumu k'ot k+uuq chi' x+k'oo are+k'a ri' kumu jeerk  
 like NEG 3sPOS+skirt then COM+exist 3sEMP+then DET like jerga DET skirt

ri uuq r+ij chijj  
 3sPOS+REL(back) sheep.

As they didn't have their skirts, then in the past, They had jergas, skirts made of wool.

190: Are re xpaq'wik ri si'.  
 are re x+ø+paq'+w+ik ri si'.  
 3sEMP 3sPRO COM+3sABS+split+FAP+PFM DET firewood.  
 He was the one who split the firewood.

191: At awa xkattojwik.  
 at awa xk+at+toj+w+ik  
 2sPRO 2sEMPH FUT+2sABS+pay+FAP+PFM  
 You will be the one who will have to pay.

## 4.9 Voice

### 4.9.1 Passive voices

When a verb is in the simple passive voice (+x or vowel lengthening) or completed passive (+taj) voice (see 3.2.5.5.2 above), the patient is promoted to



subject and the agent is either unexpressed or is expressed in an oblique relational noun phrase using *+um*. The patient/subject is generally topicalized with passive constructions, but topicalization is not obligatory and verb-initial passive sentences are perfectly acceptable. If the agent is included in an oblique relational noun phrase, it may also be focused before the verb.

- 192: Méema xtz'ulxik (rum Lex).  
 Méema x+ø+tz'ul+ix+ik (r+um Lex).  
 Meema COM+3sABS+hug+PAS+PFM (3sERG+by Lex).  
 Meema was hugged (by Lex).
- 193: Xi'rb'lox ri ab'aj rum Saant  
 x+i'+r+b'ol+x ri ab'aj r+um Saant  
 COM+3pABS+3sERG+gather+PASS DET rock 3sPOS+REL(by) Saant  
 The rocks were gathered by Saant.
- 194: Ri ab'aj xi'rb'lox rum Saant.  
 Ri ab'aj x+i'+r+b'ol+x r+um Saant  
 DET rock COM+3pABS+3sERG+gather+PASS 3sPOS+REL(by) Saant  
 The rocks were gathered by Saant.
- 195: Rum Saant xi'rb'lox ri ab'aj.  
 r+um Saant x+i'+r+b'ol+x ri ab'aj  
 3sPOS+REL(by) Saant COM+3pABS+3sERG+gather+PASS DET rock  
 The rocks were gathered by Saant./It was Saant who the rocks were gathered by.

#### 4.9.2 Absolutive antipassive

The absolutive antipassive voice (*+n*, see 4.9.2 above) is used to mention transitive actions without reference to the patient of the verb. The absolutive antipassive is used when the patient is unknown, irrelevant or obvious. It may also be used

whenever the speaker wishes not to mention the patient. Also, the absolutive antipassive is used for habitual acts usually performed by the agent.

- 196: Ri rxjab' Wan xi'poq'snik pirqan  
 ri r+xjab' Wan x+i'+poq'+s+n+ik pi+r+qan  
 DET 3sPOS+shoe Wan COM+3pABS+scalded+CAUSE+AAP+PFM  
 PREP+3sPOS+feet  
 Wan's shoes gave his feet blisters. (lit. = "Wan's shoes blistered in his feet")
- 197: Ma'el tjin kt'sin.  
 Ma'el tjin k+ø+t'is+n  
 Ma'el PROG INC+3sABS+sew+AAP  
 Ma'el is sewing.
- 198: Ri q'ij xib'al kpron.  
 Ri q'ij xib'al k+ø+por+n  
 DET sun much INC+3sABS+burn+AAP  
 The sun burns a lot.
- 199: Ek' ke wnaq xk'oo chemo ki's-'aaqin?  
 e+k' ke wnaq x+k'oo chemo k+i'+s-'aaq+i+n  
 and+then 3pPRO people COM+exist how INC+3pABS+dress+EPE+AAP  
 And the people long ago, how did they dress?

The subject noun phrase need not be focused. In fact, it need not be overtly expressed.

- 200: Mitq'len chawij  
 mit+ø+q'el+n chu+aw+ij  
 REC+3sABS+mock+AAP PREP+2sPOS+REL(back)  
 He has been mocking you.

Although verbs in the absolutive antipassive voice are intransitive, patient noun phrases may be used with the absolutive antipassive. Absolutive antipassive

sentences may have overt patient noun phrases only if the patient is in the third person singular. The verb is only marked for (absolute) agreement with the agent noun phrase. If an overt patient noun phrase occurs, the only acceptable word order is SVO. The focus antipassive animacy hierarchy (see 4.9.3 below) does not hold for the absolute antipassive. Sentences with patients other than third singular are judged ungrammatical.

201: Chwaq xkujb'olnul b'ros chi'.  
 chwaq xk+uj+b'ol+n ul b'ros chi'  
 tomorrow FUT+2pABS+gather+AAP DIR(arrive) yard brush  
 Tomorrow we will gather yard brush.

202: Wiixa kchomrsnik ri rkuch Mariy.  
 Wiixa k+ø+chom+r+s+n+ik ri r+kuch Mariy.  
 Wiixa INC+3sABS+fat+VERS+CAUS+AAP+PFM DET 3sPOS+pig Mariy  
 Wiixa is fattening up Mariy's pig.

#### 4.9.3 Focus antipassive

Like the absolute antipassive, the focus antipassive is used to express transitive actions without mention of the patient. The focus antipassive is used when the agent is highly emphasized or is in contrastive focus. The focus antipassive is also used when the agent is questioned (as in 208-12 below). Because the agent is under focus, it always occurs before verbs in the focus antipassive voice.

203: Qi' Liy xb'now nab'eey wi'm.  
 Qi' Liy x+ø+b'an+w nab'eey wi'+m  
 DIM Liy COM+3sABS+do+FAP first eat+NOUN  
 It was (little) Liy who made breakfast.

204: No'j kumu aree ke ral sji'l mas inmaq chu wu imul, ik'iyy k'a, aaay k'ex  
r+woch ri imul, ni jun chin xtto'wik.

No'j kumu aree ke r+al sji'l mas i+niim+aq chi+wu imul i+k'iyy k'a, aay k'ex  
r+woch ri imul, ni jun chi xt+ø+to'+w+ik

but as 3sEMP 3pPRO 3sPOS+child coyote more PLU+big+AFF PREP+DET rabbit  
PLU+many then, aaay, pain 3sPOS+face DET rabbit, NEG one COMP  
FUT+3sABS+help+FAP+PFM

But as the baby coyotes were bigger than the rabbit and there were many of them,  
well, aaaay, the poor rabbit, there was no one to help him.

205: Ri ixoq yt'ulb'ik tjin kk'yew lo'n.  
Ri ixoq ø+yut' ul b'ik tjin k+ø+k'ey+w lo'n  
DET woman 3sABS+sit DIR(arrive.here) DIR(go)  
PROG INC+3sABS+sell+FAP fruit  
The woman who is sitting down is selling fruit.

206: Tjin ktijuj ki'chpow chkop ri ral sji'l.  
tjin k+ø+tij+uj k+i'+chop+w chkop ri r+al sji'l.  
PROG INC+3sA/3sE+learn+DRV INC+3pABS+catch+FAP  
animal DET 3sPOS+child coyote  
The coyote's children were learning to catch animals.

207: Are tloq'wul oqxa'n  
are t+ø+loq'+w ul oqxa'n  
3sEMP DUB+3sABS+buy+FAP DIR(arrive) supplies  
He is going to buy supplies.

Verbs marked for the focus antipassive voice may be syntactically transitive but morphologically intransitive. That is, the verb is intransitive and is only marked for agreement for a single noun phrase but the sentence has both a agent and patient noun phrase both of which are overtly expressed. The verb is marked for the patient noun phrase (in the absolutive voice). The patient noun phrase must be higher than

the agent noun phrase following the antipassive animacy hierarchy described by Silverstein (1976). The hierarchy is as follows: non-third person >> third person plural >> third person singular. The verb is always marked with the absolutive pronominal prefix corresponding to the noun phrase that is higher in this hierarchy, which is interpreted as the patient. For example, if the verb is marked for the first person singular, the agent must be third person and the patient must be first person singular.

- 208: Chin kinto'wik?  
 Chin k+in+to'+w+ik?  
 Who INC+1sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
 Who is going to help me?
- 209: Pey xinto'wik?  
 Pey x+in+to'+w+ik?  
 Pey COM+1sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
 Pey helped me.
- 210: Chin katto'wik?  
 Chin k+at+to'+w+ik?  
 Who INC+2sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
 Who is going to help you?
- 211: Chin kujto'wik?  
 Chin k+uj+to'+w+ik?  
 Who INC+1pABS+help+FAP+PFM  
 Who is going to help us?
- 212: Chin kixto'wik?  
 Chin k+ix+to'+w+ik?  
 Who INC+2pABS+help+FAP+PFM  
 Who is going to help you(PLU)?

If neither noun phrase is in the third person, transitive sentences in the focus antipassive are ungrammatical.

213: \*at xinto'wik  
\*at x+in+to'+w+ik  
\*2sPRO COM+1sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
\*You helped me

214: \*in xatto'wik  
\*in x+at+to'+w+ik  
\*1sPRO COM+2sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
\*I helped you

If the two noun phrases are third person, but one is plural, the plural noun phrase is marked on the verb and the singular noun phrase must be the agent. Third person plural may be marked for absolutive agreement on the verb and also be the agent noun phrase only if the object pronoun is unknown or is higher in the animacy hierarchy.

215: Chin ki'to'wik?  
Chin k+i'+to'+w+ik?  
Who INC+3pABS+help+FAP+PFM  
Who (plural) are they helping?

216: Ke alab' ri' xinto'wik.  
Ke alab' ri' x+in+to'+w+ik  
3pPRO boys DEM COM+1sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
Those boys helped me.

217: Pey xi'to'wik  
Pey x+i'+to'+w+ik  
Pey COM+3pABS+help+FAP+PFM  
Pey helped them.

If both noun phrases are in the third person (singular or plural), the patient noun phrase may be expressed in an oblique preposition phrase using *chi/chu*. If the agent is third plural and the patient is third singular, the verb may agree with the (plural) agent only if the (singular) patient is expressed in an oblique prepositional phrase.

218: Chin ki'to'wik chke?  
Chin k+i'+to'+w+ik ch+ke?  
Who INC+3pABS+help+FAP+PFM PREP+3pPRO  
Who (plural) is helping them?

219: Chin xi'to'wik chre?  
Chin x+i'+to'+w+ik ch+re?  
Who COM+3pABS+help+FAP+PFM PREP+3sPRO  
Who (plural) helped him?

Non-third person objects may not be expressed by oblique prepositional phrases.

220: \*Chin xatto'wik chawa?  
\*Chin x+at+to'+w+ik ch+awa?  
\*who COM+2sABS+help+FAP+PFM PREP+2sPRO  
\*who helped you?

If both noun phrases are third person singular, the agent noun phrase must precede the verb. In addition, the agent noun phrase must be higher in definiteness than the object noun phrase. Sentences with two noun phrases of equal definiteness are ungrammatical even if the word order is SVO. When one of the noun phrases is sufficiently higher in definiteness, the only acceptable word orders are SVO and OSV (but not SOV). This is the only case in which OSV word order is acceptable.

- 221: \*Pey xto'wik Mariy.  
 \*Pey x+ø+to'+w+ik Mariy  
 \*Pey COM+3sABS+help+FAP+PFM Mariy  
 \*Pey helped Mariy/\*Mariy helped Pey.
- 222: \*Ri tz'i' xchopwik ri wix.  
 \*Ri tz'i' x+ø+chop+w+ik ri wix.  
 \*DET dog COM+3sABS+grab+FAP+PFM DET cat.  
 \*The dog grabbed the cat.
- 223: Lex tjin kto'wik wu Pey.  
 Lex tjin k+ø+to'+w+ik wu Pey.  
 Lex PROG INC+3sABS+help+FAP+PFM DET Pey.  
 Lex is helping Pey./It is Lex that is helping Pey.
- 224: Wu Pey Lex kto'wik.  
 wu Pey Lex k+ø+to'+w+ik  
 DET Pey Lex INC+3sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
 Lex is helping helped Pey.
- 225: \*Pey wu Mariy xto'wik.  
 \*Pey wu Mariy x+ø+to'+w+ik  
 \*Pey DET Mariy COM+3sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
 \*Pey helped Mariy/\*Mariy helped Pey.

In sentences with the focus antipassive, oblique phrases may be focused (i.e. they may occur before the verb). The possible word orders with obliques is the same as for regular transitives, except that the subject noun phrase must always be fronted because the verb is in the focus antipassive. Thus, both the “topicalization” and “focus” preverbal slots (see 4.4.5 above). As the subject noun phrase is under focus, the use of the trace-marking particle *wi'* is optional.



- 226: Pey kkoswik pu ri b'eeey.  
 Pey k+ø+kos+w+ik pu ri b'eeey  
 Pey INC+3sABS+tire+FAP+PFM PREP DET road  
 Pey got tired in the road.
- 227: Pey pu ri b'eeey kkoswik (wi')  
 Pey pu ri b'eeey k+ø+kos+w+ik (wi')  
 Pey PREP DET road INC+3sABS+tire+FAP+PFM (wi')  
 Pey got tired in the road.
- 228: Pu ri b'eeey Pey kkoswik (wi')  
 pu ri b'eeey Pey k+ø+kos+w+ik (wi')  
 PREP DET road Pey INC+3sABS+tire+FAP+PFM (wi')  
 Pey got tired in the road.

#### 4.9.4 Instrumental voice

The instrumental voice is not highly productive, especially for younger speakers (see 3.2.5.8 above). It is used to focus or emphasize the instrument used in an action. The instrument must be highlighted. Sentences with the verb in the instrumental voice are ungrammatical if the instrument does not precede the verb.

- 229: Mariy kb'antjik ryolwik pqyolb'al no'j qal kraaj kiryolb'ej.  
 Mariy k+ø+b'an+taj+ik r+yolw+ik p+q+yol+b'al  
 Mariy INC+3sABS+make+CPS+PFM 3sERG+speak+PFM  
 PREP+3pPOS+speak+LOC

no'j qal k+ø+r+aaaj k+i+r+yol+b'ej  
 but NEG INC+3sABS+3ERG+want  
 INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+speak+INSTR

Mariy can speak in Sipakapense, but she doesn't want to speak it.

- 230: Yel xk'owsaj rjnob'  
 Yel x+ø+k'ows+aj r+jnob'  
 Yel COM+3sABS+celebrate+MOD 3sPOS+year  
 Yel celebrated his birthday.
- 231: Yel ruk' q'aaq' xk'owsb'ej rjnob'.  
 Yel r+uk' q'aaq' x+ø+k'ows+b'ej r+jnob'  
 Yel 3sPOS+COM fire COM+3sABS+celebrate+INSTR 3sPOS+year  
 Yel celebrated his birthday with fireworks
- 232: \*Yel xk'owsb'ej rjnob' ruk' q'aaq'  
 \*Yel x+ø+k'ows+b'ej r+jnob' r+uk' q'aaq'  
 \*Yel COM+3sABS+celebrate+INSTR 3sPOS+year 3sPOS+COM fire  
 \*Yel celebrated his birthday with fireworks

#### 4.10 Agreement-marking

The absolutive and ergative agreement markers on a verb must agree with the subject and object noun phrases unless the verb is in the focus antipassive voice or both subject and object are in the third person singular. When both subject and object are third person singular, no overt agreement markers are necessary (i.e. the third singular ergative *+r* need not occur). Although the third singular ergative marker does not occur, tense/aspect prefixes occur in the forms reserved for use before the third singular absolutive zero morpheme (such as *mit+/mik+*, *k+/ch+*, etc) (see 3.2.4 above).

