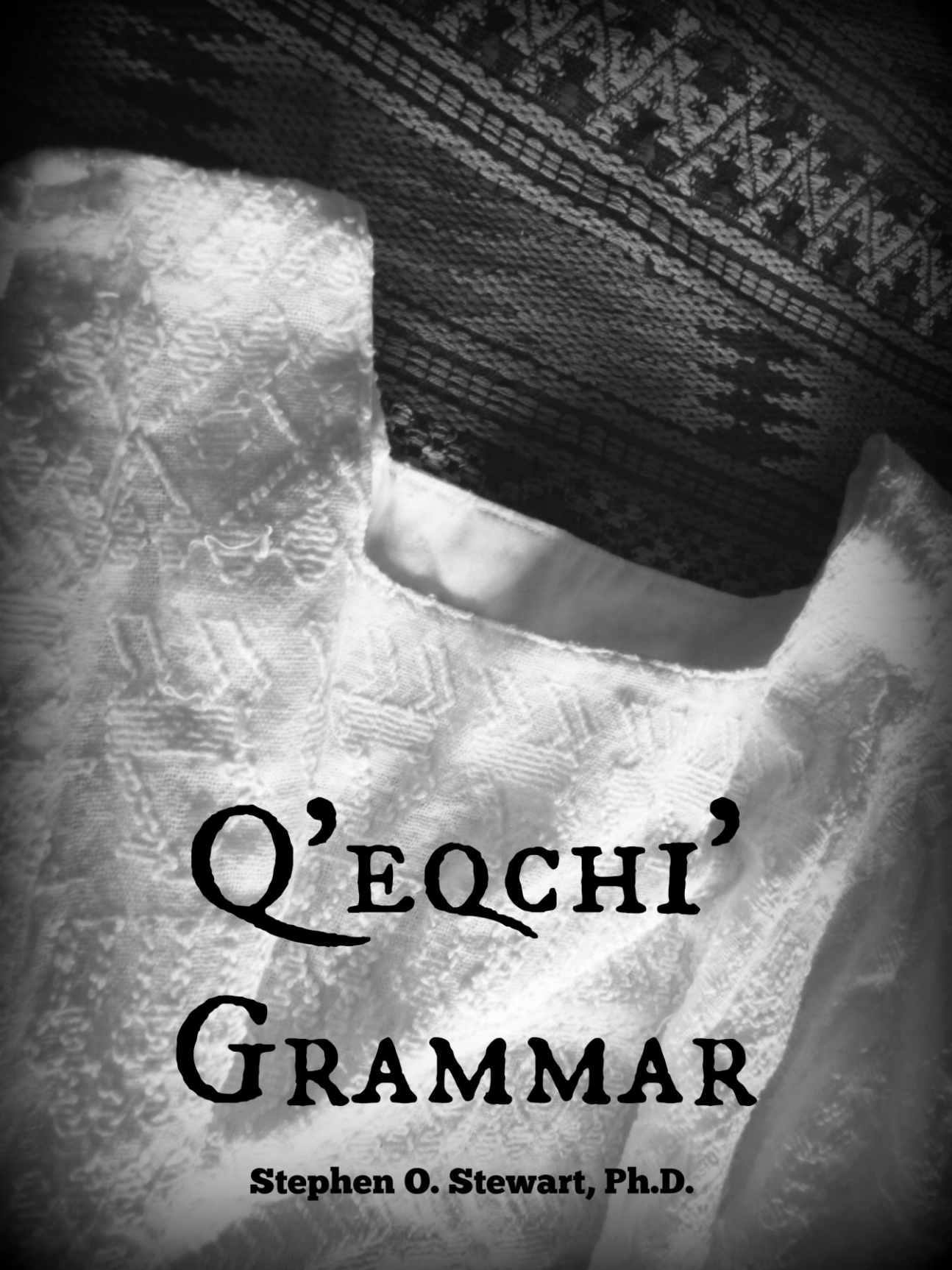




Q'EQCHI' GRAMMAR

Stephen O. Stewart, Ph.D.

Q'eqchi' Grammar

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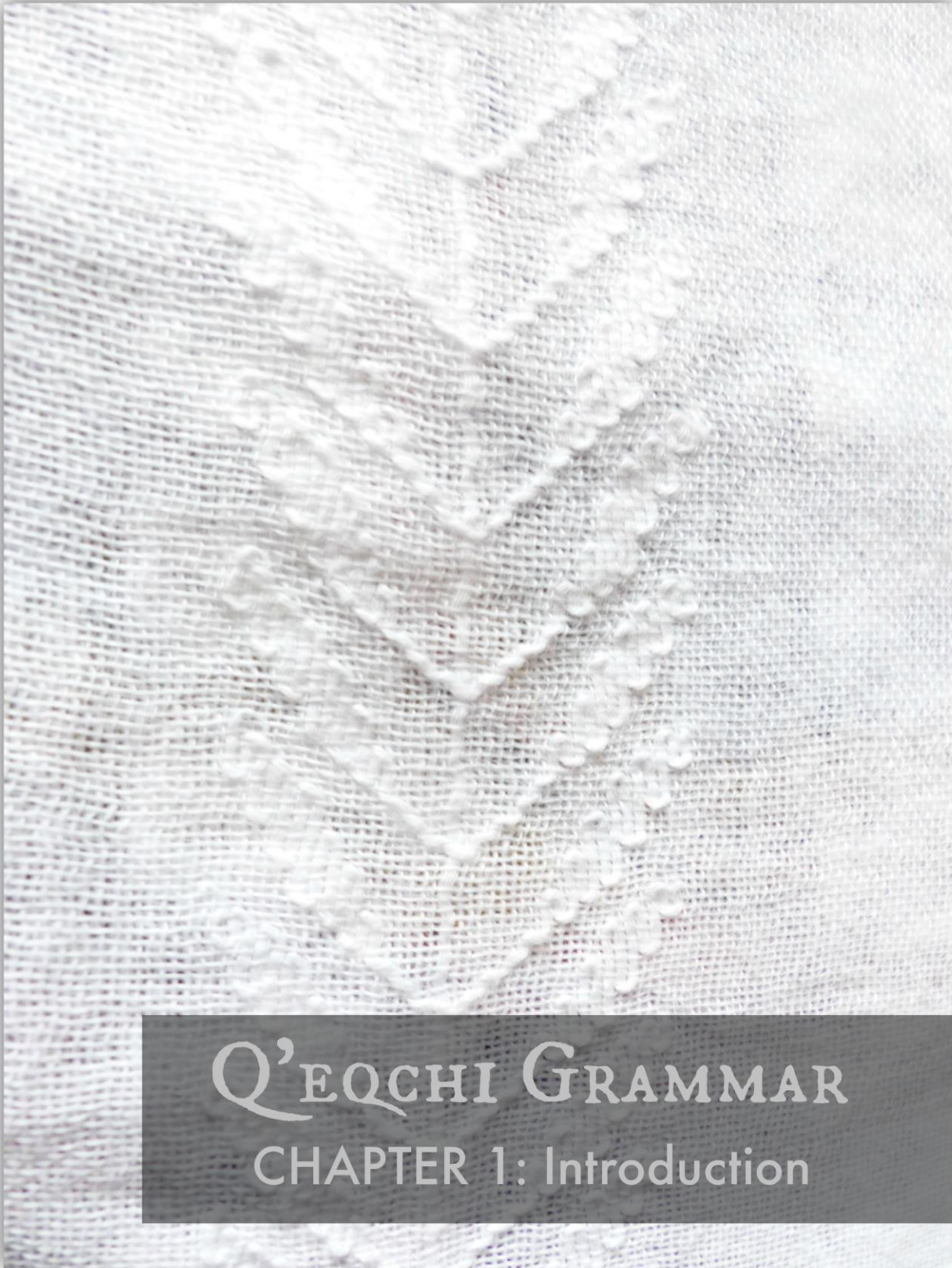
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Q'EQCHI GRAMMAR

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

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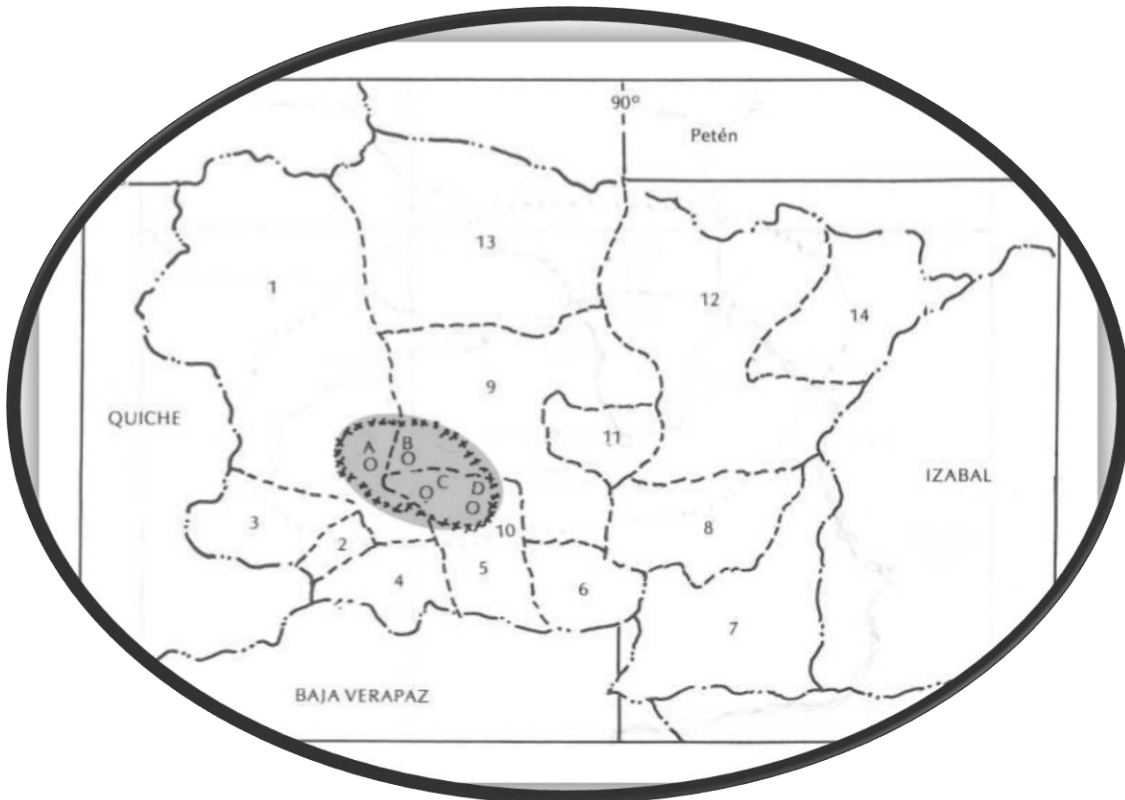
The People and the Language

Q'eqchi' is a Mayan language spoken by 850,000 speakers in the Guatemalan *departamentos* (provinces) of Alta Verapaz, Izabal, El Quiché, Peten, and in the country of Belize (see Map I). About half of this area is comprised of the highlands of Alta Verapaz, while the rest is hot lowlands. The language is one of the 24 to 30 extant Mayan languages (Kaufman, 1974: 34), and belongs to the Greater K'ichean branch of Mayan languages. Greater K'ichean includes K'ichean Proper (K'iche', Kaqchikel, Tz'utujil, Sipakapenyo, and Sakapulteko), Uspanteko, Poqomchi', Poqomam, and Q'eqchi'. Q'eqchi' has been a distinct language within the branch since about 300 A.D. (Kaufman, 1974: 85).

Q'eqchi', in spite of the fact that it now occupies a geographic area larger than any other Mayan language in Guatemala, has considerably less dialect variation than others, such as K'iche' and Mam (England, 1983: 6). Kaufman (1976: 64) notes only two dialect groups or zones, Eastern and Western, the former centered in the *municipios* (municipalities) of Lanquin, Chahal, Cahabon, and Senahú, while the latter covers the remaining area. The reasons for the lack of characteristic dialect variation in Q'eqchi', in spite of its large areal spread, lie probably in two factors. First, Q'eqchi' until about one hundred years ago occupied a much smaller area than it now occupies, comprising not even all of the territory of Alta Verapaz that it now occupies and none of the other *departamentos* surrounding it, which is primarily hot lowlands. The vast majority of hot lowland Q'eqchi's today come from Cobán, Carchá, and Chamelco. These settlers began arriving in other areas when new land tenure laws promulgated by Justo Rufino Barrios, President of Guatemala from 1871 to 1885, allowed for the creation of large plantations of coffee in Alta Verapaz and effectively cut the Q'eqchi's off from land used to grow their traditional corn, beans, and squash. More recently, with the coming of effective malaria control, the Q'eqchi's have continued to search in new areas for available land (Adams, 1965: 13). Thus, all Q'eqchi's were in much closer contact until recently, a factor which has reduced the likelihood of extensive dialect differentiation.

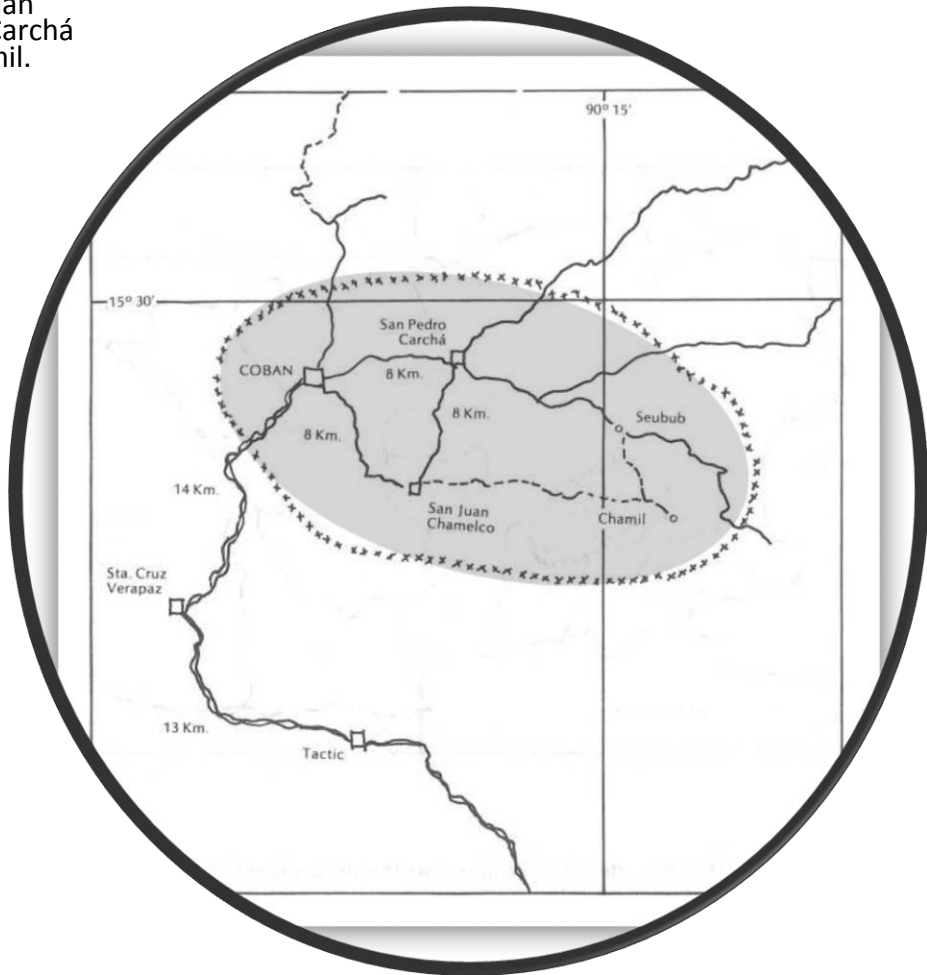
Secondly, Cobán and the surrounding area, including two other major towns within eight kilometers of Cobán, has enjoyed a preeminence among Q'eqchi' towns unparalleled in the K'iche', Kaqchikel, or Mam areas. As a result the Cobán area dialect is definitely the prestigious one, and people from other towns work to learn and imitate it. It has become difficult to encounter young people from eastern dialect zone towns, such as Lanquin and Cahabon, who speak the unadulterated eastern dialect.

Map showing the *Departamento* de Alta Verapaz and the neighboring *Departamentos* of Petén, Quiché, Baja Verapaz, and Izabal, the boundaries of the 14 municipalities (municipios) that make up Alta Verapaz, plus the four communities that are the focus of this grammar:



- A** Town of Cobán
- B** Town of Carchá
- C** Town of Chamelco
- D** Village of Chami

Dialect area, including the towns of Cobán, San Juan Chamelco, San Pedro Carchá and the village of Chamil.



However, the western or Cobán dialect is represented not just by Cobán but by the other nearby towns of Carchá and Chamelco. Nor is this dialect entirely uniform: as this study will show, there are occasional clear differences in vocabulary and grammar between Cobán proper and the other towns. But considering the high degree of similarity and taking into account a desire to study the dialect area as far as possible and not just one town, it is felt that the consideration of these four towns, three *municipios* and one *aldea*, is essentially the study of one dialect and not a dialect survey.

Both the history and the prehistory of the Q'eqchi' area may be characterized as being somewhat isolated from the mainstream. Alta Verapaz was not settled early, probably no earlier than 600 B.C. (King, 1974: 13), and was never a center of Mesoamerican civilization, in spite of the fact that it lies between other centers, such as Copán, Quiriguá, Utatlan, and Tikal.

Historically as well, Alta Verapaz has enjoyed a uniquely isolated situation. Shortly after the conquest of the highlands of Guatemala by Pedro de Alvarado in 1524, attempts to penetrate the Q'eqchi' area were repulsed with such ferocity that the area became known as Tuzulutlan, which means "the land of war" in Nahuatl, the language of the Mexican mercenaries who accompanied Alvarado. The Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas then asked permission to demonstrate his rather radical ideas in Tuzulutlan. Among these ideas were propositions such as that the native inhabitants of America should be treated with patience, that the only business the Spanish had there was to convert the native Americans to Christianity, and that those Spaniards not engaged in such activities should forthwith abandon the lands they occupied and return to Spain. Permission was granted in 1537, and the Dominicans prepared to enter the area. By 1550 the Dominicans were firmly ensconced in the Verapaz, all other Spanish settlers prohibited from entering, and from that time to independence in 1823, Alta Verapaz was further isolated from the mainstream of Mesoamerican colonial life.

Following independence, non-Indians began moving into the area, but immigration was slow, and no radical changes in the life of the Q'eqchi's occurred until after 1871, when Barrios assumed the presidency. During Barrios' tenure a series of laws were passed which abolished communal landownership, sold such land to private individuals, and forced the Q'eqchi's resident on the land to provide labor for the new plantation owners. Through the application of these laws the Q'eqchi's lost the relative autonomy and independence they had enjoyed during the colonial period. One of the most important results of these events was to cause the Q'eqchi's to begin to move east and north of their original area in search of land in which to continue their traditional agriculture. The majority of the emigrants appear to have left from near Cobán as evidenced by the predominance of the Cobán area dialect in areas settled in the last hundred years by Q'eqchi's.

The Q'eqchi's in recent times up to the present continue to emigrate from the area around Cobán and for the same reasons: a desire for free land and to avoid the obligations of working on large plantations (Carter, 1969: 5). That the emigrations are from the Cobán area is evidenced by the fact that the Garífunas of Livingston on the Atlantic coast regularly refer to the Q'eqchi's as *Cobáneros* (person from Cobán) or *Sampedranos* (person from San Pedro,

i.e., San Pedro Carchá). Carter (1969: 10) noted that the rate of population increase for Izabal between 1950 and 1964 was 5.1 percent and that of the Peten was 4.0 percent, higher than the national average of 3.1 percent. At least part of this rate must be due to the Q'eqchi' immigrations into both areas.

Ethnographic sources for the Q'eqchi' area are sparse. There are three excellent studies, and while each sets for itself a very definite and limited scope, the three together provide a balanced if still somewhat limited ethnographic picture of the Q'eqchi'. Carter (1969) describes in detail a small, recently settled community near Lake Izabal, concentrating primarily on the agricultural practices and economics of the group. The study by Arden King (1974) contrasts with that of Carter, being a detailed, statistics laden investigation of Cobán, a study which he undertook in order to apply the methods and goals of cultural anthropology to a more modern and complex society than was common at the time when he began his fieldwork in the 1950's. The third large study, by Cabarrus (1974), looks at religion and world-view among the Q'eqchi's, though its value is perhaps mitigated somewhat by having been produced primarily for the Catholic religious community of Alta Verapaz by one who is himself a Jesuit. The brief ethnographic survey presented here relies on the above sources and on personal experiences in the field.

The Q'eqchi's are primarily farmers in the traditional Mesoamerican mold, relying on corn, beans, and squash, plus lesser crops such as chili, sweet potato, manioc, pineapple, sugarcane, garlic, onions, tobacco, peanuts, tomatoes, and bananas (Carter, 1969: 88-89, 99). Many Q'eqchi's also grow coffee, but the vast majority of lands devoted to coffee in the Q'eqchi' area are owned by non-Q'eqchi's, though dependent on Q'eqchi' labor. For example, in the *municipio* of San Miguel Tucurú, 20,447 of the 27,869 *manzanas* (1 *manzana* = 1.73 acres) in cultivation are in the hands of 88 non-Q'eqchi's while the remaining 7422 *manzanas* are in the hands of 2005 Q'eqchi's or Poqomchi's, and the principal crop of the *municipio* is coffee, a situation which demonstrates one type of land tenure and use of the Q'eqchi' area (Alvarez de Stewart, 1976: 8). On land newly settled by the Q'eqchi's, in contrast, coffee growing may be avoided altogether, as in the case of Carter's study. In terms of agricultural methods the Q'eqchi's are primarily slash-and-burn cultivators. This is apparently the case both in the lowlands, as detailed by Carter, and in the highlands around Cobán, as evidenced by the quantity of burning that is obvious preceding the rainy season, though there exists no careful study of the highland methods.

All Q'eqchi' towns and most larger villages have regular markets, the largest of these being located in Carchá and Cobán. Chamil and Chamelco have small daily afternoon markets, but large numbers of people from these towns also do considerable trading in Carchá and Cobán. All market towns share one characteristic which contrasts sharply with other Guatemalan market towns: all trade is carried on in Q'eqchi' if either buyer or seller is Q'eqchi'. All Ladinos (Ladino = non-Indian) who do business in the Q'eqchi' area, and close to 100 percent of the Ladinos who do not live in Cobán, are fluent in Q'eqchi', a situation unusual in other Mayan areas and towns, where normally the Indians are forced to learn at least some rudimentary Spanish in order to buy or sell to Ladinos. This situation was at one time common in Guatemala--the lingua franca

of the colonial capital, Antigua, was Kaqchikel—but only in the Q'eqchi' area does it still prevail, though it appears to be changing in Cobán at present.

The religious and ceremonial life of the Q'eqchi's is a synthesis of Catholicism and indigenous survivals, differing in this respect little from other Mayan groups. Cabarrus (1979), for example, mentions a prayer prayed at a roadside cross which mingles the cross, Christ, and *tzuul-taq'a* (literally, hill-valley), this last representing a dominating earth spirit which pervades the Q'eqchi' area. These spirits often have a special hill which they inhabit particularly, on which now may be found the "calvary" chapels of the Catholic church which are often located a short distance away, and elevated from, the main churches in Guatemala. Religious ritual is inseparable from the agricultural cycle, and here again can be witnessed the synthesis of the old and new religions. Carter (1969: 71-73) records a preplanting prayer which moves from Biblical figures to the *tzuul-taq'a* to the names of some pre-Colombian gods and back to the names of apostles and saints.

As mentioned earlier, the Q'eqchi' area has always been one of the more isolated in Guatemala. As a result of this isolation the area has been little touched by governmental programs or other large scale development projects, though with the recent construction of a good asphalt highway to Carchá from the capital, the opening of nickel mines in Izabal, and especially the discovery of petroleum in northern Alta Verapaz, this isolation may begin breaking up. But the past and present isolation coupled with the market domination of Q'eqchi' means that few Q'eqchi's know Spanish or need to know it, except on those rare (though crucial) occasions when they come into contact with the Guatemalan government. Knowledge of Spanish does give the individual some prestige, but there does not appear to be tremendous pressure among the people to learn Spanish. In an informal survey by this writer Q'eqchi's felt that the people of their area would rather learn to read and write Q'eqchi' than Spanish, a situation which does not obtain in most other Mayan Indian areas in Guatemala, where knowledge of Spanish is more highly valued and learning to read and write the Indian language is not seen as useful.

One reason for the interest among the Q'eqchi's in learning to read and write their own language, apart from the previously mentioned monolingualism and isolation of the people, is probably due to the fairly high quality of work of an applied nature by the first linguists to work in the area, and particularly William Sedat. Sedat (1955) produced a dictionary which fairly accurately represents the phonemes of Q'eqchi', thus replacing a number of poorly phonemicized vocabularies by non-specialists which could only have hindered literacy programs in Q'eqchi'. In 1961 he published a translation of the New Testament which, if perhaps lacking in certain respects, was intelligible and usable. The existence of these works, particularly the second, must have been a powerful stimulus toward learning the written form of their language for the Q'eqchi's.

Following Sedat, and always benefitting from his work, are Francis Eachus and Ruth Carlson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, whose contributions have sustained and augmented the foundation laid by Sedat, both in continuing to produce good usable translations of the Bible and stories based on the Bible and in providing some good basic primers for use in literacy programs.

These latter have been used in a Guatemalan government program designed to give pre-primary instruction, including literacy, in Q'eqchi', although the program has not been extended to but few schools in the area.

Contemporaneous for many years with Eachus and Carlson was the late Father Esteban Haeserijn, a Belgian priest stationed first in the parish of Purulhá and then later in San Juan Chamelco. Father Haeserijn's primary applied contribution lies perhaps in a small songbook in Q'eqchi' that he published, which has sold more than 50,000 copies and apparently spurred tremendous interest in learning to read among large numbers of Q'eqchi's. One account has it that a clever young man in the municipio of Cahabon taught himself to read solely with this songbook. Another of Padre Haeserijn's contributions has been in insisting that priests working among the Q'eqchi's learn the language and in personally teaching it to them.

As a result of this early applied work in the Q'eqchi' language there is a small but sizeable literate population, a growing demand for literacy training, and a low but constant demand for reading material. Applied work involving the author, the Q'eqchi' team of the Centro San Benito, and Father Ennio Bossu of San Juan Chamelco dramatically demonstrated the demand for literacy training. As soon as a new primer for teaching written Q'eqchi' produced in the Centro San Benito became available, Father Ennio called together a group of volunteer literacy teachers who had been recruited for an earlier, less than successful literacy attempt. Fourteen volunteer teachers using the new primer began teaching in their *aldeas* in classes involving over two hundred students. The results were gratifying, apparently due for the most part on the improved primer. Teachers reported little absenteeism, which had plagued earlier efforts, and the teachers themselves appear more conscientious. Father Ennio then succeeded in recruiting volunteer teachers from 28 more *aldeas*, effectively establishing literacy programs throughout the entire municipio.

In view of the above it seems possible that Q'eqchi' may become more fully developed as a written language, though predictions of this sort are difficult to sustain. What can perhaps be stated with more certainty is that if any one of the Mayan languages of Guatemala develops as a written language to any degree, that language will be Q'eqchi'.

It is this last point which has spurred the present work. A grammar of any relatively unstudied language like Q'eqchi' advances linguistic and anthropological knowledge, but not always does such a grammar have the possibility of contributing, even in a small way, to the tentative development of a spoken language to written status. The present work will be made available to the Q'eqchi' community and to others working in the development of written Q'eqchi' through a Spanish translation.

Research Environment

The fieldwork for the present study was undertaken in Guatemala from August, 1973 to September, 1977 while the author was working in two institutions as a linguist, under the auspices of the U.S. Peace Corps. The first period, August, 1973 to December, 1975, was spent at the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM) in Antigua, Guatemala, where the author taught linguistics to small groups of students who were native speakers of Q'eqchi', Tz'utujil, Chuj, Q'anjob'al, Akateko, Awakateko, and Poqomchi'; taught the Q'eqchi' students how to produce materials for a Q'eqchi'-Spanish dictionary and supervised that work; did the necessary linguistic analysis of Q'eqchi' for the dictionary and teaching tasks; and completed 25 dialect surveys of eight hundred items in Kaqchikel, K'iche', and Mam. The work at the PLFM provided the author with his introduction to Mayan languages in general, Q'eqchi' in particular, and data in the form of a preliminary stage of the dictionary consisting of some three thousand words.

The second period, January, 1976 to September, 1977, was spent at the Centro San Benito (CSB) in Cobán, a Benedictine mission with strong interest in advancing Q'eqchi' as a written language. The responsibilities entailed in this position were to teach linguistics to a group of Q'eqchi' students; to upgrade the quality and quantity of literacy materials available in Q'eqchi'; to supervise a project involving ethnobotanical research, translation of educational pamphlets, production of texts, and the development of courses in spoken Q'eqchi' and Poqomchi'; and to do the necessary research for the present study. The work at the CSB provided me with a great portion of my field data, plus the opportunity to contribute to a variety of applied linguistics projects.