- 233: Wiixa mitchoq'b'ej chi Wan  
 Wiixa mit+ø+choq'b'ej chi Wan  
 Wiixa REC+3sA/3sE+promise PREP Wan  
 Wiixa is already engaged to Wan

234: Jun kmatz xxib'j ok wu Liyy.  
 Jun kmatz x+ø+xib'+j ok wu Liyy.  
 one snake COM+3sA/3sE+scare+DRV DIR(enter) DET Liyy.  
 A snake scared Liyy (by coming towards her).

In addition, person need not be marked with the relational noun *+opis* “to like”.

This relational noun must agree with the number of the subject noun phrase, while agreement with person is optional.

235: Ropis (chwa) kinwa'ktelb'ik.  
 r+opis (ch+wa) k+in+wa'ktel b'ik  
 3sPRO+like (PREP+1sPRO) INC+1sABS+walk DIR  
 I like to walk.

#### 4.11 Negation

##### 4.11.1 Basic negation

The two most basic forms of negation are the particles *qal* and *nkare'*. Verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and quantifiers are negated using *qal*, while statives are negated using *nkare'*. In stative constructions, *nkare'* may negate prepositional phrases, nouns, relational noun phrases and time expressions. With both particles, the negative particle immediately precedes whatever is negated. However, if the negation is modified by an adverb, the adverb falls between the negative particle and the phrase it negates.

236: Nkare' wre' k'o ri tz'i'.  
 NEG here EXIST DET dog.  
 It isn't here where the dog is.

- 237: Qal k'o ri tz'i' wre'  
 NEG EXIST DET dog here  
 The dog isn't here.
- 238: Qal x+ø+in+toch' ri chee' (r+uk' ikej)  
 NEG COM+3sABS+1sERG+cut DET tree (3sPOS+REL(with) axe)  
 I didn't cut down the tree (with an axe).
- 239: Nkare' r+uk' ikej x+ø+in+toch' ri chee'.  
 NEG 3sPOS+REL(with) ax COM+3sABS+1sERG+cut DET tree.  
 It wasn't with an axe that I cut down the tree.
- 240: Nkare' chee' ri x+ø+in+toch' (r+uk' ikej).  
 NEG tree DET COM+3sABS+3sERG+cut (3sPRO+REL(with) axe).  
 It wasn't a tree that I cut down (with an axe).
- 241: Qal xtz'ulij Lex wu Pey  
 Qal x+ø+tz'ul+ij Lex wu Pey.  
 NEG COM+3sA3sE+hug+DRV Lex DET Pey  
 Lex didn't hug Pey.
- 242: Lex qal xtz'ulij wu Pey.  
 Lex qal x+ø+tz'ul+ij wu Pey  
 Lex NEG COM+3sA/3sE+hug+DRV DET Pey  
 Lex didn't hug Pey.
- 243: Nkare' Pey x+ø+tz'ul+w+ik wu Chia.  
 NEG Pey COM+3sA3sE+hug+FAP+PFM DET Chia.  
 It wasn't Pey who hugged Chia.
- 244: Nkare' Chia w+x+ø+tz'ul+ij Pey.  
 NEG Chia DET(wu)+COM+3sA3sE+hug+DRV Pey.  
 It wasn't Chia that Pey hugged.
- 245: Nkare' Chia w+x+ø+tz'ul+x+ik r+um Pey.  
 NEG Chia DET+COM+3sA3sE+hug+PASS+PFM 3sPOS+REL(by) Pey.  
 It wasn't Chia that was hugged by Pey.

- 246: Qal chaniim k+ø+b'in+ik.  
NEG quickly INC+3sABS+walk+PFM.  
He doesn't walk quickly.
- 247: Qal etzel r+tz'i' Wan.  
NEG evil 3sPOS+dog Wan.  
Wan's dog isn't bad/evil.
- 248: Mariy qa niim rwalb'im.  
Mariy qa niim r+walb'i+m  
Mariy NEG big 3sPOS+stand.up+NOM  
Mariy isn't tall.
- 249: Qal rex ri sqil.  
NEG ripe(green) DET platano  
The platano isn't ripe.
- 250: Qa utz ri aliit xelb'ik.  
Qa utz ri aliit x+ø+el b'ik  
NEG good DET girl COM+3sABS+leave DIR(go)  
It's not good that the girl left.
- 251: Qal qatz xib'al wnaq xiib'ek pk'eyb'al.  
qal qatz xib'al wnaq x+ii+b'e+k p+k'ey+b'al  
NEG really many people COM+3pABS+go+PFM PREP+buy+locative  
Not really many people went to the market.
- 252: Uche qal mit-'ek Wan.  
uche qal mit+ø+e+k Wan  
Maybe NEG REC+3sABS+go+PFM Wan  
Maybe Wan hasn't left yet.
- 253: Qal njel ri ajk'lob' xi'b'ek chu wa'ktinb'al  
Qal njel ri ajk'lob' x+i'+b'ek chu wa'ktin+b'al.  
NEG all DET boys COM+3pABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
Not all of the boys went to the park. (but some may have)
- 254: Wan nkare' aj tij.  
Wan NEG NOM teach  
Wan isn't a teacher.

- 255: Roq' nkare' rech P-'ooj.  
 Roq' nkare' r+ech pi ooj  
 Roq' NEG 3sPOS+REL(for) PREP+avocado  
 Roq' isn't from Poj.
- 256: Nkare' in x+ø+in+tch'o+w ri chee' [verb root = toch']  
 NEG 1sPRO COM+3sABS+1sERG+cut+FAP DET tree.  
 It wasn't me who cut down the tree
- 257: Nkare' ke x+ø+i'+tch'o+w ri chee'.  
 NEG 3pPRO COM+3sABS+3pERG+cut+FAP DET tree.  
 It wasn't them that cut down the tree.
- 258: Nkare' pXoóya' waachi' xloq' Liy ruuq.  
 Nkare' p+xoóya' waachi' x+ø+loq' Liy r+uuq.  
 NEG PREP+Comitancillo where COM+3sA3sE+buy Liy 3sPOS+skirt  
 It wasn't in Comitancillo that Liy bought her skirt.
- 259: Nkare' iwiir jorjil xuj-'ek  
 Nkare' iwwir jor+jil x+uj+'e+k  
 NEG yesterday when+DRV COM+1pABS+go+PFM  
 It wasn't yesterday that we went
- 260: Nkare' chre Liy xintaq ri juuj ri'  
 Nkare' ch+re Liy x+ø+in+taq ri juuj ri'  
 NEG PREP+3sPRO Liy COM+3sABS+1sERG+send DET paper DEM  
 It wasn't to Liy that I sent this letter
- 261: Nkare' ptiinmit xinb'e wi'  
 Nkare' p+tiinmit x+in+b'e wi'  
 NEG PREP+town COM+1sABS+go TMR  
 It wasn't into town that I went

#### 4.11.2 *qaqche* “nothing”

The negative quantifier particle *qaqche* means nothing or none. Like other quantifiers, it immediately precedes the noun it modifies. The verb is not marked for negative concord.

- 262: Qaqche wnaq xiib'ek pk'eyb'al.  
Qaqche wnaq x+ii+b'e+k p+k'ey+b'al  
NEG person COM+3pABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+NOUN  
Nobody went to the market
- 263: Qaqche re k'u'l pjul  
Qaqche re k'o ul pu jul  
nothing 3sPRO EXIST DIR(arrive.here) PREP hole.  
There was nothing inside the hole
- 264: Oche qaqche ya'.  
maybe none water  
There may not be any water.
- 265: Psaqq'ij qaqche jab'  
p+saq+q'ij qaqche jab'.  
PREP+white+sun nothing rain  
In summer it doesn't rain.

#### 4.11.3 Negation with *mes*

The particle *mes* is used for negation that is nearly complete (but not absolute).

- 266: Mes chinaq xujrto'.  
mes chinaq x+uj+r+to'  
NEG who(pl) COM+2pABS+3sERG+help  
Hardly anybody helped us.
- 267: Mes chin kulik.  
mes chin k+ø+ul+ik  
NEG who INC+3sABS+arrive+PFM  
Nobody came. (but someone could still)

The noun phrase need not be overt for the subject to be negated by *mes*.

- 268: Mes kulik.  
mes k+ø+ul+ik  
NEG INC+3sABS+arrive+PFM  
She/he didn't come. (but might still arrive)

The use of *mes* does not convey absolute negation (as does *qaqche*), but maintains some potential. Sentences such as the one above are judged ungrammatical with the completive aspect (because if the verb is in the completive aspect the negation must be complete and *mes* conveys negation that is not absolute).

- 269: \*Mes xulik.  
mes x+ø+ul+ik  
NEG COM+3sABS+arrive+PFM  
She/he didn't come (and never will).

The completive aspect with *mes* is acceptable with an overt noun phrase in which it is clear that the scope of the negation is over the noun phrase. In such cases negation cannot be absolute:

- 270: Mes ri wnaq xiib'ek pk'eyb'al.  
mes ri wnaq x+ii+b'e+k p+k'ey+b'al  
NEG DET people COM+3pABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+locative  
Hardly any people went to the plaza.  
\*Nobody went to the plaza.

Just like *qaqche*, *mes* may be used as a negative quantifier in stative sentences when the negation is not as absolute (as it would be with *qaqche*).

- 271: Mes ixiiim.  
NEG corn.  
There's (practically) no corn.



#### 4.11.4 Negation with *k'ot*

The negative particle *k'ot* is historically derived from the verb “to exist” *k'o(lik)* plus the irrealis marker *taq* (*taj* in other K'ichean languages). Although *k'ot* does behave like a negative form of *k'o(lik)* and is used for negative statives *k'ot* differs from *nkare'* in that *k'ot* does not convey absolute negation. Rather *k'ot* conveys a negative subjunctive and is used for cases where it is not clear that the negation is complete because there is either doubt about the negation or a desire that the negation is not true. Thus, sentences using *k'ot* are typically translated into Spanish using the Spanish subjunctive. Because *k'ot* is not a quantifier, it may also be used in conjunction with a negative quantifier. This is the only situation in which the use of multiple negative particles occurs.

- 272: K'ot ixiiim.  
NEG corn.  
There's no corn (but I wish there were).
- 273: Kumu k'ot kuuq chi' xk'oo, arek' ri' kumu jeerk ri uuq rij chiij.  
kumu k'ot k+uuq chi' x+k'oo are+k'a ri' kumu jeerk ri uuq r+ij chiij  
like NEG 3sPOS+skirt then COM+exist 3sPRO+then  
DET like jerga DET skirt 3sPOS+REL(back) sheep.  
As they didn't have their skirts, then in the past,  
They had jergas, skirts made of wool.
- 274: K'ot mes chinaq tb'ek piink.  
k'ot mes chinaq t+ø+b'e+k piink  
NEG NEG people DUB+3sABS+go+PFM finca  
Not that many people went to the fincas.

#### 4.11.5 “not even,” *mu...taq*

The interrogative *mu* may be used in conjunction with the subjunctive clitic *taq* to produce a negative meaning “not even”

- 275: Mu xb'ij taq rech xulik.  
mu x+ø+b'ij taq r+ech x+ø+ul+ik  
INTER COM+3sABS+say SUBJ 3sPOS+REL(for)  
COM+3sABS+arrive+PFM  
S/he didn't even say that s/he's arrived.
- 276: Mu xchij ok taq rech xujrto'  
mu x+ø+chij ok taq r+ech x+uj+r+to'  
INTER COM+3sABS+offer DIR(enter) SUBJ 3sPOS+REL(for)  
COM+1pABS+3sERG+help  
S/he didn't even offer to help us.

#### 4.11.6 Quantifier negation

All quantifiers except for *mes* and *qaqche* may be negated using *qal*. There is no negative concord, and double negation is ungrammatical (and sentences with agents negated by *qaqche* are ungrammatical if the verb is negated with *qal*). The examples below demonstrated the interpretation of negated quantifiers.

- 277: Qal njel ri ajk'lob' xi'b'ek chu wa'ktinb'al  
Qal njel ri ajk'lob' x+i'+b'ek chu wa'ktin+b'al.  
NEG all DET boys COM+3pABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
Not all of the boys went to the park. (but some may have)
- 278: Njel ri ajk'lob' qal xi'b'ek chu wa'ktinb'al.  
Njel ri ajk'lob' qal x+i'+b'ek chu wa'ktin+b'al.  
All DET boys NEG COM+3pABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
All of the boys didn't go to the park.  
(all of them stayed/not a single one went)

- 279: Qal nk'ej ri ajk'lob' xi'b'ek chu wa'ktinb'al.  
 Qal nk'ej ri ajk'lob' x+i'+b'ek chu wa'ktin+b'al.  
 NEG some DET boys COM+3pABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
 Not some of the boys went to the park. (some went, some didn't)
- 280: Nk'ej ri ajk'lob' qal xi'b'ek chu wa'ktinb'al.  
 Nk'ej ri ajk'lob' qal x+i'+b'ek chu wa'ktin+b'al.  
 Some DET boys NEG COM+3pABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
 Some boys didn't go to the park (all of them stayed/not a single one went)
- 281: \*Qaqche ri ajk'lob' qal xb'ek chu wa'ktinb'al.  
 \*Qaqche ri ajk'lob' qal x+ø+b'ek chu wa'ktin+b'al.  
 None DET boys NEG COM+3sABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
 None of the boys didn't go to the park (has meaning of none went at all).
- 282: Qal jun chke ri ajk'lob' xb'ek chu wa'ktinb'al.  
 Qal jun ch+ke ri ajk'lob' x+ø+b'ek chu wa'ktin+b'al.  
 NEG one PREP+3pPRO DET boys COM+3sABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
 Not one of the boys went to the park  
 (all of them stayed/not a single one went)
- 283: Jun chke ri ajk'lob' qal xb'ek chu wa'ktinb'al.  
 Jun ch+ke ri ajk'lob' qal x+ø+b'ek chu wa'ktin+bal.  
 One PREP+3pPRO DET boys NEG COM+3sABS+go PREP stroll+NOUN  
 One of the boys didn't go to the park (all except for one went)

#### 4.12 Question formation

Yes/no questions are formed by the addition of the particle *mu* at the beginning of a sentence. The sentence may be either affirmative or negative, stative or active.

- 284: Mu xkixb'ek chwaq chjay?  
 Mu xk+ix+b'e+k chwaq ch+jay  
 QUE FUT+2pABS+go+PFM tomorrow PREP+house  
 Are you going home tomorrow?

- 285: Mu paq'tlik ri si'?  
 Mu paq'+til+ik ri si'  
 QUE chop+STA+PFM DET firewood  
 Is the firewood chopped?
- 286: Mu k'iyy wnaq ipetnaq chpon?  
 Mu k'iyy wnaq ø+ii+pet+naq ch+pon  
 QUE many people PERF+3pABS+come+PERF PREP+inside  
 Were there lots of people that came in it (the bus).
- 287: Mu qal xatb'ek aawa tq'aj?  
 Mu qal x+at+b'e+k aawa t'qaj?  
 QUE NEG COM+2sABS+go+PFM 2sPRO coast?  
 Did you go to the coast?

Other questions are formed using a “wh”-word which must be fronted before the verb. Questions are ungrammatical if the “wh”-word is not focused. Although the “wh”-word must precede the verb, it need not be sentence-initial. If the question is “where,” and the sentence is not stative, the particle *wi'* follows the verb (see 4.5 above).

- 288: Waachi' k'o Chent?  
 Where EXIST Chent  
 Where is Chent?
- 289: \*Chent k'o waachi'?  
 \*Che EXIST where?  
 \*Where is Chent?
- 290: Wa' xt-'ek Chent wi'?  
 Wa' xt+ø+'ek Chent wi'?  
 Where FUT+3sABS+go Chent wi'  
 Where is Chent going?

- 291: Aajwi' che xtqtij?  
 Aajwi' che xt+ø+q+tij?  
 Today what FUT+3sABS+1pERG+eat?  
 Today what are we going to eat?
- 292: Che xtqtij aajwi'?  
 Che xt+ø+q+tij aajwi'?  
 What FUT+3sABS+1pERG+eat today?  
 What are we going to eat today?
- 293: Jan xkujwi'k?  
 Jan xk+uj+wi'+k  
 What.time FUT+1pABS+eat(intrans)+PFM  
 What time are we going to eat?
- 294: Jruj tulik May?  
 Jruj t+ø+ul+ik May  
 When DUB+3sABS+arrive+PFM May  
 When will May arrive?
- 295: Chin xi'tjiw ri sub'?  
 Chin x+i'+tji+w ri sub' (verb root = tij)  
 who COM+3pABS+eat+FAP DET tamale  
 Who ate the tamales?
- 296: Che rmal xi'rtij Pey njel ri sub'?  
 Che r+mal x+i'+r+tij Pey njel ri sub'  
 What 3sPOS+REL(because.of) COM+3pABS+3sERG+eat  
 Pey all DET tamale  
 Why did Pey eat all the tamales?
- 297: Chemo rtz'iib'xik ri' pqyolb'al?  
 Chemo r+tz'iib'+x+ik ri' p+q+yol+b'al?  
 How 3sERG+write+PASS+PFM DEM PREP+1pPOS+speak+NOUN  
 How do you write this in our language?
- 298: Chin chke ri itz'iib'al?  
 Chin ch+ke ri i+tz'iib'+al? (root = tz'iib' + b'al (NOUN))  
 Who PREP+3pPRO DET 2pPOS+write+NOUN  
 Which one is your pencil?/Which pencil is yours?

## 4.13 Complex Sentences

### 4.13.1 Coordination

Two independent clauses may be coordinated without the use of a conjunction:

- 299: Lex x-'ek pk'eyb'al i ri Saant x-'ek pwa'ktilb'al  
Lex x+ø+'ek p+k'ey+b'al i ri Saant x+ø+'ek p+wa'ktil+b'al  
Lex COM+3sABS+go PREP+sell+NOUN and DET  
Saant COM+3sABS+go PREP+stroll+NOUN  
Lex went to the market and Saant went to the park.

Although coordinated sentences with no conjunction are acceptable, two clauses are often joined with the conjunction *i* or *e* ( both variants of the conjunction *y* in Spanish).

- 300: Lex x-'ek pk'eyb'al i ri Saant x-'ek pwa'ktilb'al  
Lex x+ø+'ek p+k'ey+b'al i ri Saant x+ø+'ek p+wa'ktil+b'al  
Lex COM+3sABS+go PREP+sell+NOUN and DET Saant  
COM+3sABS+go PREP+stroll+NOUN  
Lex went to the market and Saant went to the park.

The particle *i* is not used to join two noun phrases, however. Noun phrases are joined using the relational noun *+uk'*. In cases where both noun phrases are third singular and the relational noun precedes the verb, the verb may be marked for plurality even though the second noun phrase is part of a relational noun phrase. For example, below the verb is marked for the third person plural:

- 301: May ruk' Roq' xi'b'ek pk'eyb'al  
May ruk' Roq' x+i'+b'e+ik p+k'ey+b'al  
May COM+3pABS+go+PFM 1sPOS+REL(with) PREP+sell+locative  
May and Roq' went to the market

Otherwise, number marking on the verb agrees only with the main noun phrase:

- 302: May xb'ek wuuk' pk'eyb'al  
May x+ø+b'e+ik w+uuk' p+k'ey+b'al  
May COM+3sABS+go+PFM 1sPOS+REL(with) PREP+sell+locative  
May went with me to the market

Clauses and phrases may also be coordinated using the conjunctions *no'j* “but” and *mu* “or” (identical to the interrogative particle in 3.12.3.2 above). The disjunctive conjunction *mu* “or,” is also used to form alternative questions as in 304 below.

- 303: Lex x-'ek pk'eyb'al no'j Saant qa x-'ek  
Lex x+ø+'ek p+k'ey+b'al no'j Saant qa x+ø+'ek.  
Lex COM+3sABS+go PREP+sell+NOUN but  
Saant NEG COM+3sABS+go  
Lex went to the market, but Saant did not go
- 304: Ri aq'or ki' mu k'ey?  
Ri a+q'oor ki' mu k'ey?  
DET 2sPOS+atole sweet QUE bitter?  
Is your atole sweet or bitter?
- 305: No'j iwa xixb'inik iwa tq'aj mu qa xixb'inik xixchuknik?  
No'j iwa x+ix+b'in+ik iwa tq'aj mu qa x+ix+b'in+ik x+ix+chuk+n+ik  
But 2pPRO COM+2pABS+walk+PFM 2pPRO lowlands or NEG  
COM+2pABS+walk+PFM COM+2pABS+work+AAP+PFM?  
But did you (formal) go to the coast and work or not?
- 306: Pk'eyb'al xkat-'e wi' mu chu awchoch?  
P+ke'y+b'al xk+at+'e wi' mu che+wu aw+choch?  
PREP+sell+NOUN FUT+2sABS+go TMR QUE PREP+DET 2sPOS+house  
Are you going to the market or home?
- 307: Roq' kraaj xt-'ek pk'eyb'al mu qa kraaj xt-'ek?  
Roq' k+ø+r+aaj xt+ø+'ek p+k'ey+b'al mu qa k+ø+r+aaj xt+ø+'ek?  
Roq' INC+3sABS+3sERG+want FUT+3sABS+go PREP+sell+NOUN  
QUE NEG COM+3sABS+3sERG+want FUT+3sABS+go  
Does Roq' want to go to the market or not (want to go)?

- 308: Yáago ju mom rwalb'em no'j ri rchaq nuch' rwalb'em.  
 Yaago ju mom r+wal+b'+em no'j ri r+chaq nuch' r+wal+b'+em  
 Yaago one big 3sPOS+length(POS)+DRV+NOUN but DET  
 3sPOS+older.brother small 3sPOS+length(POS)+DRV+NOUN  
 Yaago is very tall but his older brother is short.

Negative coordinated constructions use the negative particle *qa* before each of the two coordinated phrases:

- 309: Ri ajk'al qa q'oqik qa wrik  
 Ri ajk'al qa q'oq+ik qa wor+ik  
 DET child NEG cry+PFM NEG sleep+PFM  
 The child neither cries nor sleeps

The conjunctions *i* and *no'j* may also be used as discourse markers, introducing clauses rather than joining them:

- 310: No'j si xkaya' ken wu alej xkub'urkach'ka' wix  
 No'j si xk+ø+a+ya' ken wu a+lej xk+ø+ub'u+r+kach'+ka' wix  
 but if FUT+3sABS+2sERG+give DIR DET 2sPOS+tortilla  
 FUT+3sABS+MOV(go)+3sERG+chew+DRV cat  
 But if you leave out the tortillas a cat will come and eat them.
- 311: I mas kjitul teq xk'ayij re ri prow sji'l ri'.  
 i mas k+ø+jit ul teq x+ø+k'ay+ij re ri prow sji'l ri'  
 And more INC+3sABS+approach DIR(arrive) when  
 COM+3sA/3sE+see+DRV 3sPRO DET poor coyote there  
 And he approached more when he saw him, that poor coyote.

When the conjunction *i* occurs before the discourse marker *k'a* “then,” the two merge (and the vowel lowers) to *ek'*. This form acts as a discourse marked “and then” as seen below:



- 312: Ek' ri May che kirlq'ul chaawa teq kb'ek Watemala?  
 E+k'a ri May che k+i+ø+r+loq' ul ch+aawa teq k+ø+bek Watemala  
 and+then DET May what INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+buy DIR  
 PREP+2sPRO when INC+3sABS+go Guatemala  
 And what will May buy you when he goes to Guatemala City?

#### 4.13.2 Relative clauses

Relative clauses modifying noun phrases immediately follow the noun phrase and are introduced by the determiner *ri*. Other than the introduction of the determiner *ri* a relative clause does not differ from other clauses in Sipakapense and may be active or stative. The word order of relative clauses introduced by *ri* is verb initial. Subject noun phrases with relative clauses are almost always topicalized, but topicalization is not obligatory. In addition, the determiner *ri* may introduce relative clauses that modify the subject in stative sentences.

- 313: Ri rxb'al Mariy ri kchuknik pu wu tijb'al xb'ek Chnajul.  
 ri r+xb'al Mariy ri k+ø+chuk+n+ik pu wu tij+b'al x+ø+b'ek Chnajul.  
 DET 3sPOS+brother Mariy DET INC+3sABS+work+FAP+PFM  
 PREP DET teach+LOC COM+3sABS+go+PFM Huehuetenango.  
 Mariy's brother who works in the school went to Huehuetenango.
- 314: Ri lo'n ri krk'yej Tol tjin kq'eyik.  
 ri lo'n ri k+ø+r+k'ey+j Tol tjin k+ø+q'ey+ik  
 DET fruit DET INC+3sABS+3sERG+buy+DRV  
 Tol tjin INC+3sABS+rot+PFM  
 The fruit that Tol bought is rotting.
- 315: Xtoch' Wan ri chee' ruk' ri ikej ri xqaj chu May.  
 X+ø+toch' Wan ri chee' r+uk' ri ikej ri x+ø+qaj ch+u May  
 COM+3sA3sE+cut Wan DET tree 3sPOS+REL(with) axe DET  
 COM+3sA3sE+borrow PREP+DET May  
 Wan cut down the tree with the axe that he borrowed from May.

- 316: Xylow Pey ruk' ri alab' ri k'o rchoch Xe' Jyub'.  
 X+ø+ylow Pey r+uk' ri alab' ri k'o r+choch Xe' Jyub'.  
 COM+3sABS+speak Pey 3sPOS+REL(with) DET boy DET EXIST  
 3sPOS+house foot mountain  
 Pey spoke with the boy whose house is in Xe' Jyub' (Pie de la Cuesta)
- 317: Wan xwi'taj ri tz'i' ri xinrti'j.  
 Wan x+ø+wi't+aj ri tz'i' ri x+in+r+ti'j  
 Wan COM+3sA3sE+kill+DRV DET dog DET COM+1sABS+3sERG+bite  
 Wan killed the dog that bit me.
- 318: Roq' xloq' xjab' ke kumu xqka'yij Chuqul.  
 Roq' x+ø+loq' xjab' ke kumu x+ø+q+ka'y+ij Chuqul  
 Roq' COM+3sA3sE+buy shoes as like  
 COM+3sABS+1pERG+see+DRV Tejutla  
 Roq' bought some shoes like the ones we saw in Tejutla.
- 319: Xk'yey Wan wu chiij ri rech May.  
 x+ø+k'ey+j Wan wu chiij ri r+ech May  
 COM+3sABS+buy+DRV Wan DET sheep DET 3sPOS+REL(for) May  
 Wan sold the sheep that belongs to May.
- 320: Are wu ral Wiixa ri xtij njel wu kaab'.  
 are wu r+al Wiixa ri x+ø+tij njel wu kaab'.  
 3sEMP DET 3sPOS+child Wiixa DET COM+3sABS+eat all DET sweets  
 It was Wiixa's child that ate all the sweets.

Locative relative clauses are introduced by *waachi* '“where”'

- 321: Xujb'ek pjyub' waachi' k'o rchoch Mink  
 x+uj+b'e+k p+jyub' waachi k'o r+choch Mink  
 COM+2pABS+go+PFM PREP+hill where exist 3sPOS+house Mink  
 We went to the hill where Mink's house is.
- 322: Qa utz ri krb'an.  
 qa utz ri k+ø+r+b'an  
 NET good DET INC+3sABS+3sERG+make  
 What he's doing isn't good.

#### 4.13.3 Adverbial clauses

Clauses may be joined in “if...then” constructions using the particle *si* “if” (borrowed from Spanish) and *xuq* “then.”

- 323: Si Saant xt-’ek Chuqul, xuq xkinb’e wa.  
Si Saant xt+ø+’e+k Chuqul xuq xk+in+b’e wa.  
If Saant FUT+3sABS+go+PFM Tejutla only FUT+3sABS+go 1sEMP  
If Saant is going to Tejutla then I’m going too.

Temporal adverbial clauses are formed using the particle *taq/teq*. Either of the two clauses may come first in the sentence.

- 324: Taq Naáncho xjaq ri tz’ab’ib’ ri tz’i’ xel b’ik.  
Taq Naancho x+ø+jaq ri tz’ab’ib’ ri tz’i’ x+ø+el b’ik  
When Naancho COM+3sA3sE+open DET door  
DET dog COM+3sABS+leave DIR  
When Naancho opened the door the dog went out.
- 325: Taq xintz’amjik chjay xtikrok wu jaab’.  
Taq x+in+tz’amj+ik ch+jay x+ø+tik+r ok wu jaab’.  
When COM+1sABS+return+PFM PREP+house  
COM+3sABS+begin+VER DIR DET rain  
When I returned to the house it started to rain
- 326: Ek’ ri May che kirlq’ul chaawa teq kb’ek Watemala?  
E+k’a ri May che k+i+ø+r+loq’ ul ch+aawa teq k+ø+bek Watemala  
and+then DET May what INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+buy DIR  
PREP+2sPRO when INC+3sABS+go Guatemala  
And what will May buy you when he goes to Guatemala City?

Causative adverbial clauses are introduced with the relational noun phrase *r+um* “by it.” The clause itself acts as the possessor for the relational noun. The verb in the causative clause requires no special changes.

- 327: Xinrumumik rum ri jaab' xtikrok.  
 x+in+rum+um+ik r+um ri jaab' x+ø+tik+r ok  
 COM+1sABS+run+DRV+PFM 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 DET rain COM+3sABS+begin+VER DIR  
 I ran because the rain started.
- 328: Liip x-'ek pk'eyb'al rum kraaj xtlq'ow lo'n.  
 Liip x+ø+'e+k p+k'ey+b'al r+um k+ø+r+aaaj xt+ø+loq'+w lo'n  
 Liip COM+3sABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+NOUN 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 INC+3sABS+3sERG+want FUT+3sABS+buy+FAP fruit  
 Liip went to the market because he wants to buy fruit

Causative relative clauses may also be introduced by a relative noun phrase using *r+ech*. Where those with *+um* have the meaning of “because” or “since,” those introduced by *+ech* mean “in order to” or “so that.”