Personnel

A large number of people have contributed to the realization of this study, both in the PLFM and in the CSB. This section will list and describe these people, though it will be impossible to determine exactly the relative contributions of each in the analysis here presented. The reader is cautioned to regard the number of years of education with some perspective: in Alta Verapaz six years of education is considered very ample, three years of education very good outside the larger towns, and simple literacy better than average.

Ernesto Chen Cao (PLFM) provided the author's first words of Q'eqchi' and continued throughout the author's time in the PLFM to be a most valuable and intelligent consultant. He is from San Juan Chamelco. Both his father and mother are monolingual in Q'eqchi', though his brothers and sisters have learned Spanish. He is to be considered probably one of the most sophisticated native experts on Q'eqchi'.

Miguel Sam Juarez (PLFM), who worked with the author in the PLFM, is also from Chamelco. Jose Domingo Cuc Chen (PLFM), who worked with the author at the PLFM, is from Chamil, an *aldea* in the jurisdiction of Chamelco. Pedro Tiul Pop (PLFM), who worked with the author at the PLFM, is from Lanquin, a town in the eastern dialect zone of Q'eqchi' not touched upon in this study.

Flora Ac Caal (CSB) worked with the author at the CSB, having previously worked with both Campbell (1974) and the Texas group (Pinkerton, 1976). She spent a year at Texas as

consultant for classes at the University of Texas, learned to write phonetically there, and must be considered a highly sophisticated speaker of Q'eqchi'. She is from Cobán. Amanda Catun Caal (CSB), who worked with the author at the CSB, had previously worked with Campbell (1974). She is from Cobán. Francisco Tzul Tzub (PLFM, later CSB) worked with the author for a short time in the PLFM and in the CSB. He is from Chamelco. Domingo Cuc Xol (CSB) worked with the author at the CSB. He is from Chamil, a relative of Cuc Chen at the PLFM. He is a highly respected community leader, having served as assistant mayor for his village. Manuel Tzib Cas (CSB) worked with the author at the CSB. He is from Chamil. Rumaldo Choc Cacao (CSB) worked with the author in the CSB. He is from San Pedro Carchá and worked previously with Dutch botanists, primarily Irene Kunkel, in projects involving collection of medicinal plants.

With the exception of Choc Cacao, all of the above consultants received training in linguistics ranging from three to six months in basic phonology, morphology, and syntax, especially as related to Q'eqchi'. Instruction was directed primarily toward practical application, dictionary making in the case of those working at the PLFM and text and literacy materials preparation in the case of those working at the CSB. This instruction was valuable in that it allowed the author to check and discuss with the consultants the aspects of Q'eqchi' grammar presented in this study.

It is the author's opinion that a research strategy for linguistic description which attempts to bring the consultant into the analysis process often helps in avoiding certain pitfalls in analysis and quite definitely is a more satisfying experience than one in which the consultant's role is limited to that of providing raw data. The basic linguistic training provided the consultants allowed them to enter into and understand the problems under consideration at any given moment in the analysis, thus aiding in a conscious way the analytical process and at the same time providing insights into Q'eqchi' to the native speaker consultant.

Previous Studies

Until quite recently Q'eqchi' had received comparatively little attention from linguists. A few small sketches appeared around the beginning of the 20th century, such as those by Stoll (1896), Burkitt (1902), and Sapper (1906), but serious work on Q'eqchi' really began with the appearance of a dictionary by William Sedat in 1955. Sedat's dictionary is bilingual, Q'eqchi'- Spanish and Spanish - Q'eqchi', contains numerous example phrases, and has generally been the foundation upon which other authors have worked. Sedat, as mentioned above, also provided the first translation into Q'eqchi' of the *New Testament*.

Francis Eachus and Ruth Carlson, mentioned above, published a sketch of Q'eqchi' morphology in Mayers' *Languages of Guatemala* (1966), which included a large number of derivational and inflectional affixes. They have dedicated themselves primarily to Bible translations.

The late Father Esteban Haeserijn, also mentioned above, published the only general description of Q'eqchi'. His *Ensayo* (1966) represents an excellent attempt by a linguistically unsophisticated layman with a background in Latin grammar to describe a previously unstudied language.

Haeserijn then published his *Guia* (1972), a companion volume to the earlier work containing copious examples and exercises for the layman interested in learning to speak Q'eqchi'. In addition, Haeserijn had nearly completed a new dictionary of Q'eqchi' before his death in 1976, a work which was completed by his assistants. This dictionary contains a wealth of examples of idiomatic expressions which extend our knowledge of Q'eqchi' semantics considerably.

The only other grammar is a doctoral dissertation by Ray Freeze (1970), entitled "Case in a Grammar of K'ekchi' (Maya)." Freeze's thesis contains a valuable analysis of certain aspects of Q'eqchi' grammar using the case grammar of Charles Fillmore as a theoretical base. Freeze did not attempt a full description of Q'eqchi', preferring to probe and illustrate Fillmore's theory using Q'eqchi' data rather than describe fully Q'eqchi' in light of Fillmore's work. In addition, Freeze (1976a) has examined the grammatical properties of Q'eqchi' possession and how it relates to prepositional constructions, alienability in noun possession, interrogation and negation, and nominalization of verbs. Freeze also contributed texts he collected to a collection of texts in various Mayan languages (1976b).

Campbell (1974) discussed the theoretical implications of some aspects of Q'eqchi' phonology as they relate to rule ordering and formal simplicity in phonological theory. Another article (1976) contains a study of lexical acculturation of bilingual speakers of Q'eqchi', both Ladino and Indian, and its cognitive implications. In addition, mention should be made here of Campbell's doctoral dissertation (1977) which discusses the position of Q'eqchi' within the Quichean branch of Mayan.

Sandra Pinkerton (1976) became interested in Q'eqchi' contemporaneously with the author, spending a summer in the field in Cobán in 1973 while still a student at the University of Texas. She later took one of her consultants, Flora Ac Caal, who later worked with the author at the CSB, to Austin for the 1974-75 academic year to work as a consultant in the departments of linguistics and anthropology, particularly with a course in linguistic field methods. The collected papers of the graduate students in the course, along with three texts, a word list, and an appendix describing the historical and geographical place of Q'eqchi' within the Mayan language family, were edited by Pinkerton and published by the Texas Linguistic Forum as *Studies in Q'eqchi'*. Of particular interest are the two papers by Pinkerton, one on phonology and the other which discusses ergativity and word order, and one by Freund, which is a sketch of Q'eqchi' verb morphology. Pinkerton also helped contribute texts to the same collection to which Freeze contributed (Ac Caal and Pinkerton, 1976). Finally, due to Pinkerton's continued work, the author has seen unpublished manuscripts produced in graduate courses taught by Pinkerton. One of these papers (DeCormier, 1977), which explores aspects of the particle *chaq*, was helpful to the author in this study.

Scope of Present Study

This work is meant to be a descriptive grammar of Q'eqchi', represented by four major towns in the western zone: Cobán, San Juan Chamelco, San Pedro Carchá, and Chamil. The language is treated throughout as uniform unless otherwise indicated. Dialectal differentiation overall is slight, but in some cases becomes important. The desire of the author is to provide a general description of a

dialect zone, and it has been seen as necessary to work with at least one speaker from each of the above towns in order to be able to pinpoint those areas in the grammar which may vary in contrast with those areas which are uniform throughout the four town area.

In terms of organization this grammar may be seen to be organized around the pronoun as the unifying principle. Pronominal inflectional affixes in this study are the principal inflectional morphemes; tense, aspect, and mood affixes are definitely secondary in the inflectional framework, and other inflectional affixes run a distant third. Following the initial chapter on phonology, the rest of the chapters take the pronoun as their point of departure and defining principle. Chapter II surveys the pronoun itself and its basic uses. Chapter III on verbs demonstrates the pronominal affixes as agents and patients of verbs. Chapter IV is on nouns, defined as to their occurrence with inflectional affixes. Chapter V is on statives, also defined as to their occurrence with pronominal affixes. Future studies should include a full treatment of the derivational morphology and a description and analysis of Q'eqchi' syntax.

Q'EQCHI GRAMMAR
CHAPTER 2: Phonology

CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY

Phonemic Inventory

The phonemic symbols used here and throughout this study make up a practical orthography officialized by the *Academia de las Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala (ALMG)* [Academy of Mayan Languages of Guatemala].

Consonants: Simple Occlusives

The simple occlusive phonemes are a series of four simple (p, t, k, q) and two affricated (tz, ch) stops each having a different point of articulation. Following Kaufman (1976) and England (1983), it was decided to treat the affricates together with the "traditional" occlusives. All stops occur initially, medially, and finally. All simple occlusives have an aspirated allophone when they occur before other consonants and when in final position. Each stop is described below with examples of the allophones of each.

Phonemic Inventory of Consonant Symbols

Consonants	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Simple occlusives	p	t	tz	ch	k	q	
Glottalized occlusives	b'	t'	tz'	ch'	k'	q'	'
Fricatives			s	x		j	h
Resonants							
Nasals	m	n					
Lateral		l					
Trill		r					
Glides	w			y			

Vowels	Front		Central		Back	
	Short	Long	Short	Long	Short	Long
High	i	ii			u	uu
Mid	e	ee			o	oo
Low			a	aa		

/p/ is a voiceless, bilabial stop.

/p/ →	[p ^h]	/___C, ___#	/tap/	[tap ^h]	<i>crab</i>
			/chupchu/	[čup ^h ču]	<i>put out (fire)</i>
	[p]	/-----	/po/	[po]	<i>moon</i>
			/k'oopopo'/	[k'o:popoʔ]	<i>toad</i>

/t/ is a voiceless, apico-alveolar stop.

/t/ →	[t ^h]	/___C, ___#	/ch'aat/	[č'a: t ^h]	<i>bed</i>
			/k'atk'o/	[k'at ^h k'o]	<i>burned</i>
	[t]	/-----	/tul/	[tull]	<i>banana</i>
			/k'anti'/	[k'antiʔ]	<i>snake</i>
			/tikto/	[tik ^h to]	<i>rapidly</i>

/tz/ is a voiceless, apico-alveolar, affricated stop. It has only one allophone.

/tz/ →	[ɕ]	/-----	/tzo'/	[ɕoʔ]	<i>rooster</i>
			/motzo'/	[moɕoʔ]	<i>caterpillar</i>
			/b'itz/	[biɕ]	<i>a little</i>

/ch/ is a voiceless, laminal, alveo-palatal, affricated stop. In some towns, notably Chamil, /ch/ is retroflexed. It has only one allophone.

/ch/ →	[č]		/cha/	[ča]	<i>ash</i>
			/k'iche'/	[k'ičeʔ]	<i>forest</i>
			/ak'ach/	[aʔk'ač]	<i>turkey</i>

/k/ is a voiceless-dorso-velar stop.

/k/ →	[k ^h]	/___C, ___#	/pek/	[pek ^h]	<i>stone</i>
			/tikto/	[tik ^h to]	<i>rapidly</i>
	[k]	/-----	/kar/	[karr]	<i>fish</i>
			/wakax/	[^k wakaš]	<i>cow</i>
			/kaqkaq/	[kaq ^h kaq ^h]	<i>very red</i>

/q/ is a voiceless, dorso-postvelar or dorso-uvular stop.

/q/ →	[q ^h]	/___C, ___#	/kaq/	[ka q ^h]	<i>red</i>
			/tiqto/	[ti q ^h to]	<i>dressed</i>
	[q]	/-----	/qawa'/	[qawaʔ]	<i>mister</i>
			/tiqob'/	[tiqoʔm]	<i>sweat</i>

Glottalized Occlusives

The glottalized occlusives are unit phonemes which contrast with the set of simple occlusives plus glottal stop. They are of three types: glottal stop /ʔ/; implosive /b'/; and ejective /t', tz', ch', k', q'/. Glottal stop contrasts with its absence in all positions except initially, where it is nonetheless phonetically present before vowels. The other glottalized occlusives may occur phonemically in initial, medial, and final positions.

The glottalized occlusives are realized as implosives and ejectives in initial positions and following consonants.

$$/C'/ \rightarrow [C'] / C__, \# __$$

The glottalized occlusives are preglottalized in other positions. /b'/ may optionally be laryngealized (see below).

$$/C'/ \rightarrow [\text{ʔ}C'] / V__V, __\#$$

Each glottalized occlusive is described individually below with examples of its allophones.

/b'/ is a bilabial imploded stop.

/b'/ →	[ɓ]	/ C___, #___	/b'aq/	[ɓaq ^h]	<i>bone</i>
			/chiqb'il/	[čiq ^h ɓill]	<i>cooked</i>
	[ʔb']	/ V___V	/tz'ub'uk/	[č'uʔb'uk ^h]	<i>to kiss</i>
			/tz'ub'/	[č'uʔm]	<i>kiss her!</i>

/t'/ is a voiceless, apico-alveolar, glottalized stop.

/t'/ →	[t']	/ C___, #___	/t'iww/	[t'iww]	<i>eagle</i>
			/t'ort'o/	[t'ort'o]	<i>round</i>
	[ʔt']	/ -----	/met'/	[meʔt']	<i>dwarf</i>

/tz'/ is a voiceless, apico-alveolar, glottalized, affricated stop.

/tz'/ →	[č']	/ C___, #___	/tz'i'/	[č'iʔ]	<i>dog</i>
			/tz'aptz'o/	[č'ap ^h č'o]	<i>shut</i>
	[ʔč']	/ -----	/patz'ok/	[paʔč'ok ^h]	<i>to ask</i>
			/patz'/	[paʔč']	<i>ask it!</i>

/ch'/ is a voiceless, laminal, alveo-palatal, glottalized, affricated stop.

/ch'/ →	[č']	/ C___, #___	/ch'o/	[č'o]	<i>rat</i>
			/ch'ajch'o/	[č'axč'o]	<i>empty</i>
	[ʔč']	/ -----	/kach'in/	[kaʔč'inn]	<i>small</i>
			/puyuch'/	[puyuʔč']	<i>parrot</i>

/k'/ is a voiceless, dorso-velar glottalized stop.

/k'/ →	[k']	/ C____, #____	/k'im/	[k'imm] ◦	<i>tall grass</i>
			/k'atk'o/	[k'at ^h k'o]	<i>burned</i>
	[ʔk']	/ -----	/sak'ok/	[saʔk'ok ^h]	<i>to hit</i>
			/sak'/	[saʔk']	<i>hit it!</i>

/q'/ is a voiceless, dorso-postvelar or dorso-uvular, glottalized stop. In some speakers, most notably those from Chamelco, the prevocalic allophones may be implosives or clicks (Freeze, personal communication).

/q'/ →	[q']	/ C____, #____	/q'eq/	[q'eq ^h]	<i>black</i>
			/q'etq'et/	[q'et ^h q'et ^h]	<i>proud</i>
	[ʔq']	/ -----	/jiq'ok/	[xiʔq'ok ^h]	<i>to breath</i>
			/jiq'/	[xiʔq']	<i>breathe it!</i>

/ ' / is a glottal stop. Although non-phonemic in initial position, it will appear after certain prefixes, /atink/ *to bathe* and /x'atin/ *he bathed*, but not after others, /atinob'aal/ *bathing place* and /watinob'aal/ *my bathing place*. The official alphabet of the ALMG has decided to write the few glottal stops that occur after these prefixes using a dash, so that /x'atin/ is written as /x-atin/. Non-initial examples are:

/laa'at	[la: ʔat ^h]	<i>you</i>
/che'/	[čeʔ]	<i>tree</i>

Fricatives

Fricatives occur in all positions. Words ending in vowels may optionally contain a non-phonemic [h] which is phonemic in a few dialects of Q'eqchi' not considered here, and, according to Kaufman (1969), represents proto-Mayan *h. But /h/ is not phonemic in final position in the dialects here considered, though it may be in Lanquín and Cahabón (Kaufman, 1976: 142-143).

/s/ is a voiceless, apico-alveolar fricative.

/sib'/	[siʔm] ◦	<i>smoke</i>
/b'isok/	[ʃisok ^h]	<i>to measure</i>
/us/	[ʔus]	<i>good</i>

/x/ is a voiceless, laminal, alveo-palatal fricative; it is retroflex in Chamil.

/xukub'/	[ʃukuʔm] ◦	<i>horn</i>
/ixim/	[ʔiʃimm] ◦	<i>corn</i>
/pix/	[piʃ]	<i>tomato</i>

/j/ is a voiceless, dorso-velar fricative.

/jolom/	[xolomm] ◦	<i>head</i>
/k'anjel/	[k'anxell] ◦	<i>task</i>
/iyaj/	[ʔi ^t yax]	<i>seed</i>

/h/ is a glottal fricative with a voiceless allophone in initial position and a somewhat complicated distribution of voiced [h] and voiceless [h] allophones (and, for some speakers, ø) in medial position.

(1)	[h] / V(+) __V	/chahim/	[čahimm] ◦	<i>star</i>
(2)	[h ~ :] / V__+V	/pahok/	[pa ^h ok ^h ~ pa:ok ^h]	<i>trailblaze</i>
(3)	[h ~ ø] / C+ __V	/helho/	[helho ~ helo]	<i>extended</i>
		/huyhut/	[huyhut ^h ~ huyut ^h]	<i>fish-like movement</i>
	Initial /h/ [h]	/ha'/	[haʔ]	<i>water</i>

Resonants

Resonants, which here include the nasals /m, n/, lateral /l/, trill /r/, and glides /w, y/, are partially devoiced in final position. The onset of the resonants is voiced, the release unvoiced or devoiced (Campbell, 1974: 271; Pinkerton, 1976: 15). The rule is

$$/R/ \rightarrow [RR] / ___\#$$

All resonants occur in all positions.

/m/ is a bilabial nasal.

/mol/	[moll] ◦	<i>egg</i>
/amoch/	[ʔamoč]	<i>frog</i>
/peepem/	[pe:pemm] ◦	<i>butterfly</i>

/n/ is an apico-alveolar nasal with a homorganic allophone [ŋ] before velar and postvelar consonants.

/nim/	[nimm] ◦	<i>big</i>
/inup/	[ʔinup ^h]	<i>ceiba tree</i>
/sank/	[saŋk ^h]	<i>ant</i>
/q'an/	[q'ann] ◦	<i>yellow</i>

/l/ is a voiced, apico-alveolar, “light” lateral.

/laa'in/	[la:ʔinn] ◦	<i>I (first person singular pronoun)</i>
/sulul/	[sulull] ◦	<i>mud</i>

/r/ varies phonetically within the dialect area.

Cobán: /r/ is a voiceless, alveopalatal, retroflex fricative which may become partially voiced internally, especially when surrounded by unstressed syllables (Pinkerton, 1976: 16).

/rax/	[ʃaš]	<i>green</i>
/jor/	[xoʃ]	<i>break it!</i>
/jor+ok/	[xoʃok ^h]	<i>to break</i>
/x+oo+rap+ok/	[šo:ʒapok ^h]	<i>we hit</i>

Carchá, Chamil, Chamelco: /r/ is an alveolar trill, with a devoiced allophone in final position.

/rax/	[raš]	<i>green</i>
/jor/	[xorr] ◦	<i>break it!</i>
/jor+ok/	[xorok ^h]	<i>to break</i>
/x+oo+rap+ok/	[šo:rapok ^h]	<i>we hit</i>

Glides

Glides, or semivowels, undergo glide strengthening in certain environments (Campbell, 1974: 270). /w/ has the allophones [w] and strengthened [^ɛw ~ ^kw]; /y/ has the allophones [y] and strengthened [^dy ~ ^ty ~ ^ɛy ~ ^ky]. The phonological environment in which all strengthened allophones occur is initially in a syllable, while the non-strengthened allophones appear elsewhere. The rule is:

/w, y/ → [+ strengthened] / (syllable begins) _____

When syllable boundaries are clearly marked, such as word initially or word finally, or between the final consonant of a root and the initial consonant of a following suffix, there is no question as to which allophone will be encountered.

/t'uyt'u/	<i>hanging</i>	[t'uyt'u]
/yokyo/	<i>lying down</i>	[^d yok ^d yo]
/wiqwo/	<i>kneeling</i>	[^ɛ wiq ^ɛ wo]
/nawno/	<i>known</i>	[nawno]
/wan/	<i>there is</i>	[^ɛ wan]
/kaw/	<i>hard</i>	[kaw]
/yuk/	<i>goat</i>	[^d yuk]
/may/	<i>tobacco</i>	[may]

However, intervocalic /w, y/ appear to present Q'eqchi' speakers with less distinct syllable boundaries, and varying pronunciations may be observed in the realization of certain words containing these phonemes by the same speaker. /xkawilal/ *hardness* may be pronounced [ʃka^ɛwilal] or [ʃkawilal]. Native speaker decisions on syllable boundaries in cases such as these vary from village to village in the dialect area, from word to word within these villages, and as noted above even from moment to moment for the same speaker.

This analysis differs from those of both Campbell (1974) and Pinkerton (1976). Campbell said simply that glides are strengthened before vowels, but Pinkerton (1976: 19) noted a large number of non-strengthened glides preceding vowels:

/mayink/	[mayink ^h]	<i>to smoke</i>
/b'uyub'ank/	[ɓuyuʔbank ^h]	<i>to pile</i>
/awonel/	[ʔawonell]	<i>planter</i>

Pinkerton (1976: 16-21) argued for two sets of phonemic glides, a plain set and an obstruentized set. She did note, however, examples in which the glide could be either one glide or the other.

/xlawil/	[šlawill] or [šla ^k will] ◦ ◦	<i>his key</i>
/xyewil/	[š ^t yewill] or [š ^t ye ^k will] ◦ ◦	<i>his mare</i>

Though her examples were only in borrowings from Spanish, other examples, such as /xkawilal/ (mentioned above), may vary in the same speakers.

The analysis presented here better represents the data obtained from multiple informants. Pinkerton's analysis, while valid for her one informant with those few exceptions, seems to represent an idiolect, one speaker's decision as to where syllable boundaries lie. Other speakers, even from Cobán, will vary to some degree in using the simple and strengthened glides. They will be certain which to use in some words and unsure in others, as was Pinkerton's informant, but the words in question differ.

In terms of dialect difference between the towns in the dialect area, Cobán appears to strengthen intervocalic glides most and Carchá least with Chamil and Chamelco somewhere between the two. But speakers in each of these other towns will also differ among themselves as to where to strengthen intervocalic glides.

Minimal Pairs

p ≠ b'	/poq/	<i>whitish earth</i>
	/b'oq/	<i>call him!</i>
t ≠ t'	/tob'/	<i>loosen it!</i>
	/t'ob'/	<i>undo it!</i>
tz ≠ tz'	/pitzok/	<i>to jump</i>
	/pitz'ok/	<i>to smash</i>
ch ≠ ch'	/cham/	<i>deep</i>
	/ch'am/	<i>rotten, spoiled</i>
k ≠ k'	/kok/	<i>turtle</i>
	/kok'/	<i>small</i>
q ≠ q'	/qix+b'ak/	<i>to burp</i>
	/q'ix/	<i>lukewarm</i>
k ≠ q	/ka'/	<i>grinding stone</i>
	/qa'/	<i>our legs</i>
k' ≠ q'	/k'ol/	<i>male (of animals)</i>
	/q'ol/	<i>necklace</i>
k ≠ ch	/tikok/	<i>to urge</i>
	/tichok/	<i>to knock fruit from a tree</i>
k' ≠ ch'	/k'aj/	<i>flour</i>
	/ch'aj/	<i>wash it!</i>
ch ≠ tz	/loch/	<i>burn it!</i>
	/lotz/	<i>clover (Cobán only)</i>
ch' ≠ tz'	/ch'oq/	<i>cut it! (not in Cobán)</i>
	/tz'oq/	<i>zanate (type of bird)</i>
ch ≠ tz'	/chap/	<i>grab it!</i>
	/tz'ap/	<i>shut it!</i>
tz ≠ t	/tzuul/	<i>hill</i>
	/tuul/	<i>witch</i>
tz' ≠ t'	/tz'il/	<i>strain it!</i>
	/t'il/	<i>fasten it!</i>
t ≠ s	/tib'/	<i>meat</i>
	/sib'/	<i>smoke</i>
s ≠ x ≠ ch ≠ r	/sam/	<i>snot</i>
	/xam/	<i>fire</i>
	/cham/	<i>deep</i>
	/ram/	<i>block it!</i>
s ≠ j ≠ k	/si'/	<i>firewood</i>
	/ji'/	<i>sharpen it!</i>
	/ki'/	<i>sweet</i>
j ≠ q	/aj/	<i>cane for mats</i>
	/aq/	<i>thatch grass</i>

j ≠ q'	/jun/	<i>one</i>
	/q'un/	<i>soft</i>
m ≠ n	/xam/	<i>fire</i>
	/xan/	<i>brick</i>
h ≠ j	/hal/	<i>corn ear</i>
	/jal/	<i>change it!</i>
h ≠ '	/ahin/	<i>alligator</i>
	/a'in/	<i>this</i>
h ≠ ∅	/ha'/	<i>water</i>
	/a'/	<i>leg</i>
' ≠ q'	/si'/	<i>firewood</i>
	/siq'/	<i>bend it!</i>
' ≠ ∅	/po'/	<i>take it apart!</i>
	/po/	<i>moon</i>
C+ ≠ C'	/t+'aatinaq/	<i>he's going to speak</i>
	/t'ant'o/	<i>lying down</i>
	/ch+'elq/	<i>may he leave</i>
	/ch'elel/	<i>kind of fruit (Spanish: paterna)</i>
w ≠ k + w	/wib'/	<i>myself</i>
	/kwib'/	<i>two</i>
y ≠ t + y	/yehok/	<i>to speak</i>
	/tyos/	<i>God (Spanish: Dios)</i>

Vowels

There are ten vowels distinguished by point of articulation (high, mid, low, front, central, back) and by duration (long, short).

Long vowels may optionally be realized as [Vh], a situation which is phonemic in at least one of the eastern dialects and which represents proto-Mayan *Vh (Kaufman, 1968).

Segment /Vh+/ preceding a vowel initial suffix becomes /V:/ before consonant initial suffixes and simply /V/ word finally: /tehok/ *to open*, /teeto/ *it's open*, /te/ *open it!*.

Underlying short vowels have in Cobán, and may have in other towns, a long but non-contrastive allophone preceding a resonant plus another consonant word finally: /sank/ *ant* is [sa:ŋk^h], /wark/ *to sleep* is [ʔwa:rk^h].

Front vowels tend to be more lax before velars and postvelars. /e/ is always lax before glottal stop.

Short vowels occur in all positions.

Long vowels occur everywhere except word finally and before word final glottal stop.

Phonemic Inventory of Vowel Symbols

/i/	/i/ is a short, high-front, unrounded vowel varying between tense [i] and lax [ɪ].	/i/ is always [ɪ] before /q/.	/ik/ <i>chile</i> /tib'/ <i>meat</i>	/chaqi/ <i>dry</i> /tiq/ <i>hot</i>
/ii/	/ii/ is a long, high-front, unrounded vowel varying between tense [i:] and lax [ɪ:].	/ii/ is always [i:] before /q/.	/iiq/ <i>load</i> /iitz'inb'ej/ <i>younger brother</i>	/k'ayil/ <i>market</i>
/e/	/e/ is a short, mid-front, unrounded vowel varying between tense [e] and lax [ɛ].	/e/ is always [ɛ] before /'/ and /q/.	/ewer/ <i>yesterday</i> /ke/ <i>cold</i>	/mem/ <i>dumb</i> /che'/ <i>tree</i> /tz'eq/ <i>get rid of it!</i>
/ee/	/ee/ is a long, mid-front, unrounded vowel varying between tense [e:] and lax [ɛ:].		/eek'/ <i>feeling</i> /lajeeb'/ <i>ten</i>	
/a/	/a/ is a short, low-central, unrounded vowel [a].		/ab'/ <i>hammock</i> /cha/ <i>ash</i>	/saq/ <i>white</i>
/aa/	/aa/ is a long, low-central, unrounded vowel [a:].		/aaq/ <i>pig</i> /k'aam/ <i>rope</i>	
/o/	/o/ is a short, lax, mid-back rounded vowel [ɔ].		/ochoch/ <i>house</i> /ko/ <i>cheek</i>	/k'oj/ <i>mask</i>
/oo/	/oo/ is a long, lax, mid-back rounded vowel [ɔ:].		/oob'/ <i>five</i> /poop/ <i>woven mat</i>	
/u/	/u/ is a short, high-back, rounded vowel varying from tense [u] to lax [ʊ].		/uk'/ <i>louse</i> /kuk/ <i>water jar, squirrel</i>	/chu/ <i>stinking</i>
/uu/	/uu/ is a long, tense, high-back, rounded vowel [u:], with allophone [U:] before /q/.		/uuq/ <i>skirt</i> /tzuul/ <i>hill</i>	

Origin of Long Vowels

Loss of h: phonemic long vowels

Speakers in our dialect area appear to have innovated in relation to the eastern dialect area. Forms with the canonical form CVhC and CVhVC in the eastern dialect area are CV:C in the western dialect area. Campbell (1977) shows that the eastern forms are the most conservative, more closely representing what he constructs for proto-K'iche'. He also notes that eastern Q'eqchi' maintains the old proto-K'iche' and proto-Mayan long vowels, which in western Q'eqchi' were lost, allowing for the development of new long vowels from the loss of h.

Proto-K'iche'	Eastern dialect	Western dialect	
*CVhC	ahq	aaq	<i>pig</i>
	mahk	maak	<i>sin</i>
*CVhVC	k'aham	k'aam	<i>vine, rope</i>
	tz'uhum	tz'uum	<i>leather</i>
The conversion of Vh to V: also occurs before morpheme boundary (+) plus consonant and, in Cobán, before morpheme boundary plus vowel.			
*CVh+Coh	tehtoh	teeto	<i>open</i>
	rahero	raaro	<i>loved</i>
Proto-K'iche'	Eastern dialect	Western dialect	
*CVh+ok	tehok	tehok	<i>to open</i>
	(all but Cobán)	[teħok ^h]	
	(Cobán)	[te:ok]	
	rahok	rahok	<i>to love</i>
	(all but Cobán)	[raħok ^h]	
	(Cobán)	[ʃa:ok ^h]	

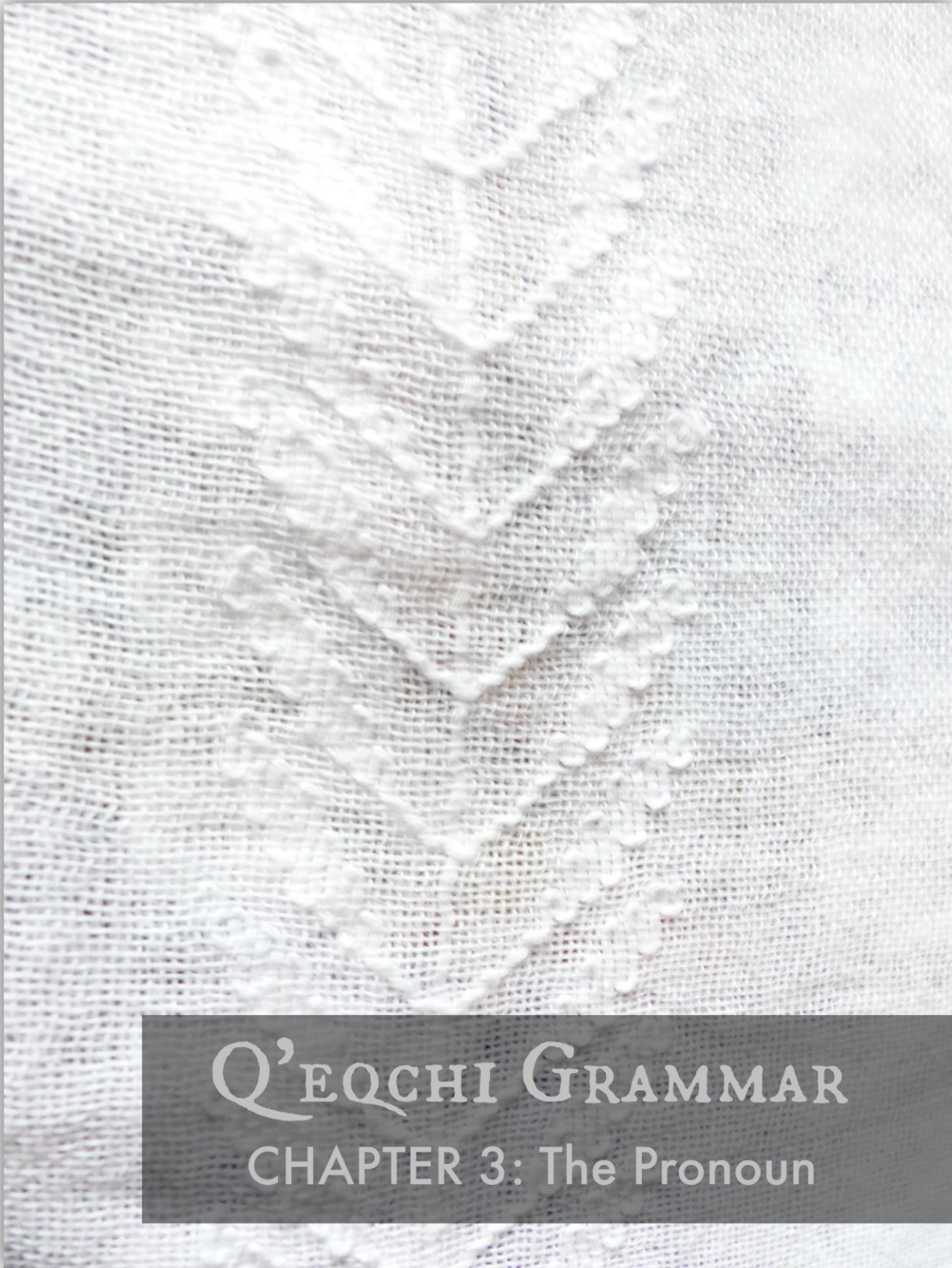
Before final clusters of resonant plus C: non-phonemic V

In Cobán and occasionally in other towns in the dialect area, short vowels are lengthened in word-final syllable which end in a consonant cluster where the first consonant is a resonant or glide (n, m, l, r, w, or y).

These vowels are non-phonemic, occur primarily in Cobán, and as they are fully predictable, they will not be written. In addition, in these segments it is not only the vowel but both the vowel and the resonant that are lengthened.

Minimal Pairs

i ≠ ii	/mix(k)/	<i>a moment ago</i>
	/miix/	<i>Catholic mass (Spanish misa)</i>
i ≠ e	/b'isok/	<i>to measure</i>
	/b'esok/	<i>to cut hair</i>
ii ≠ ee	/tiix/	<i>old codger</i>
	/teex/	<i>roof tile (Spanish teja)</i>
e ≠ ee	/b'ek/	<i>dig it up!</i>
	/b'eeek/	<i>to walk</i>
e ≠ a	/b'e/	<i>road</i>
	/b'a/	<i>mole</i>
ee ≠ aa	/b'eeek/	<i>to walk</i>
	/b'aak/	<i>cow (Spanish vaca)</i>
a ≠ aa	/al/	<i>young man</i>
	/aal/	<i>heavy</i>
a ≠ o	/max/	<i>small monkey</i>
	/mox/	<i>a kind of herb</i>
aa ≠ oo	/b'aas/	<i>type of pot</i>
	/b'oos/	<i>pants pocket (Spanish bolsa)</i>
o ≠ oo	/ch'ol/	<i>open it</i>
	/chool/	<i>heart, soul</i>
o ≠ u	/ont/	<i>sling (Spanish Honda)</i>
	/unt/	<i>animal grease (Spanish unto)</i>
oo ≠ uu	/toon/	<i>tree trunk</i>
	/tuun/	<i>a pile</i>
u ≠ uu	/tul/	<i>banana</i>
	/tuul/	<i>witch</i>



Q'EQCHI GRAMMAR

CHAPTER 3: The Pronoun

CHAPTER 3: THE PRONOUN

The pronoun in Q'eqchi' may be divided into two basic types: independent pronouns and pronominal affixes. Of the two types the more basic and important are the pronominal affixes, which occur with the verb in all sentences containing verbs, with nouns in all occurrences of possession, and

with both nouns and adjectives in most stative sentences. The present chapter will briefly outline how independent pronouns and pronominal affixes function. Succeeding chapters will elaborate on the specific affixes and their co-occurrence with verbs, nouns, and adjectives.

Chart III: Pronominal Allomorphs

Person	Pronominal Affixes			Independent Pronouns
	SET A (ergative)		SET B (absolutive)	
	pre-consonantal	prevocalic		
1st singular	- in	-w	- in	laa'in
2nd singular	-a or -aa	-aw or -aaw	- at	laa'at
3rd singular	-x or -ix	-r or -ir	∅	a'an or ha'an
1st plural	-qa	-q	-oh, -o or -oo	laa'o
2nd plural	-e or -ee	-er or -eer	- ex	laa'ex
3rd plural	x- ... -eb' or -e'x	r- ... -eb' or -e'r	-eb' or -e'	heb' a'an, a'aneb' or ha'aneb'

1. Vowel length in 2nd person singular and plural Set A: The short allomorph occurs with transitive verbs where it immediately follows tense/aspect prefixes x-, ki-, and chi-. (The explanation of these prefixes will be found in chapter 3). The long allomorph occurs in all other environments.
2. Set A, 3rd person singular: In Coban some speakers may optionally insert an epenthetic vowel -i before either the -x or -r allomorphs.
3. Initial h- in 3rd person singular and plural independent pronouns varies freely with its absence.
4. Vowel length in Set B 1st person plural: Morpheme -oh- is realized /oh/ before a vowel, /oo/ as subject of intransitive verbs, and /o/ in all other environments.
5. Set B, 3rd person plural allomorphs: Allomorph -eb' is used finally and as patient of transitive verbs preceding vowel-initial Set A agents -in and -aa. Allomorph -e' is found in all other environments.
6. Set A, 3rd person plural allomorphs: Allomorphs x-...-eb' and r-...-eb' are used with nouns; allomorphs -e'x and -e'r are used with verbs.

The Pronominal Affixes

In the pronoun chart above, it will be noted that the pronominal affixes are divided into two "sets," A and B. Set A is further subdivided into variants which occur before consonant-initial and vowel-initial stems, respectively. Set A and Set B are also identified as *ergative* and *absolute*, respectively, terminology which reflects the ergative structure of Q'eqchi' and other Mayan languages. Traditional terminology in Mayan studies is Set A and Set B, however, and is the terminology which will be used throughout this grammar.

Noun Possession: Set A

The Set A pronominal affixes are used to indicate the possessor of a noun, as demonstrated in Charts IV and V. Any word, therefore, which contains a Set A prefix but not a tense/aspect prefix is a noun. It will be noted in the chapter on Statives that nouns may also take the Set B pronominal affixes, as suffixes, in the formation of stative sentences.

aa- ye
Set A tail = your tail

Chart IV: Set A as Noun Possessor Before Consonant-Initial Stem

Person	Set A	stem	Meaning
1st person singular	in-	tz'i'	my dog
2nd person singular	aa-	tz'i'	your dog
3rd person singular	x-	tz'i'	his/her/its dog
1st person plural	qa-	tz'i'	our dog
2nd person plural	ee-	tz'i'	y'all's dog
3rd person plural	x-	tz'i' - eb'	their dog

Chart V: Set A as Noun Possessor Before Vowel-Initial Stem

Person	Set A	stem	Meaning
1st person singular	w-	aaq	my pig
2nd person singular	aaw-	aaq	your pig
3rd person singular	r-	aaq	his/her/its pig
1st person plural	q-	aaq	our pig
2nd person plural	eer-	aaq	y'all's pig
3rd person plural	r-	aaq - eb'	their pig

There are some exceptions to the above scheme in Charts IV and V. Certain vowel-initial noun stems obligatorily take the consonant-initial series of prefixes.

inup	<i>ceiba</i>	in-inup	<i>my ceiba</i>
imul	<i>rabbit</i>	in-imul	<i>my rabbit</i>

A large number of common vowel-initial noun stems can take either prevocalic or preconsonantal allomorphs.

w-atz'am / in-atz'am	<i>my salt</i>	w-uk'al / in-uk'al	<i>my jug</i>
w-iyaj / in-iyaj	<i>my seed</i>	w-o / in-o	<i>my avocado</i>
w-ik'e / in-ik'e	<i>my agave</i>	w-iswa / in-iswa	<i>my tamale</i>
w-ik / in-ik	<i>my chile</i>		

In these cases, if a vowel-initial noun stem occurs with the preconsonantal series of Set A, the glottal stop which is present before all vowel-initial stems is preserved. If the vowel-initial stem occurs with the prevocalic series of Set A, the glottal stop is dropped.

anx	[a:nš]	<i>garlic</i>
w-anx	[kwa:nš]	<i>my garlic</i>
in-anx	[ʔinʔa:nš]	<i>my garlic</i>

Campbell (1974: 274) noted these exceptions and suggested that the Set A preconsonantal set was the more basic set. He noted that frequently occurring vowel-initial nouns usually take the vowel-initial series, while the less frequently occurring vowel-initial nouns might take the preconsonantal set, as in the above. This could mean that the prevocalic pronominal allomorphs are learned piecemeal, while the preconsonantal set is the productive, basic form.

w-ixaqil	<i>my wife</i>	*in-ixaqil
w-as	<i>my older brother</i>	*in-as
w-iitz'in	<i>my younger brother</i>	*in-iitz'in
w-ix	<i>my back</i>	*in-ix
w-aq'	<i>my tongue</i>	*in-aq'

All recent Spanish loans which are vowel initial take the preconsonantal series.

in-ab'oon	<i>fertilizer (Spanish abono)</i>	*w-ab'oon
in-artal	<i>altar (Spanish altar)</i>	*w-artal
in-asuukr	<i>sugar (Spanish azucar)</i>	*w-asuukr

This evidence, especially that of the Spanish loans, suggests that the preconsonantal set is in fact the productive set and that the prevocalic set is learned piecemeal and is limited to a small subset of noun stems.

Subject of Intransitive Verb: Set B

The Set B pronominal affixes are used to indicate the subject of intransitive verbs, that is, verbs which denote either an "agent" who carries out the action indicated by the verb or a "patient" who suffers the action of the verb, but not both. By way of definition, any word which contains a Set B prefix, but not a Set A prefix, is an intransitive verb. The examples below demonstrate an intransitive verb with an agent subject and another intransitive verb with a patient subject. Elements are: tense/aspect prefix - Set B - intransitive verb stem.

Agent subject	x - at - b'e	<i>you walked</i>
Patient subject	x - at - kam	<i>you died</i>

Chart VI: Set B with an Intransitive Verb		
Subject	Tense/aspect - Set B - Intransitive	Meaning
1 st person singular	x - in - titz'	<i>I got bored</i>
2 nd person singular	x - at - titz'	<i>you got bored</i>
3 rd person singular	x - ø - titz'	<i>he/she got bored</i>
1 st person plural	x - oo - titz'	<i>we got bored</i>
2 nd person plural	x - ex - titz'	<i>y'all got bored</i>
3 rd person plural	x - e' - titz'	<i>they got bored</i>

Stative Sentences: Set B

The Set B pronominal affixes are used to indicate the subject or theme of stative sentences. Stative sentences here refer to verbless, equative sentences where the predicates indicate the identity, state, or condition of the subject. A stative predicate may be defined as any word which contains a Set B suffix and which, as noted above for nouns, may not contain a tense/aspect prefix. In order to further distinguish statives from intransitive verbs, which they may at times resemble, it is helpful to consider the statives as describing "states" and the verbs as denoting some kind of action. The following examples, showing an adjective used as a stative and an intransitive verb derived from that adjective, are illustrative:

yaj-	at	chaq	
<i>sick</i>	Set B	past	= <i>you were sick</i> (but the action or process of getting sick is not referred to).
x-	at-	yajo'	
past	Set B	<i>get sick</i>	= <i>you got sick</i> (here the process is referred to but not the resultant state).

Predicates may be nouns, adjectives, positional adjectives, or participles. Examples with predicates indicating identity, state, and condition:

Predicate - Set B	Meaning	Predicate type
winq – at	<i>you (are) a man</i>	identity
chaab'il – at	<i>you (are) good</i>	state
yaj – at	<i>you (are) sick</i>	condition

Chart VII: Set B with Stative Predicate		
Subject	Predicate - B	Meaning
1 st person singular	yaj - in	<i>I (am) sick</i>
2 nd person singular	yaj - at	<i>you (are) sick</i>
3 rd person Singular	yaj - ∅	<i>he/she/it (is) sick</i>
1 st person plural	yaj - o	<i>we (are) sick</i>
2 nd person plural	yaj - ex	<i>y'all (are) sick</i>
3 rd person plural	yaj - eb'	<i>they (are) sick</i>

The following examples exhibiting Set B with other verbless predicates. For more on these predicates, see sections on Nouns and Statives. For an explanation of suffixes -k and -(a)q, see below.

Predicate	Non-future	Set B	Positional Adjective
yokyoo	k -	in	<i>I (am/was) lying down</i>
Predicate			Transitive Participle
sak'b'il -		in	<i>I (am/was) hit</i>
Predicate			Intransitive Participle
warenaq -		in	<i>I have slept</i>
Predicate			Noun (human profession)
aj b'ak'ol si' -		in	<i>I am one who ties up firewood</i>
b'ak'onel			<i>he-who-ties-up (things)</i>
aj b'ak'onel -		in	<i>I am one who ties (things) up</i>
Predicate			Noun (human origin)
aj San Juan -		in	<i>I am from San Juan</i>
aj Chamil -		in	<i>I am from Chamil</i>

Agent of Transitive Verb: Set A / Patient of Transitive Verb: Set B

In transitive verbs, which require both an agent who carries out the action of the verb and a patient who suffers that action, both Set A and Set B pronominal affixes are required. The Set A affixes indicate the agent; the Set B affixes indicate the patient. The examples below demonstrate both the full range of Set A agents, including the series occurring before vowel-initial stems as well as the series occurring before consonant-initial stems, and the Set B patients.

The normal order of elements in a transitive verb are tense/aspect prefix - Set B patient - Set A agent - transitive verb stem, as shown in nearly all the examples given in Charts VIII and IX. However, as noted by Pinkerton (1976: 55), there are two variants to the above order: the Set B patient may occur following the verb stem, or the Set B patient may occur doubled, both following the tense/aspect prefix and also following the verb stem. Thus the full range of possibilities for ordering elements in a transitive verb follows.

(1) tense/aspect - Set B patient - Set A agent - verb stem

<i>Example</i>	x	-	at	-	in	-	ch'aj		xatinch'aj
	past		Set B		Set A		wash		I washed you

(2) tense/aspect - Set A agent - verb stem - Set B patient

<i>Example</i>	x	-	in	-	ch'aj	-	at		xinch'ajat
	past		Set A		wash		Set B		I washed you

(3) tense/aspect - Set B patient - Set A agent - verb stem - Set B patient

<i>Example</i>	x	-	at	-	in	-	ch'aj	-	at	xatinch'ajat
	past		Set B		Set A		wash		Set B	I washed you

Order (1) is normally the most common of the three possible orders, but there are exceptions. In Charts VIII and IX it will be noted that there are two possibilities, one where the agent is 3 pl and the patient 2 pl and another where both agent and patient are 3 pl, for which "No Form" is entered. In these cases a passive construction results, removing the agent from the verb entirely. The expected forms *x-ex-e'x- b'oq *they called y'all* and *x-eb'-e'x-b'oq *they called them* (as well as the other variants) are replaced by passives, which function in terms of inflection like intransitive verbs:

x- past	ex- Set B	b'oqe' <i>be called</i>	(x-b'aan-eb') <i>(by-them)</i>	<i>Y'all were called (by them).</i>
x- past	e'- Set B	b'oqe' <i>be called</i>	(x-b'aan-eb') <i>(by-them)</i>	<i>They were called (by them).</i>

Suffix -e' is the suffix which normally derives passive stems from transitive active stems and should not be confused with the homophonous 3rd plural Set B allomorph. For an explanation of xb'aaneb', see section in Nouns on relational nouns.

The second exception involves all other forms with 3rd plural Set B patients. It will be noted in Charts VIII and IX that all forms are given with Set B patient following the verb stem and that some forms have only this ordering of elements. Apparently this ordering, (2) above in this section, is the more normal ordering with 3rd plural patients, while the ordering in which the Set B patient follows the tense/aspect prefix, (1) above in this section, is impossible where the agent is 3rd singular or 2nd plural and less normal with other agent pronouns. Pinkerton (ibid.) pointed out that the 3rd singular agent with 3rd plural patient (*x-e'-x-b'oq) would be homophonous with a 3rd plural agent with 3rd singular patient (x-e'-x-x-b' oq) and that this might explain why the former did not occur.

As a way of explaining the variation in Set B placement, Pinkerton (1976: 56) had this to say:

Marlys Bacon has told me that Mayan languages can be roughly divided into three groups whose geographical location correlates with the prefixing or suffixing of the absolutive (i.e., Set B) pronouns to the verbs. The lowland languages suffix the absolutive pronouns to the verb and the highland languages prefix them to the verb. There are also "buffer zone" languages which both prefix and suffix the absolutive pronouns to the verb. Q'eqchi' seems to fall into the "buffer zone" group.

In support of this statement it should be mentioned that Q'eqchi', as a member of the K'iche'an branch of Mayan languages, is historically a highland language. But it can also be shown that at the time of the conquest, Q'eqchi' was in contact with Chol and Lacandon (King, 1974), both lowland languages, and Chol, at least, suffixes the Set B patients (Attinasi, 1973: 165).

Chart VIII: Set A Agents and Set B Patients with Vowel-initial Transitive Verb Stem

Agent	Patient	tense / aspect	Set B	Set A	Set B	verb stem	Joined Word	Meaning
2 sg	1 sg	x-	in-	aaw-		-il	xinaawil	<i>You saw me.</i>
3 sg	1 sg	x-	in-	ir-		-il	xiniril	<i>He saw me.</i>
2 pl	1 sg	x-	in-	eer-		-il	xineeril	<i>Y'all saw me.</i>
3 pl	1 sg	x-	in-	e'r-		-il	xine'ril	<i>They saw me.</i>
1 sg	2 sg	x-	at-	w-		-il	xatwil	<i>I saw you.</i>
3 sg	2 sg	x-	at-	r-		-il	xatril	<i>He saw you.</i>
1 pl	2 sg	x-	at-	q-		-il	xatqil	<i>We saw you.</i>
3 pl	2 sg	x-	at-	e'r-		-il	xate'ril	<i>They saw you.</i>
1 sg	3 sg	x-	∅	w-		-il	xwil	<i>I saw him.</i>
2 sg	3 sg	x-	∅	aw-		-il	xawil	<i>You saw him.</i>
3 sg	3 sg	x-	∅	r-		-il	xril	<i>He saw him.</i>
1 pl	3 sg	x-	∅	q-		-il	xqil	<i>We saw him.</i>
2 pl	3 sg	x-	∅	er-		-il	xeril	<i>Y'all saw him.</i>
3 pl	3 sg	x-	∅	e'r-		-il	xe'ril	<i>They saw him.</i>
2 sg	1 pl	x-	oh-	aaw-		-il	xohaawil	<i>You saw us.</i>
3 sg	1 pl	x-	o-	r-		-il	xoril	<i>He saw us.</i>
2 pl	1 pl	x-	oh-	eer-		-il	xoheeril	<i>Y'all saw us.</i>
3 pl	1 pl	x-	oh-	e'r-		-il	xohe'ril	<i>They saw us.</i>
1 sg	2 pl	x-	ex-	w-		-il	xexwil	<i>I saw y'all.</i>
3 sg	2 pl	x-	ex-	r-		-il	xexril	<i>He saw y'all.</i>
1 pl	2 pl	x-	ex-	q-		-il	xexqil	<i>We saw y'all.</i>
3 pl	2 pl		No form			No form		<i>They saw y'all.</i>
1 sg	3 pl	x-	(eb'-)	w-	(eb'-)	-il	xeb'wil/xwileb'	<i>I saw them.</i>
2 sg	3 pl	x-	(eb'-)	aaw-	(eb'-)	-il	xeb'aawil/xawileb'	<i>You saw them.</i>
3 sg	3 pl	x-		r-	eb'-	-il	xrileb'	<i>He saw them.</i>
1 pl	3 pl	x-		q-	eb'-	-il	xqileb'	<i>We saw them.</i>
2 pl	3 pl	x-		er-	eb'-	-il	xerileb'	<i>Y'all saw them.</i>
3 pl	3 pl		No form			No form		<i>They saw them.</i>

Chart IX: Set A Agents and Set B Patients with Consonant-initial Transitive Verb Stem

Agent	Patient	tense /aspect	Set B	Set A	Set B	verb stem	Joined Word	Meaning
2 sg	1 sg	x-	in-	aa-		-b'oq	xinaab'oq	You called me.
3 sg	1 sg	x-	in-	ix-		-b'oq	xinixb'oq	He called me.
2 pl	1 sg	x-	in-	ee-		-b'oq	xineeb'oq	Y'all called me.
3 pl	1 sg	x-	in-	e'x-		-b'oq	xine'xb'oq	They called me.
1 sg	2 sg	x-	at-	in-		-b'oq	xatinb'oq	I called you.
3 sg	2 sg	x-	at-	x-		-b'oq	xatxb'oq	He called you.
1 pl	2 sg	x-	at-	qa-		-b'oq	xatqab'oq	We called you.
3 pl	2 sg	x-	at-	e'x-		-b'oq	xate'xb'oq	They called you.
1 sg	3 sg	x-	∅	in-		-b'oq	xinb'oq	I called him.
2 sg	3 sg	x-	∅	a-		-b'oq	xab'oq	You called him.
3 sg	3 sg	x-	∅	x-		-b'oq	xb'oq	He called him.
1 pl	3 sg	x-	∅	qa-		-b'oq	xqab'oq	We called him.
2 pl	3 sg	x-	∅	ee-		-b'oq	xeeb'oq	Y'all called him.
3 pl	3 sg	x-	∅	e'x-		-b'oq	xe'xb'oq	They called him.
2 sg	1 pl	x-	oh-	aa-		-b'oq	xohaab'oq	You called us.
3 sg	1 pl	x-	o-	x-		-b'oq	xoxb'oq	He called us.
2 pl	1 pl	x-	oh-	ee-		-b'oq	xoheeb'oq	Y'all called us.
3 pl	1 pl	x-	oh-	e'x-		-b'oq	xohe'xb'oq	They called us.
1 sg	2 pl	x-	ex-	in-		-b'oq	xexinb'oq	I called y'all.
3 sg	2 pl	x-	ex-	x-		-b'oq	xexb'oq	He called y'all.
1 pl	2 pl	x-	ex-	qa-		-b'oq	xexqab'oq	We called y'all.
3 pl	2 pl		No form			No form		They called y'all.
1 sg	3 pl	x-	(eb'-)	in-	(eb'-)	-b'oq	xeb'inb'oq/xinb'oqeb'	I called them.
2 sg	3 pl	x-	(eb'-)	aa-	(eb'-)	-b'oq	xeb'aab'oq/xab'oqeb'	You called them.
3 sg	3 pl	x-		x-	eb'-	-b'oq	xb'oqeb'	He called them.
1 pl	3 pl	x-		qa-	eb'-	-b'oq	xqab'oqeb'	We called them.
2 pl	3 pl	x-		ee-	eb'-	-b'oq	xeeb'oqeb'	Y'all called them.
3pl	3 pl		No form			No form		They called them.

Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns, as evidenced by their final syllables, appear to be more closely related to the Set B pronominal affixes and were probably derived from them originally.

Person	Set B	Independent Pronouns
1 st singular	-in	laa'in
2 nd singular	-at	laa'at
3 rd singular	∅	(h)a'an
1 st plural	-o	laa'o
2 nd plural	-ex	laa'ex
3 rd plural	-eb'	(h)a'aneb' or (h)eb' a'an

In some areas, according to Haeserijn (1966: 12), there exists what appears to be an archaic set of pronouns more consistent with the present 3rd person forms. This set is:

1 st singular	ha'in
2 nd singular	ha'at
3 rd singular	ha'an
1 st plural	ha'o
2 nd plural	ha'ex
3 rd plural	ha'aneb'

The present set of independent pronouns appears to represent the definite article *li* plus the non-3rd person pronouns of the archaic set frozen into a single form. The vowel -a- in the first syllable of the archaic forms has been lengthened to -aa- to compensate for the loss of the -i- of *li* and the initial h- of the archaic forms.

Person	Article plus archaic pronoun	Present pronoun
1 st singular	li + ha'in	laa'in
2 nd singular	li + ha'at	laa'at
1 st plural	li + ha'o	laa'o
2 nd plural	li + ha'ex	laa'ex

Use of Independent Pronouns

Independent pronouns are used to emphasize the agent or patient when pronominal affixes are also present.

laa'at x - at - in - sak'
you past Set B Set A hit = *I hit (emphasis) **you**.*

laa'in x - at - in- sak = (emphasis) ***I** hit you.*
I

chaab'il at laa'at
nice Set B you = (emphasis) ***You** are nice.*

Independent pronouns are used to identify people in response to "who" questions.

"Ani xsak'?" "Laa'in." "Who hit him?" "(It was) I."

Independent pronouns may also be used as the subject of stative sentences in which the predicate identifies the subject, though not with the other stative predicates mentioned in conjunction with Set B, state and condition. In fact, independent pronouns are more common and have no restrictions placed on them as subject of stative sentences with identity predicates, whereas Set B in this context are less common and may specifically not be used if the identity predicate is a compound.

For example, it is possible to say both of the following sentences:

laa'in aj b'anonel *I (am a) medicine man.*
aj b'anonelin *I (am a) medicine man.*

But to identify oneself as a tailor, raqol t'ikr (literally, *cloth measurer*), it is necessary to use the independent pronoun.

laa'in aj raqol t'ikr *I (am a) tailor.*

The independent pronouns are also obligatorily used with the absolutive voice.

I	past	Set B	absolutive intransitive	Set A	dative relational noun
laa'in	x-	in -	ab'in	aaw-	e
=					
laa'in xin-ab'in aawe. <i>I (was the one who) heard you</i>					

Q'EQCHI GRAMMAR
CHAPTER 4: Verbs

CHAPTER 4: VERBS

Morphemes which can be inflected for tense/aspect are termed *verbs*, or *verb stems*.