- 329: Liip x-'ek pk'eyb'al rech tloq' lo'n.  
 Liip x+ø+'e+k p+k'ey+b'al r+ech t+ø+loq lo'n  
 Liip COM+3sABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+NOUN  
 3sPOS+REL(by) DUB+3sA3sE+buy fruit  
 Liip went to the market in order to buy fruit
- 330: Liip x-'ek pk'eyb'al rum ral rech kktij lo'n  
 Liip x+ø+'e+k p+k'ey+b'al r+um r+al r+ech k+ø+k+tij lo'n  
 Liip COM+3sABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+NOUN 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 3sPOS+child 3sPOS+REL(by) DUB+3sABS+3pERG+eat fruit  
 Liip went to the market so that his children could eat some fruit.
- 331: Liip x-'ek pk'eyb'al rech xtatij lo'n  
 Liip x+ø+'e+k p+k'ey+b'al r+ech xt+ø+at+tij lo'n  
 Liip COM+3sABS+go+PFM PREP+sell+NOUN  
 3sPOS+REL(by) FUT+3sABS+2sERG+eat fruit  
 Liip went to the park so that you could eat some fruit

If the subject pronouns and tense/aspect of the two clauses are identical to those of the main clause, a causal adverbial clause may be introduced without the use of the relational noun *r+um* or *r+ech*..

- 332: Luks xb'ek chjay xrtaqij ken rche.  
 Luks x+ø+b'e+k ch+jaay x+ø+r+taq+ij ken r+che  
 Luks COM+3sABS+go+PFM PREP+house  
 COM+3sABS+3sERG+send+DRV DIR(left) 3sPOS+things  
 Luks went to the house to get his things.

#### 4.13.4 Complement clauses

If the subject of a complement clause is identical to the subject of the main clause, the two clauses may be joined without a complementizer.

- 333: Beéto xno'jij xb'ek.  
 Beéto x+ø+no'j+ij x+ø+b'e+k  
 Beéto COM+3sABS+think+DRV COM+3sABS+go+PFM  
 Beto(i) thought he(i) would leave.
- 334: Kraaj re twa'  
 k+r+aaaj re t+ø+wa'.  
 INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPRO DUB+3sABS+eat  
 S/he wants to eat.
- 335: Are kraaj tb'an rchoch.  
 are k+ø+r+aaaj t+ø+b'an r+choch  
 3sEMP INC+3sABS+3sERG+want DUB+3sABS+make 3sPOS+house  
 S/he wants to build a house.
- 336: Roq' kraaj xt-'ek Chuqul.  
 Roq' k+ø+r+aaaj xt+ø+'e+k Chuqul.  
 Roq' INC+3sABS+3sERG+want FUT+3sABS+go+PFM Tejutla.  
 Roq' wants to go to Chuqul.

- 337: Kraaj May krtiijuj kyolwik pSipakapense  
 K+ø+r+aaaj May k+ø+r+tiij+uj k+yolw+ik p+Sipakapense  
 INC+3sABS+3sERG+want May INC+3sABS+3sERG+learn+DRV  
 3pPOS+speak+PFM PREP+Sipakapense  
 May wants is learning to speak Sipakapense.

The verb *taa* ‘‘to hear’’ does not require a complementizer, regardless of the subject of the two clauses:

- 338: Wa xintaa’ are kirb’an ri rchoch.  
 wa x+ø+in+taa’ are k+i+ø+r+b’an ri r+choch  
 1sPRO COM+3sABS+1sERG+hear 3sEMP INC+EPE+3sABS+make DET  
 3sPOS+house  
 I hear he was building a house.
- 339: Xintaa’ Chic x-’e Chuqul.  
 x+ø+in+taa’ Chic x+ø+’e Chuqul.  
 COM+3sABS+1sERG+hear Chic COM+3sABS+go Chuqul.  
 I heard Chic went to Chuqul.

Also, if the complement clause is verb initial, complementizer may be optional.

- 340: Roq’ qa kraaj xt-’ek Chent Chuqul.  
 Roq’ qa k+ø+r+aaaj xt+ø+’e+k Chent Chuqul  
 Roq’ NEG INC+3sABS+3sERG+want FUT+3sABS+go+PFM  
 Chent Tejutla.  
 Roq’ doesn’t want Chent to go to Tejutla.
- 341: Roq’ qa kraaj rech xt-’ek Chent Chuqul.  
 Roq’ qa k+ø+r+aaaj r+ech xt+ø+’e+k Chent Chuqul  
 Roq’ NEG INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 FUT+3sABS+go+PFM Chent Tejutla.  
 Roq’ doesn’t want Chent to go to Tejutla.

Complement clauses without overt subject noun phrases may also be introduced by the preposition *chi/chu* followed by the infinitive verb of the complement clause

marked with the third singular ergative/possessive prefix. Although the verbs carry the third ergative/possessive prefix, they are not marked for tense/aspect/mode and are always intransitivized infinitives. Thus, they are basically verbal nouns marked for third singular possession. They may however be marked for voice. In fact, the majority of transitive verbs in this construction are intransitivized either through the use of the antipassive or passive voices (see examples below). In a few cases, (such as with “to be able to” *b’an+taj* below), the verb does not require the complementizer. The subject of the complement clause may be either the subject or object of the main clause depending on the verb in the main clause. For example, the verb “to ask to do something” is transitive and the object noun phrase is the subject of the complement clause.

- 342: Mariy kb’antjik ryolwik pSipakapense.  
 Mariy k+ø+b’an+tj+ik r+yolw+ik p+Sipakapense  
 Mariy INC+3sABS+can+PERF+PFM 3sPOS+speak+PFM  
 PREP+Sipakapense  
 Mariy can speak Sipakapense.
- 343: Xinrtaqb’ik chu rtz’ulxik Mariy.  
 x+in+r+taq b’ik chu r+tz’ul+x+ik Mariy.  
 COM+1sABS+3sERG+request DIR(go) PREP  
 3sPOS+hug+PASS+PFM Mariy.  
 S/he asked me to hug Mariy.

344: Xto'ok chi' wu imul chu rchapik wu pek, cha'

xt+ø+to' ok chi' wu imul  
FUT+3sA/3sE+help DIR(enter) then DET rabbit COMP

chu r+chap+ik wu pek, cha'  
PREP 3sPOS+grab+PFM DET boulder, say.

Then she helped the rabbit hold back the boulder.

345: Xkinel wa chu rtaqxik jun k'eeb' uxib' chee'

xk+in+el wa chu r+taq+x+ik  
FUT+1sABS+leave 1sPRO COMP 3sPOS+look.for+PASS+PFM

jun k'eeb' uxib' chee'  
jun k'eeb'uxib' chee'  
one two three (several) trees  
I will leave to go look for some sticks.

346: Xtikrok ri imul chi' chu rtijik ri rex q'oos ri'.

x+ø+tikr ok ri imul chi' chu rtijik ri rex q'oos ri'  
COM+3sABS+start DIR(enter) DET rabbit then COMP  
3sPOS+eat+PFM DET green grass there

Then the rabbit began to eat the green grass.



347: Ke ri ral sji'l ri', chi' xtkuj kiib' taq ri q'oos chu rtaqxik  
jun chkop xo'ok chkxo'l.

ke ri r+al sji'l ri', chi x+ø+k+tuk+j k+iib'taq  
3pPRO DET 3sPOS+child coyote there, then, COM+3sABS+3pERG+scatter+DRV

ri q'oos chu r+taq+x+ik  
3sPOS+REL(refl) PLUR DET grass COMP 3sPOS+look.for++PASS+PFM

jun chkop x+o+ø+ok ch+k+xo'l.  
one animal COM+EPE+3sABS+enter PREP+3pPOS+middle

The coyote's children scattered the grasses to look for an animal that had come into their midst.

Another complementizer is *ke* (probably borrowed from Spanish *que*). The use of *ke* is fairly rare and there are no verbs which specifically must have *ke* as their complementizer. All verbs which take *ke* may also use another complementizer and *ke* is always used less frequently than the usual complementizer..

348: Kraaj re ke re twa'.  
k+r+aaaj re t+ø+wa'  
INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPRO COMP 3sPRO DUB+3sABS+eat  
S/he<sub>i</sub> wants him/her<sub>j</sub> to eat.

349: Kraaj re ke wa kinwa'.  
k+ø+r+aaaj re ke wa k+in+wa'  
INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPRO COMP 1sPRO INC+1sABS+eat(intrans)  
S/He wants me to eat.

350: No'j ri mas qa utz kirb'an ke tjin kiryo'k wi'b'i'

no'j ri mas qa utz k+i+r+b'an ke tjin  
but DET most NEG good INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+make COMP PROG

k+i+r+ya' ok wu i+b'i'  
INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+give DIR(enter) DET 3pPOS+name

But the worst thing he is doing is that he is using your name.

The interrogative *chemo* “how” may also be used as a complementizer.

351: Wre' xtinb'ij chiwa chemo xb'an ri imul ruk' ri sji'l, cha'.  
Wre' xt+ø+in+b'ij ch+iwa chemo x+ø+b'an ri imul r+uk' ri sji'l, cha'  
Here FUT+3sABS+1sERG+tell PREP+2sPRO how  
COM+3sA3sE+do DET rabbit 3sPOS+REL(with) DET coyote, say  
Here I will tell you what they say the rabbit did with the coyote.

Another possible complementizer is *kumu* “like.” This is probably another borrowing from Spanish (*como*).

352: Keti xtch'ij taq kumu keti utz kch'ojin taq.

Keti xt+ø+ch'ij taq kumu keti utz  
not.like.this FUT+3sABS+endure SUBJ COMP not.like.this good

k+ø+ch'oj+in taq.  
INC+3sABS+fight+AAP SUBJ

He won't last since he's not good at fighting.

Another Spanish complementizer *si* “if” may also be used to introduce clauses in Sipakapense.

- 353: Qal kirtaa' k'ri imul si tla' k'ob'ul ri sji'l wi', cha'  
 qal k+i+ø+r+taa' k'a ri imul si tla' k'o+b'+ul ri sji'l wi' cha'  
 NEG INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+hear then DET rabbit if there exist  
 DIR(go) DIR(arrive) DET coyote wi' say  
 The rabbit didn't know if the coyote was there, they say.

Like relative clauses, complement clauses may also be introduced by determiners.

However, complement clauses introduced by determiners are quite rare.

- 354: Kanluch xnmaj wu xb'ij Woy  
 Kanluch x+ø+nmaj wu x+ø+b'ij Woy.  
 Kanluch COM+3sABS+believe DET COM+3sABS+say Woy.  
 Kanluch believed what Woy said.

The interrogative *che* “what” may also serve as a complementizer.

- 356: Xtintaqij nk'i che k'u'l chpom la jul la'.  
 xt+ø+in+taq+ij nk'i che k'o ul ch+pom la jul la'  
 FUT+3sABS+1sERG+search+DRV then COMP exist DIR(arrive)  
 PREP+inside DET hole there  
 I'm going to look to see what's inside that cave.

- 357: Ajwi' xtojoj re wu etzlal wa' che ri xb'anla' chu ke ri wal.  
 ajwi' xt+ø+tojoj re wu etzel+al wa' che ri x+ø+b'an la' chu ke ri wal  
 now FUT+3sABS+pay 3sPRO DET evil+NOM there COMP DET  
 COM+3sABS+do there PREP 3pPRO DET 1sPOS+child  
 Now that evil one will pay for what he did to my child.

- 358: No'j ri imul ri' xul qaj pi rwi' che ri jroq tchkun re pi raanma sji'l, cha'.  
 no'j ri imul ri' x+ø+ul qaj pi r+wi, che ri jroq t+ø+chkun re pi r+aanma sji'l, cha'  
 but DET rabbit there COM+3sABS+arrive DIR(down) PREP 3sPOS+head  
 che ri jroq t+chkun re pi r+aanma sji'l, cha' COMP DET already  
 DUB+3sABS+work 3sPRO PREP 3sPOS+heart coyote, say

But the rabbit realized what the coyote was thinking in her heart, they say.

The relational noun *r+ech* “for” also serves as a complementizer.

- 359: Xb'iij May rech Chic x-'e Chuqul.  
 x+ø+b'iij May r+ech Chic x+ø+'e Chuqul.  
 COM+3sABS+say May 3sPOS+REL(for) Chic COM+3sABS+go Tejutla  
 May said that Chic went to Tejutla.
- 360: Roq' kraaj rech Chent xt-'ek Chuqul.  
 Roq' k+ø+r+aaj r+ech Chent xt+ø+'e+k Chuqul.  
 Roq' INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 Chent FUT+3sABS+go+PFM Tejutla.  
 Roq' wants Chent to go to Tejutla
- 361: Roq' kraaj rech rum rmal Chent xt-'e Chuqul.  
 Roq' k+ø+r+aaj r+ech r+um r+mal Chent xt+ø+'e Chuqul  
 Roq' COM+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPOS+REL(by) 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 3sPOS+REL(because.of) Chent FUT+3sABS+go Chuqul.  
 Roq' wants Chent to go to Tejutla for himself.
- 362: Mund xb'iij rech Maks xtaa' rech Chic x-'e Chuqul  
 Mund x+ø+b'iij r+ech Maks x+ø+taa' r+ech Chic x+ø+'e Chuqul  
 Mund COM+3sABS+say 3sPOS+REL(by) Maks COM+3sABS+hear  
 3sPOS+REL(by) Chic COM+3sABS+go Tejutla.  
 Mund said that Maks heard that Chic went to Tejutla

Some sentences are acceptable with or without *r+ech*. For example, *r+ech* may be optionally used as a complementizer with the verb *taa'* "to hear." It is also possible to use *r+ech* in some cases where the subject of the main clause is the same as that of the complement clause. In this case, the use of *r+ech* emphasizes that the subject of the two clauses is the same.

- 363: Xintaa' Chic x-'e Chuqul.  
 X+ in+taa' Chic x+ø+'e Chuqul.  
 COM+1sABS+hear Chic COM+3sABS+go Chuqul.  
 I heard that Chic went to Tejutla

- 364: Xintaa' rech Chic x-'e Chuqul.  
 X+ in+taa' r+ech Chic x+ø+'e Chuqul.  
 COM+1sABS+hear 3sPOS+REL(by) Chic COM+3sABS+go Tejutla.  
 I heard that Chic went to Tejutla.
- 365: Roq' kraaj xt-'ek Chuqul.  
 Roq' k+ø+r+aa j xt+ø+'ek Chuqul.  
 Roq' INC+3sABS+3sERG+want FUT+3sABS+go Tejutla.  
 Roq' wants to go to Tejutla.
- 366: Roq' kraaj rech xt-'ek Chuqul.  
 Roq' k+ø+r+aa j r+ech xt+ø+'e+k Chuqul  
 Roq' INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 FUT+3sABS+go+PFM Tejutla.  
 Roq' wants to go to Tejutla herself  
 (i.e. she wants that she goes and not someone else).

#### 4.14 Anaphora

In Sipakapense, a pronominal element in a relational or possessive noun phrase may not refer to a noun phrase that comes after the referring pronoun (unless, of course, the noun phrase is the dependent (possessed) noun phrase and thus itself part of the relational/possessive noun phrase). Thus, anaphoric pronominal prefixes may only refer to the subject if the subject noun phrase precedes the anaphoric element.

- 367: Wan xtzaq rum rmak.  
 Wan x+ø+tzaq r+um r+mak  
 Wan COM+3sABS+fall 3sPOS+REL(by) 3sPOS+fault  
 Wan fell because of him/Wan fell because of himself
- 368: Rum rmak xtzaq Wan  
 r+um r+mak x+ø+tzaq Wan  
 3sPOS+REL(by) 3sPOS+fault COM+3sABS+fall Wan  
 Wan fell because of him/\*\*Wan fell because of himself.

- 369: Rum rmal x-'ek Chent Chuqul.  
 r+um r+mal x+ø+'e+k Chent Chuqul  
 3sPOS+REL(for) 3sPOS+REL(by) COM+3sABS+go+PFM Chent Tejutla  
 Chent went to Tejutla for someone else.  
 \*Chent went to Tejutla for himself.
- 370: Xtuq ri ixoq ral  
 x+ø+tuq ri ixoq r+al  
 COM+3sA3sE+feed DET woman 3sPOS+child  
 The woman(i) fed her(i) children.  
 \*The woman (i) fed her(j) children.
- 371: Xk'yej Wan wu rchij.  
 x+ø+k'ey+j Wan wu r+chij  
 COM+3sA3sE+buy+DRV Wan DET 3sPOS+sheep.  
 Wan(i) sold his(i) sheep.  
 \*Wan(i) sold his (j) sheep.

If there are two possible referents, the reference following the anaphoric element is interpreted as the referent:

- 372: Roq' kraaj rech rum rmal Chent xt-'e Chuqul.  
 Roq' k+ø+r+aaaj r+ech r+um r+mal Chent  
 Roq' INC+3sABS+3sERG+want 3sPOS+REL(by)  
 3sPOS+REL(for) 3sPOS+REL(because.of) Chent  
 Roq' wants Chent to go to Tejutla for himself.

Because any possible reference that precedes the anaphoric element is acceptable, sentences where all possible referents precede the pronominal are ambiguous.

- 373: Chent xya'pon poq chi ri achi ri xb'an wu rtz'ab'ib'  
 Chent x+ø+ya' pon poq chi ri achi ri x+ø+b'an wu r+tz'ab'ib'  
 Chent COM+3sA3sE+give DIR money PREP  
 DET man DET COM+3sA3sE+make DET 3sPOS+door  
 Chent(i) gave money to the man(j) who made his(i) doors.  
 Chent(i) gave money to the man(j) who made his(j) doors.  
 Chent(i) gave money to the man(j) who made his(k) doors.

- 374: Liy xtz'ulij ri ajk'al ri xriq rpoq.  
 Liy x+ø+tz'ul+ij ri ajk'al ri x+ø+riq r+poq  
 Liy COM+3sA3sE DET child DET COM+3sA3sE+find 3sPOS+money  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(i) money  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(j) money  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(k) money
- 375: Xtz'ulij Liy ri ajk'al ri xriq rpoq (these two have same interpretation)  
 x+ø+tz'ul+ij Liy ri ajk'al ri x+ø+riq r+poq  
 COM+3sA/3sE+hug+DRV Liy DET child  
 DET COM+3sABS+find 3sPOS+money  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(i) money  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(j) money  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(k) money
- 376: Ri ajk'al ri xriq rpoq xtz'ulij Liy.  
 ri ajk'al ri x+ø+riq r+poq x+ø+tz'ul+ij Liy  
 DET child DET COM+3sA3sE+find 3sPOS COM+3sA3sE+hug+DRV+Liy  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(j) money.  
 Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(k) money.  
 \*Liy(i) hugged the child(j) that found her(i) money.
- 377: Ri ke'q ixoq xktz'ulij ri ke ajk'al ri xkriq wu kpaq.  
 Ri ke'q ixoq x+ø+k+tz'ul+ij ri ke ajk'al ri x+ø+k+riq wu k+paq  
 DET PLU woman COM+3sA+3sP+hug+DRV DET 3sPRO child DET  
 COM+3sA+3sE+find DET 3sPOS+money  
 The women(i) hugged the children(j) who found their(j) money.  
 ??The women(i) hugged the children(j) who found their(i) money.

## APPENDIX

TEXT 1: Imul “The Rabbit” – recorded 1994,  
told by Mario Perfecto Tema Bautista  
Tres Cruces, Sipacapa

1. Xtinyol chiwa chemo.  
xt+ø+in+yol chu+iwa chemo  
FUT+3sABS+1sERG+speak PREP+2pPRO how  
I will tell you what they say the rabbit did.

xb’anla’ ri imul, cha’  
x+ø+b’an la’ ri imul, cha’  
DET rabbit, say COM+3sABS+make

2. Xk’oo taq ri qjow xb’an njel  
x+k’oo taq ri q+jow x+ø+b’an njel  
COM+exist when DET 1pPOS+God COM+3sABS+make all  
Long ago, when the lord made all

ri rochb’lal chkop chu wu uleew,  
ri r+ochb’lal chkop chu wu uleew  
DET 3sPOS+form animal PREP DET earth  
the species of animals on the earth,

taq mjo’q xb’an rxoq’jowil kaaj,  
taq mjo’q x+ø+b’an r+xoq’jowil kaaj  
when not.yet COM+3sABS+make 3sPOS+lord sky  
when the Lord of the Sky and

rxoq’jowil uleew, wu wnaq,  
r+xoq’jowil uleew, wu wnaq,  
3sPOS+lord earth, DET person  
the Lord of the Earth had not yet made people

xi’rb’an ri chkop nab’eeey, cha’.  
x+i’+r+b’an ri chkop nab’eeey, cha’  
COM+3pABS+3sERG+make DET animal first, say.  
He made the animals first, they say.



3: Ke ri chkop xkb'anla'  
 ke ri chkop x+ø+k+b'an la'  
 3sPRO DET animal COM+3sABS+3pERG+make there  
 The animals did things

ke pula kb'an wnaq ajwi'.  
 ke pula k+ø+b'an wnaq ajwi'  
 COMP like INC+3sABS+make people now  
 like the things people do now.

The animals did things like people do now.

4: Sicha' kb'ixik taq ri q'ijj  
 sicha' k+ø+b'ii+x+ik taq ri q'ijj  
 for.this INC+3sABS+say+PASS+PFM when DET day  
 This is why it is said that in the day

taq ke wu chkop ke kb'anla' wnaq  
 taq ke wu chkop ke k+ø+b'an la' wnaq  
 when like.this DET animal 3pPRO INC+3sABS there people  
 when the animals did things like people,

ri xk'oo, ri jun chkop mas k'ooj ruk', cha'  
 ri x+k'oo ri jun chkop mas k'ooj r+uk', cha'  
 DET COM+exist DET one animal more joker<sup>1</sup> 3sPOS+REL(with), say  
 back then, the one animal who was the biggest joker, they say

ri xi'rsub' la' ri jab'ik  
 ri x+i'+r+sub' la ri jab'ik  
 DET COM+3pABS+3sERG+trick there DET many  
 The one who tricked many of them

ri kna'w chkij  
 ri k+ø+na'+w chu+k+iij  
 DET INC+3sABS+know+AAP PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
 the one that dominated them,

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<sup>1</sup> Literally "mask".

ri niim rno'j are ri' ri imul, cha'  
ri niim r+no'j are ri' ri imul, cha'  
DET big 3sPOS+mind 3sEMP DEM DET rabbil, say  
the smartest one was him, the rabbit, they say.

That is why it is said that in the days when animals did things like people back then, the one animal that was the biggest joker of them all, the one who dominated them, the smartest one was him, the rabbit, they say.

- 5: Xk'ob'ik chkxo'l ri jab'taq chkop,  
x+k'o+b'ik chu+k+xo'l ri jab'taq chkop  
COM+exist+DIR(go) PREP+3pPOS+middle DET many PLUR animal  
Out of all the many animals,

njel ri chkop xi'rsub'la',  
njel ri chkop x+i'+r+sub' la'  
all DET animal COM+3pABS+3sERG+trick there  
he tricked all of them,

njel ri nmaq, ri nuch' laj chkop.  
njel ri niim+aq ri nuch' laj chkop  
all DET big+PLUR DET small ATTR animal  
all the big and small animals.

Out of all the many animals, he tricked all of them – all the big and small animals.

- 6: No'j ri imul qi' mom nuch', no'j etzel ruk', cha'  
no'j ri imul qi' mom nuch' no'j etzel r+uk', cha'  
but DET rabbit DIM very small, but bad 3sPOS+REL(with), say  
But the rabbit was really small, but he was really devious.

- 7: Wre' xtinb'iij chiwa chemo  
wre' xt+ø+in+b'iij chu+iwa chemo  
here FUT+3sABS+1sERG+say PREP+1pPRO how  
Here I'm going to tell you what

xb'an ri imul ruk' ri sji'l, cha'.  
x+ø+b'an ri imul r+uk' ri sji'l, cha'  
COM+ 3sABS+do DET rabbit 3sPOS+REL(with) DET coyote, say  
the rabbit did to the coyote, they say.

Here I'm going to tell you what they say the rabbit did to the coyote.

- 8: K'oo jun q'iij xelb'ik ri imul  
k'oo jun q'iij x+ø+el b'ik ri imul  
exist one day COM+3sABS+leave DIR(go) DET rabbit  
One day the rabbit went out

pjyub', xib'in ok  
pu+jyub' x+i+ø+b'in ok  
PREP+mountain COM+EPE+3sABS+walk DIR(enter)  
to the countryside to go for a walk.

One day the rabbit went out to the countryside to go for a walk.

- 9: Mom k'uktik kb'inik  
mom k'ukt+ik k+ø+b'in+ik  
very be.happy+PFM INC+3sABS+walk+PFM  
He was walking happily through

taq ri jyub' taq xka'yij nke'j  
taq ri jyub' taq x+ø+k'ay+ij nke'j  
PLUR DET mountain when COM+3sA/3sE+see+DRV some  
the countryside when he saw some

q'oos pe rrexal, cha'.  
q'oos pe r+rex+al, cha'  
grass to.come 3sPOS+green+NOM, say.  
really green grass, they say.

They say he was walking happily through the countryside when he saw some really green grass.

- 10: "K'olik pjun luwar chxe' la jun chee',"  
k'oo+lik pu+jun luwar(Sp) chu+xe' la jun chee'  
exist+PFM PREP+one place PREP+foot  
"There's a place at the foot of a tree,"

xb'iij ri imul, cha'  
x+ø+b'iij ri imul, cha'  
COM+3sABS+say DET rabbit, say  
the rabbit said.

“There’s a place at the foot of a tree,” the rabbit said.

- 11: Xtikrok ri imul chi'  
x+ø+tikr ok ri imul chi'  
COM+3sABS+start DIR(enter) DET rabbit then  
Then the rabbit started

chu rtijik ri rex q'oos ri'  
chu r+tij+ik ri rex q'oos ri'  
PREP 3sERG+eat+PFM DET green grass DEM  
to eat this green grass.

Then the rabbit started to eat this green grass.

- 12: Xb'iij cha' “Xkinkanjik  
x+ø+b'iij cha' “xk+in+kanj+ik  
COM+3sABS+say say FUT+1sABS+stay+PFM  
They say he said, “I’m going to stay

jun qi' ratiit wre' tkaal xtintijla'  
jun qi' ratiit(Sp) wre' tkaal xt+ø+in+tij la'  
one DIM while here slowly FUT+3sABS+1sERG+eat la'  
here a little while and slowly eat

wu q'oos,” kcha' k'ri'.  
wu q'oos k+ø+cha' k'a+ri'  
DET grass INC+3sABS+say then+DEM  
the grass,” he said then.

They say he said, “I’m going to stay here a little while and eat the grass slowly.

- 13: No'j taq mjo'q tkanjik xya' la'  
no'j taq mjo'q t+ø+kanj+ik x+ø+ya' la'  
but when not.yet POT+3sABS+stay+PFM COM+3sABS+give there  
But before he settled down, he took

jun jrub' rwelt chrij ri' pjun  
jun jrub' r+welt(Sp) chu+r+ij ri' pu+jun  
one several 3sPOS+turn PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) DEM PREP+one  
a look around in

qi' luwar ri' waachi' k'oo ri q'oos, cha'  
qi' luwar(Sp) ri' waachi' k'oo ri q'oos, cha'  
DIM place DEM where exist DET grass, say  
the little area where there was grass, they say.

But before he settled down, they say he took a look around the little area where the grass was.

- 14: No'j taq xub'ulqaj qi'n ikem  
no'j taq x+u+b'+ø+ul qaj qi'n ikem  
but when COM+EPE+go+3sABS+arrive.here DIR(down) DIM below  
But when he went down a little lower

xka'yijpon wu jul, jun mom jul.  
x+ø+ka'y+ij pon wu jul, jun mom jul.  
COM+3sABS+see DIR(arrive.there) DET hole, one very hole  
he saw a hole, a huge hole.

But when he went down a little lower, he saw a hole, a huge hole.

- 15: Qaqche k'u'l chpom, cha'  
qaqche k'o ul chu+pom, cha'  
nothing exist DIR(arrive.here) PREP+inside, say.  
There was nothing inside it, they say.

There was nothing inside it, they say.

- 16: Ri imul chi' xb'ij, "Aaaj!  
ri imul chi' x+ø+b'ij, aaaj  
DET rabbit then COM+3sABS+say, aaah  
Then the rabbit said, "Aaah

Xtintaqij nk'i che k'u'l chpom  
xt+ø+in+taq+ij nk'e che k'o ul chu+pom,  
FUT+3sABS+1sERG+search.for.DRV then what exist DIR(arrive.here)  
I'm going to go look for whatever is inside

la jul la',” kcha' k'ri' cha'  
la jul la' k+ø+cha' k'a+ri' cha'  
DET hole there, INC+3sABS+say then+DEM say  
that hole there,” that's what they say he said.

Then the rabbit said, “Aaah, I'm going to go see what's inside that whole there. That's what they say he said.

- 17: Qal kirtaa' k'ri' imul si tla' kk'ob'ul ri sji'l wi', cha'  
qal k+i+ø+r+taa' k'a+ri' imul si tla'  
NEG INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERB+hear then+DEM rabbit if there  
That rabbit didn't know that

kk'ob'ul ri sji'l wi', cha'  
k+ø+k'oo b'(ik) ul ri sji'l wi', cha'  
INC+3sABS+exist DIR(go) DIR(arrive.there) DET coyote TMR, say  
the coyote was there, they say,

ke si rjul sji'l  
ke si r+jul sji'l  
COMP if esPOS+hole coyote  
that it was the coyote's hole.

That rabbit didn't know that the coyote was there and that this was her hole, they say.

- 18: Ik'u'l ke ral sji'l  
i+k'o ul ke r+al sji'l  
PLUR+exist 3sPRO DIR(arrive.there) 3sPOS+child coyote  
There were baby coyotes inside

ik'u'l chpom  
i+k'o ul chu+pom  
plur+exist DIR(arrive.there) PREP+inside

There were baby coyotes inside.

19: Taq xok b'ik ri imul chi' pu ri jul ri'  
 taq x+ø+ok b'ik ri imul chi' pu ri jul ri'  
 when COM+3sABS+enter DIR(go) DET rabbit then PREP DET hole DEM  
 When the rabbit went into that hole

xi'b'irka'yjok  
 x+ii'+b'+i+r+ka'y+ij ok  
 COM+3pABS+go+EPE+3pERG+see+DRV DIR(enter)  
 he saw

jun puuq ral sji'l  
 jun puuq r+al sji'l  
 one bunch 3sPOS+child coyote  
 a bunch of baby coyotes.

When the rabbit went into that hole he saw a bunch of baby coyotes.

20: Ke ri sji'l taq xkk'ayjok wu imul  
 ke ri sji'l taq xk+ø+k'ay+ij ok wu imul  
 3sPRO DET coyote when FUT+3sABS+see+DRV DIR(enter) DET rabbit  
 When the coyotes saw the rabbit

xi'ch'ikpnok chrij  
 x+i'+ch'ik pon ok chu+r+iij  
 COM+3pABS+leap DIR(arrive.here) DIR(enter) PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
 they jumped onto him

kumu tjin ktiiuj ki'chpow  
 kumu tjin k+ø+tiij+uj k+i'+chop+w  
 as PROG INC+3sA/3sE+teach+DRV INC+3pABS+grab+FAP  
 as they had been learning to catch

chkop ri ral sji'l  
 chkop ri r+al sji'l  
 animal DET 3sPOS+child coyote  
 animals.