A verb stem devoid of derivational suffixes may also be termed a *verb root*.

Verb roots are always monosyllables of the shape (C)VC. Derived verb stems are polysyllabic and contain a root plus one or more derivational suffixes, though for a few such stems the root does not occur elsewhere and its meaning may be unrecoverable synchronically.

Verb stems are either transitive or intransitive.

Transitive stems are those in which Set A pronominal affixes are employed to denote the agent, who does the action indicated by the verb stem, and in which Set B pronominal affixes are employed to denote the patient, who suffers the action indicated by the verb.

Intransitive stems are those in which only the Set B pronominal affixes are found. These denote the subject, whether agent or patient, of the action of the verb stem.

The verb stem plus pronominal affix(es) plus tense/aspect inflection are required to form the verb word, though there are affixes for direction and manner which may optionally occur in the verb word.

Intransitive stems may be derived from transitive stems, and vice versa.

Derivation *per se* is not treated in depth in this grammar and no attempt will be made to identify all the derivations which can occur in the formation of a stem, though occasional analysis of certain derivations will be required, such as those involved in the formation of passive and antipassive (absolute) voices.

The classes of verb stems presented below are determined primarily on the form of the derivational suffixes which derive those stems.

The term *infinitive*, a verbal noun which "names" the action of the verb, is used in a manner slightly different than is traditional in that the infinitive may be inflected for person, whereas in normal usage infinitives are uninflected.

Classes of Transitive Verb Stems

There are two classes of transitive verb stems, termed root transitives (vtR) and derived transitives (vtD). The vtR stem is a monosyllabic, underived root of the shape (C)VC-. The infinitive is formed by the root plus the derivational suffix -b'al and is always possessed by the Set A pronominal affixes.

	b'ek	<i>dig it!</i>	(stem = imperative)		
x- Set A	b'ek- vtR stem	b'al infinitive suffix	=	xb'ekb'al	<i>digging it/it's digging</i>

The vtD transitives are polysyllabic derived stems, although there is a small number of stems in this class for which the derivation is not synchronically recoverable in that the root does not occur elsewhere.

These transitives normally end in a stem formative vowel, with the following exceptions: transitives derived from positional roots, explained below, drop the stem formative vowel -a in all inflected forms; causative transitives may optionally drop the stem formative vowel -i of the derivational suffix -si ~ -resi ~ -tesi ~ -b'esi.

Infinitives are formed by first forming the absolutive intransitive infinitive and then adding the derivational suffix -il plus the Set A possessive prefix.

Examples:

(1) Stems (= Imperative)

Root	Transitive Derivational Suffix		vtD stem		
b'aan-	u	=	b'aanu	<i>do it!</i>	deed
k'ay-	i	=	k'ayi	<i>sell it!</i>	wares

(2) Infinitives

Set A	vtD stem	Absolutive Intransitive		Infinitive	vtD infinitive suffix
x -	b'aanu	n	=	xb'aanunkil	- il <i>doing it, to do it</i>
x -	k'ayi	n	=	xk'ayinkil	- il <i>buying it, to buy it</i>

Transitives are derived from positional roots by the derivational suffix –V¹b'a in which V¹ represents the reduplicated root vowel. The final -a is dropped in finite forms.

Positional Root chun -	Verb Derivational Suffix ub' a				=	vtD Stem chunub'	<i>set it down!</i>
Past x-	Set B ∅-	Set A x-	vtD Stem chunub'		=	xchunub'	<i>He set it down</i>
Set A x-	vtD stem chunub'a -	Absolutive n-	Absolutive Infinitive k-	vtD Infinitive -il	=	xchunub'ankil	<i>setting it down, to set it down</i>

Below are shown derived causative transitive verbs, derived from an adjective, kaw
hard.

kawres(i) *harden it!*

Past x-	Set B ∅	Set A x-	vtD stem kawres(i)		=	xkawres(i)	<i>he hardened it</i>
Set A x-	vtD stem kawresi-	absolutive n-	absolutive infinitive k-	vtD infinitive il	=	xkawresinkil	<i>hardening it, to harden it</i>

Classes of Intransitive Verb Stems

Intransitive verbs are defined as those verbs which employ only Set B pronominal affixes to denote the subject, whether agent or patient, of the verb, but not Set A.

Intransitive verbs, like transitive verbs, are either non-derived or derived. But the derived intransitives, unlike the derived transitives, have a variety of stem formations.

The classes of intransitive verbs presented below are determined in part by the form of the derivational suffix but also by the interrelationships between certain intransitive stems and the transitive stems mentioned above.

In presenting the intransitives mention will be made of these interrelationships but detailed discussion will be reserved for a section later on Voice.

There are nine classes of intransitive verbs.

Class viR

Class viR are intransitives which have monosyllabic, non-derived stems. Examples:

war-						sleep
viR stem (bound)						
war-	k			=	wark	to sleep
Stem	Infinitive Suffix					
t -	in-	war-	q	=	tinwarq	I'm going to sleep
Future	Set B	Stem	Future			
war-	in			=	warin	sleep!
Stem	Imperative					
x-	∅	war-	(k)	=	xwar(k)	he slept
Past	Set B	Stem	Non-future			

Class vin

Class vin are intransitives which have stems ending in -n. Some members of this class have a special relationship with transitive stems of class vtD. The absolutive voice of vtD stems is formed by deriving an intransitive vin stem from the vtD stem by means of suffix -n. Examples:

k'ulun-*come***vin stem (bound)**

k'ulun- Stem		k Infinitive Suffix	=	k'ulunk	<i>to come</i>
t Future	in Set B	k'ulun Stem	q Future	=	tink'ulunq <i>I'll come</i>
∅ Imperative	k'ulun - Stem	q- Future	at Set B	=	k'ulunqat <i>come!</i>
x - Past	∅ Set B	k'ulun - Stem	(k) Non-future	=	xk'ulun(k) <i>he came</i>

Class vik

Class vik are intransitives which have stems ending in a short vowel. When inflected in other than the future these intransitives obligatorily mark nonfuture with suffix -k, while with all other intransitives the non-future suffix -k is either optional or not used at all. Some members of this class have a special relationship with transitive stems of class vtR parallel to the relationship of vin to vtD mentioned above. The absolutive voice of vtR stems is formed by deriving an intransitive viK stem from the vtD stem by means of suffix -o or, if the vtR root vowel is -u-, by means of suffix -u. Examples:

se'e -*laugh***vik stem (bound)**

se'e Stem		k Infinitive Suffix	=	se'ek	<i>to laugh</i>
t - Future	in- Set B	se'e Stem	q Future	=	tinse'eq <i>I'll laugh</i>
se'e Stem		n Imperative Suffix	=	se'en	<i>laugh!</i>
x - Past	∅ - Set B	se'e - Stem	k Non-future	=	xse'ek <i>he laughed</i>

Class viV

Class viV are intransitives which are stems ending in a long vowel. When inflected without a future suffix –q, the long vowel VV becomes a short vowel V. Passives related to vtD stems are viV intransitives when the VV remains in all forms followed by future suffix –q or non-future suffix –k.

viV stems (bound)

kub'ee -		k			=	kub'eeq	<i>to go down</i>
kalaa -		k			=	kalaak	<i>to get drunk</i>
Stem		infinitive suffix					
t -	in -	kub'ee -	q		=	tinkub'eeq	<i>I'll go down</i>
t -	in -	kalaa -	q		=	tinkalaaq	<i>I'll get drunk</i>
Future	Set B	Stem	Future				
kub'ee -		n			=	kub'en	<i>go down!</i>
Stem		imperative suffix					
∅-		kalaa	q -	at	=	kalaaqat	<i>get drunk!</i>
optative/imperative		Stem	Future	Set B			
x -	∅	kub'ee			=	xkub'e	<i>he went down</i>
x-	∅	kalaa			=	xkala	<i>he got drunk</i>
Past	Set B	Stem					

Examples of viV stems which are passives derived from vtD stems.

ch'iilaa-*be scolded***viV stem (bound)**

ch'iilaa		k	=	ch'iilaak	<i>to be scolded</i>
Stem		Infinitive Suffix			
t -	in -	ch'iilaa -	q	=	tinch'iilaaq <i>I'll be scolded</i>
Future	Set B	Stem	Future		
x -	∅	ch'iilaa-	k	=	xch'iilaak <i>he was scolded</i>
Past	Set B	Stem	Non-Future		

But vtD transitive:

x -	∅	x -	=	xch'iila	<i>he scolded him</i>
Past	Set B	Set A		Stem	

Class viV also contains an aberrant subset in the Chamil dialect. Adjectives derived from transitive and positional roots of the form C₁VC-C₁o or C₁VC-C₁u, if the root vowel is -u-, may be inflected in the same way as other intransitives of this class, with the following exceptions: the stem, as an adjective, is not bound as in other verbs of this class, and there is also no infinitive. Examples:

chun - *sitting down*
Positional Root (Bound)

chun		- chuu		=	chunchu	<i>sitting down</i>
Positional Root		Adjective Derivational Suffix				
t-	in -	chunchuu -	q	=	tinchunchuuq	<i>I'll be sitting down</i>
Future	Set B	Stem viV	Future			
∅	chunchuu -	q	at	=	chunchuuqat	<i>sit down!</i>
Optative/ Imperative	Stem viV	Future	Set B			
x -	∅ -	chunchuu		=	xchunchu	<i>he sat down</i>
Past	Set B	viV stem				

Class vi'

Class vi' are intransitives with stems ending in -'. In Coban the combination -'k in the formation of infinitives is realized -k'. The -' is lost before the imperative suffix -n. Some members of this class, those in which -' is preceded by -e-, have a special relationship with transitive stems of class vtR, parallel to the relationship between viV stems and vtD stems. The passive voice of vtR stems is formed by deriving an intransitive vi' stem by means of the suffix -e'.

In most of the other members of this class, the -' is preceded by -o- and the stems have a versive or inchoative semantic component, *become*. This derivational suffix -o' is in allomorphic variation with -ob'. Suffix -o' is found stem finally and -ob' is found where the suffix is followed by another suffix -b'esi ~ -tesi ~ -lesi, which derives a causative vtD stem from the in-choative vi' stem: josq'-o' *get angry*, josq'-ob'-resi *make angry*. Examples:

nume'-		<i>pass by</i>
josq'o' -		<i>get angry</i>

vi' stems (bound)

nume' -	k	=	nume'k ~ numek'	<i>to pass by</i>
josq'o' -	k	=	josq'o'k ~ josq'ok'	<i>to get angry</i>
stem	infinitive suffix			
t -	in-	nume'-	q	= tinume'q <i>I'll pass by</i>
t -	in-	josq'o'-	q	= tinjosq'o'q <i>I'll get angry</i>
future	Set B	stem	future	
nume'-	n	=	numen	<i>pass by!</i>
stem	imperative			
∅ -	josq'o'-	q-	at	= josq'o'qat <i>get angry!</i>
optative/imperative	stem	future	Set B	
x-	∅-	nume'	=	xnume' <i>he passed by</i>
x-	∅-	josq'o'	=	xjosq'o' <i>he got angry</i>
past	Set B	stem		

Examples of vi' stems which are passives derived from vtR stems:

b'oqe'	<i>be called</i>
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vi' stem (bound)

b'oqe' -	k	=	b'oqe'k	<i>to be called</i>
stem	infinitive suffix			
t -	in-	b'oqe'-	q	= tinb'oqe'q <i>I'll be called</i>
future	Set B	stem	future	

x - past	∅ - Set B	b'oqe' stem	=	xb'oqe' <i>he was called</i>
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Class vit

Class vit is made up of intransitives which are composed of a C¹VC root plus a derivational suffix C¹ot or –C¹ut, where C¹ represents the initial consonant of the root. Allomorph –C¹ut occurs where the root vowel is -u-. This class is defective in that normally it may only be inflected in the present habitual, verbs which are termed affectives (see below).

Examples:

tentot - vit stem (bound) *palpitate*

tentot- stem	k infinitive suffix	=	tentotk <i>to palpitate</i>
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na - present habitual	∅ Set B	tentot stem	=	natentot <i>it palpitates</i>
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Minor Intransitive Classes: vir, vib', viw

The following three classes are minor, containing few members. It is felt that the derivation of these classes represents morphological processes no longer productive in Q'eqchi' — though very productive in such sister languages as K'iche', Kaqchikel, and Tz'utujil — and that these forms are a residue of survivals from previously productive morphological processes.

Class vir are intransitives with stems ending in -r. Examples:

yajer -				<i>get sick</i>	
vir stem (bound)					
yajer stem		k infinitive suffix	=	yajerk	<i>to get sick</i>
t - future	in - Set B	yajer- stem	q future	=	tinyajerq <i>I'll get sick</i>
∅- optative/ imperative	yajer stem	q future	at Set B	=	yajerqat <i>get sick!</i>
x - past	∅ Set B	yajer stem		=	xyajer <i>he got sick</i>

Class vib' are intransitives with stems ending in -b'. The Coban dialect has lost this class, as all stems expected to be in the class have either lost the b while retaining the glottalization (-b' becomes -'), resulting in verbs of class vi', or lost the b' altogether (b' becomes ∅), resulting in verbs of class vik. Examples:

karab' - ~ karib' -				<i>go fishing</i>	
vib' stem (bound)					
karab' - stem		k infinitive suffix	=	karab'k	<i>to go fishing</i>
t - future	in - Set B	karab' - stem	q future	=	tinkarab'q <i>I'll go fishing</i>
∅- optative/ imperative	karab' - stem	q - future	at Set B	=	karab'qat <i>Go fishing!</i>
x - past	∅ - Set B	karab' stem		=	xkarab' <i>he went fishing</i>

Class viw are intransitives with stems ending in -w. The class is very small and possibly disappearing, since one of its few members, xa'aw-k *to vomit*, has a more common variant, xawak, in the class vik. Examples:

saqew- viw stem (bound)				<i>become dawn</i>	
saqew- stem	k infinitive suffix	=	saqewk	<i>to dawn</i>	
taa - future	∅ - Set B	saqew - stem	q future	=	taasaqewq <i>it's going to dawn</i>
x- past	∅- Set B	saqew stem	=	xsaqew	<i>it dawned</i>

Affective Intransitives

There is a defective subset of intransitive verbs to be mentioned which is not determined by stem formation but rather by peculiarities of inflection and use, called affectives. In terms of the previously mentioned classes these verbs are found to be members of three classes: *vin*, *vik*, and *vit*. In terms of inflection these verbs are defective in that they are almost always marked only be for present-habitual tense/aspect. In marking person the vast majority mark only third person singular, somewhat fewer mark third person plural as well, while a much smaller number with a human subject may also mark non-third person. In terms of use affectives may be used as main verbs but more usually appear to act as adverbs or adjectives in describing the manner in which something is done or the way something is acting.

Examples:

na - present-habitual	∅ - Set B	ch'ajch'ot stem (vit)	=	nach'ajch'ot	<i>it's empty, unoccupied</i>
nak - present-habitual	e' - Set B	tub'ub'na - stem (vik)	k non-future	=	nake'tub'ub'nak <i>they're grouping together</i>
n- present-habitual	in - Set B	lub'ub'na - stem (vik)	k non-future	=	ninlub'ub'nak <i>I'm feeling tired</i>
na - present-habitual	∅ - Set B	b'oq'lo - stem (vik)	k non-future	=	nab'oq'lok <i>He's making the sound of husking corn or pulling feet out of the mud.</i>

Verb Inflectional Affixes

Verb inflectional affixes can be grouped into three types: pronominal affixes, direction and manner affixes, and affixes which denote notions of tense, aspect, and mood. Pronominal affixes were presented in Chapter II.

The affixes for tense, aspect, and mood (abbreviated T/A/M) are the topic of the present section; the direction and manner affixes are treated in the following section. However, it seems appropriate to provide at this point an overview of how these three types of affixes may occur with verb stems.

Verb inflection can be stated in terms of formulas. The charts below show the inflectional elements which make up the verb word, though without showing the requirements for co-occurrence.

Chart X showing Inflection of Intransitives

T/A/M	(Dir)	Set B	(Dir)	Stem	Impv.	T/A/M	Set B	(Dir)
ki-	ol-	in-	nume'-		-(V)n	-k	in-	-ke
x-	ox-	at-	kok'-			-q	at-	
nak-	laj-	∅-	ch'ina-				∅-	
ta-		oo-					oo-	
mi-		ex-					ex-	
chi- / ∅		e'-					e'-	

Chart XI showing Inflection of Transitives

T/A/M	(Dir)	Set B	Set A	(Dir)	Stem	Impv.	T/A/M	Set B
ki-	ol-	in-	in- / w-	nume'-		-om	-k	in-
x-	ox-	at-	aa- / aaw	kok'-			-q	at-
nak-	laj-	∅-	x- / r-	ch'ina-				∅-
ta-		oo-	qa- / q-					oo-
mi-		ex-	ee- / eer-					ex-
chi- / ∅		e'- / eb'	e'x- / e'r					e'-

Inflectional Affixes for Tense, Aspect, and Mood

Verb inflection includes affixes which express notions of tense, aspect and mood. These affixes do not express all of the possibilities of tense, aspect and mood, some of which may be expressed by means of particles or phrases outside of the verb word. This section will analyze these notions as expressed in inflectional affixes, leaving for a later section the analysis of these notions as expressed in other ways. The inflectional affixes, six prefixes and two suffixes, do not clearly distinguish between tense, aspect and mood, but rather express various combinations of these notions.

The prefixes will be considered first with brief mention of the suffixes, where necessary. Then the suffixes will be considered in detail.

ta-: *future definite*.

The term *future definite* will be used to label this particular prefix. The prefix indicates: (1) a non-immediate future time as opposed to an action which will take place immediately; and/or (2) an aspect of definiteness or certainty that the action will take place; and/or (3) an attitude of intention or purpose on the part of the agent of the verb. Examples:

tooxik	<i>We're going</i> (in a little while) .
tatinb'oq	<i>I'll call you</i> (intention/certainty) .

Synthesis of ta- with pronominal affixes

In most cases ta- is shortened to t- before those person prefixes which begin with vowels. Special cases involve the following:

- ta- + ∅ (3rd singular, Set B) → taa- (Coban); ta- + ix- (3rd singular, Set A) → tix-; ta- + w → (1st singular, Set A, prevocalic) tinw- (Coban), which represents both preconsonantal and prevocalic Set A together.
- In addition, Chamil generalizes the vowel dropping of ta- to t- before Set A prefixes which are not vowel-initial.
- Before Set A prevocalic prefixes for third singular and first plural, the short vowel of ta- lengthens to taa-.

A possible explanation for this and for the irregular first singular prevocalic is analogy pressure from the other three pronominal prefixes, taaw- (2nd singular), teer- (2nd plural), and te'r- (3rd plural), which are longer or "heavier" due to their tVVC- or tV'C- composition. Prefixes tar- (3rd singular) and taq- (1st plural) become taar- and taaq- through analogy pressure. Prefix ta- + w- (1st singular), unable to follow the same process because of the second singular form, appropriates the first singular preconsonantal -in, places it before the -w, and thus produces tinw-, which appears weighted in a manner similar to tV'C-, the third plural form.

Examples with verb stems xik *go*, b'oq *call*, and il *see*:

ta- + Set B

1 st singular	ta- + in-	= tin-	tinxik	<i>I'll go</i>
2 nd singular	ta- + at-	= tat-	tatxik	<i>you'll go</i>
3 rd singular	ta- + ø-	= taa- ~ t-	taaxik ~ txik	<i>he'll go/she'll go</i>
1 st plural	ta- + oo-	= too-	tooxik	<i>we'll go</i>
2 nd plural	ta- + ex-	= tex-	texxik	<i>y'all will go</i>
3 rd plural	ta- + e'-	= te'-	te'xik	<i>they'll go</i>

ta- + Set A preconsonantal (Set B patient is ø)

1 st singular	ta- + in- +ø-	= tin-	tinb'oq	<i>I'll call him</i>
2 nd singular	ta- + aa- +ø-	= taa-	taab'oq	<i>you'll call him</i>
3 rd singular	ta- + x- +ø-	= tix-	tixb'oq	<i>he'll call him</i>
1 st plural	ta- + qa- +ø-	= taqa- ~ tqa-	taqab'oq ~ tqab'oq	<i>we'll call him</i>
2 nd plural	ta- + ee- +ø-	= tee-	teeb'oq	<i>y'all will call him</i>
3 rd plural	ta- + e'x- +ø-	= te'x-	te'xb'oq	<i>they'll call him</i>

ta- + Set A prevocalic (Set B patient is ø)

1 st singular	ta- + w- +ø-	= tinw- ~ tw-	tinwil ~ twil	<i>I'll see him</i>
2 nd singular	ta- + aaw- +ø-	= taaw-	taawil	<i>you'll see him</i>
3 rd singular	ta- + r- +ø-	= ta(a)r- ~ tr-	taaril ~ tril	<i>he'll see him</i>
1 st plural	ta- + q- +ø-	= taaq- ~ tq-	taaqil ~ tqil	<i>we'll see him</i>
2 nd plural	ta- + eer- +ø-	= teer-	teeril	<i>y'all will see him</i>
3 rd plural	ta- + e'r- +ø-	= te'r-	te'ril	<i>they'll see him</i>

nak- present habitual.

The label *present habitual* will be used to represent the notions of tense, aspect, and mood inherent in the prefix nak-. This prefix indicates: (1) actions which are true at, but not limited to, the present time in that these actions have a quality of stability; and/or (2) actions which are habitual or customary. Examples:

Laa'in <i>I</i>	ink'a' <i>not</i>	chik <i>anymore</i>	saqen <i>clearly</i>	n- present/ habitual	in- <i>I</i>	ilok <i>see</i>	=	<i>I don't see well any more.</i> (present and stable)
Junes <i>Only</i>	chaab'il <i>nice</i>	li <i>the</i>	r-aq' <i>his-clothes</i>	na- present/ habitual	ø <i>it</i>	r- <i>he</i>	oksi <i>use</i>	= <i>He only wears fine clothes.</i> (habitual)

Synthesis of nak- with pronominal affixes:

Nak- is reduced to na- before all person prefixes marking first person singular and third person singular, and before Set A prefixes marking first person plural. Na- then is reduced to n- before first person singular prefix in-. In addition the vowel in nak- may optionally copy the vowel quality of the following prefix.

Dialect variation: nak + in- is reported by Haeserijn to be unreduced nakin- in some dialects, though it has not been possible to verify which ones. In addition, Freeze (personal communication) asserted that nak- + in may be realized as nan- in Cahabon, a town in the eastern zone and outside the scope of this study, but it has not been possible to verify in which other areas this happens.

Examples with verb stems xik *go*, b'oq *call*, and il *see*.

nak- + Set B

1 st singular	nak- + in-	nin- ~ nakin- ~ nan-	ninxik ~ nakinxik ~ nanxik	<i>I go</i>
2 nd singular	nak- + at-	nakat-	nakatxik	<i>you go</i>
3 rd singular	nak- + ∅-	na-	naxik	<i>he goes</i>
1 st plural	nak- + oo-	nakoo- ~ nokoo-	nakooxik ~ nokooxik	<i>we go</i>
2 nd plural	nak- + ex-	nakex- ~ nekex-	nakexxik ~ nekexxik	<i>y'all go</i>
3 rd plural	nak- + e'-	nake'- ~ neke'-	nake'xik ~ neke'xik	<i>they go</i>

nak- + Set A preconsonantal (Set B is ∅)

1 st singular	nak- + in-	nin- ~ nakin- ~ nan-	ninb'oq ~ nakinb'oq ~ nanb'oq	<i>I call him</i>
2 nd singular	nak- + aa-	naka-	nakab'oq	<i>you call him</i>
3 rd singular	nak- + x-	nax-	naxb'oq	<i>he calls him</i>
1 st plural	nak- + qa-	naqa-	naqab'oq	<i>we call him</i>
2 nd plural	nak- + ee-	nakee- ~ nekee-	nakeeb'oq ~ nekeeb'oq	<i>y'all call him</i>
3 rd plural	nak- + e'x-	nake'x- ~ neke'x	nake'xb'oq ~ neke'xb'oq	<i>they call him</i>

nak- + Set A prevocalic (Set B is ∅)

1 st singular	nak- + w-	ninw- ~ naw-	ninwil ~ nawil	<i>I see it</i>
2 nd singular	nak- + aaw-	nakaw-	nakawil	<i>you see it</i>
3 rd singular	nak- + r-	nar-	naril	<i>he sees it</i>
1 st plural	nak- + q-	naq-	naqil	<i>we see it</i>
2 nd plural	nak- + eer-	nakeer- ~ nekeer-	nakeeril ~ nekeeril	<i>y'all see it</i>
3 rd plural	nak- + e'r-	nake'r- ~ neke'r-	nake'ril ~ neke'ril	<i>they see it</i>

x-: recent past.

The prefix x- indicates (1) that the action took place no later than yesterday, and (2) that the action was completed. This prefix is thus perfective. The translations of the examples below thus contain both the notion *I played* and also that of *I have played*, a case similar to the present perfect in Latin: portavi *I carried, I have carried*.

Synthesis of x- with pronominal affixes

x- undergoes only one change which either shortens the combination x- *past* + x- *third singular*, Set A to x- or inserts -i- between them: xix-. Some speakers may optionally insert a vowel -a- between x- and -qa.

Examples with verb stems b'atz'un *play*, sak' *hit*, eek'a *feel*.

x- + Set B				
1 st singular	x- + in-	= xin-	xinb'atz'un	<i>I played</i>
2 nd singular	x- + at-	= xat-	xatb'atz'un	<i>you played</i>
3 rd singular	x- + ∅-	= x-	xb'atz'un	<i>he played</i>
1 st plural	x- + oo-	= xoo-	xoob'atz'un	<i>we played</i>
2 nd plural	x- + ex-	= xex-	xexb'atz'un	<i>y'all played</i>
3 rd plural	x- + e'-	= xe'-	xe'b'atz'un	<i>they played</i>
x- + Set A preconsonantal (Set B is ∅)				
1 st singular	x- + in- + ∅-	= xin-	xinsak'	<i>I hit him</i>
2 nd singular	x- + aa- + ∅-	= xaa-	xaasak'	<i>you hit him</i>
3 rd singular	x- + x- + ∅-	= x- ~ xix-	xsak' ~ xixsak'	<i>he hit him</i>
1 st plural	x- + qa- + ∅-	= xaq- ~ xqa-	xaqasak' ~ xqasak'	<i>we hit him</i>
2 nd plural	x- + ee- + ∅-	= xe-	xesak'	<i>y'all hit him</i>
3 rd plural	x- + e'x- + ∅-	= xe'x-	xe'xsak'	<i>they hit him</i>
x- + Set A prevocalic (Set B patient is ∅)				
1 st singular	x- + w- + ∅-	= xw-	xweek'a	<i>I felt it</i>
2 nd singular	x- + aaw- + ∅-	= xaaw-	xaaweek'a	<i>you felt it</i>
3 rd singular	x- + r- + ∅-	= xr-	xreek'a	<i>he felt it</i>
1 st plural	x- + q- + ∅-	= xq-	xqeeq'a	<i>we felt it</i>
2 nd plural	x- + eer- + ∅-	= xeer-	xeereek'a	<i>y'all felt it</i>
3 rd plural	x- + e'r- + ∅-	= xe'r-	xe'reek'a	<i>they felt it</i>

ki- : narrative past.

The prefix ki- indicates past time in complement with the previously mentioned prefix x-. Ki- is used to indicate: (1) action which took place in the more remote past, and (2) action that is completed or perfective. To mark remote past in Carcha and Chamil, the prefix oh- is used instead of ki-, although the ki- prefix is known.

Synthesis of ki- with pronominal affixes

This prefix loses the vowel before person prefixes beginning with vowels. It undergoes no change before consonants or Ø. In some towns this prefix appears to vary with Ø; in Coban it may optionally vary with Ø before -qa.

Examples with verb stems lub' *get tired*, loq' *buy*, ab'i *hear*

ki- + Set B				
1 st singular	ki- + in-	= kin-	kinlub'	<i>I got tired</i>
2 nd singular	ki- + at-	= kat-	katlub'	<i>you got tired</i>
3 rd singular	ki- + Ø-	= ki-	kilub'	<i>he got tired</i>
1 st plural	ki- + oo-	= koo-	koolub'	<i>we got tired</i>
2 nd plural	ki- + ex-	= kex-	kexlub'	<i>y'all got tired</i>
3 rd plural	ki- + e'-	= ke'-	ke'lub'	<i>they got tired</i>
ki- + Set A preconsonantal (Set B is Ø)				
1 st singular	ki- + in- + Ø-	= kin-	kinloq'	<i>I bought it</i>
2 nd singular	ki- + aa- + Ø-	= ka-	kaloq'	<i>you bought it</i>
3 rd singular	ki- + x- + Ø-	= kix-	kixloq'	<i>he bought it</i>
1 st plural	ki- + qa- + Ø-	= kiqua- ~ qa-	kiqaloq' ~ qaloq'	<i>we bought it</i>
2 nd plural	ki- + ee- + Ø-	= kee-	keeloq'	<i>y'all bought it</i>
3 rd plural	ki- + e'x- + Ø-	= ke'x-	ke'xloq'	<i>they bought it</i>
x- + Set A prevocalic (Set B patient is Ø)				
1 st singular	ki- + w- + Ø-	= kiw-	kiwab'i	<i>I heard it</i>
2 nd singular	ki- + aaw- + Ø-	= kaw-	kawab'i	<i>you heard it</i>
3 rd singular	ki- + r- + Ø-	= kir-	kirab'i	<i>he heard it</i>
1 st plural	ki- + q- + Ø-	= kiq-	kiqab'i	<i>we heard it</i>
2 nd plural	ki- + eer- + Ø-	= ker-	kerab'i	<i>y'all heard it</i>
3 rd plural	ki- + e'r- + Ø-	= ke'r-	ke'rab'i	<i>they heard it</i>

chi- ~ ∅: *optative / imperative*; mi-: *negative optative / imperative*

The combination of tense, aspect, and mood, labeled here *optative/imperative* is the most complex T/A/M inflection. In terms of time this inflection indicates action which is just about to occur or which begins at the moment of speaking, thus dividing future time with the prefix *ta-*. This inflection also may indicate an immediate desire on the part of the speaker mixed with an element of doubt that the desire will be fulfilled, and in this sense may be said to be optative or exhortative. Finally, this inflection may be used to mark imperative, either alone or in conjunction with a special imperative suffix.

The optative/imperative is further complicated by having two prefixed allomorphs, *chi-* and *∅*, and by having a separate prefix *mi-* to indicate the inflection in the negative. All other inflections use separate negative words that are outside the verb word.

Charts similar to those for other inflections are presented below for the *chi-* allomorph of the optative/ imperative and for *mi-*, the negative optative/imperative, to show how these forms combine with the pronominal affixes. The prefixes will be presented without example words, which will be given in a later chart showing the interplay between the two allomorphs *chi-* and *∅*.

Synthesis of chi- with pronominal affixes

In all cases these prefixes lose the i- (chi → ch) before person prefixes beginning with vowels. It undergoes no change before consonants or $\emptyset$, except for chi- optionally becoming cha- before Set A -qa. The prevocalic doubled Set A, -in-w, was mentioned for other inflections. Examples:

	chi- + Set B			mi- + Set B	
1 st singular	chi- + in-	= chin-		mi- + in-	= min-
2 nd singular	chi- + at-	= chat-		mi- + at-	= mat-
3 rd singular	chi- + $\emptyset$ -	= chi-		mi- + $\emptyset$ -	= mi-
1 st plural	chi- + oo-	= choo-		mi- + oo-	= moo-
2 nd plural	chi- + ex-	= chex-		mi- + ex-	= mex-
3 rd plural	chi- + e'-	= che'-		mi- + e'-	= me'-

	chi- + Set A preconsonantal	Set B is $\emptyset$		mi- + Set A preconsonantal	
1 st singular	chi- + in- +	$\emptyset$ -	= chin-	mi- + in- + $\emptyset$ -	= min-
2 nd singular	chi- + aa- +	$\emptyset$ -	= cha-	mi- + aa- + $\emptyset$ -	= ma-
3 rd singular	chi- + x- +	$\emptyset$ -	= chix-	mi- + x- + $\emptyset$ -	= mix-
1 st plural	chi- + qa- +	$\emptyset$ -	= chiq- ~ chaqa-	mi- + qa- + $\emptyset$ -	= miqa-
2 nd plural	chi- + ee- +	$\emptyset$ -	= che-	mi- + ee- + $\emptyset$ -	= me-
3 rd plural	chi- + e'x- +	$\emptyset$ -	= che'x-	mi- + e'x- + $\emptyset$ -	= me'x-

	chi- + Set A prevocalic	Set B patient is $\emptyset$		m- + Set A prevocalic	
1 st singular	chi- + w- +	$\emptyset$ -	= chiw- ~ chinw-	mi- + w- + $\emptyset$ -	= miw- ~ minw-
2 nd singular	chi- + aaw- +	$\emptyset$ -	= chaw-	mi- + aaw- + $\emptyset$ -	= maw-
3 rd singular	chi- + r- +	$\emptyset$ -	= chir-	mi- + r- + $\emptyset$ -	= mir-
1 st plural	chi- + q- +	$\emptyset$ -	= chiq-	mi- + q- + $\emptyset$ -	= miq-
2 nd plural	chi- + eer- +	$\emptyset$ -	= cher-	mi- + eer- + $\emptyset$ -	= mer-
3 rd plural	chi- + e'r- +	$\emptyset$ -	= che'r-	mi- + e'r- + $\emptyset$ -	= me'r-

Inflectional suffixes for Tense, Aspect, and Mood

Before continuing the discussion of the optative/ imperative inflection it will be necessary to introduce the two T/A/M inflectional suffixes.

-(a)q: *future*

-k: *non-future*

These suffixes function to divide the time of verb action into two segments: future time and non-future time, including the present and the past. These suffixes in some instances must co-occur with the T/A/M prefixes presented above; in other cases these suffixes are optional. In none of the examples given for the above prefixes, for instance, were these suffixes required. Rules governing the occurrence of these suffixes are given below.

Non-future -k is obligatory with certain intransitive stems, optional with others, and is obligatory with stative participles and positional adjectives in stative sentences. Future suffix -(a)q is obligatory with all non-negative future expressions with intransitive stems, except some imperatives. It is obligatory with all non-negative optative/imperatives of transitive stems when marked by the $\emptyset$ allomorph; when the optative/imperative is marked by allomorph chi-, future suffix -(a)q is optional. Finally, stative sentences obligatorily mark future with suffix -(a)q. Distribution of the allomorphs, -q and -aq, will be shown below, with accompanying examples.

non-future -k.

Non-future is obligatory with intransitive stems of class v.i.k. and with viV passives derived from vtD.

se'e-					(bound stem)	(to) laugh
ch'iilaa-					(bound stem)	(to) be scolded
na-	$\emptyset$ -	se'e-	-k	=	nase'ek	he laughs
present habitual	Set B	stem	non-future			
x-	in-	se'e-	-k	=	xinse'ek	I laughed
recent past	Set B	stem	non-future			
x-	in-	ch'iilaa-	-k	=	xinch'iilaak	I was scolded
recent past	Set B	stem	non-future			

Non-future is optional with intransitive stems of classes viR, vin, viV, vi', vir, and vib', except in Coban where non-future -k may not occur with these stems.

war					(bound stem)	(to) sleep
na-	∅	war-	(k)	=	nawar(k)	he sleeps
present habitual	Set B	stem	non-future			
x-	in-	war-	(k)	=	xinwar(k)	I slept
recent past	Set B	stem	non-future			

Non-future -k is obligatory in those stative sentences in which the predicate consists of verbal or positional adjectives whose derivation is root C¹VC plus suffix -C¹oh, or -C¹uh if the root vowel is -u-, and in which the topic or theme of the sentence is not third person singular.

yok-					(positional root)	lying down
yok-	yoh-	-∅		=	yokyo	he/she/it is lying down
positional root	derivational suffix	Set B				
yok-	yoo-	k-	-in	=	yokyookin	I am lying down
positional root	derivational suffix	non-future	Set B			

Future -(a)q:

Future prefix ta- with intransitive stems requires the presence of the -q allomorph of this suffix.

war-					(bound stem)	(to) sleep
t-	in-	war-	q	=	tinwarq	I'll sleep
future	Set B	stem	future			

Future in stative sentences is marked by this suffix, with the following distribution: -q is found with the previously-mentioned verbal and positional adjectives of the form C¹VC-C¹oh, while -aq is found with all other stative predicates.

yok-	yoh-	q-	∅	=	yokyooq	<i>he'll be lying down</i>
positional root	derivational suffix	future	Set B			

yok-	yoh-	q-	-in	=	yokyooqin	<i>I'll be lying down</i>
positional root	derivational suffix	future	Set B			

winq-					(noun stem)	<i>man</i>
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winq-	aq-	∅	=	winqaq	<i>he'll be a man</i>
stem	future	Set B			

winq-	aq-	at	=	winqaqat	<i>you'll be a man</i>
stem	future	Set B			

chaab'il					(adjective stem)	<i>good</i>
----------	--	--	--	--	------------------	-------------

chaab'il-	aq-	∅	=	chaab'ilaq	<i>he'll (it'll) be good</i>
stem	future	Set B			

chaab'il-	aq-	at	=	chaab'ilaqat	<i>you'll be good</i>
stem	future	Set B			

Future suffix -(a)q is used with the optative/ imperative inflection, chi- ~ ∅. The allomorph -q occurs with intransitive stems; the allomorph -aq occurs with transitive stems, with one small exception to be noted below.

Interplay of Future Suffix -(a)q with Optative

It was necessary to interrupt the presentation of the optative inflection to present the suffixes for future and non-future because the presence of one or the other of the two optative allomorphs, *chi-* and $\emptyset$, determines the presence of the future suffix *-(a)q* as well as the placement of the pronominal affixes. If the *chi-* allomorph is used to mark optative, future suffix *-(a)q* is obligatory with intransitive stems and optional with transitive stems. If $\emptyset$ is used to mark optative, the future suffix is obligatory with both transitives and intransitives. The different allomorphs for optative also determine the placement of the Set B pronominal affixes. If *chi-* is used, Set B immediately follows it in the normal pattern (i.e., the pattern used in the other inflections). If $\emptyset$ is used, requiring the use of future suffix *-(a)q*, Set B will follow *-(a)q*.

The charts following exemplify the formation. Included in the charts is the imperative, which will be explained more fully in the following section.

Chart XII: Intransitive stems with optative imperative allomorphs, <i>chi-</i> and $\emptyset$. Stem is <i>war sleep</i> .								
Subject (1)	<i>chi</i> ~ $\emptyset$	Set B	Stem	Impv	-q	Set B	Joined together	Meaning
1st sing.	<i>chi-</i>	-in-	-war-		-q		chinwarq	may I sleep
	$\emptyset$		-war-		-q-	-in	warqin	
2nd sing. (2)	<i>chi-</i>	-at-	-war-		-q		chatwarq	may you sleep
	$\emptyset$		-war-		-q-	-at	warqat	
	$\emptyset$		-war-	-in			warin	sleep!
3rd sing.	<i>chi-</i>	$\emptyset$	-war-		-q		chiwarq	may he sleep
	$\emptyset$		-war-		-q	$\emptyset$	warq	
1st pl.	<i>chi-</i>	-oo-	-war-		-q		choowarq	may we sleep
	$\emptyset$		-war-		-q-	-oo	warqo	
2ns pl. (3)	<i>chi-</i>	-ex-	-war-		-q		chexwarq	may you sleep
	$\emptyset$		-war-		-q-	-ex	warqex	
	$\emptyset$		-war-	-in-	-q-	-ex	warinqex	sleep, y'all
3rd pl.	<i>chi-</i>	-e'-	-war-		-q		che'warq	may they sleep
	$\emptyset$		-war-		-q-	-eb'	warqeb'	

Notes - Chart XII

- (1) Chart XII is arranged like Chart XIII minus the Set A pronominal affixes.
- (2) Second person singular subject: Intransitives which have an imperative *-Vn* in addition to the optative with *chi-* and $\emptyset$ generally use this *-(V)in* suffix as the normal imperative.

Second person plural subject: The *-(V)n* imperative in the singular is also used in the plural, followed by the future suffix *-q* and the Set B marker for second person plural *-ex*.

Chart XIII: Transitive stems with optative/imperative allomorphs, <i>chi-</i> and $\emptyset$ with stems <i>il see</i> , <i>b'oq call</i> , <i>ch'iila scold</i> , and <i>ab'i hear</i>										
Agent (1)	chi~ $\emptyset$ (2)	Set B (3)	Set A	Stem	Impv	-aq	Set B	Set A	Joined together	Meaning
1st sing.	chi-	-at-	-w-	-il-		(-aq)			chatwil ~ chatwilaq	let me see you
	chi-	-at-	-in-	-b'oq-		(-aq)			chatinb'oq ~ chatinb'oqaq	let me call you
	$\emptyset$		w-	-il-		-aq-	-at		qilaqat	let me see you
	$\emptyset$		in-	-b'oq-		-aq-	-at		inb'oqaqat	let me call you
2nd sing. (4)	chi-	-in-	-aw-	-il-		(-aq)			chinaqil ~ chinawilaq	may you see me
	chi-	-in-	-a-	-b'oq-		(-aq)			chinab'oq ~ chinab'oqaq	may you call me
	$\emptyset$			-il-			-in		ilin	look at me!
	$\emptyset$			-b'oq-			-in		b'oqin	call me!
3rd sing.	chi-	-in-	-r-	-il-		(-aq)			chinril ~ chinrilaq	let him see me
	chi-	-in-	-x-	-b'oq-		(-aq)			chinxb'oq ~ chinxb'oqaq	let him call me
	$\emptyset$		r-	-il-		-aq-	-in		rilaqin	let him see me
	$\emptyset$		x-	-b'oq-		-aq-	-in		xb'oqaqin	let him call me
1st pl.	chi-	-at-	-q-	-il-		(-aq)			chatqil ~ chatqilaq	let's look at you
	chi-	-at-	-qa-	-b'oq-		(-aq)			chatgab'oq ~ chatgab'oqaq	let's call you
	$\emptyset$		q-	-il-		-aq-	-at		qilaqat	let's see you
	$\emptyset$		qa-	-b'oq-		-aq-	-at		qab'oqaqat	let's call you
2ns pl. (5)	chi-	-in-	-er-	-il-		(-aq)			chineril ~ chinerilaq	may y'all see me
	chi-	-in-	-e-	-b'oq-		(-aq)			chineb'oq ~ chineb'oqaq	may y'all call me
	$\emptyset$			-il-	om	-aq-	-in		ilpmaqin	look at me y'all
	$\emptyset$			-b'oq-	om	-aq-	-in		b'oqomagin	call me y'all
3rd pl.	chi-	-in-	-e'r-	-il-		(-aq)			chine'ril ~ chine'rilaq	let them see me
	chi-	-in-	-e-	-b'oq-		(-aq)			chine'xboq ~ chine'xb'oqaq	let them call me
	$\emptyset$		r-	-il-		-aq-	-in	eb'	rilaqineb'	let them see me
	$\emptyset$		x-	-b'oq-		-aq-	-in	eb'	xb'oqaqineb'	let them call me
1st sing. (6)	$\emptyset$		-in-	ch'iila		-aq	$\emptyset$		inch'iila'aq	let me scold him
	$\emptyset$		-in-	ch'iila		-aq	-at		inch'iilaqat	let me scold you
	$\emptyset$		w-	ab'i		-aq-	$\emptyset$		wab'llaq	let me hear him
	$\emptyset$		w-	ab'i		-aq-	-at		wab'iqat	let me hear you

Notes - Chart XIII

- Chart XIII is arranged to show the inflection with each of the six possible Set A agents, which are identified in column one and then reproduced as Set A in the fourth column, labeled "A", and in one other case, split between column four and column eight.
- The second column contains either allomorph *chi-* or allomorph $\emptyset$, both with a vowel-initial stem, *il see*, and with a consonant initial stem, *b'oq call*, found in the fifth column.
- The third and seventh columns contain Set B patients, depending upon which of the optative/imperative allomorphs is used, *chi-* or $\emptyset$.
- Agent second person singular: These forms are imperatives and, when not inflected with the *chi-* allomorph, are unmarked for agent.
- Agent second person plural: These forms are imperatives and, when not inflected with the *chi-* allomorph, are unmarked for agent, and have a suffix *-om* used only in plural imperative.
- The last section at the bottom contains some forms showing how verb stems of class vtD differ in combining with suffix *-aq*. If *-aq* is word final, a glottal stop is inserted between the stem vowel and *-aq*: *in-ch'iila-aq* becomes *inch'iila'aq*, *w-ab'i-aq* becomes *wab'i'aq*. If *-aq* is followed by a Set B patient, *-aq* is shortened to *-q*: *in-ch'iila-aq-at* becomes *inch'iilaqat*, *w-ab'i-aq-at* becomes *wab'iqat*.

Imperatives

In Charts XII and XIII in the previous section the imperative suffixes were shown in relation to the optative construction. The formation of imperatives is detailed in the following sections.

Transitive imperatives.

The second singular imperative of transitive stems is formed by the transitive stem by itself plus the Set B patient.

il	+	∅	=	il	<i>look at him!</i>
look		Set B <i>him</i>			

il	+	-in	=	ilin	<i>look at me!</i>
look		Set B <i>me</i>			

The second plural imperative is formed by the stem plus imperative suffix -om plus future suffix -aq plus the Set B patient.

il	+ -om	+ -aq	∅	=	ilomaq	<i>look at him, y'all</i>
look	imperative	future	Set B			

il	+ -om	+ -aq	+ -in	=	ilomaqin	<i>look at me y'all</i>
look	imperative	future	Set B <i>me</i>			

Intransitive imperatives.

The second singular imperative of intransitive stems is formed by the suffix -(V)n or, occasionally, by the optative construction ∅ + stem + q + at. Of the few viR root stems, some form the imperatives with -(V)n and others with the optative. Suffix -(V)n is always -Vn with these C¹VC² roots except if C² was originally -h. In this case the shape of the root is C¹VV and the form of the imperative suffix is -n. Where the imperative suffix is -Vn, the quality of the vowel is not predictable.

viR imperatives with -(V)n:

war	+	in	=	warin	<i>sleep!</i>
<i>sleep</i>		imperative			
b'ee	+	n	=	b'een	<i>walk!</i>
<i>walk</i>		imperative			

viR imperatives with -aq (optative):

kam	+	q	+	at	=	kamqat	<i>die !</i>
<i>die</i>		future		Set B <i>you</i>			
b'ay	+	q	+	at	=	b'ayqat	<i>be late!</i>
<i>be late</i>		future		Set B <i>you</i>			

Imperatives of vin stems appear to be the same as the stems themselves. It is possible to imagine that -n as an imperative suffix is added to these stems, all of which end in -n, and that the two n's are then reduced back to just -n.

atin <i>bathe</i>	(vin stem and imperative)	<i>take a bath!</i>
b'atz'un <i>play</i>	(vin stem and imperative)	<i>play!</i>

Imperatives of vik stems are all formed by the -n allomorph of the -(V)n suffix added directly to the stem.

se'e- <i>laugh</i>	+	-n imperative	=	se'en	<i>laugh!</i>
k'ale- <i>slash brush for a field</i>	+	-n imperative	=	k'alēn	<i>slash!</i>

Stems of class vi' may form imperatives by means of either one or the other of the suffixes depending on the stem. Those stems which use -(V)n form the imperative by dropping the stem final glottal stop and then adding the -n allomorph. Those stems which use the optative construction add the -qat suffix directly to the unaltered stem.

nume' → <i>pass by</i> (stem)	nume +	n imperative	=	numen	<i>pass by!</i>
kaqo' + <i>get red, be envious</i> (stem)	q future	+ at Set B you	=	kaqo'qat	<i>be envious!</i>

Stems of class viV may form either one or the other imperative depending on the stem. Those which use the -(V)n suffix shorten the long stem vowel before adding the -n allomorph. Those with which the optative is used do not shorten the stem vowel but simply add the -qat suffix to the stem.

kub'ee- + <i>go down</i>		-n imperative	=	kub'en	<i>go down !</i>
kalaa + <i>get drunk</i>	q + future	at Set B you	=	kalaaqat	<i>get drunk!</i>

All other intransitive stems employ the optative construction to form imperatives. The exception is the vit class, which has no imperative form.

Inflection and Affixes for Direction and Manner

The description of inflection given above contains all of the *obligatory* elements found in the verb word: pronominal affixes, T/A/M affixes, and verb stems. With the following description of directional and manner affixes, all of the *possible* elements found in the verb word will be completely described. There are seven direction and manner affixes: six prefixes and one suffix.

-ol-/-ul-: *hither*

Prefix -ol- occurs between the T/A/M prefix and the pronominal prefixes and means that the agent comes from elsewhere to do the action denoted in the verb. Prefix -ul occurs in some dialects, but -ol predominates in the western dialect area.

x - past	ol - directional	in- Set B patient	x- Set A agent	b'oq verb stem	=	xolinxb'oq	<i>He came to call me</i>
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-ox/-ux: *thither*

Prefix -ox- occurs between the T/A/M prefix and the pronominal prefixes and means that the agent goes from here to elsewhere to do the action. Prefix -ox- is thus effectively the opposite of -ol-. The Chamil dialect has the -ol- prefix but lacks the -ox- prefix.

x - past	ox - directional	in- Set B patient	x- Set A agent	b'oq verb stem	=	xoxinxb'oq	<i>He went to call me</i>
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-nume': *passing by*

Prefix -nume'- occurs between the pronominal prefixes and the verb stem and means that the agent does the action while passing by.

x - past	in - Set B patient	x- Set A agent	nume' - directional	b'oq verb stem	=	xinxnume'b'oq	<i>Passing by he called me</i>
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Prefix -nume'- may also co-occur with either -ox- or -ol-.

x - past	ol - directional there to here	in - Set B patient	x - Set A agent	nume'- directional passing by	b'oq verb stem	=	xolinxnume'b'oq	<i>He came and called me, passing by</i>
x - past	ox - directional here to there	in - Set B patient	x - Set A agent	nume'- directional passing by	b'oq verb stem	=	xoxinxnume'b'oq	<i>He went and, passing by, called me</i>

Directionals and -q with Intransitives

When the above described directionals occur with intransitive stems, they are accompanied by a suffix -q in all forms.

x - past	ul directional	-in Set B	atin - intransitive stem	-q directional	= xulinatingq	<i>I came to bathe</i>
x - past	ox directional	-in Set B	atin - intransitive stem	-q directional	= xoxinatingq	<i>I went to bathe</i>
x - past	-in Set B	nume' directional	atin - intransitive stem	-q directional	= xinnume'atingq	<i>I bathed passing by</i>

This -q suffix with directionals in intransitive constructions would appear to be related to the -q suffix which denotes future constructions with intransitive stems, especially since the -q suffix here noted occurs only with intransitives. It is described here separately, however, since its occurrence with past tense prefixes contrasts so obviously with the future meaning of the -q suffix. Deeper analysis of these suffixes in the future may discover connecting principles between them.

laj-: Repetitive Action

Prefix -laj- occurs between the T/A/M prefixes and the pronominal prefixes and means that the action denoted by the verb occurs over and over, whether carried out by an agent or suffered by a patient.

x - past	laj- manner	∅ Set B	-t'ane' intransitive stem	= xlajt'ane' li kalaajenaq	<i>The drunkard kept falling down</i>
<i>the drunkard over and over he fall down</i>					
x - past	laj- manner	in- Set B	b'oqe' intransitive passive stem	= xlajinb'oqe'	<i>I kept being called/they kept calling me</i>

(In the Carcha dialect an epenthetic vowel -a- is inserted between x- and -laj-: xalajt'ane'.)

-kok' and -ch'ina: Diminutives

The prefixes -kok' and -ch'ina are termed diminutives in that they indicate smallness in the verb action, though this may be interpreted in a variety of ways semantically. These prefixes do not always occur with the same stems. Even when they do, as with loq' *buy*, the semantic differences between them when they occur with one stem, may not be the same as when they occur with another stem.

x- past	in - Set B	ix- Set A	ch'ina - diminutive	-b'oq <i>call</i>	=	xinixch'inab'oq	<i>He gave me a tender little call</i>
x- past	e'x - Set A	∅- Set B	ch'ina - diminutive	loq' <i>buy</i>	=	xe'xch'inaloq'	<i>They bought it (a little one)</i>
x- past	e'x- Set A	∅- Set B	kok' - diminutive	loq' <i>buy</i>	=	xe'xkok'loq'	<i>They bought it little by little</i>
x- past	e'x- Set A	∅- Set B	kok'- diminutive	piki <i>dig more than one thing</i>	=	xe'xkok'piki	<i>They dug little bits</i>

-ke: Immediately (Coban only)

Suffix -ke occurs after the verb stem and after T/A/M suffixes, if any, and means that the action denoted by the verb is done rapidly or immediately.

naq when	t- future	in- Set B	nume'- verb stem	q- future	ke manner	taak'e you-give-it	we to-me	li the	aataqlankil. your-errand
=	naq tinnume'qke taak'e we li aataqlankil <i>When I come by right now, you can give me your errand (to do)</i>								

Voice and Ergativity

Q'eqchi' is an ergative language, which may be defined as a language in which "the subject of an intransitive verb 'becomes' the object of a corresponding transitive verb, and a new *ergative* subject is introduced as the 'agent' (or 'cause') of the action referred to" (Lyons, 1969: 352). That Q'eqchi' fits these criteria may be noted from the fact that the Set B pronominal affixes which denote the subject of an intransitive verb are used to mark the objects or patients of transitive verbs.

x - past	at - Set B subject	war intransitive stem	=	xatwar	<i>You slept</i>
x - past	at - Set B patient object	in - Set A agent subject	wartesi transitive stem	=	xatinwartesi <i>I put you to sleep, made you sleep</i>

As a result of this ergative construction and also because of the systems of classes they fit into, it is possible to classify as transitive or intransitive all inflected verbs. Every verb stem will occur with only Set B affixes or will occur with Set A and Set B affixes. Ambiguous forms are limited; Set A first person singular preconsonantal affix -in is identical to Set B first person affix -in, and if the former co-occurs with Set B third person marker $\emptyset$, is indistinguishable from Set B -in by itself. But if the transitive agent and intransitive subject used second person, the stem may be identified as either transitive or intransitive.

x- past	in - Set B	war intransitive stem	=	xinwar	<i>I slept</i>
x- past	$\emptyset$ - Set B	in- Set A	b'oq transitive stem	=	xinb'oq <i>I called him</i>
x- past	at - Set B	war intransitive stem	=	xatwar	<i>you slept</i>
x- past	$\emptyset$ - Set B	a- Set A	b'oq transitive stem	=	xab'oq <i>you called him</i>

The possibility of being able always to identify stems as either transitive or intransitive becomes important in considering the role of voice as a grammatical category in Q'eqchi'. Voice here refers to the distinctions of the "form" of a verb and its "functions" in indicating the relationship

of the subjects and objects or agents and patients to the action denoted by verb. The "forms" of the verbs in Q'eqchi' will always be either transitive or intransitive and will always occur within the systems of verb classes and verb inflection presented in preceding sections of this chapter. How voice "functions" and how it relates to these forms is the primary concern of this section.

As was mentioned above, the subjects of intransitive verbs may be either agents or patients. Agent subjects do or commit the action denoted by the verb. Patient subjects suffer or have done to them the action denoted by the verb.

x- past	at- Set B agent intransitive subject	b'e stem	=	xatb'e	<i>you walked</i>
x- past	∅- Set B patient intransitive subject	q'a stem	=	xq'a	<i>it got spoiled</i>
x- past	in- Set B patient intransitive subject	t'ane' stem	=	xint'ane'	<i>I fell down</i>
x- past	in - Set B agent intransitive subject	wakli stem	=	xinwakli	<i>I got up</i>

Most intransitive stems require that the subject be always clearly either agent or patient, though some stems might be ambiguous as to whether the subject does the action or whether the action happens to the subject, such as stems meaning *dream*, *ripen*, *fear*, and others. Intransitive verb stems which plainly occur with agent subjects will be called active intransitives, while those stems which plainly occur with patient subjects will be called neutral intransitives (Chafe, 1970: 104). Although the ambiguity of a few stems lends a lack of clarity to this system, its value should be obvious in the following discussion of voice.

Active Voice

The point of departure in discussing voice in Q'eqchi' is the transitive verb in which both the agent and patient are identified within the verb word as part of the normal inflection of a verb. The agent and patient may be said to be in an active voice relationship with the verb stem wherein the agent and patient are in a relationship which is unmarked with respect to focus or emphasis. The verb stem is shown to be in the active voice by simply remaining an unchanged transitive stem.

Reflexive Voice

The reflexive voice in Q'eqchi' may be considered as a subcategory of active voice in that the reflexive voice is not indicated by a change in the verb stem, which remains as an ordinary

transitive stem with prefixed Set A agent and Set B patient. However, Set B may only be third person singular $\emptyset$ which refers to the reflexive relational noun *-ib' self*, immediately following the verb. This reflexive noun is formally possessed by the same Set A pronominal affix as the agent of the verb with which it co-occurs, effectively identifying the patient of the verb as being also the agent.

x - past	$\emptyset$ - Set B <i>it</i>	in - Set A <i>I</i>	tz'ap transitive stem	w- Set A <i>my-</i>	ib' self	=	xintz'ap wib'	<i>I shut myself in</i>
x- past	$\emptyset$ - Set B <i>it</i>	w- Set A <i>I</i>	il transitive stem	w- Set A <i>my-</i>	ib' self	sa' in	lem <i>mirror</i>	= xwil wib' sa' lem <i>I saw myself in a mirror</i>

Passive Voice

In the passive voice the active voice relationships of subject/agent and object/patient with the verb are changed in such a way that the normal object/patient becomes a subject/patient, the verb stem becomes neutral intransitive, and the former subject/agent becomes optional and is expressed by an agentive phrase following the verb word.

x- past	at- Set B patient	in- Set A agent	tz'ap transitive stem	=	xatintz'ap	<i>I shut you in</i>
x- past	at- Set B patient	tz'ape' intransitive stem	(in-b'aan) (Set A <i>my</i> doing)	=	xattz'ape' (inb'aan)	<i>You were shut in (by me)</i>
x- past	at- Set B patient	in Set A agent	ch'iila transitive stem	=	xatinch'iila	<i>I scolded you</i>
x- past	at- Set B patient	ch'iila-a- intransitive stem	k non-future	=	xatch'iilaak	<i>You were scolded</i>

The intransitive stems in the above examples, *tz'ape'* and *ch'iilaa-*, must be viewed both from the point of view of form and from that of function. In form, *tz'ape'* is derived from the transitive stem *tz'ap-* of class vtR into an intransitive stem of class vi'; *ch'iilaa-* is derived from the transitive stem *ch'iila-* of class vtD into an intransitive stem of class viV. As intransitives of their respective classes *tz'ape'* and *ch'iilaa-* may occur with all the inflectional affixes normal

for their classes and for intransitive verbs in general. In form, therefore, tz'ape'- and ch'iilaa- are simply ordinary intransitive verbs.