When the coyotes saw the rabbit, they jumped onto him, as they had been learning to catch animals.

- 21: No'j kumu are' ke ral sji'l mas inmaq  
no'j kumu are' ke r+al sji'l mas i+niim+aq  
but as 3pEMP 3pPRO 3sPOS+child coyote more PLUR+big+PLUR  
But as the coyotes were bigger
- chu wu imul, ik'iyy k'a, aaay, k'ex rwoch ri imul,  
chu wu imul, i+k'iyy k'a, aay k'ex r+woch ri imul  
PREP DET rabbit PLUR+many then, aay pain 3sPOS+face DET rabbit  
than the rabbit, and then there were many of them, the rabbit got hurt
- ni jun chin xtto'wik  
ni jun chin xt+ø+to'+w+ik  
NEG one who FUT+3sABS+help+FAP+PFM  
and there was no one to help him.
- But as the coyotes were bigger than the rabbit, and there were many of them, the rabbit got hurt and there was no one to help him.
- 22: No'j ri etzel imul xelul pu wu jul  
no'j ri etzel imul x+ø+el ul pu wu jul  
but DET evil rabbit COM+3sABS+leave DIR(arrive.there) PREP DET hole  
But the evil rabbit got out of the hole
- i xwaj riib' chxe'  
i x+ø+waj r+iib' chu+xe' ri patz laj q'oos k'o ok tla'  
and COM+3sABS+hide 3sPOS+REL(refl) PREP+bottom  
and hid himself beneath
- ri patz laj q'oos k'o'k tla'.  
ri patz laj q'oos k'o ok tla.  
DET messy ATTR grass exist DIR(enter) there  
the messy grass there.
- But the evil rabbit got out of the hole and hid himself beneath the messy grass there.
- 23: No'j kumu b'er kch'ikpin  
no'j kumu b'er k+ø+ch'ik+p+n  
but as very COM+3sABS+jump+disorderly+AAP  
But as the rabbit was jumping around a lot



k'ri imul amaan xi'rwi'tla' ri ral sji'l  
k'a ri imul amman x+i'+r+wi't la'  
there DET rabbit much COM+3pABS+3sERG+beat there  
the rabbit beat

ri ral sji'l ruk' aqan kumu  
ri r+al sji'l r+uk' aqan kumu  
DET 3sPOS+child coyote 3sPOS+REL(with) legs as  
the baby coyotes with his feet as

kyq'an ri imul  
k+ø+yaq'+n DET rabbit  
INC+3sABS+kick+AAP  
the rabbit kicked a lot.

But as the rabbit was jumping around a lot, the rabbit beat the baby coyotes with his feet by kicking.

24: Ke ri ral sji'l ri', chi'  
ke ri r+al sji'l ri', chi'  
3pPRO DET 3sPOS+baby coyote DEM, then,  
Then the baby coyotes

xktkuj kiib' taq ri q'oos  
x+ø+k+tuk+j k+iib' taq ri q'oos  
COM+3sABS+3pERG+scatter+DRV 3pPOS+REL(refl) PLUR DET grass  
scattered themselves in the grass

chu rtaqxik jun chkop.  
chu r+taq+x+ik jun chkop  
COMP 3sERG+look.for+PASS+PFM one animal  
to look for an animal

xo'ok chlxo'l  
x+o+ø+ok chu+k+xo'l.  
COM+EPE+3sABS+enter PREP+3sPOS+REL(middle)  
that had come into their midst.

Then the baby coyotes scattered themselves in the grass to look for the animal that had come into their midst.

25: Jroq tkb'an pensar ri ral sji'l, cha',  
 jroq t+ø+k+b'an pensar(Sp) ri r+al sji'l cha'  
 already POT+3sABS+3pERG+make think DET 3sPOS+child coyote, say  
 They say the baby coyotes were already thinking,

“Ajwi' xtqtij jun qti' nab'eeey mjo'q  
 ajwi' xt+ø+q+tij jun q+ti' nab'eeey mjo'q  
 now FUT+3sABS+2pERG+eat one 2pPOS+meat first not.yet  
 Now we are going to get to eat some meat

teq tul ri qchuch,” ki'cha'  
 teq t+ø+ul ri q+chuch, k+ø+i'+cha'  
 when POT+3sABS+arrive DET 2pPOS+mother, INC+3sABS+3pERG+say  
 when our mother arrives, they said

k'ri' cha'  
 k'a ri' cha'  
 then DEM say  
 that, they say.

They say the baby coyotes were already thinking, “Now we are going to get to eat some meat when our mother arrives.

26: No'j keti k'ri' xel ok amaan  
 no'j keti k'a ri' x+ø+el ok amaan  
 but not.like.this then DEM COM+3sABS+leave DIR(enter) much  
 But it didn't turn out like that, really

xiikanj ken ruk' xib'al  
 x+ii+kanj ken r+uk' xib'+b'al  
 COM+3pABS+stay DIR(stay) 3sPOS+REL(with) fear+NOM  
 they were left with fear

kiib' kumu to'q ktiiuj  
 kiib' kumu to'q k+ø+tiij+uj  
 3sPOS+REL(refl) as until.now INC+3sABS+teach+DRV  
 among themselves as up until now they had been studying

ki'chpow, no'j wu chkop kraaj  
k+i'+chop+w no'j wu chkop k+ø+r+aaj  
INC+3pERG+grab+FAP but DET animal INC+3sABS+3sERG+want  
how to catch (animals), but the animal they wanted

xkchop xi'rwi't la' ken cha'  
x+ø+k+chop x+i'+r+wi't la' ken cha'  
COM+3sABS+3pERG+catch COM+3pABS+3sERG+beat there  
to catch left them beaten.

ken cha'  
ken cha'  
DIR(stay) say

But it didn't turn out like that, they were really left afraid as just begun learning how to catch animals, but the animal they had tried to catch left them beaten.

- 27: Sicha' amaan xi'tikrok ke ral  
sicha' amaan x+i'+tikr ok ke r+al  
for.this much COM+3pABS+start DIR(enter) 3sPRO 3sPOS+child  
Because of this, the baby coyotes started

sji'l oq'el cha'  
sji'l oq'+el cha'  
coyote cry+NOM say  
to cry a lot.

Because of this the baby coyotes started to cry a lot.

- 28: Taq xopon ri ti't sji'l kuuk'  
taq x+o+ø+pon ri ti't sji'l k+uuk'  
when COM+EPE+3sABS+come DET female coyote 3sPOS+REL(with)  
When the female coyote arrived with them

xib'irraqa' ko'q'ik  
x+ii+b'+i+r+riq+V' k+i'+oq'+ik  
COM+3pABS+go+EPE+3sERG+MOD INC+3pABS+cry+PFM  
she found her children crying.

ri ral.  
ri r+al  
DET 3sPOS+child

When the female coyote arrived, she found her children crying.

- 29: I ri' xkb'itjok chi', chre  
i ri' x+ø+k+b'i+taj ok chi' chu+re  
and DEM COM+3sABS+3pERG+say+CPS then PREP+3sPRO  
and they told this, then, to her,

wu jroq tkk'ulmaj cha'.  
wu jroq t+ø+k+k'ulm+aj cha'  
DET already POT+3sABS+3pERG+happen.to+DRV say  
the many things that happened to them, they say

And they told her the things that had happened to them.

- 30: Re ri ti't sji'l xuq qatz xib'al  
re ri ti't sji'l xuq qatz xib'al  
3sPRO DET female coyote also really much  
The mother coyote became very

xjolik xi'rmoxla'  
x+ø+jol+ik x+i'+r+mox la'  
COM+3sABS+get.angry.PFM COM+3pABS+3sERG+think.of there  
angry thinking of

ri ral.  
ri r+al  
DET 3sPOS+child  
her children.

The mother coyote became very angry thinking of her children.

- 31: No'j pi raanma xb'ij cha',  
no'j pi r+aanma x+ø+b'ij cha'  
but PREP 3sPOS+heart COM+3sABS+say say  
But in her heart, she said,

“Xtinriq ne ri salaado ri’,”  
xt+ø+in+riq ne ri salaado(Sp) ri’  
FUT+3sABS+1sERG+find SUBJ DET bad guy DEM  
“I must find this bad guy,”

kcha’ k’ri’ cha’  
k+ø+cha’ k’a ri’ cha’  
INC+3sABS+say then DEM say  
That’s what they say she said.

But in her heart, she said, “I must find this bad guy.” That’s what they say she said.

- 32: K’oo jun q’iij ri ti’t sji’l xelb’ik  
k’oo jun q’iij ri ti’t sji’l x+el b’ik  
exist one day DET female coyote COM+3sABS+leave DIR(go)  
Then one day the female coyote went out

pjun rtajkil cha’.  
pi+jun r+tajk+il cha’  
PREP+one 3sPOS+order+NOM say  
on an errand, they say.

Then one day, they say the mother coyote went out on an errand.

- 33: Taq ri b’eeey kb’in wi’  
Taq ri b’eeey k+ø+b’in wi’,  
PLUR DET road INC+3sABS+walk TMR  
She was walking down the roads

taq xriq wu qi’n imul pnul  
taq x+ø+riq wu qi’n imul pun+l  
taq COM+3sABS+find DET DIM rabbit thrown.down+STA  
when she found the rabbit thrown

qaj pu b'eeey, cha'  
qaj pu b'eeey, cha'  
DIR(down) PREP road, say  
down in the road, they say.

She was walking down the roads, when she found the rabbit thrown down  
in the road, they say.

- 34: Ri sji'l, chi' cha', xulqaj pi mo'j,  
ri sji'l chi' cha' x+ø+ul qaj pi r+no'j  
DET coyote then say COM+3sABS+arrive DIR(down) PREP 3sPOS+mind  
Then the coyote thought,

“Ajwi' xttoj re wu etzlal wa',  
ajwi' xt+ø+toj re wu etzel+al wa'  
now FUT+3sA/3sE+pay 3sPRO DET evil+NOM here  
“Now that evil one will pay

che ri xb'anla' chu ke ri wal,”  
che ri x+ø+b'an la' chu ke ri w+al  
COMP DET COM+3sA/3sE+do there PREP 3pPRO DET 1sPOS+child  
for what he did to my children.”

kcha' k'ri' cha'  
k+ø+cha' k'a ri' cha'  
INC+3sABS+say then DEM say  
That's what they say she said.

Then the coyote thought, “Now that evil one will pay for what he did to my  
children.” That's what they say she said.

- 35: Xjitok ri sji'l chi'  
x+ø+jit ok ri sji'l chi'  
COM+3sABS+approach DIR(enter) DET coyote then  
Then the coyote came up to him, they say.

ruk', cha'.  
r+uk' cha'  
3sPOS+REL(with) say

Then the coyote came up to him, they say.

- 36: “Aaah tee ajwi’ xkatinwil,”  
 aaah tee ajwi’ xk+at+inw+il  
 aaaah until now FUT+2sABS+1sERG+see  
 “Aaaah now I’m going to see you.”

kcha’ ri sji’l cha’ chu imul.  
 k+ø+cha’ ri sji’l cha’ chu imul  
 INC+3sABS+say DET coyote say PREP imul  
 the coyote said to the rabbit.

“Aaaah, now I’m going to see you,” the coyote said to the rabbit.

- 37: No’j ri imul, xaklok chi jumom pek, cha’  
 no’j ri imul, x+akl ok chi jun+mom pek, cha’  
 but DET rabbit COM+detaIn DIR(enter) PREP one+very rock, say  
 But the rabbit was holding back a big boulder, they say.

But the rabbit was holding back a big boulder, they say.

- 38: Tjin kirb’an ke pula tjin  
 tjin k+i+ø+r+b’an ke pula tjin  
 PROG INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+do like.this as PROG  
 He was doing it as if he was

kirto’ok cha’ ruk’  
 k+i+ø+r+to’ ok cha’ r+uk’  
 INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+help DIR(enter) say 3sPOS+REL(with)  
 helping they say, with

njel rchoq’ab’ cha’.  
 njel r+choq’ab’ cha’  
 all 3sPOS+force say  
 all his force, they say.

He was doing it as if he were holding it back with all his force.

- 39: Xb’ij chi’ cha’, “Kinato’!  
 x+ø+b’ij chi’ cha’, “k+in+a+to’  
 COM+3sABS+say then say INC+1sABS+2sERG+help  
 He said then, “Help me!

kinato'! xttzaqul  
k+in+a+to'xt+ø+tzaq ul  
INC+1sABS+2sERG+help FUT+3sABS+fall DIR(arrive.here)  
Help me! This boulder is going to fall

wu pek wa' chqiiij, k'a lo  
wu pek wa' chu+q+iij k'a lo  
DET boulder 1sPRO PREP+1pPOS+REL(back) then SUBJ  
on us, what

are' ri desgrasia mikatjit-  
are' ri desgrasia(Sp) mik+at+jit  
3sEMP DET misfortune REC+2sABS+approach  
misfortune that you approached

okul wa wuk' wre'.  
ok ul wa w+uk' wre'  
DIR(enter) DIR(arrivehere)1sPOS+REL(with) here  
me here."

Then they say the rabbit said, "Help me! Help me! This boulder is going to fall on us, how unfortunate that you came over here to me."

40: "Katka'yān b'ula' ajsik  
k+at+ka'y+n b'ula' ajsik  
INC+2sABS+see+AAP like.this up  
"Look up there

xtpē ajwi' wu jyub' chqiiij,"  
xt+ø+pe ajwi' wu jyub' chu+q+iij  
FUT+3sABS+come here DET mountain PREP+1pPOS+REL(back)  
now the mountain is coming down on us."

kcha' ri imul chu sji'l  
k+ø+cha' ri imul chu sji'l  
INC+3sABS+say DET rabbit PREP coyote  
the rabbit said to the coyote.

"Look up there, now the mountain is coming down on us." the rabbit said to the coyote.



41: Xka'yan k're ri sji'l chi',  
x+ø+k'ay+n k'a're ri sji'l chi',  
COM+3sABS+see+AAP then+3sPRO DET coyote, then  
The coyote looked

chu kaaj i xka'yij qatz re ri jyub'  
chu kaaj i x+ø+ka'y+ij qatz re ri jyub'  
PREP sky and COM+3sABS+see+DRV really 3sPRO DET mountain  
in the sky and saw that the mountain

ke pula krumumik tlo'  
ke pula k+ø+rur+um+ik tlo'  
COMP as INC+3sABS+run+DRV+PFM SUBJ  
seemed to be rushing

petnaq chkij cha'  
ø+ø+pet+naq chu+k+ij cha'  
PERF+3sABS+come+MOD PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) say  
towards them, they say.

The coyote looked in the sky and saw that the mountain seemed to be  
rushing towards them, they say.

42: I mas kjitul taq  
i mas k+ø+jit ul taq  
and more INC+3sABS+approach DIR(arrive.here)  
And it was coming closer when

xka'yij re ri prow sji'l ri', cha'  
x+ø+ka'y+ij re ri prow sji'l ri', cha'  
COM+3sABS+see+DRV 3sPRO DET poor coyote DEM, say  
the coyote looked at it, they say.

And it was coming closer when the coyote looked at it.

43: Amaan qal xna'taj chre  
amman qal x+ø+na'+taj chu+re  
much not COM+3sABS+think+CPS PREP+3sPRO  
It really didn't occur to him

ri xb'an pensar chrij ri imul, cha'  
 ri x+ø+b'an pensar(Sp) chu+r+iij ri imul, cha'  
 DET COM+3sABS+do think PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) DET rabbit, say  
 what the rabbit was thinking, they say.

It really didn't occur to him what the rabbit was thinking.

- 44: Xto'ok chi' wu imul  
 x+ø+to' ok chi' wu imul  
 COM+3sABS+help DIR(enter) then DET rabbit  
 Then she helped the rabbit

chu rchapik wu pek, cha'  
 chu r+chap+ik wu pek, cha'  
 PREP 3sERG+detain+PFM  
 to hold back the boulder, they say.

Then she helped the rabbit to hold back the boulder.

- 45: Taq re ri sji'l xaqb'o'k  
 Taq re ri sji'l x+ø+aq+b'a' ok  
 when 3sPRO DET coyote COM+3sABS+leaning+VERS DIR(enter)  
 When the coyote leaned himself

chrij ri pek chu rtikmxik  
 chu+r+iij ri pek chu r+tikm+x+ik  
 PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) DET boulder PREP 3sERG+push+PASS+PFM  
 against the rock to push

tjin kirtikmijpon rech qal  
 tjin k+i+ø+r+tijm+ij pon r+ech  
 PROG INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+push+DRV come 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 he pushed so that

xtpе chrij ruk' njel rchoq'ab'  
 xt+ø+pe chu+r+iij  
 FUT+3sABS+come PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
 it wouldn't fall onto them with all his force.

When the coyote leaned against the rock to push, he pushed with all his force so that it wouldn't fall on them.

- 46: Kcha' ri imul chi', xb'ijok  
k+ø+cha' ri imul chi', x+ø+b'ij ok  
COM+3sABS+say DET rabbit then, COM+3sABS+say DIR(enter)  
Then the rabbit said

chre, "Chataa' nk'i' naan, kwant kujch'ekrok  
chu+re, ch+ø+a+taa' nk'i' naan, kwant k+uj+ch'ek+r ok  
PREP+3sPRO OPT not.possible INC+2pABS+win+VERS DIR(enter)  
to her, "Listen, Ma'am, there's no way we can beat

wu jun jyub' wa'.  
wu jun jyub' wa'.  
DET one mountain DEM.  
this here mountain.

Then the rabbit said to her, "Listen, Ma'am, there's no way we can beat this mountain.

- 47: Sicha' chichpa'ken iwa wre'  
sicha' ch+ø+i+chap+V' ken iwa wre'  
for.this OPT+3sABS+2pERG+detain+MOD DIR(stay) 2pPRO here  
So you hold it back here

ruk' njel awchoq'ab' i xkinel wa  
r+uk' njel aw+choq'ab' i xk+in+el wa  
3sPOS+REL(with) all 2pPOS+force and FUT+1sABS+leave 1sPRO  
with all your force and I'll leave

chu rtaqxik jun k'eb uxib' chee'  
chu r+taq+x+ik jun k'eb' uxib' chee'  
PREP 3sERG+find+PASS+PFM one two three tree  
to look for some branches

rech ki'qyo'k wu chee'  
r+ech k+i'+q+ya' ok wu chee'  
3sPOS+REL(for) INC+3pABS+2pERG+give DIR(enter) DET tree  
so we can use the branches

chu rto'xik wre'  
chu r+to'+x+ik wre'  
PREP 3sERG+help+PASS+PFM here  
to help us out here

ek' ri qe xtqanij  
e+k'a ri qe xt+ø+q+an+ij  
and+then DET 2pPRO FUT+3sABS+1pERG+flee+DRV DIR(arrive.here)  
and we will flee so that

si xttzaqul jroq kujelken  
si xt+ø+tzaq ul jroq k+uj+el ken  
if FUT+3sABS+fall DIR(arrive.here) already INC+2pABS+leave DIR(stay)  
if it falls we'll already have left

no'j a lo menos xki'qyo'k ken  
no'j [a lo menos](Sp) xk+i'+q+ya' ok ken  
but [at least] FUT+3pABS+1pERG+give DIR(enter) DIR(stay)  
but at least we got

k'eeb' chee' to'b'al re."  
k'eeb' chee' to'+b'al re  
two trees help+NOM 3sPRO  
some sticks to help out.

“So you hold it back with all your force and I'll go and look for some branches so we can use the branches to help us out here and we will rush away so that if it falls we'll already be gone, but at least we'll have gotten some sticks to help out.”

48: Krumumik ri imul chi' cha'  
k+ø+r+um+um+ik ri imul chi' cha'  
INC+3sABS+run+DRV+PFM DET rabbit then say  
The rabbit ran away then,

xranij aleey ktzo'pnik cha'  
x+ø+r+an+ij aleey k+ø+tzo'p+n+ik cha'  
COM+3sABS+3sERG+flee+MOD well INC+leap+AAP say  
and fled, hopping off, they say.

The rabbit ran away and fled, hopping off, they say.

- 49: No'j xranij ri imul rech  
 no'j x+ø+r+an+ij ri imul r+ech  
 But COM+3sABS+3sERG+flee+MOD DET rabbit 3sPOS+REL(for)  
 But the rabbit fled so he could
- xirwuja' riib' ek'  
 x+i+ø+r+wuj+V' r+iib' e+k'a  
 COM+EPE 3pABS+3sERG+hide+MOD 3sPOS+REL(refl) and+then  
 hide himself and
- ri prow sji'l kiryo'ken  
 ri prow sji'l kirya' ok ken  
 ri prow sji'l k+i+ø+r+ya' ok ken  
 DET poor coyote INC+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+give DIR(enter) DIR(stay)  
 the poor coyote gave
- rchoq'ab' chu rtikmxik ri pek.  
 r+ch'oq'ab' chu r+tikm+x+ik ri pek  
 3sPOS+force PREP 3sERG+push+PASS+PFM DET boulder  
 all his force to push the rock.
- But the rabbit fled so he could hide himself and the poor coyote gave all his  
 force to push the rock.
- 50: Kasi jun q'iij, jun k'ej q'iij  
 casi(Sp) one day, one half day  
 Almost one day, one half day  
 Almost a whole day, or a half day
- xkob'oken xuqatz amaan  
 xk+ø+o+b'+ok ken xuqatz amaan  
 FUT+3sABS+EPE+go+enter DIR(stay) really finally  
 he stayed there and in the end
- xel ya' chrij  
 x+ø+el ya' chu+r+iij  
 COM+3sABS+leave water PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
 rain really began to come down on him,

i qach xch'ij cha'  
i qach x+ø+ch'ij cha'  
i qach COM+3sABS+endure say  
and he couldn't endure it, they say.

Almost a whole day, or a half day, he stayed there and in the end rain really began to come down on him and he couldn't endure it, they say.

- 51: No'j nkare' qatz qatzij xka'yij  
no'j nkare' qatz qatzij x+ø+ka'y+ij  
but NEG really real COM+3sABS+see+MOD  
But what the coyote saw wasn't actually real,

ri sji'l si no ke muuj re kok'ow  
ri sji'l [si no ke](Sp) muuj re k+ø+o+k'o+w  
DET coyote if NEG COMP cloud 3sPRO INC+3sABS+EPE+exist+FAP  
instead it was a cloud

pi rwi' jyub'  
pi r+wi' jyub'  
PREP 3sPOS+hair mountain  
that was passing over the mountain

But what the coyote saw wasn't actually real, instead it was a cloud that was passing over the mountain.

- 52: Ek' wu rka'yxka'npon  
e+k' wu r+ka'y+x+k a'n pon  
and+then DET 3sPOS+see+PASS+PFM DIR(down) DIR(arrive.there)  
And what the coyote saw as

ke ri qatz are' re wu jyub' xpe  
ke ri qatz are' re wu jyub' x+ø+pe  
COMP DET really 3sEMP 3sPRO DET mountain COM+3sABS+come  
a rock coming down

chkij ke si muuj re kb'in  
chu+k+iij ke si muuj re k+ø+b'in  
PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) 3sPRO if cloud 3sPRO INC+3sABS+walk  
on them was really a cloud moving

pi rwi' jyub'.  
pi r+wi' jyub'  
PREP 3sPOS+hair mountain  
across the top of the mountain.

And what the coyote saw as a rock coming down on them was really a cloud moving across the top of the mountain.

- 53: No'j teq xya' kwent jroq  
no'j teq x+ø+ya' kwent(Sp) jroq  
but when COM+3sABS+give account already  
But when he realized that

xtq'len ri imul chriij cha',  
xt+ø+q'el+n ri imul chu+r+iij cha'  
FUT+3sABS+mock+AAP DET rabbit PREP+3sPOS+REL(back) say  
the rabbit was going to mock him, they say that

amman jroq telken  
amaan jroq t+ø+el ken  
in.the.end already POT+3sABS+leave DIR(stay)  
he was finally

rk'ix rum imul  
r+k'ix r+um imul  
3sPOS+shame 3sPOS+REL(by) rabbit  
shamed by the rabbit.

But when he realized that the rabbit was going to mock him, they say he was finally shamed by the rabbit.

- 54: Aleey xxrak tla' ri pek cha'  
aleey x+ø+xrak tla' ri ru pek cha'  
well COM+3sABS+scratch SUBJ DET rock say  
The coyote really scratched at the rock, they say

b'er xxraktnik ruk'  
b'er x+ø+xrak+t+n+ik r+uk'  
much COM+3sABS+scratch+AAP+PFM 3sPOS+REL(with)  
he scratched out of

ri rjunmal i rum ri rk'ix, cha'  
ri rjunmal i(Sp) r+um ri r+k'ix cha'  
DET 3sPOS+anger and 3sPOS+REL(with) DET 3sPOS+shame say  
anger and shame, they say.

The coyote really scratched at the rock, they say he scratched out of anger and shame.

- 55: No'j amaan keti xriq chik ri imul.  
no'j amaan keti x+ø+riq chik ri imul  
but in.the.end not.like.this COM+3sA/3sERG+find again DET rabbit  
But in the end he couldn't find the rabbit.

But in the end he couldn't find the rabbit.

I will tell you what they say the rabbit did. Long ago, when God made all the species of animals on earth, when the Lord of the Sky and the Lord of the Earth had not yet made people, He made the animals first, they say. The animals did things like people do now. That is why it is said that in the days when animals did things like people back then, the one animal that was the biggest joker of them all, the one who dominated the others, the smartest one was the rabbit, they say. Out of all the many animals, he tricked all of them – all the big and small animals. The rabbit was really small, but he was really devious. Here, I'm going to tell you what they say the rabbit did to the coyote. One day the rabbit went out to the countryside to go for a walk. They say he was walking happily through the countryside when he saw some really green grass. "There's a place at the foot of a tree," the rabbit said. Then the rabbit started to eat this green grass. He said, "I'm going to stay here a little while and eat the grass slowly." But before he settled down, he took a look around the little area where the grass was. But when he went down a little lower, he saw a hole, a huge hole. It turned out that there was nothing inside it. Then the rabbit said, "Aaah, I'm going to go see what's inside that hole there." That's what they say he said. The rabbit didn't know that the coyote was there and that this was her hole. There were baby coyotes inside. When the rabbit went into the hole he saw a bunch of baby coyotes. When the coyotes saw the rabbit, they jumped onto him, as they had been learning to catch animals. But as the coyotes were bigger than the rabbit, and there were many of them, the rabbit got hurt and there was no one to help him. But the evil rabbit got out of the hole and hid himself beneath the messy grass there. But as the rabbit was jumping around a lot, the rabbit beat the baby coyotes with his feet by kicking them. Then the baby



coyotes scattered themselves in the grass to look for the intruder. They say the baby coyotes were already thinking, "Now we are going to get to eat some meat when our mother arrives." But it didn't turn out like that. In the end, they were frightened as they had just started learning to catch animals and the animal they had wanted beat them. Because of this the baby coyotes started to cry a lot. When the female coyote arrived, she found her children crying. And they told her the things that had happened to them. The mother coyote became very angry thinking of her children. But in her heart, she said, "I must find this bad guy." That's what they say she said. Then one day, the mother coyote went out on an errand. She was walking along, when she found the rabbit sprawled out in the road. Then the coyote thought, "Now that evil one will pay for what he did to my children." That's what they say she said. Then the coyote came up to him. "Aaaah, now I've found you," the coyote said to the rabbit. But the rabbit was holding back a big boulder. He was making it as if he were holding it back with all his force. Then the rabbit said, "Help me! Help me! This boulder is going to fall on us, how sad that you came up to talk to me." "Look up there, now the mountain is falling down on us." the rabbit said to the coyote. The coyote looked in the sky and saw that the mountain seemed to be rushing towards them. And when the coyote looked at it it was coming closer. It really didn't occur to him what the rabbit was thinking. Then she helped the rabbit to hold back the boulder. When the coyote leaned against the rock to push, he pushed with all his force so that it wouldn't fall on them. Then the rabbit said to her, "Listen, Ma'am, there's no way we can beat this mountain. So you hold it back with all your force and I'll go and look for some branches so we can use the branches to help us out here and we will rush away so that if it falls we'll already be gone, but at least we'll have gotten some sticks to help out." The rabbit ran away and fled, hopping off, they say. But the rabbit fled so he could hide himself and the poor coyote gave all his force to push the rock. Almost a whole day, or a half day, he stayed there and in the end rain really began to come down on him and he couldn't endure it. But what the coyote saw wasn't actually real, instead it was a cloud that was passing over the mountain. And what the coyote saw as a rock coming down on them was really a cloud moving across the top of the mountain. But when he realized that the rabbit would mock him, he was finally shamed by the rabbit. The coyote really scratched at the rock, they say he scratched out of anger and shame. But in the end he couldn't find the rabbit.

TEXT 2: CONVERSATION FRAGMENT

Recorded November 1994. Conversation between three men all in their late 20's.

1: A) Tee ri xinpjul  
tee ri x+ø+in+paj ul  
recently DET COM+3sABS+1sERG+weigh DIR(arrive.here)  
I recently weighed

w+iib' wu we' k'a xinxiij  
w+iib' wu we' k'a x+ø+in+xiij  
1sPOS+REL(refl) DET DEM then COM+3sABS+1sERG+frighten  
myself and well, it scared me.

w+iib' b'ay  
1sPOS+REL(refl) then.

I weighed myself recently and, well, it scared me.

2: B) Jrub'  
jrub'  
how much?

How much?

3: A) Cien ochiente y cinco(Sp)  
one hundred and eighty five

One eighty five.

4: B) Aaah la, sicha' xpo'y nb'isikleta  
Aaah la, sicha' x+ø+po'y n+bisikleta(Sp)  
ahh then, for.this COM+3sABS+break.down 1sPOS+bicycle  
Aaah, so that's why my bicycle broke

teq katjachb'an chriij.  
teq k+at+jach+b'a+n chu+r+iij  
when INC+2sABS+on.top.of+VERS+AAP PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
when you were got on it.

Aaah, so that's why my bicycle broke when you got on it.

- 5: B) Qal, sicha' teq kujb'ek uj  
 Qal sicha' teq k+uj+b'e+k uj  
 NEG for.this when INC+2sABS+go+PFM 2pPRO  
 No, it was when the two of us

keb'alil chriij.  
 keb'+al+il chu+r+iij  
 two+NOM+NOM PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
 rode it together,

njel xi'q'ajik wu ke'q...  
 njel x+i'+q'aj+ik wu ke'q  
 all COM+3pABS+break+PFM DET PLUR  
 it broke all the....

No, it was when the two of us rode it together, it broke all the...