In terms of function tz'ape'- and ch'iilaa- play the role of the passive voice of the transitive verbs *to shut (something) in* and *to scold (someone)*, respectively. The passive in Q'eqchi' may be used in, though not limited to, the following ways. The passive may be used to focus on the patient who suffers the action denoted by the verb. The agent may not be known and need not be expressed. If, however, the agent is expressed in an agentive phrase following the verb, it may serve not so much to highlight the patient as to further illuminate or define the nature of agent's action.

x- past	at - Set B patient	tz'ape' intransitive stem		=	xattz'ape'	<i>You were shut in (agent unknown)</i>	
x- past	at- Set B patient	tz'ape' intransitive stem	Set A	In-b'aan <i>my-doing</i>	=	xattz'ape' inb'aan	<i>you were shut in by me</i>
x- past	at- Set B patient	tz'ape' intransitive stem	Set A	In-maak <i>my-fault</i>	=	xattz'ape' inmaak	<i>you were shut in because of me (it's my fault)</i>
x- past	at- Set B patient	tz'ape' intransitive stem	Set A	In-k'ab'a' <i>my-name</i>	=	xattz'ape' ink'ab'a'	<i>you were shut in because of me (I said to do it)</i>

Antipassive Voice

In the antipassive (or absolutive) voice the active voice subject/ agent - object/patient relationship is altered in such a way that the active voice subject/agent continues as subject/agent but the verb stem becomes active intransitive and the object/patient becomes optional and, if expressed, occurs in a "patient" phrase following the verb. The patient phrase uses the relational noun –e *mouth, edge, dative*.

x - past	in- Set B patient t	aa- Set A agent	-tz'ap transitive stem				=	xinaatz'ap	<i>You shut me in</i>
laa'at indept pn	x- past	at- Set B agent	tz'ap- transitive root	o- intransitive stem	k non- future	(w- e) Set A patient	=	laa'at xattz'apok (we)	<i>You (were the one) who shut (me) in</i>
<i>you</i>		<i>you</i>				<i>my</i>			
x- past	at- Set B patient t	w- Set A agent	ab'i transitive stem				=	xatwab'l	<i>I heard you</i>
laa'in indept pn	x- past	in- Set B agent	ab'i- transitive stem	n intransitive stem	(aaw - e) Set A patient base		=	laa'in xinab'in (aawe)	<i>I (was the one who) heard (you)</i>
<i>I</i>		<i>I</i>			<i>your</i>				

The antipassive voice, like the passive, must be viewed both in terms of form and in terms of function. Looking at the above forms, it may be noted that -tz'apo- and -ab'in- are intransitive stems of classes vik and vin, respectively, and are derived from transitive stems -tz'ap- and -ab'i-, which are of classes vtR and vtD, respectively. As intransitive stems of their respective classes, -tz'apo- and -ab'in- may be inflected in a manner undifferentiated from other intransitive verbs.

Uses of the antipassive.

In terms of function the antipassive may be used to suppress the object/patient in order to form a simple active intransitive. The antipassive may be used to express a generic (or non-specific) object.

x-	∅-	a-	yok'	li si'	=	xayok' li si'	<i>You cut the firewood</i>
past	Set B	Set A	transitive	the firewood			
	patient	agent	stem				

but see next example:

x-	at-	yok'-ok	si'	=	xatyok'ok si'	<i>You cut firewood</i>
past	Set B	intransitive	firewood			
	patient	stem	(generic object)			

The second example may be paraphrased as *you cut firewood (for a living)* or *you cut firewood (your usual task)* or *you cut firewood (among other things)*. It must be noted that other intransitive stems, not just antipassives, may occur with this type of object.

The antipassive is used in relative clauses and questions to indicate that it is the agent/subject of the clause or question that is being relativized or questioned for. In the examples below five simple sentences are provided followed by four complex sentences showing how the antipassive is used.

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|--------------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|---------------------|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1) | xkamsi
<i>he-killed-it</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | = | <i>The man killed the dog.</i> | | | |
| (2) | xkamsi
<i>he-killed-it</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | = | <i>The dog killed the man.</i> | | | |
| (3) | xb'oqeb'
<i>he-called-them</i> | li
<i>the</i> | kok'al
<i>children</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | = | <i>The man called the children</i> | | | |
| (4) | xe'raalina
<i>they-chased-it</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | li
<i>the</i> | kok'al
<i>children</i> | = | <i>The children chased the dog.</i> | | | |
| (5) | xraalinaheb'
<i>it-chased-them</i> | li
<i>the</i> | kok'al
<i>children</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | = | <i>The dog chased the children.</i> | | | |
| (6) | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | li
<i>who</i> | xkamsi
<i>it-killed-him</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | ak
<i>already</i> | xb'oqeb'
<i>he-called-them</i> | li
<i>the</i> | kok'al
<i>children</i> |
| | <i>= The man whom the dog killed had called the children.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| (7) | xkamsi
<i>he-killed-it</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | li
<i>that</i> | xe'raalina
<i>they-chased-it</i> | li
<i>the</i> | kok'al
<i>children</i> | |
| | <i>= The man killed the dog that the children chased.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| (8) | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | li
<i>who</i> | xkamsin
<i>he-killed (antipass)</i> | r- e
<i>its-dative</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | xboqeb'
<i>called</i> | li
<i>the</i> | kok'al
<i>children</i> |
| | <i>= The man who killed the dog called the children.</i> | | | | | | | | | |
| (9) | xkamsi
<i>he-killed-it</i> | li
<i>the</i> | tz'i'
<i>dog</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | li
<i>that</i> | x-aalinan
<i>it-chased (antipass)</i> | reheb'
<i>their-dative</i> | li
<i>the</i> | kok'al
<i>children</i> |
| | <i>= The man killed the dog which chased the children.</i> | | | | | | | | | |

In example (6) *winq*, subject/agent (S) of the main clause becomes the object/patient (O) of the relative clause, represented by relative pronoun *li*, while the verb (V) remains in active voice: $S_x (O_x V S) V O$. In example (7) *tz'i'*, the object/patient of the main clause, becomes the object/patient of the relative clause, represented by *li*, while the verb remains in the active voice:

Infinitives of vtR transitive stems are formed by adding the infinitive derivational suffix -b'al, this latter co-occurring with the Set A possessive prefix which denotes the patient of the infinitive.

x - Set A <i>his/its</i>	chap- vtR stem <i>to - grab / grabbing</i>	b'al infinitive	=	xchapb'al	<i>to grab it/him, grabbing it/him</i>
in- Set A <i>my</i>	chap	b'al	=	inchapb'al	<i>to grab me, grabbing me</i>

It will be noted that **xchapb'al**, by containing an inflectional prefix, seemingly violates the traditional definition of an infinitive which says that an infinitive is an unmarked or uninflected verbal noun which is the "name" of the action of the verb. The term infinitive has been chosen to represent this form, notwithstanding the traditional definition, for considerations of internal consistency in the grammar. Stems in Q'eqchi' are rigorously transitive or intransitive, and in order to distinguish between them, it is necessary that in the case of transitives the patient, represented by an inflectional prefix, be expressed.

In the case of transitive infinitives, the normal marking of patients by Set B affixes is replaced by Set A. The progressive construction, not elaborated elsewhere in this grammar, illustrates one use of the infinitives:

yoo- progressive	k- non-future	in Set B <i>I</i>	chi at	aa- Set A <i>your</i>	sak'b'al hitting	=	yookin chi aasak'b'al	<i>I am hitting you</i>
yoo- progressive	k- non-future	at Set B <i>you</i>	chi at	in- Set A <i>my</i>	sak'b'al hitting	=	yookat chi insak'b'al	<i>you are hitting me</i>

Infinitives of vtD transitive stems, in contrast, are formed by first forming the absolutive intransitive infinitive and then adding the inalienable possession suffix -il plus the Set A possessive prefix.

k'ayi- vtD. Stem	n- antipassive	k infinitive	=	k'ayink	<i>to sell, selling</i>
x- Set A prefix	k'ayink- intransitive antipassive	il inalienable infinitive	=	xk'ayinkil	<i>to sell it, selling it</i>

Past participles derived from transitive stems have a similar derivation. Past participle derivational suffix is -b'il. Participles formed on vtR transitive stems simply add the suffix -b'il to the stem: chap- b'il *grabbed*. The same participle for a vtD stem requires that the suffix -n- be added making an absolutive stem to which -b'il is added.

k'ayi -	n-	- b'il	=	k'ayimb'il	<i>sold</i>
vtD stem	absolutive	participle suffix			

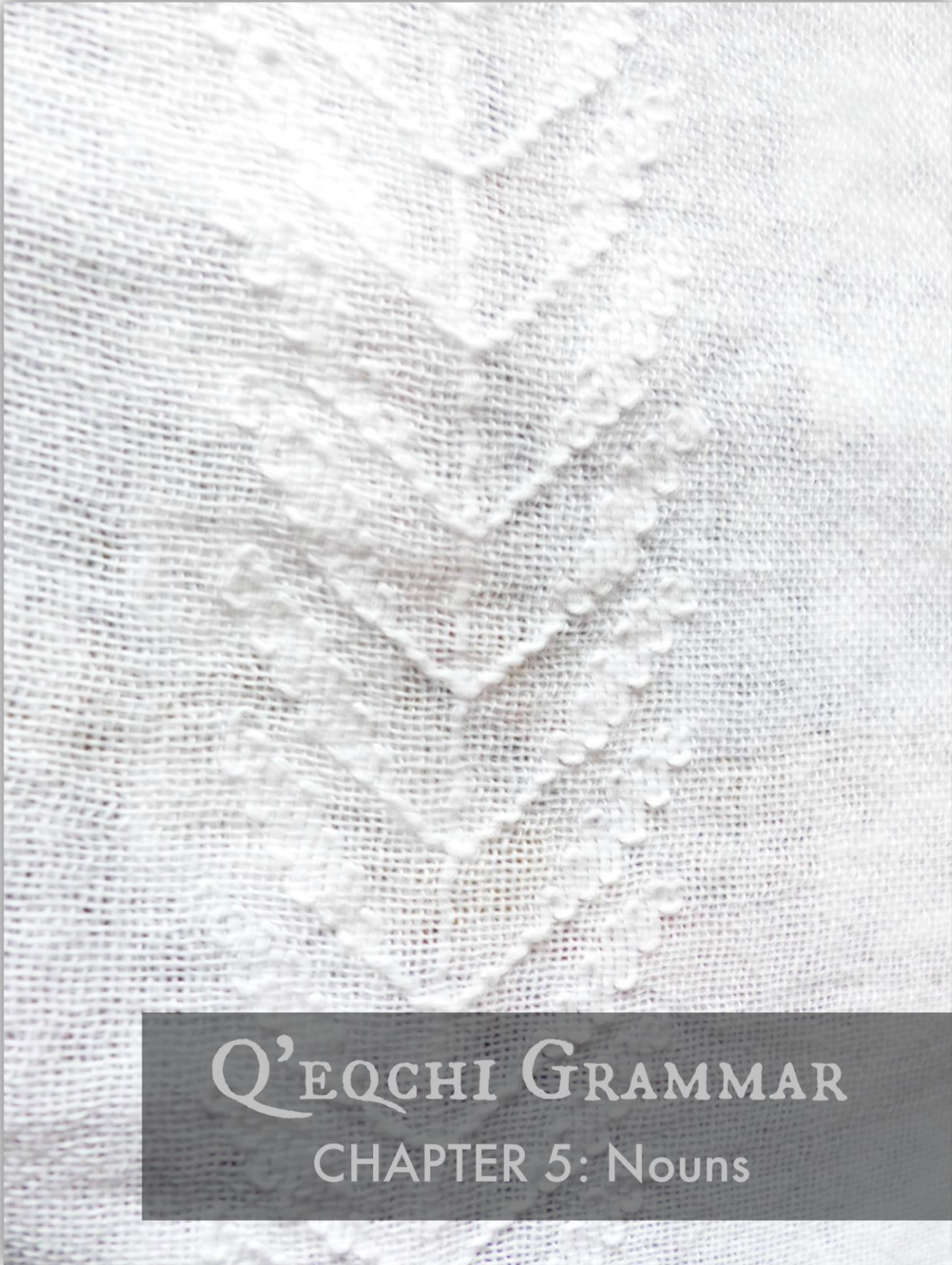
Non-specific Passive Voice

In the Coban dialect there exists a voice form in which the active voice relationship of subject/agent and object/patient are changed in such a way that the object/patient becomes subject/patient, the verb stem becomes neutral intransitive, and the former subject/agent becomes an unspecified, unidentified agent. Subject/patient is limited to third person singular.

x-	∅-	x	yok'	li	che'	=	xyok' li che'	<i>He cut down the tree.</i>
past	Set B	Set A	transitive stem	the	tree			
			<i>He-cut-it-down</i>					
x-	∅-		yok' – man	li	che'	=	xyok'man li che'	<i>The tree was cut down/ They cut down the tree.</i>
past	Set B		intransitive non-specific passive	the	tree			
na-	∅-		yok'-man	che'		=	nayok'man che'	<i>Trees are cut down. / They cut down trees. / You cut down trees.</i>
pres/hab.	Set B		intransitive non-specific	tree				

The English translations with *they* and *you* are intended to indicate an impersonal agent. In form, yok'man in the above examples represents transitive stem yok' *cut* plus derivational suffix -man, which derives an intransitive stem of class vin. In terms of function the non-specific passive voice is used to indicate a situation in which the patient is known but the agent is either unknown or non-specific, and in which the action is often habitual or routine.

chan ru	nayeeman . . ?		<i>How do you say ...?</i>
<i>how</i>	<i>it is said</i>		
natiwman	wulaj wulaj		<i>You eat it every day.</i>
<i>it-is-eaten</i>	<i>every day</i>		
a'an	ink'a'	nab'aanuman	<i>This is not done.</i>
<i>this</i>	<i>negative</i>	<i>it-is-done</i>	



Q'EQCHI GRAMMAR

CHAPTER 5: Nouns

CHAPTER 5: NOUNS

Definitions

Nouns are defined as the class of stems which may occur prefixed by the Set A pronominal affixes to indicate possession. The few nouns which cannot be possessed nonetheless have the same distribution as those which can be possessed. Nouns may also occur with Set B pronominal affixes in stative sentences (see next section); Set B functions as the topic or subject and the noun as the commentary or complement in this type of sentence. When Set B is third person singular $\emptyset$, therefore, the sentence consists only of the noun. Nouns may also be modified by adjectives.

Examples:

Consonant-initial noun stem			Vowel-initial noun stem		
	tz'i'	<i>dog</i>		aaq	<i>pig</i>
in-	tz'i'	<i>my dog</i>	w-	aaq	<i>my pig</i>
aa-	tz'i'	<i>your dog</i>	aw-	aaq	<i>your pig</i>
x-	tz'i'	<i>his/her dog</i>	r-	aaq	<i>his/her pig</i>
qa-	tz'i'	<i>our dog</i>	q-	aaq	<i>our pig</i>
ee-	tz'i'	<i>y'all's dog</i>	eer-	aaq	<i>y'all's pig</i>
x-	tz'i'-eb'	<i>their dog</i>	r-	aaq-eb'	<i>their pig</i>

Example of noun in stative sentence

winq		<i>man</i>
winq-	in	<i>I'm a man</i>
winq-	at	<i>you're a man</i>
winq-	$\emptyset$	<i>he's a man</i>
winq-	o	<i>we're men</i>
winq-	ex	<i>y'all are men</i>
winq-	eb'	<i>they're men</i>

Example of modified noun

nimla	tz'i'	<i>big dog</i>
saqi	tz'i'	<i>white dog</i>
chaab'il	tz'i'	<i>good dog</i>

Simple Noun Classes

Classes of simple nouns are determined by whether a noun can be possessed or not, whether the possessor is known, whether a possessor is human or non-human, and the presence or absence of two suffixes, -VI (any vowel plus -l) and -(b')ej in both possessed and non-possessed forms. These suffixes are inflectional, not changing the meaning of the noun stem nor the grammatical class but rather adding information about possession or lack of it with certain noun stems. Vaguely, -(b')ej indicates that the noun is of a type that ought to be possessed, but the possessor is not known or is suppressed; -VI indicates that the possessor of the item is non-human. The inflectional suffix -VI should not be confused with other suffixes which have the same form but which are, however, derivational. Chart XIV will provide a point of reference for the discussion of noun classes to follow.

Class I

Class I nouns are nouns which may not be possessed. These nouns may be underived roots or derived stems. The examples below demonstrate both types, including two with the above-mentioned suffixes.

palaw	<i>lake</i>
saq'e	<i>sun</i>
saq'ehil	<i>summer</i>
na'b'ejil	<i>motherhood</i>

Saq'ehil obviously contains root saq'e(h) *sun* plus derivational suffix -il, which appears to represent the -VI inflectional suffix mentioned above, but in fact derives an abstract state noun from a concrete noun.

Class II

Class II nouns are nouns which may be possessed by either humans or non-humans, but may not appear with -(b')ej to indicate possessor unknown nor may it appear with -VI to indicate non-human possessor.

wakax	<i>cow</i>
in-wakax	<i>my cow</i>

Class III

Class III nouns are nouns which occur with the suffix *-(b')ej* when not possessed and without the suffix when possessed. The *-(b')ej* suffix, however, indicates not that the noun is unpossessed but rather that it is a noun that normally should be possessed by someone but the speaker cannot or does not identify who the possessor is. The classic examples of Class III nouns are kinship terms. A person cannot be a "father," for example, without being "someone's father." Or, in other words, children "possess" their fathers. Thus, if a speaker refers to a man as father without mentioning whose father he is, the speaker must add the *-(b')ej* suffix to mark this.

chaab'il- ∅ yuwa'- b'ej = chaab'il yuwa'b'ej *He's a good father.*
good **Set B** **father** **possessor**
 he **unknown**

li yuwa'b'ej tento naq taatrab'aajik. = *Fathers (or a father) should work.*
The **father** **should** **that** **he-will-work**

Chart XIV Simple Noun Classes

Class	Example		Presence of suffixes -(b')ej or -VI	Possession Type
I	saq'e	<i>sun</i>	-----	Unpossessable
	saq'ehil	<i>summer</i>	-----	Unpossessable
	na'b'ejil	<i>motherhood</i>	-----	Unpossessable
II	wakax	<i>cow</i>	-----	Unpossessed
	In-wakax	<i>my cow</i>	-----	Possessed (+/- human)
III	na' – b'ej	<i>mother</i>	-b'ej	Possessor unknown
	in- na'	<i>my mother</i>	-----	Poss known (+ human)
IV	xe'	<i>root</i>	-----	Unpossessed
	in-xe'	<i>my root</i>	-----	Possessed (+ human)
	x- xe' -el	<i>its root</i>	-VI	Possessed (- human)
V	cha	<i>ash</i>	-----	Unpossessed
	x- chah -il	<i>its ash</i>	-VI	Possessed (- human)
VI	si'	<i>firewood</i>	-----	Unpossessed
	si'- ej	<i>firewood</i>	-ej	Possessor unknown
	in- si'	<i>my firewood</i>	-----	Possessor (+ human)
	x- si'- il	<i>its firewood</i>	-il	Possessor (- human)

Class IV

Class IV nouns are nouns which occur without suffixes when unpossessed or possessed by humans, but occur with a -VI suffix when the formal possessor is non-human. The relationship of possessor to the thing possessed is not always semantically that of possession. The following examples will show something of the range of this type of possession.

x-	xul-	el	ixim	=	xxulel ixim
Set A possessor <i>its</i>	animal	- human pos.	corn		
<i>= the bug or worm in the corn (the corn possesses or "has" the bug)</i>					

x-	b'e(h)-	il	w-	ochoch	=	xb'ehil wochoch
Set A possessor <i>its</i>	Road	- human pos.	Set A <i>my</i>	house		
<i>= the road to my house (house possesses the road)</i>						

x-	tib'-	el	wa	=	xtib'el wa
Set A possessor <i>its</i>	Meat	-human pos.	tortilla		
<i>= meat to go with the tortillas</i>					

x-	wa(h)-	il	tib'	=	xwahil tib'
Set A possessor <i>its</i>	Tortilla	-human pos.	meat		
<i>= tortillas to go with the meat</i>					

x-	chakach-	il	kenq'	=	xchakachil kenq'
Set A possessor <i>its</i>	Basket	-human pos.	beans		
<i>= basket for the beans</i>					

Class V

Class V nouns are like those of Class IV with the exception that they may only be possessed by non-human possessors with the -VI suffix and never by human possessors. It is impossible to possess *smoke*, for example, though one may possess another object, such as a cigarette, which formally possesses the smoke.

					sib·	<i>smoke</i>
					sik'	<i>cigarette</i>
x- sib'-	el	in-	sik'	=	xsib'el insik'	<i>my</i>
its <i>smoke</i>	- human pos.	my	cigarette			<i>cigarette</i>
						<i>smoke</i>

Class VI

Class VI nouns are nouns which combine the qualities of Classes III and IV. Like Class IV nouns they may occur unpossessed without a suffix, possessed by a human possessor without a suffix, and possessed by a non-human possessor with the -VI suffix. Like Class III nouns they may also occur unpossessed with the -(b')ej suffix to indicate that the noun has or should have a possessor but that the possessor is not known.

k'am	chaq	li	si'
bring-it	here	the	firewood!

= Bring the firewood here!

wan	li	in-	si'
there-is	the	my-	firewood

= I have firewood.

us	xk'eeb'al	x-si'-il	li	uk'al
good	to-put-it	its-firewood	the	pot

= A piece of firewood should be put under the pot./ We should put a stick of wood under the pot.

ma	k'am	li	che'	ab'anan	a'an	si'ej
negative	take-it	the	wood	because	that(is)	firewood

= Don't take that wood because it's firewood (and belongs to someone).

Dialect Variation in Simple Noun Classes

The problem with the above-presented system of noun classes is the extreme degree of dialect variation involving the suffix -(b')ej among the pueblos of Coban, Carcha, Chamelco, and Chamil. In Carcha and to a lesser degree in Chamil and Chamelco the above system is valid. But in Coban and to some extent Chamil, the -(b')ej suffix has been reduced to the status of a non-productive derivational suffix with other than kinship forms and a few other stems.

jolom	head
jolom-ej	head cold
oq	foot
chi oq-ej	on foot

There may be only one noun in the Coban dialect that fits the criteria for Class VI nouns:

k'ab'a'		name
k'ab'a':	jun k'ab'a' xwab'i chaq.	I heard a name .
k'ab'a'ej:	k' am chaq we chixjunil li k'ab'a'ej re xnawb'al aniheb' xe'wulak anaqwan.	Bring me all the names so that (I can) find out who came today.
xk'ab'a':	Ani xk'ab'a' a winq a'an?	What's that man's name ?
xk'ab'a'il:	Aj elq' ke'xk'e choq' xk'ab'a'il xb'aan naq jwal na'elq'ak.	They gave him as a nickname "the robber" because he robs a lot.

Compounds

The following section deals with a variety of noun constructions which will be lumped together under the term *compounds*. In many cases these will appear to be more like phrases than proper compounds and will at times appear to vary between phrase and compound. What will *not* be considered a compound is a simple noun modified by an adjective, such as *nimla ochoch big house*, *saqi t'ik'r white cloth*, *chaab'il winq good man*.

Possession plays an important role in the analysis of compounds in Q'eqchi'. It is often impossible to predict how a compound is to be possessed and, without this knowledge, difficult to determine its meaning. Three major classes of compounds are discussed below, the classification based on their differences involving possession.

Class I Compounds

Class I compounds are the most varied and complex of the compounds. The chart below provides a point of reference for the discussion which follows. Each subclass of Class I is provided with a "formula," which contains the following elements:

- N₁:** noun stem which is first member of the compound, reading left to right
- N₂:** noun stem which is second member of the compound
- x-:** third person singular preconsonantal Set A prefix. In the formulas, x- always indicates possession of N₁ by N₂ and never possession of the compound as a whole.
- pos-:** Set A prefixes which in the formulas always indicate the possessor of the compound as a whole. All examples are given in first person singular.

Class I compounds are those in which the second member of the compound N₂ either directly modifies N₁, or modifies N₁ by formally possessing it. An example of this in English showing both types of modification will be used as an illustrative key in presenting the compounds of Class I. (NB: In English N₁ and N₂ are the reverse of Q'eqchi'.) The example occurs in Freeze (1976: 115), though it is expanded somewhat differently here.

- (1) the table top
- (2) the table's top = (3) the top of the table

In each of the three examples given above *table* modifies in some way *top*. The difference between them is that (2) is a possessive or noun-of-noun construction while (1), perhaps with a very slight difference in meaning, has lost the possession marker of (2), resulting in a "frozen" lexical item.

A similar process occurs in Class I compounds in Q'eqchi', but with the difference that, under possession, compounds may flip-flop or alternate between being like (1) and being like (2).

As mentioned, the basic structure is that N_1 modifies N_2 .

- (3) naq' u
seed face = face-seed = eye
- (4) x- naq' u
its-seed face = face its-seed = face's seed = eye

In (3), N_2 u *face*, modifies N_1 , naq' *seed*. In (4), N_2 formally possesses N_1 , but the resultant meanings of both are the same, or nearly so. Essentially, (3) is parallel to (1) in English, while (4) corresponds to (2). However, rarely do both (3) and (4) both occur as unpossessed compounds in the same dialect of Q'eqchi'. Usually one or the other occurs as the unpossessed form while the other occurs where the compound is possessed.

Class Ia Compounds.

$x-N_1 N_2$ / $x-N_1$ pos- N_2

In the above formula x- indicates Set A possession of N_1 by third person singular and is coreferential with N_2 ; N_2 possesses N_1 . -pos indicates the Set A possession of the whole compound. Diagonal [/] separates the unpossessed form from the possessed form. Class Ia are of the structure N_1 possesses N_2 in both possessed and unpossessed forms, as in (2) and (4) above. N_1 always occurs with Set A possessive prefix x- to indicate this relationship. When Class Ia forms are possessed, the possession is marked by the appropriate Set A prefix attached to N_2 .

Examples of Class Ia:

x-	b'een	tel		
its	space above	arm	=	shoulder
x-	b'een	in-	tel	
its	space above	my	arm	= my shoulder
r-	aq'	xam		
its	tongue	fire	=	flame
r-	aq'	in-	xam	
its	tongue	my	fire	= my flame
x-	ya'al	tu'		
its	juice	breast	=	breast milk
x-	ya'al	in-	tu'	
its	juice	my	breast	= my milk (the mother's)
r-	ismal	u		
its	hair	eye	=	eye lash
r-	ismal	w-	u	
its	hair	my	eye	= my eye lash

N₁ may contain inflectional suffix -VI, indicating that the possessor, i.e., N₂, is non-human.

x-	si'-	il	ji	=	xsí'il ji
its	firewood	non-human pos.	oak	=	oak firewood
x-	si'-	il	in- ji	=	xsí'il inji
its	firewood	non-human pos	my oak	=	my oak firewood
x-	b'e(h)-	il	ochoch	=	xb'ehil ochoch
its	road	non-human pos	house	=	the road to the house
x-	b'e(h)-	il	w- ochoch	=	xb'ehil ochoch
its	road	non-human pos.	my house	=	the road to my house

N₂ may contain the inflectional -(b')ej, indicating that its possessor is not known and thus that the possessor of the entire compound is not known. This form is found only in Chamelco.

r-	alal	iitz'in-	-b'ej	=	ralal iitz'inb'ej
his/her	son	younger brother	pos. unknown	=	nephew
r-	alal	w-	-iitz'in	=	ralal wiitz'in
his/her	son	my	younger brother	=	my nephew

Class Ib.

Compounds of Class Ib are identical with Class Ia compounds when possessed: N₂ possesses N₁ while the possessor of the whole compound formally possesses N₂. However, in its unpossessed form N₁ lacks the possessive prefix of Set A, x- or r-, which would indicate that it is possessed by N₁. It appears rather that N₂ *modifies* N₁ when the compound is unpossessed, but that N₂ *possesses* N₁ when the compound is possessed. Thus, the unpossessed forms are like (1) and (3); the possessed forms are like (2) and (4).

mol	ak'ach			=	turkey egg
egg	turkey				
x-	mol	w-	ak'ach	=	my turkey egg
its	egg	my	turkey		
rahil	ch'ool-	ej		=	sadness
pain	heart	pos. unknown			
x-	rahil	in-	ch'ool	=	my sadness
its -	pain	my	heart		

A small subclass of Class Ib compounds are those few compounds in which N₁ does not occur with the possessive prefix linking it to N₂. It is felt that there are at least two explanations to account both for considering these words as members of Class Ib and also for the prefix lack.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|---|
| (1) | sa' | oq | | |
| | space-inside | foot | | = <i>sole of foot</i> |
| | sa' | w- | oq | |
| | space-inside | my | foot | = <i>my sole</i> |
| (2) | rahil | xul | e | |
| | pain | bug | mouth, tooth | = <i>toothache, caries</i> |
| | rahil | xul | w- | e |
| | pain | bug | my | mouth, tooth = <i>my toothache</i> |

In the first example *sa'* appears to be a noun, but it may also be used commonly as a preposition meaning *at, in, to* (see 4.5.1). Since *sa'* never is possessed as a preposition, this may have been extended to its noun use in the above and other similar compounds:

- | | | | |
|--------------|------------|---|---------------|
| sa' | tel | | |
| space inside | arm | = | <i>armpit</i> |
| sa' | a' | | |
| space inside | leg | = | <i>crotch</i> |

In the second example, a rare type of compound because it involves three nouns, both of the first two nouns begin with phonemes also used for third person possession: r- and x-. It seems reasonable to allow one of these to stand doubly for the third person marker, xul bug indicates that the pain is caused by some sort of small animal, indicating an understanding of what causes caries and thus toothaches.

Class Ic.

Compounds of Class Ic function exactly opposite of Class Ib in that in the unpossessed form of the compound N_2 formally possesses N_1 just as in Class Ib, but in the possessed compound this formal possessor is replaced by the possessor of the compound. Thus, when the compound is possessed as a whole it has the structure of N_2 modifies N_1 as in example (1), whereas when unpossessed as a whole, N_2 possesses N_1 as in example (2).

- | | | | | |
|------------|---------------|-----------------|---|-----------------------|
| r- | ak'ach | tzuul | = | turkey of the hill |
| its | turkey | the hill | = | <i>wild turkey</i> |
| w- | ak'ach | tzuul | | |
| my | turkey | hill | = | <i>my wild turkey</i> |

Class Id.

Compounds of Class Id have unpossessed forms like Ib in which N₂ modifies N₁ but does not formally possess it. However, in contrast with Class Ib, the compounds of Class Id may be possessed in two ways: they may be possessed like Ib, where N₂ possesses N₁ and the possessor of the compound possesses N₂, or the possessor prefix may be attached to N₁. In this latter case it is still understood that N₂ modifies N₁, and the possessor possesses the entire compound, which distinguishes Class Id from Class II compounds, to be discussed below. Possessed Class Id compounds may differ in meaning in some cases, depending on the type of possession employed. In the examples given below differences of meaning will be noted when necessary. (First two examples for Chamelco only.)

sok nest	jolom head	=	head-nest	=	<i>head pad for carrying something on head</i>
x- its	sok nest	in- my	jolom head	=	<i>my head pad</i>
in- my	sok pad	jolom head		=	<i>my head pad</i>
ke coldness	ix- back	ej possessor unknown	=	back-coldness	= <i>shiver</i>
x- its	ke coldness	w- my	ix back	=	<i>my shiver</i>
in- my	ke coldness	ix back		=	<i>my shiver</i>
kaxon box (Sp. cajón)	seer bee (Sp. cera wax)		=	bee-box	= <i>beehive</i>
x- its	kaxon box	in- my	seer bees	=	<i>my beehive (for my own bees)</i>
in- my	kaxon box	seer bees		=	<i>my beehive (but I don't have any bees)</i>

Class Ie.

Possessed compounds of Class Ie exhibit the same possibilities as those of Class Id. The unpossessed form of Ie, however, contrasts with unpossessed Id in that N₂ formally possesses instead of simply modifying it, as in class Id.

x- <i>its</i>	k'aam <i>string</i>	-al non-human possessor	xaab' <i>shoes</i>	=	<i>shoestring</i>
x- <i>its</i>	k'aam <i>string</i>	-al	in- <i>my</i>	xaab' <i>shoes</i>	= <i>my shoestring</i> (that goes with my shoes)
in- <i>my</i>	k'aam <i>string</i>	-al <i>my</i>	xaab' <i>shoes</i>	=	<i>my shoestring</i> (but not from my shoes)

Why in-k'aam-al xaab' does not reduce to in-k'aam xaab' when xaab' ceases to possess k'aam-al is an irregularity. See the following example.

x- <i>its</i>	si'- <i>firewood</i>	il non-human possessor	ji <i>oak</i>	=	<i>oak firewood</i>
x- <i>its</i>	si'- <i>firewood</i>	il	in- <i>my</i>	ji <i>oak</i>	= <i>my oak firewood</i> (from my oak tree)
in- <i>my</i>	si' <i>firewood</i>	ji <i>oak</i>		=	<i>my oak firewood</i> (but not necessarily from my tree)

Class If.

Compounds of this class are restricted to those in which N₁ is vowel initial, thereby using the r-allomorph of the Set A third person singular possessive prefix. Class If compounds might be considered as an aberrant subclass of Ie, differing only when possessed as N₂ modifying N₁, but not as N₂ possessing N₁. Class If compounds, instead of replacing the Set A prefix indicating that N₂ possesses N₁ with the Set A possessor of the whole compound, retain the third person prefix r- and then add another Set A prefix to it.

r- <i>its -</i>	u <i>fruit</i>	chaj <i>pine</i>	=	<i>pinecone</i>
r- <i>its -</i>	u <i>fruit</i>	in- <i>my -</i>	chaj <i>pine</i>	= <i>pinecone</i> (from my pine tree)
in- <i>my</i>	r- <i>its</i>	u <i>fruit</i>	chaj <i>pine</i>	= <i>my pinecone</i> (not my pine tree)

Class Ig.

Logically, it is possible that a compound exist in which the only possibility, whether possessed or unpossessed, would be that N₂ modify and never that N₂ possess N₁. No such compounds exist, apparently.

Dialect Variation in Class I Compounds.

The preceding sections have detailed the processes underlying the sub-classes of Class I compounds. But however valid these processes are for the dialect area as a whole, it is impossible to fix the Class I compounds once and for all into sub-classes since there is wide disagreement among speakers from the different towns in the dialect area as to which of the sub-classes is the correct one for a given compound. That is, a compound may be of a certain sub-class for speakers from Carchá, for example, but be of another class for the speakers from Chamil.

One example of this dialect differentiation is the compound meaning wrist. For speakers from Chamil and Chamelco the compound is Class Ia:

x-	kux		uq'						
its	neck		(the) hand	=	the hand's neck	=	<i>wrist</i>		
x-	kux	w-	uq'						
its	neck	my	hand			=	<i>my wrist</i>		

For speakers from Carchá and Coban, the compound is Class Ib:

	kux		uq'						
	neck		hand	=	hand-neck	=	<i>wrist</i>		
x-		kux		w-		uq'			
its		neck		my		hand	=	<i>my wrist</i>	

Similar examples abound, and there seems to be no pattern that allows for predicting where a particular compound will be classified in a given town.

Class II compounds

Class II compounds are fundamentally different from Class I in that the first member of the compound, which may be either a noun or adjective and which will be referred to as Mod, modifies the second member, which is always a noun.

Class II compounds seem to be derived from modifier plus noun in ordinary noun phrases. What will be considered as Class II compounds include:

- Mod N, where Mod is a noun, and
- Mod N, where Mod is an adjective, but through either lack of enclitic -i and/or where the sum of these two as plain modifier plus noun is not the same as the meaning of the compound.

Examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---|
| (1) | k'um
pumpkin | ik
chile | = | <i>a type of fat, pumpkin-shaped chile</i> |
| | k'ik
blood | sa'
stomach | = | <i>dysentery</i> |
| | ch'och'el
ground | kenq'
bean | = | <i>ground-bean, variety that grows on the ground, not on stalks</i> |
| (2) | saq
white | che'
tree | = | <i>roof beam</i> |
| | rax
green | hal
corn-ear | = | <i>green-corn-ear, fresh corn-ear</i> |
| | but | rax-
green | i
enclitic | hal
corn ear |
| | | | = | <i>green corn-ear (focus on color)</i> |
| | rapb'il
whipped | kab'
sweet | = | <i>melcocha, a type of taffy-like candy</i> |

It is possible for an unpossessed compound of Class II to appear the same as an unpossessed compound of Class Ib, but these will be disambiguated when possessed.

ch'och'el ground	kenq' bean			bean-ground = <i>ground for growing beans</i>
				ground-bean = <i>bean variety which grows along the ground</i>
x- its	ch'och'el ground	in- my	kenq' beans	= <i>my bean-ground</i> (Class Ib)
in- my	ch'och'el ground	kenq' bean		= <i>my ground-beans</i> (Class II)

Class III compounds

Class III compounds are those in which both N₁ and N₂ have equal status, neither modifying the other. Possession of the compound involves possessing both members of the compound equally. These compounds, if modified, must also modify each member of the compound.

alal son	k'ajol son			= <i>children</i>
w-alal my son	in-k'ajol my son			= <i>my children</i>
tzuul hill	taq'a valley			= <i>hill-valley, the spirit of a place</i>
loq'laj precious	tzuul hill	loq'laj precious	taq'a valley	= <i>holy hill-valley spirit</i>
pohol moon	chahimal star			= <i>luck</i>
in- my	pohol moon	in- my	chahimal star	= <i>my luck</i>

Compounding and Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns derived from either adjective or noun are implicitly first members of a noun-of-noun construction. Abstract nouns have the form possessor + adjective/noun base + nominalizing suffix. The possessor in these nouns, which is obligatory, refers to the second member of the N-plus-N construction. This latter may be said to possess the quality of the former.

x-	q'eq-	al	in-	tz'iib'leb'	=	<i>The blackness of my pen -or-</i>
<i>its</i>	<i>black</i>	<i>suffix</i>	<i>my</i>	<i>pen</i>		<i>my pen's blackness</i>

The abstraction produced in this way may semantically shift slightly in such a way that it may be used as a vocabulary item without referring to a noun which possesses the abstraction. For example, "blackness" may shift to "darkness," meaning "night." Then the obligatory possession is dropped and an independent noun or adjective is produced. Examples: kaq red (adjective)

x-kaq-al	<i>redness</i>	(literally, <i>its redness</i>) Must occur as N ₁ in Class Ia compound.
in-kaqal	<i>my redness</i>	
kaqal	<i>envy</i>	
in-kaqal	<i>my envy</i>	

Numbers

Numbers are formally nouns, since they may be possessed by Set A prefixes. This section will examine the various uses of numbers. The number chart provided below will provide a point of reference for the discussion of numbers.

Numeral Roots

Numeral roots are the nuclei of the various forms of numbers. With the exception of jun one, which may occur without affixes both as a numeral and as the indefinite article, all numeral roots are bound forms.

1	jun	6	waq-
2	ka'- or kab'-	7	wuq-
3	ox-	8	waqxaq-
4	kaa-	9	b'ele-
5	o'- or ho'-	10	laje-

Cardinal Numbers

Cardinal numbers are used to count things, excluding those things counted with special measure words. Normally, a cardinal number phrase is number + chi + noun, but chi may be deleted.

Cardinal numbers to ten are derived from numeral roots by suffix –Vb', a suffix probably related to the plural morpheme -eb'. Cardinal numbers above ten are combined forms. Numbers 11-19 are represented by the numeral roots from one through nine plus -laju, a variant of the numeral root for ten. The cardinal numbers to twenty are:

1	jun	11	junlaju
2	ka'ib' / kwib' / kiib' / wiib'	12	kab'laju
3	oxib'	13	oxlaju
4	kaahib'	14	kaalaju
5	o'ob' / ho'ob' / oob' / hoob'	15	o'laju / ho'laju
6	waqib'	16	waqlaju
7	wuqub'	17	wuqlaju
8	waqxaqib'	18	waqxaqlaju
9	b'eleeb'	19	b'eleelaju
10	lajeeb'	20	jun may

Q'eqchi', as other Mayan languages, has a vigesimal system of counting, which is well preserved in comparison with other Mayan languages. In addition to the numbers used at the present time (up to two hundred), numbers no longer in use which would allow the system to count as high as 1,216,000,000 are reported by Haeserijn (1966), reputed to have been found in a 17th century manuscript from Cahabon, Alta Verapaz.

The system works as follows: all numbers are part of a series of twenty. The first series ends in a unit of twenty, -may, though all the other units of twenty are denoted by the morpheme -k'aal. We can thus count by twenties up to 380:

20	jun may	220	junlajuk'aal
40	ka'k'aal	240	kab'lajuk'aal
60	oxk'aal	260	oxlajuk'aal
80	kaak'aal	280	kaalajuk'aal
100	o'k'aal	300	o'lajuk'aal
120	waqk'aal	320	waqlajuk'aal
140	wuqk'aal	340	wuqlajuk'aal
160	waqxaqk'aal	360	waqxaqlajuk'aal
180	b'eleek'aal	380	b'eleelajuk'aal
200	o'tuuk		

The form for two hundred should be lajek'aal. The root -tuuk appears to mean forty but is unused except in this word. Haeserijn (1966: 118) glosses the morpheme as *40 corn ears*, but it has not been possible to confirm this gloss elsewhere. Brasseur (1961: 169) reported a similar form for K'iche', otuk (orthography Brasseur's), in his grammar first published in 1862, but provided no

gloss. Unpublished data at the PLFM from Nahuala-Santa Catarina Ixtahuacan collected by Will Norman contain o'tuk' or ootuk' 200 (T.Larsen, personal communication).

To count the numbers between a particular series of twenty, one counts from 1-19 in that series, followed by the series number possessed by Set A third person singular marker. Thus, 21 is jun x-ka'k'aal *one of the 2 x 20 series*. A sampling of other numbers:

33	oxlaju xka'k'aal	(13 of the 2 x 20 series)
76	waqlaju xkaak'aal	(16 of the 4 x 20 series)
105	hoob' ro'k'aal	(5 of the 5 x 20 series)
191	junlaju ro'tuuk	(11 of the 5 x 40 series)
343	oxib' xwaqxaqlajuk'aal	(3 of the 18 x 20 series)

Number 400 is o'q'ob', where -q'ob' would apparently mean eighty; o'-q'ob' appears to be 5 x 80. It is possible to count by 400's by prefixing numeral roots to ten and cardinal numbers 11-19:

400	o'q'ob'	4400	junlaju o'q'ob
800	kab'o'q'ob'	4800	kab'laju o'q'ob
1200	oxo'q'ob'	5200	oxlaju o'q'ob
1600	kaaho'q'ob	5600	kaalaju o'q'ob
2000	o'o'q'ob'	6000	o'laju o'q'ob
2400	waqo'q'ob'	6400	waqlaju o'q'ob
2800	wuqo'q'ob'	6800	wuqlaju o'q'ob
3200	waqxaqo'q'ob'	7200	waqxaqlaju o'q'ob
3600	b'eleeho'q'ob	7600	b'eleelaju o'q'ob
4000	lajeeho'q'ob'		

Intermediate numbers work the same as previously:

801	jun roxo'q'ob'	(1 of the 3 x 400 series)
2353	oxlaju xwaqxaqlajuk'aal xwaqo'q'ob	(13 of the 18 x 20 series of the 6 x 400 series)

Higher numbers should work the same way, though Haeserijn goes into no detail about the intermediate numbers. 20 x 400 (8000) is jun chuy, which Haeserijn glosses as *one sack of cacao beans*, or jun tuub', which means *a pile (monton in Spanish)*. Brasseur's (1961: 171) form for 8000 in K'iche' is *chuvy* (orthography Brasseur's), which Brasseur glossed like Haeserijn: "*la talega o el costal que contenia ocho mil almendras de cacao*." Modern K'iche' has chu'y (official orthography) *balsa de tela para guardar dinero o cigarros*. Tom Larsen (personal communication) has noted that older orthographies often used VV for V' and that -u- and -v- were often interchangeable, indicating that Brasseur's *chuvy* and the PLFM's *chu'y* are the same. Further, Q'eqchi' often has V where K'iche' has V', such as in Q'eqchi' *mol*, K'iche' *saqmo'l egg*; Q'eqchi' *sam snot*, K'iche' *tza'm nose*.

Ordinal Numbers

Ordinal numbers two through ten are formed by attaching the Set A third person singular prefix to the numeral roots. The form *xb'een* *first* is borrowed from the relational nouns (see following section); as a relational noun *xb'een* means *top of*. Ordinal numbers for 11-19 are formed by the same Set A possession attached to the cardinal number plus suffix *-il*. All ordinal expressions for numbers above 19 use the cardinal numbers. The ordinal numbers are:

First	xb'een	Seventh	xwuq
Second	xkab'	Eighth	xwaqxaq
Third	rox	Ninth	xb'ele
Fourth	xka	Tenth	xlaje
Fifth	ro'	Eleventh	xjunlajuhil
Sixth	xwaq	Twelfth	xkab'lajuhil
		Etc	

Distributive numbers

Distributive numbers are those which in English are expressed by *each*, *every*, or *each and every* plus a cardinal number. The system as currently used appears to represent a combination of two former systems, one involving reduplication of the numeral root and another involving the morpheme *-taq*. This *-taq* loses its vowel word-finally; it is doubtless related historically to the Poqomchi' plural, *taq*.

each one	junjung	(junqal: Coban junjunqal: Chamil)
each two	ka'kab'	(ka'kab'il: Chamil)
each three	oxox	(oxoxil: Chamil)
each four	kaaka	(kaakahil: Chamil)
each five	o'otq	
each six	waqitq	
each seven	wuqitq	
each eight	wajxaqitq	
each nine	b'eleetq	
each ten	lajeetq	
each eleven	juntaqlaju	
each twelve	kab'taqlaju	
etc.		

Groupative numbers

There are three other formations used to denote groups of a certain number.

Unspecified Group: Cardinal Number plus -al.

In order to indicate a group of from two to ten, without specifying overtly what the group is composed of, the cardinal number plus suffix -al is used.

li	b'isok	k'aam	kwib'-al	naraj	
<i>the</i>	<i>to-measure</i>	<i>"tarea"</i>	<i>two-unspecified</i>	<i>it-needs it</i>	= <i>To measure "tareas" you need two.</i> (A "tarea" or "cuerda" is a land measure of about 25 yards square.)

Approximate Group: Cardinal Number plus -aq.

In order to indicate a group composed of an approximate number of things, the cardinal number plus -aq is used. These numbers correspond to the indefinite article.

Twaj	raj	kwib'-aq	in-moos	
<i>I-want-it</i>	<i>would</i>	<i>about-two</i>	<i>my-worker</i>	= <i>I'd like about two workers.</i>

Definite Group: Numeral Root plus -ichal.

In order to indicate a group of a certain number already established between speaker and hearer, the numeral root plus -ichal, possessed by Set A third person singular prefix, is used. This form in some ways parallels the use of the definite article, li.

xink'ayi	xkab'ichal	eb'	li tz'l'.	
<i>I-sold-it</i>	<i>the-two</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>the dog</i>	= <i>I sold the two dogs.</i>

This form is valid in Coban through number 4, in Chamil through number 6, in Chamelco through number 7, and in Carcha through number 10. In Coban number 3 may be doubly possessed: x-r-oxichal = xroxichal.

Cofradia Members: Ordinal Numbers plus -il.

A special construction is used for members of *cofradías*, which are religious brotherhoods found throughout the area populated by speakers of Mayan languages and elsewhere (cf. Colby and van den Berghe, 1969). The ordinal numbers plus the suffix -il are used to denote members who have taken on a "cargo" for a given year. Each cargo entails certain responsibilities, those with lower numbers being more important than those with higher numbers.

b'eenil	<i>cofradía</i>	xwaqil mertoom	<i>sixth mayordomo</i>
xb'eenil mertoom	<i>first mayordomo (with the most responsibilities)</i>	xwuqil mertoom	<i>seventh mayordomo</i>
xkab'il mertoom	<i>second mayordomo</i>	xwaqxaqil mertoom	<i>eighth mayordomo</i>
roxil mertoom	<i>third mayordomo</i>	xb'eleehil mertoom	<i>ninth mayordomo</i>
xkaahil mertoom	<i>fourth mayordomo</i>	xlajehil mertoom	<i>tenth mayordomo</i>
ro'il mertoom	<i>fifth mayordomo</i>		

These terms may also be used to refer to the twelve apostles. Extra forms are xjunlajuhil *11th apostle* and xkab'lajuhil *12th apostle*.

Measures and numbers

Q'eqchi', as other Mayan languages, has a system of measures, often called numeral classifiers (Day, 1973: 59-61; Kaufman, 1971: 91-93). These measure words are used either with the numeral roots from one to five and with the cardinal numbers over five to count certain objects and quantities, or with the cardinal numbers only. It may be that the system of using the numeral roots with measures is in the process of being replaced by the use of the cardinal numbers only.

The measures that may occur with the numeral roots are taken from various sources. A large number of measures are derived from positional (p) or transitive (vt) roots with the suffix $-V_1l$:

moch'-	(p)	<i>"in the shape of a fist"</i>
moch'ol		<i>"fistful"</i>
ka'moch'ol		<i>"two fistfuls"</i>
b'is-	(vt)	<i>"to measure"</i>
b'isil		<i>"a measure"</i>
oxb'isil		<i>"three measures"</i>

Occasionally the roots are used without the $-V_1l$ suffix:

tzol-	(p)	<i>in rows</i>
tzol		<i>row</i>
ka'tzol		<i>two rows</i>
jach-	(vt)	<i>cut in parts (Numeral roots with this vt root produce fractions)</i>
yijach		<i>one-half (yi = middle)</i>
oxjach		<i>one-third</i>

Another highly productive source of measures are the intransitive infinitives of transitive verbs and other intransitive infinitives.

oxloq'ok	<i>three buys</i>	oxch'iilank	<i>three scoldings</i>
oxb'oq'ok	<i>three calls</i>	oxaq'ink	<i>three weddings</i>
oxk'atok	<i>three burnings</i>	oxk'alek	<i>three field clearings</i>

Other measures used with numeral roots are the following:

-sut	<i>occurrence</i>	yok(b')	<i>step</i>
-wa	<i>occurrence</i>	k'utub'	<i>handspan (cloth, wood)</i>

Chart XIV: Number chart

	Root & w/Measure	Cardinal	Ordinal	Distributive	Unspecified Group	Definite Group	Indefinite Group	Cofrade/ Apostle
1	jun	jun	x-b'een	junjung(al)/ junqal	junesal		junaq	xb'eenil
2	ka'-	kwib'/wiib'/ ka'ib'	x-kab'	ka'kab'(il)	ka'ib'-al	xkab'ichal	xkwib'aq	xkab'il
3	ox-	oxib'	r-ox	oxox(il)	oxib'-al	roxichal	oxib'aq	roxil
4	kaa-	kaahib'	x-kab'	kaaka(il)	kaahib'-al	kaahichal	kaahib'aq	xkaahil
5	o'-	o'ob'/hoob'/ oob'	r-o'	o'otq	oob'-al	ro'ichal	hoob'aq	ro'il
6	waq-	waqib'	x-waq	waqitq	waqib'-al	xwaqichal	waqib'aq	xwaqil
7	wuq-	wuqub'	x-wuq	wuqutq	wuqub'-al	xwuqichal	wuqub'aq	xwuqil
8	waqxaq-	waqxaqib'	x-waqxaq	waqxaqitq	waqxaqib'-al	xwaqxaqichal	waqxaqib'aq	xwaqxaqil
9	b'elee-	b'eleeb'	x-b'ele	b'elleetq	b'eleeb'-al	xb'elehichal	b'eleeb'aq	xb'elehil
10	lajee-	lajeeb'	x-laje	lajeetq	lajeeb'-al	xlajehichal	lajeeb'aq	xlajehil
11	junlaju	junlaju	x-junlajhil (all but Cobán; Cobán = cardinal numbers)	juntaqlaju (to 19, then cardinal numbers)	junlajuhal (11+ rare; Chamil only, others cardinal)	Cardinal numbers	junlajuhaq	xjunlajuhil
etc								

Prepositional nominals (relational nouns)

In order to introduce the prepositional nominals, also called relational nouns (Kaufman, 1971), that small set of nouns in Q'eqchi' and other Mayan languages so important to expressions of case, it is necessary to introduce here the prepositions. The two important Q'eqchi' prepositions are *chi* *at, to, with* and *sa'* *in, at, to, per*. These prepositions may occur in simple prepositional constructions involving only one or the other of these prepositions and a noun serving as "object" of the preposition. The preposition *sa'* is the productive locative/temporal preposition in simple prepositional constructions, and is the product of historical semantic extension of the common noun *sa'* meaning *stomach, insides*.

wan	sa'	li santiglees	
he-is	at/in	church	= <i>He is at/in church.</i>

xink'ul	sa'	lunes	
I-received-it	on	Monday	= <i>I got it on Monday.</i>

While *sa'* is largely limited to temporal and locative meanings in simple prepositional expressions, *chi* has a much broader range of significance which includes locative/temporal, instrumental, and manner.

xko	chi	junaq	wa	
he-went-away	for	one	time	= <i>he left once and for all.</i>

na'eeek'an	chi	q'eq	
it-cries	at	black	= <i>It cries at night.</i>

xchal	chi	najt	
he-came	from	far	= <i>he came from far away.</i>

The use of *chi* and *sa'* in the formation of place names will not be treated here.

Complex prepositional expressions

Complex prepositional expressions are those expressions which may or may not contain one of the above prepositions but which do contain a prepositional nominal. The prepositional nominal, according to Freeze (1976: 115) usually names a specific spatial or temporal position relative to the semantic prepositional object or which names a part of that object. That nominal is formally possessed by the prepositional object. Analogously, in the English prepositional phrase, *on top of the table*, the noun *top* is the object of the preposition *on* and is formally possessed by *table*. *Table* is "in the genitive": *of the table*, a paraphrase for which is *table's*, which plays a part in the paraphrase of the above: *on the table's top*.

In the above example the role played by *top* in the prepositional phrase is quite similar to the prepositional nominals in Q'eqchi'. Thus, often the complex prepositional expression consists of one of the rather general prepositions, a prepositional nominal with more specific temporal or locative information, and the prepositional object which formally possesses the prepositional nominal:

sa'	x- b'een	meex		
at	its- top	(the) table	=	<i>on top of the table</i>

Complex prepositional expressions deal not only with the "concrete" or "local" case distinctions illustrated above, but also with the "abstract" grammatical case functions (Lyons, 1969: 295-302). In many cases a particular prepositional nominal may perform both concrete and abstract case functions; in some cases the distinction between these two may be rather small.