- 6: A) Sera  
 sera(Sp)  
 maybe

Maybe

- 6: B) Xb'iij ri Pey chi' es ke  
 x+ø+b'iij ri Pey chi [es ke](Sp)  
 COM+3sABS+say DET Pey PREP [to be COMP]  
 Pey says that it's because

kixk'ob'an ix k'eeb' chriij.  
 k+ix+k'ob'+n ix k'eeb' chu+r+iij  
 INC+2pABS+climb+VERS+AAP 2pPRO two PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
 the two of you got on it.

Pey says it's because the two of you got on it together.

- 7: B) Peor ri Wan, xe' Wan xq'ajir ri wa'.  
 peor(Sp) ri Wan xe' Wan x+ø+q'aj+r ri wa'  
 worse DET Wan bottom Wan COM+3sABS+broken+VERS DET DEM  
 Wan is worse, it broke under Wan.

- 8: B) Qaqche suk'b'a re ruk' Pey  
 qaqche suk'+b'a re r+uk' Pey  
 nothing fixed+VERS 3sPRO 3sPOS+REL(with) Pey  
 Nothing got fixed with Pey
- ke xinb'ek k'chi' ruk' Saant.  
 ke x+in+b'e+k k'a+chi' r+uk' Szant.  
 COMP COM+1sABS+go+PFM<sup>4</sup> well+then 3sPOS+REL(with) Saant.  
 that's why I went with Saant.
- Nothing got fixed with Pey, that's why I went with Saant.
- 9: B) Ke si teq xinka'yij qaj amaan  
 [ke si](Sp) teq x+ø+in+k'ay+ij qaj amaan.  
 [COMP yes] when COM+3sABS+1sERG+see+MOD DIR(down) finally  
 Cause when I saw it it was already that way.
- 10: B) Che k'lo rmal wa'?  
 che k'o lo r+mal wa'  
 why exist SUBJ 3sPOS+REL(by) DEM  
 And what's that about?
- 11: A) Chin chke wu xi'po'y chre?  
 chin chu+ke wu x+i'+po'y chu+re  
 who PREP+3pPRO DET COM+3pABS+break.down PREP+3sPRO  
 What part on it was broken?
- 12: B) Njel xi'q'utnel wu ray chre.  
 njel x+i'+q'ut+n el wu ray(Sp) chu+re  
 all COM+3pABS+split+AAP DIR(leave) DET spoke PREP+3sPRO  
 All the spokes on it broke,
- 13: B) Sicha' xb'ij k'chi' si ri wa'  
 sicha' x+ø+b'ij k'a+chi' si ri wa'  
 for.this COM+3sABS+say well+then if DET DEM  
 That's why he said that,
- chom chom laj ray ke wa'.  
 chom chom laj ray(Sp) ke wa'  
 fat fat ATTR spoke COMP DEM  
 (they were) thick thick spokes like this (demonstrates).

- 14: B) I kixk'ob'an ix  
 i k+ix+k'ob'+n ix  
 and INC+2pABS+climb 2pPRO two  
 And the two of you  
  
 k'eeb' chriij.  
 k'eeb'chu+r+iij  
 two PREP+3sPOS+REL(back)  
 climbed onto it.
- 15: B) I kk'ob'an chk'ri Wan  
 i k+ø+k'ob'+n chu+k'a+ri Wan  
 and INC+3sABS+climb+VERS+AAP PREP+well+DET Wan  
 And Wan climbed onto it  
  
 sicha' amaan xi'q'aj qaj  
 sicha' amaan x+i'+q'aj qaj  
 for.this finally COM+3pABS+break DIR(down)  
 and that's why it ended up breaking.
- 16: B) Kumu kkch'ij ke wa' xaq jun kch'ij.  
 kumu k+ø+k+ch'ij ke wa' xaq jun k+ø+ch'ij  
 as INC+3sABS+3pERG+last 3sPRO DEM only one INC+3sABS+last  
 How could the bike take both of them when it can only take one.
- 17: B) No'j ya xib'al aal ka'n chriij ki'q'aj k'chi'.  
 no'j ya xib'al aal k+ø+a'n chu+r+iij k+i'+q'aj k'a+chi'  
 but already much heavy INC+3sABS+go.up  
 But there was already a lot of weight on it and it couldn't endure.
- 18: B) Are' wu ke'q rkup xi'q'utnik.  
 are' wu ke'q r+kup x+i'+q'ut+n+k  
 3pEMP DET PLUR 3sPOS+fork COM+3pABS+AAP+PFM  
 The forks on the bike even broke too.
- 19: B) Entonces, xink'amb'ik ruk' Saant.  
 entonces(Sp), x+ø+in+k'am+b'ik r+uk' Saant  
 then, COM+3sABS+1sABS+bring DIR(go) 3sPOS+REL(with) Saant.  
 Then I brought it to Saant.

- 20: B) Saant xsuk'b'nik.  
 Saant x+ø+xuk'+b'+n+k  
 Saant COM+3sABS+fixed+VERS+AAP+PFM  
 And Saant fixed it.
- 21: B) No'j k'a xtkuj qaj Saant wu aro  
 no'j k'a xt+ø+kuj qaj Saant wu aro(Sp)  
 but well FUT+3sABS+take.apart DIR(down) Saant DET rim  
 But then Saant had to take apart the rim
- are' wu chriij.  
 are' wu chu+r+iij  
 3sEMP DET PREP+3sABS+REL(back)  
 on it.
- 22: B) Jrub' pula?  
 jrub' pula?  
 how.much then?  
 How much did you say you weighed?
- 23: A) Ciento ochiento y cinco no'j kumu cinco libra,  
 [ciento ochiento y cinco](Sp) no'j kumu [cinco libra](Sp)  
 one eighty and five, but as five pounds  
 One eighty-five, but you know five pounds,
- qal jun diez libra njel wu ws-'aaq  
 qal jun [diez libra] njel wu w+s-'aaq  
 no one ten pounds all DET 1sPOS+clothes  
 no ten pounds for all my clothes
- mas wu nxjab' jun ciento setenta.  
 mas wu n+xjab' jun [ciento setenta](Sp)  
 mas DET 1sPOS+shoe one hundred seventy  
 plus my shoes, one hundred and seventy.
- One eighty-five. But, you know, five pounds – no, ten pounds for all my clothes...plus my shoes, one hundred and seventy.

- 24: B) Ciento setenta, k'chi'.  
 [ciento setenta](Sp) k'a+chi'  
 one seventy well+then  
 One seventy then.
- 25: B) Q'as pu waa.  
 q'as pu waa  
 really PREP here  
 More or less.
- 26: C) Ek' iwa?  
 e+k'a iwa  
 and+then 2pPRO  
 And you?
- 27: B) K'o jun ciento y treinta, qyo'k.  
 k'o jun [ciento y treinta], q+ya' ok  
 exist one [hundred and thirty] 1pPOS+give DIR(enter)  
 We come in at one thirty.
- 28: A) ooh la mas de tres quintales  
 ooh [la mas de tres quintales](Sp)  
 ooh DET more of three quintals  
 Ooooh, more than three quintals.
- 29: B) Sicha' ke nk'i che qal xtq'ajqaj chi'.  
 sicha' ke nk'i che qal xt+ø+q'aj qaj chi'  
 for.this 3pPRO then COMP NEG FUT+3sABS+break DIR(down) then  
 This is why it's going to break then.
- 30: A) Qal tres quintales cabales.  
 qal [tres quintales cabales](Sp)  
 NEG three quintals exactly  
 No. Three quintals exactly.
- 31: B) No'j imagnate.  
 no'j imagnate(Sp)  
 but imagine  
 But imagine...

32: B) Xib'al ri ri' sicha' xpo'yik.  
xib'al ri ri' sicha' x+ø+po'y+k  
much DET DEM for.this COM+3sABS+break+PFM  
It's too much, that's why it broke.

33: B) Katrmun njel aq'ab'.  
k+at+rūm+n njel aq'ab'  
INC+2sABS+rūn+AAP all night  
You run every morning.

34: A) No'j qaqche tiempo chwa' b'ay.  
no'j qaqche tiempo(Sp) chu+wa' b'ay  
but nothing time PREP+here then  
I don't have time here.

35: A) Qal qatz kinwa' aajwi'.  
qal qatz k+in+wa' aajwi'  
NEG really INC+1sABS+eat now  
I don't really eat now anyway.

36: B) Mas katwa', si qal katwa'  
mas k+at+wa', si qal k+at+wa'  
more INC+2sABS+eat, if NEG INC+2sABS+eat  
No, you're eating more.

xaq jun qi' vas q'oor tatiij ken xq'eq.  
xaq jun qi' vas(Sp) q'oor t+ø+at+tiiij ken xq'eq  
only one little glass atole POT+3sABS+2sERG+eat DIR(stay) night  
one little glass of atole at night.

No, you're eating more. If you only eat one little glass of atole at night.

36: B) Xuq ke wu aq'ab', aaah, b'ay k'chi'.  
xuq ke wu aq'ab', aaaah, b'ay k'a+chi'  
only COMP DET night, aaah, then well+then  
or maybe in the morning, aaaah, well...

37: A) Kinkom rum wi'j chaq'ab'  
k+in+kōm r+um wi'j chu+aq'ab'  
INC+1sABS+die 3sPOS+REL(with) hunger PREP+night  
I'll die from hunger at night



kumu ke xinb'an aprobar jun weet  
kumu ke x+ø+in+b'an aprobar(Sp) jun weet  
as COMP COM+3sABS+1sERG+do try one time  
like I tried one time

donde xi'waljik ne.  
donde(Sp) x+i'+walj+k ne  
where COM+3pABS+stay+PFM should  
where I had to get up.

I'll die from hunger at night - like I tried one time and I had to get out of bed (to eat).

38: B) Xaq eet chri ri'.  
xaq eet chu+ri ri'  
only weigh PREP+DET DEM  
You weight too much.

39: A) Qal no'j ya kumu ya el tres de diciembre  
qal no'j ya kumu [ya el tres de diciembre  
NEG but already as [already the third of December]  
No, but since the third of December

el vacaciones hasta el tres de enero,  
el vacaciones hasta el tres de enero](Sp)  
is vacation up to the third of January  
until the third of January is vacation,

jun mes va de hacer ejercicio.  
jun [mes va de hacer ejercicio](Sp)  
one [month of doing exercise  
that's one month of exercise.

No, but since the third of December until the third of January is vacation,  
that's one month of exercise.

40: B) Aaay, ke xb'ij ri jun weet, man.  
aaay ke x+ø+b'ij ri jun weet, man  
aaay 3pPRO COM+3sABS+say DET one time, man(Eng)  
Aaaay, he's said that before, man.

41: B) Si xirb'na' jun k'eeb'  
si x+i+ø+r+b'an+V' jun k'eeb'  
if COM+EPE+3sABS+3sERG+do+MOD one two  
And he did it one or two

rxq'eqal amaan, qal chik xch'ij.  
r+xq'eq+al amman, qal chik x+ø+ch'ij  
3sPOS+COM+black+NOM in.the.end NEG again COM+3sABS+endure  
mornings and in the end he couldn't last.

Anyway, he's said that before man, and he did it one or two mornings and  
in the end he couldn't last.

42: C) Xkosik.  
x+ø+kos+k  
COM+3sABS+tire+PFM  
He got tired.

43: A) No'j aajwi' si njel q'ijj  
no'j aajwi' si njel q'ijj  
but now if all day  
But now, if every day

xkinrumumik ke  
xk+in+rum+um+k ke  
FUT+1sABS+run+DRV+PFM 3sPRO  
I go running

xkinxulb'ul k'a p-'uul.  
xk+in+xul+b' ul k'a pu+uul  
FUT+1sABS+fall+DIR(go) DIR(arrive.here) well PREP+cliff  
I'll fall off a cliff

But now if I tried to run everyday I'd fall off a cliff (because of the rainy  
season mud slides).

44: B) No'j xtaweq ul jun costal ab'aj.  
no'j xt+ø+aw+eq ul jun costal(Sp) rock  
but FUT+3sABS+2sERG+carry DIR(arrive.here) one bag rock  
But if you carry a bag of rocks.

45: A) Qal sicha' xkinaq'taj ne  
qal sicha' xk+in+aq'ta+j ne  
NEG for.this FUT+1sABS+get.used.to+MOD should  
No, I'm going to get used to

jun quinze dias xaq puri ke ri'.  
jun [quinze dias](Sp) xaq puri ke ri'  
one fifteen days only really COMP DEM  
in about fifteen days really.

No, I'm going to get used to it in about fifteen days really.

46: A) Teek' chi' xkinloq' la'  
tee+k'a chi' xk+in+loq' la'  
after+well then FUT+1sABS+buy DEM  
After that, I'll buy those

kiiyo'k wre' ruk' arena mu  
k+ii+ya' ok wre' r+uk' arena(Sp) mu  
INC+3pABS+give DIR(enter) here 3sPOS+REL(with) sand or  
that you put sand or lead in

ruk' plomo i xtinweqaj  
r+uk' plomo(Sp) i xt+ø+inw+eq+aj  
3sPOS+REL(with) lead and FUT+3sABS+1sERG+carry+MOD  
and carry that around

jun mochilla xkinb'iin, k'chi'.  
jun mochilla(Sp) xk+in+b'iin, k'a+chi'  
one bag FUT+1sABS+walk well+then  
a bag.

After that I'll buy those you put sand or lead in and I'll carry a bag around when I walk.

47: B) Xkatb'iin nk'i' lo no'j chi jaay no'j ke k'chi'.  
xk+at+b'iin nk'i' lo no'j chi jaay no'j ke k'a+chi'  
FUT+2sABS+walk then SUBJ but PREP house but COMP well+then  
But you're going to do that walking out at the house, right?

Translation:

A: I weighed myself recently and, well, it scared me.

B: How much?

A: One eighty five.

B: Aaah, so that's why my bicycle broke when you got on it.  
No, it was when the two of us rode it together, it broke all the...

A: Maybe.

B: Pey says it's because the two of you got on it together.  
Wan is worse, it broke under Wan. Nothing got fixed with Pey,  
that's why I went with Saant. Cause when I saw it it was already that way.  
And what's that about?

A: What part on it was broken?

B: All the spokes on it broke. That's why he said that...thick, thick spokes like  
this (demonstrates). And the two of you climbed onto it and Wan climbed  
onto it and that's why it ended up breaking. How could the bike take both of  
them when it can only take one?And there was already a lot of weight on it  
and it couldn't take it. The forks on the bike even broke too. Then I brought  
it to Saant. And Saant fixed it. But then Saant had to take apart the rim on it.  
How much did you say you weighed?

A: One eighty-five. But, you know, five pounds – no, ten pounds for all my  
clothes...plus my shoes, one hundred and seventy.

B: One seventy then.

A: And you?

B: We come in at one thirty.

A: Ooooh, more than three quintals.

B: This is why it's going to break then.

- A: No. Three quintals exactly.
- B: But imagine...It's too much, that's why it broke. You run every morning.
- A: I don't have time here. I don't really eat now anyway.
- B: No, you're eating more. If you only eat one little glass of atole at night...or maybe in the morning, aaaah, well...
- A: I'll die from hunger at night - like I tried one time and I had to get out of bed (to eat).
- B: You weight too much.
- A: No, but since the third of December until the third of January is vacation, that's one month of exercise.
- B: Anyway, he's said that before man, and he did it one or two mornings and in the end he couldn't last.
- C: He got tired.
- A: But now if I tried to run everyday I'd fall off a cliff (because of the rainy season mud slides).
- B: But if you carry a bag of rocks.
- A: No, I'm going to get used to it in about fifteen days really. After that I'll buy those you put sand or lead in and I'll carry a bag around when I walk.
- B: But you're going to do that walking out at the house, right?

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