Individual prepositional nominals

The following examples demonstrate each prepositional nominal as used in phrases and sentences, both with and without the prepositions *chi* and *sa'* when pertinent.

x – b'een

LOCATIVE

sa'	x-	b'een	kab'l	
<i>at</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>over</i>	<i>house</i>	= <i>above/over the house</i>

TEMPORAL

chi	x-	b'een	li	ninq'e	
<i>at</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>after</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>fiesta</i>	= <i>after the fiesta</i>

r – ub'el

LOCATIVE

chi	r-	ub'el	li	tem	
<i>at</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>under</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>bench</i>	= <i>under the bench</i>

TEMPORAL

chi	r-	ub'el	li	ninq'e	
<i>at</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>before</i>	<i>the</i>	<i>fiesta</i>	= <i>before the fiesta</i>

r – u

LOCATIVE

chi	r-	u	tz'ak		
<i>at</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>surface</i>	<i>wall</i>	=	<i>on the wall</i>
xinixket	chi	r-	u	che'	
<i>he-hit-me</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>its</i>	<i>surface</i>	<i>tree</i>	= <i>he knocked me against the tree</i>

TEMPORAL

chi at	r- its	u during	li the	ninq'e fiesta	=	during the fiesta
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COMPARATIVE

mas nim more/very big	aaw- oq your- foot	chi at	w- u my-than	=	You are taller than me.
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mas sa more/very tasty	nawa'ak he-eats	chi at	w- u my-than	=	He eats more than me.
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BENFACTIVE

us- ø good- it	chi at	q- u our- for	=	it's good for us.
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chaab'il- ø nice- she at	chi at	w- u my- for	=	To me, she's nice/ I like her.
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Ink'a' natehon no it-opens	chi at	w- u my- for	=	It won't open for me/I can't open it.
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sa' in- k'ab'a' at my-name/intervention	xtehon it-opened	chi at	aaw- u li your- for the	aa- kaax your- box	=	The box opened for me.
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ABLATIVE

naxik He-runs-away	chi at	w- u my- from	=	He runs away from me.
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maq' take-it	chi at	r- u his- from	re naq ink'a' so that no	tixlow he-will-eat-it	=	Take it from him so that he won't eat it.
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ACCUSATIVE

naxnaw he-knows-it	w- u my- acc.	=	He knows me.
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xwajsi I-woke-it-up	r- u his- acc.	=	I entertained him.
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r – e**LOCATIVE**

chi
at r – e
its-edge nima'
river = *on/along the river bank*

PURPOSIVE

tintaq' res i li awimj r- e naq ink'a' taachaiq xb'aan li saq'e.
I-will-water the plants **its- for that not** **it-will-dry** **its-act** **the sun** = *I'll water the plants so that they don't dry up in the sun.*

DATIVE

yookeb' chi tijok chi w- ix r- e maak'a' taa'oq w- e
They-are-doing at **praying at my-for** **its-for nothing** **it-will-enter** **my-dative** = *They are praying for me so that nothing will happen to me.*

POSSESSIVE

ak xye r- e laj Mon
already **he-said-it** **his-dative** **hon.** **Raymond** = *he already told it to Raymond.*

w- e li tz'i'
my- **possessive** **the** **dog** = *the dog is mine.*

li chakach wan arin r- e li in- na'
the basket **there-is here** **her-possessive** **the** **my- mother** = *The basket here is my mother's.*

r- ik'in**LOCATIVE**

taayaab' aq r- ik'in li aaw-ochoch
He-will-cry **its- near** **the** **your-house** = *He'll cry near your house.*

ASSOCIATIVE

ma wan tumin aaw- ik'in
question **there-is** **money** **your-with** = *Do you have any money with you?*

BENEFACTIVE

tink' anjelaq aaw- ik'in
I-will-work **your-with** = *I'll work for you.*

INSTRUMENTAL

ninto'oni li xoral r- ik'in oxib' ketzal
I-rent-it the lot its- for three Quetzal = *I rent the lot for 3 Quetzals.*

xinixket r- ik'in che'
he-hit-me its- with stick = *he hit me with a stick.*

RESULTATIVE

xko sa' tz'alam r- ik'in kalaak
he-went to jail its- for getting-drunk = *he went To jail for getting drunk.*

r - ix**LOCATIVE**

chi r- ix kab'l
at its-outside house = *outside the house*

chi q- ix
at our-back = *behind us*

TEMPORAL

chi r- ix li ninq'e
at its- after the fiesta = *after the fiesta*

COMITATIVE

wan ta wan in- tumin --- tinxik raj chi eer- ix Antigua
there-is doubt there-is my-money I-will-go would at your- with Antigua = *I wish I had some money – I'd go with you to Antigua.*

x – yi**LOCATIVE**

sa' x- yi li che'
at its- between the trees = *between the trees*

x – yanq**LOCATIVE**

sa' at	ee- y'all's-	yanq among	=	<i>among y'all</i>
najt far	qa- our-	yanq among	=	<i>We live far apart.</i>

x – k'atq**LOCATIVE**

chi at	x – his-	k'atq side	=	<i>beside him</i>
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r – ib'**REFLEXIVE**

kixkut he-threw-it	r- ib' his- self	sa' at	x- her-	b'een over	=	<i>he threw himself over her.</i>
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RECIPROCAL

xiik' ugly	naqil we-see-it	q- our-	ib' self	=	<i>We dislike each other.</i>
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x – b'aan**RESULTATIVE**

xko He-went	sa' to	tz'alam jail	x- b'aan its-for	kalaak getting drunk	=	<i>He went to jail for getting drunk.</i>
nawulak it-pleases	chi at	r – u trab'aajik his-for working	sa' ortaliis x – b'aan in garden its-for	naq nak'ehe' that it-is-given	x-tumin his-money	= <i>He likes to work in the garden because he makes money at it.</i>

x – maak**RESULTATIVE**

xko
He-went

sa' tz'alam
to jail

x- maak
its- for

kalaak
getting drunk

= *He went to jail for getting drunk.*

r – eeqaj**SUBSTITUTIVE**

xqataw
We-found-it

q – eetaj
our-substitute

chi
for

mertoamil
mayordomo

= *We found a replacement for mayordomo (of the cofradia).*

k'e
give-it

w – e
my- dative

li kaq chi
the red at

ok r – eeqaj
enter its-substitute

li q'eq
the black

= *Give me the red one instead of the black one.*

Q'EQCHI GRAMMAR
CHAPTER 6: Statives

CHAPTER 6: STATIVES

Statives are those stems which, as the predicates of stative sentences, can be inflected by Set B pronominal suffixes to form verbless, equative sentences in which Set B functions as the theme or subject of these sentences.

This class of morphemes is not exclusive like the previous classes in that it includes nouns possessable by Set A as well as statives which can normally not be possessed. The concern of this chapter is not to place stems into rigid classes, but to describe stems as they interact with Set B in stative sentences.

This section deals with two aspects of statives. The first of these is to identify the subclasses of stative stems, specifically those which are non-nominal. These include adjectives, positionals, and a variety of participles. The second aim of this section will be to examine how tense, aspect, and mood are marked in stative sentences, thus complementing the exposition of these markers with verbs above.

Types of statives

Statives may be divided into two basic types: those in which the stative predicate basically identifies the theme, in which case the stative is a nominal, and those in which the stative predicate describes the state or condition of the theme, in which case the stative will be an adjective, participle, or positional. The distinction between the two types is semantic and unmarked in Q'eqchi' inflection, but it is mentioned here in partial justification for treating nouns apart from other statives.

Adjectives

Adjectives were shown briefly, in the chapter on nouns, as modifiers of nouns, some of which require an enclitic -i or -la when preceding the noun they modify.

saq	<i>white</i>	saqi tz'i'	<i>white dog</i>
nim	<i>big</i>	nimla tz'i'	<i>big dog</i>

It is unclear what governs the use of the enclitic. In a list of thirty of the most common adjectives, sixteen took the enclitic. Among those which did not were included all of the adjectives which ended in a vowel, of which there were four. Further study will be necessary to determine how the enclitics function, with special emphasis on the eastern dialects where these enclitics are more common.

Adjectives may be prefixed by the Set A pronominal prefixes under certain conditions. A noun phrase which includes personal possession plus a modifying adjective may prefix the personal possession on the adjective preceding the noun.

Li	ch'ina'al	xk' am	chaq	oxib'	in-saqi	t'ikr
<i>The</i>	<i>boy</i>	<i>brought</i>	<i>there</i>	<i>three</i>	<i>my-white</i>	<i>cloth</i>

= *The boy brought me three white cloths.*

In addition, a possessed noun phrase in which the noun has been deleted retains the Set A pronominal prefix with the adjective.

Li ch'ina'al xk'am chaq oxib' in-saq.
my-white (ones). = *The boy brought me three white ones.*

Adjectives as statives

Adjectives, as statives, may be defined as stems inflected with Set B suffixes to form stative sentences. In order to distinguish them from nouns, which identify the theme of the stative sentence, we may further define the adjectives as predicates which describe the condition or state of the Set B theme. This stative adjective class includes participles and positionals, derived from verb stems and positional roots, respectively, as well as root adjectives and adjectives derived from another source.

adjective predicate (condition):	yaj- sick	in (Set B) /	= <i>I'm sick</i>
noun predicate (identity):	winq- man	in (Set B) /	= <i>I'm a man</i>

Participles

A participle is a word derived from a verb and used as an adjective. The three participles thus derived in Q'eqchi' fit this definition in that they may be used, both as modifiers of nouns and as predicates in stative sentences. The following examples show the three types of participles as noun modifiers:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1) | Xkam
<i>He-died</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | b'ak'b'o
<i>tied-up</i> | = | <i>The tied-up man died.</i> |
| (2) | Xkam
<i>He-died</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | b'ak'b'il
<i>tied-up</i> | = | <i>The tied-up man died.</i> |
| (3) | Xkam
<i>He-died</i> | li
<i>the</i> | winq
<i>man</i> | warenaq
<i>sleeping</i> | (warjenaq in Chamil) | = <i>The sleeping man died.</i> |

Transitive participle: -b'il

This suffix productively derives participles from transitive stems. They are passive in that, in a stative sentence containing one of these participles, the Set B theme is understood to have suffered the action of the verb as a patient. In order to distinguish between the passive verb constructions and participles, it is handy to mark them [+/- action] and [+/- resultant state]:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|----------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| (1) | x-
past | in-
Set B / | sak'e'
passive stem | [+ action, - resultant state] | = | <i>I was hit.</i> |
| (2) | sak'b'il -
<i>hit (participle)</i> | -in
Set B / | | [+ action, + resultant state] | = | <i>I am hit (because I was hit).</i> |

In (1), which is the passive of the transitive stem sak' *hit*, the action of hitting is stressed and the resultant state is ignored. In (2) emphasis is on the state which results from having been hit, though it is understood that the action must have taken place as opposed to being purely state. The derivation of these participles differs between vtR transitive stems and vtD transitive stems. The vtR stems simply suffix -b'il to the root to form the participle. As mentioned in the section on verbs, participles formed from vtD stems require that the stems be in their absolutive form, vtD stem + -n, before adding the suffix -b'il. This -n often assimilates to -m before -b'.

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|--|
| k'ayi -
vtD stem
<i>sell</i> | -n-
absolutive
suffix | -b'il
participle
derivational suffix | = | k'ayinb'il /k'ayimb'il/
<i>sold</i> |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|---|--|

Stative participle with vtR: -C¹o

This suffix exists only with vtR stems and there is no counterpart for most vtD stems, which have only -b'il participles. The suffix is formed by reduplication of the initial consonant of the root + -o or, if the root vowel is -u-, the suffix vowel is -u. For vtR stems this derivation provides a further possibility in terms of the factors of [+/- action] and [+/- resultant state] mentioned above.

- | | | | | | |
|--------|--------|---|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| bak' - | -b'o - | ∅ | [- action, + resultant state] | = | <i>He is tied up.</i> |
|--------|--------|---|-------------------------------|---|-----------------------|

vtR stem <i>tied up</i>	stative participle	Set B <i>he</i>
----------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------

In this example, in contrast to those given in the previous section, the notion of the action required to produce the state is absent and only the notion of the state is present. The only vtD stems which have a corresponding form are those derived from positional roots. It appears that these participles may be recent innovations by analogy with the positionals, especially since the deriving suffix -C¹o is identical.

Intransitive participle: - (j)enaq

This suffix productively derives participles from intransitive stems. In terms of meaning these participles differ from the -b'il participles derived from transitive stems in their lack of the notion of passive. Thus the Set B theme or subject of a stative is not the underlying patient of a transitive construction, but rather the underlying subject of an intransitive construction which might be either agent or patient. If, however, the subject is patient-like, there is no underlying notion of an agent acting upon the patient.

wartesi - vtD stem <i>put-to-sleep</i>	- mb'il - ppl derivational suffix	- in Set B <i>I</i>	=	wartesimb'ilin	<i>I am/was put to sleep</i> (result of an action that someone did)
war - viR stem <i>sleep</i>	- jenaq - ppl derivational suffix	- in Set B <i>I</i>	=	warjenaqin	<i>I am/was asleep</i> (not the result of another's action)

Positionals

While the other major word classes are fairly standard and traditional, needing little definition or explanation, positionals are characteristic of Mayan languages and require some elaboration as to their semantic and derivational characteristics. Positionals are a class of bound roots which must be derived to form stems or words. As a root class the positionals thus contrast with other root classes such as vtR, viR, and those nouns and adjectives that are underived roots. Stems derived from positionals may be transitive, intransitive, nominal, or adjectival; some of the derivational suffixes employed are unique to positionals.

sir -				(positional root)	<i>discoïd</i>
sir -	+	-V ¹ b'a	=	sirib'	(transitive stem) <i>to make something discoïd</i>
sir -	+	-laa	=	sirla	(intransitive stem) <i>to become discoïd</i>
sir -	+	-V ¹ l	=	siril	(noun stem) <i>disc-like thing</i>
sir -	+	-C ¹ o	=	sirso	(adjective stem) <i>discoïd</i>

The semantics of positionals are distinctive. The positional roots may be said to "describe the position, form, or state of an object, and imply absence of movement" (England, 1975: 223). The transitive stems derived from positional roots refer to making something of the shape described by the positional root or putting something of that shape somewhere. Intransitive stems derived

from positional roots refer to something becoming the form described by the positional root. Nominal stems derived from positional roots are objects in the form or in the position described by the positional root. Adjectival stems from positionals indicate that an object has the position or form, or is in a state, described by the positional root. These last, as adjectivals occurring in stative sentences, are the concern of this chapter. In order to give some idea of the semantic range a list of examples in adjectival form is given below.

b'aqb'o	(describes something) soft plopped on the ground, like cow shit
b'arb'o	cylindrical and thin, like a pencil or like dough rubbed between the palms
b'aq'b'o	ovoid, as an egg or potato
b'ech'b'o	uneven, not straight, like a misbuttoned shirt or trousers badly put on
b'eq'b'o	bug-eyed
b'et'b'o	with the tongue stuck out
b'irb'o	(describes something) soft and skinny snapped in two, like a string bean
b'uchb'u	crouched or sitting, like a sleeping cat or a hen laying
b'uq'b'u	bumpy, like a lump on the head from being hit
b'ut'b'u	full of a liquid, like a jug
b'uyb'u	piled up, dry grain-like things like corn or sand

Positional adjectives

The derivational suffix which produces a positional adjective is composed of the reduplicated initial consonant of the root plus -o or, if the root vowel is -u-, -o becomes -u. It should be noted that this suffix is identical to that suffix which derives a stative participle from a vtR transitive stem, which form has the same properties as the positional adjectives: [- action, + state]. A few roots appear to be bi-valent, belonging both to vtR and positional classes with no change in meaning, such as b'ut' -, while others such as b'aq- occur both as positionals and as vtR roots, but without the same meaning:

	b'ut'b'u	(positional adjective or vtR stative participle)	<i>full</i>
	b'ut'-	(positional root)	<i>full</i>
	x-b'ut'ub'	(inflected transitive stem from positional)	<i>he filled it</i>
and	b'ut'	(vtR root = imperative)	<i>fill it!</i>
	x-b'ut'	(inflected vtR stem)	<i>he filled it</i>
	b'aq-	(positional root)	<i>soft, plopped like cow shit</i>
	xb'aqab'	(inflected transitive stem from positional)	<i>he plopped it</i>
	b'aqb'o	1- (positional adjective)	<i>plopped</i>
		2- (vtR stative participle)	<i>twisted like thread</i>
	b'aq	(vtR root = imperative)	<i>twist it!</i>
	x-b'aq	(inflected vtR root)	<i>he twisted it</i>

Tense, aspect and mood with statives

In the section on verbs, it was briefly mentioned that the inflectional suffixes -k *non-future* and -(a)q *future* are used to denote notions of tense, aspect, and mood in stative sentences. In addition to these suffixes there are also time adverbials and particles which provide additional tense information with all statives. Two of the types of statives, those which have either the shape C¹VC -C¹o, or C¹VC-C¹u if V = -u, regardless of whether derived from vtR roots or positional roots, are more complicated as regards tense in that these stems have two additional suffixes, formed seemingly from -k and -(a)q, and also in that in towns other than Coban, they may be inflected as intransitive verbs.

Non-perfect stative

This section will deal with notions of tense and mood which are aspectually non-perfective. That is, as is traditionally accepted, non-perfective in the past tense indicates that the state or condition occurred in the past but whether the state or condition terminated is not indicated nor when.

Spanish:	cocinaba	<i>I cooked/I was cooking</i> (non-perfective)
	cociné	<i>I cooked/I did cook</i> (perfective)

Non-perfective with the future in Q'eqchi' is less common. Here when this aspect occurs in the future it will be called "non-perf" because it parallels or complements the non-perfective of the past tense: in the past tense non-perf indicates that whether the state ends or not is not known. In the future the non-perf indicates that the beginning of the state is not known. The following chart provides a key to the non-perfective with statives.

Non-perfective statives and tense, aspect and mood

Remote Past	ch'iilamb'ilin chaq <i>I was scolded</i>	b'akb'ookin chaq <i>I was tied up</i>	yajin chaq <i>I was sick</i>	atijenaqin chaq <i>I was bathed</i>
Recent Past	ch'iilamb'ilin + time adverb <i>I was scolded</i>	b'akb'ookin + time adverb <i>I was tied up</i>	yajin + time adverb <i>I was sick</i>	atijenaqin + time adverb <i>I was bathed</i>
Present	ch'iilamb'ilin <i>I am scolded</i>	b'akb'ookin <i>I am tied up</i>	yajin <i>I am sick</i>	atijenaqin <i>I am bathed</i>
Future optative of doubt	ch'iilamb'ilaqin + mare / ta na <i>I doubt I'll be scolded</i>	b'aqb'ooqaqin + mare / ta na <i>I doubt I'll be tied up</i>	yajaqin + mare / ta na <i>I doubt I'll be sick</i>	atijenaqaqin + mare / ta na <i>I doubt I'll be bathed</i>
Future Optative	ch'iilamb'ilaqin <i>I hope I'll be scolded</i>	b'aqb'ooqaqin <i>I hope I'll be tied up</i>	yajaqin <i>I hope I'll be sick</i>	atijenaqaqin <i>I hope I'll be bathed</i>
Future	No form (= passive)	b'akb'ooqin <i>I'll be tied up</i>	yajaqin <i>I'll be sick</i>	atijenaqaqin <i>I'll be bathed</i>

Present tense: -k and ∅

The present tense in stative sentences is denoted by ∅ with adjectival statives, -b'il transitive participles, and -(j)enaq intransitive participles. With stative participles and positionals, both of the shape C¹VC -C¹o, present tense is denoted by ∅ with Set B third person singular (also ∅) and by -k with non-third singular. Examples are:

adjective	yaj- <i>sick</i>	∅ - present	∅ Set B <i>he</i>	= <i>He is sick.</i>
transitive ppl	ch'iilamb'il- <i>scolded</i>	∅ - present	∅ Set B <i>he</i>	= <i>He is scolded.</i>
intransitive ppl	atijenaq- <i>bathed</i>	∅ - present	∅ Set B <i>he</i>	= <i>He is bathed.</i>
stative ppl (3rd singular)	b'ak'b'o- <i>tied up</i>	∅ - present	∅ Set B <i>he</i>	= <i>He is tied up.</i>
positional (3rd singular)	chunchu- <i>sitting</i>	∅ - present	∅ Set B <i>he</i>	= <i>He is sitting.</i>
stative ppl (1st singular)	b'ak'b'oo- <i>tied up</i>	k - present	in Set B <i>I</i>	= <i>I am tied up.</i>
positional (1st singular)	chunchuu- <i>sitting</i>	k - present	in Set B <i>I</i>	= <i>I am sitting.</i>

Future tenses: -(a)q, -kaq, -qaq

For statives which are adjectives, transitive participles, or intransitive participles there is only one future, -(a)q, which is always realized as -aq.

yaj- <i>sick</i>	aq- future	in <i>I</i>	= <i>I will be sick.</i>
ch'iilamb'il- <i>scolded</i>	aq- future	in <i>I</i>	= <i>I will be scolded.</i>
atijenaq- <i>bathed</i>	aq- future	in <i>I</i>	= <i>I will be bathed</i>

For statives which are stative participles or positionals there are three futures, differing in mood. Suffix -(a)q, realized as -q, is indicative and states what is believed to be true. Suffix -kaq is future optative, stating a desire on the part of the speaker relative to the future state. Suffix -qaq, which must occur with a particle expressing doubt, such as *maare maybe* or *ta na maybe* (two particles

together), expresses doubt on the part of the speaker relative to whether the future state will occur. These moods with other statives are all expressed through the single suffix noted above or, as will be shown, use verbs. Examples of these suffixes are given below.

Future indicative	b'ak'b'oo- <i>tied up</i>	q- future indicative	-in Set B /	=	<i>I will be tied up.</i>
Future optative	b'ak'b'oo- <i>tied up</i>	kaq- future optative	-in Set B /	=	<i>May I be tied up.</i> (I hope so)
Future doubt	b'ak'b'oo- <i>tied up</i>	qaq- future doubt	-in Set B /	=	<i>I might be tied up.</i> (I doubt it, though.)

Recent past: raj (Coban), time adverb (others)

Recent past in stative sentences, as in sentences with finite verbs, refers to a time period no more distant in the past than yesterday. Recent past is marked differently in Coban than in the other towns in the dialect area. In Coban raj, a separate particle used in conjunction with the normal present tense forms, marks past tense, both the recent past here discussed and the remote past mentioned below. In the other towns the normal present tense stative forms are used in conjunction with a time adverb that specifies recent past, i.e., yesterday, a minute ago, this morning, and so on.

Coban:	yajin raj ewer	<i>I was sick yesterday.</i>
Other:	yajin ewer	<i>I was sick yesterday.</i>

Remote past: raj (Coban), chaq (others)

As mentioned in the previous section the addition of the particle raj to the normal present tense forms produces the Coban past tense forms with only the addition of a time adverb to distinguish between recent and remote past.

Recent:	yajin raj ewer	<i>I was sick yesterday.</i>
	<i>sick-I past yesterday</i>	
Remote:	yajin raj li chihab' xnume'	= <i>I was sick last year.</i>
	<i>sick-I past the year it-passed</i>	

In the other towns in the dialect area the normal present tense forms are used in conjunction with a time adverb and the particle chaq. Chaq in other contexts is locative or directional, indicating either that the action occurs from there to here, hither or that the action occurs in some unspecified there (DeCormier, 1977).

Recent:	yajin ewer	=	<i>I was sick yesterday.</i>
Remote:	yajin chaq li chihab' xnume'.	=	<i>I was sick last year.</i>
Past			

Perfective statives: Intransitive verbs

Perfective, as used, with the past tense, indicates that the action or state terminates. Perfective with a future will mean here that the beginning of the action or state occurs in the future. Perfectives, then, express actions or states which have a definite end or beginning as opposed to non-perfectives or imperfectives, which do not express these notions.

However, a search for perfective aspect with statives leads to intransitive verbs. In other words, perfective aspect was found to be peculiar to verbal forms which, in describing action as opposed to a state or condition, may be thought to be more concerned with the beginning or end of the action or state. Support for this argument arises from the fact that, in order to express perfective plus stative, it is necessary to derive in some manner a verb from the stative. In the case of straight adjectives, the derivation is direct:

[1]	yaj- <i>sick</i>	-er derivational suffix	=	yajer- vir stem	<i>get sick</i>
		yajin ewer	=		<i>I was sick yesterday.</i>
		xinyajer ewer	=		<i>I got sick yesterday.</i>
[2]	kaq- <i>red</i>	-o' derivational suffix		kaqo'-	<i>red</i>
		kaqin ewer	=		<i>I was red (i.e. jealous) yesterday</i>
		xinkaqo' ewer	=		<i>I got jealous yesterday.</i>

In the case of stative participles C¹VC-C¹o, which were noted above as being an irregular subset of viV intransitives, the stative participle is simply inflected as if it were in fact an intransitive verb stem of class viV:

b'ak'b'oo- stative stem	k- non-future	in Set B	ewer <i>yesterday</i>	=	<i>I was tied up yesterday</i>
x- past	in- Set B	b'ak'b'o viV stem	ewer <i>yesterday</i>	=	<i>I got tied up yesterday</i>

In the case of the intransitive participles, the derivation may be characterized as being reverse, in that, to express the perfective, the participles simply revert back to the intransitive verb from which they were derived originally:

atin- (bound stem)					<i>bathe</i>
	atijenaq- intrans. ppl.	in Set B /	ewer <i>yesterday</i>	=	<i>I was bathed yesterday.</i>
	x- past	in- Set B	atin <i>bathe</i>	=	<i>I (got) bathed.</i>

In the case of the transitive participles the derivation occurs in two steps: (1) the participle stem reverts to the original transitive stem, and (2) the transitive stem is passivized:

ch'iilamb'il-	-in	ewer				=	<i>I was scolded yesterday.</i>
transitive participle	Set B /	<i>yesterday</i>					
			ch'iila-	(vtD stem)	=	<i>scold</i>	
ch'iila-	-a	=	ch'iilaa-		=	<i>be scolded</i>	
vtD stem	derivational suffix		viV stem (passive)				
x-	in-	ch'iilaa-	-k	ewer	=	<i>I was (or got) scolded</i>	
past	Set B /	viV stem	non-future	<i>yesterday</i>		<i>yesterday.</i>	

The chart below summarizes the above findings and places them in perspective by including the data from the previous chart. Placing statives, defined by their particular inflection, with intransitive verbs, also defined by a distinct inflection, requires some further explanation. Informants generally characterized forms like ch'iilamb'ilin and xinch'iilaak as meaning the same thing, since their Spanish glosses were the same: *fui reganado*.

It was only after a good deal of reflection on their part that xinch'iilaak was further specified as being *I was scolded (but the action or state ended, i.e., I am not now scolded)* and ch'iilamb'ilin + time adverb as being *I was scolded (and it is uncertain whether I am still in this state or not)*.

This distinction holds for each of the cases in the past tense (see chart next page) where the only distinction between the stative and verbal forms is whether or not the action was known to have ended. In looking at the optative and future tenses the difference in meaning between the stative and verbal forms is whether or not the beginning of the action, as opposed to the end, was known or expressed. Thus, yajaqin means *I might be sick* (optative doubt), *I hope I'll be sick* (optative), or *I will be sick* (future), but in each of these cases there exists the possibility that the speaker is sick right now. In the verbal forms, chinyajerq *Hope I'll get sick* and tinyajerq *I'll get sick*, it is understood that the action or state has not yet begun but must rather begin at some point in the future.

The forms given in the present tense present a slightly different explanation. An example was offered by the informants using xaqxo *standing up*, a positional adjective.

Chart XV				
Remote past (perfective)	kinch'iilaak (= passive viV) <i>I was scolded (but not now)</i>	kinb'ak'b'o (irregular viV) <i>I was tied up (but not now)</i>	kinyajer (= versive) <i>I got sick (but not now)</i>	kin'atin (= normal vin) <i>I bathed</i>
Remote past (imperfective)	ch'iilamb'ilin chaq <i>I was scolded (maybe still am)</i>	b'ak'b'ookin chaq <i>I was tied up (maybe still am)</i>	yajin chaq <i>I was sick (maybe still am)</i>	atijenaqin chaq <i>I was bathed (maybe still am)</i>
Recent past (perfective)	xinch'iilaak (= passive viV) <i>I was scolded (but not now)</i>	xinb'ak'b'o (irregular viV) <i>I was tied up (but not now)</i>	xinyajer (= versive) <i>I got sick (but not now)</i>	xin'atin (= normal vin) <i>I bathed</i>
Recent past (imperfective)	ch'iilamb'ilin + time adverb <i>I was scolded (maybe still am)</i>	b'ak'b'ookin + time adverb <i>I was tied up (maybe still am)</i>	yajin + time adverb <i>I was sick (maybe still am)</i>	atijenaqin + time adverb <i>I was bathed (maybe still am)</i>
Present habitual (perfective)	ninch'iilaak (= passive viV) <i>I am scolded (always)</i>	ninb'ak'b'o (irregular viV) <i>I am always tied up</i>	ninyajer (= versive) <i>I always get sick</i>	nin'atin (= normal vin) <i>I always bathe</i>
Present imperfective	ch'iilamb'ilin <i>I'm scolded (now)</i>	b'ak'b'ookin <i>I'm tied up (now)</i>	yajin <i>I'm sick (now)</i>	atijenaqin <i>I'm bathed (now)</i>
Optative doubt (imperfective)	ch'iilamb'ilaqin + maare <u>or</u> ta na <i>Doubt I'll be scolded</i>	b'ak'b'ooqaqin + maare <u>or</u> ta na <i>Doubt I'll be tied up</i>	yajaqaqin + maare <u>or</u> ta na <i>Doubt I'll be sick</i>	Atijenaqaqin + maare <u>or</u> ta na <i>Doubt I'll be bathed</i>
Optative (imperfective)	ch'iilamb'ilaqin <i>Hope I'm scolded (maybe I am now)</i>	b'ak'b'ooqaqin <i>Hope I'm tied up (maybe I am now)</i>	yajaqin <i>Hope I'm sick (maybe I am now)</i>	atijenaqaqin <i>Hope I'm bathed (maybe I am now)</i>
Optative (perfective)	chinch'iilaaq (= passive viV) <i>Hope I am scolded (but I'm not yet)</i>	chimb'ak'b'ooq (irregular viV) <i>Hope I am tied up (but I'm not yet)</i>	chinyajerq (= versive) <i>Hope I get sick (but I'm not yet)</i>	chin'ating (= normal vin) <i>Hope I bathe (but I haven't yet)</i>
Future (imperfective)	ch'iilamb'ilaqin <i>I'll be scolded (maybe I am now)</i>	b'ak'b'ooqaqin <i>I'll be tied up (maybe I am now)</i>	yajaqin <i>I'll be sick (maybe I am now)</i>	atijenaqaqin <i>I'll be bathed (maybe I am now)</i>
Future (perfective)	tinch'iilaaq (= passive viV) <i>I'll be scolded (but I haven't yet)</i>	tinb'ak'b'ooq (irregular viV) <i>I'll be tied up (but I haven't yet)</i>	tinyajerq (= versive) <i>I'll get sick (but I haven't yet)</i>	tin'ating (= normal vin) <i>I'll bathe (but I haven't yet)</i>

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|---|---|-----------|------------------|------------------------|--|
| (1) | xaqxoo-
<i>standing up</i>
= | ∅-
non-future
<i>he is standing up (right now) in the doorway of the house.</i> | ∅-
Set B | chi
at | r-e
its-mouth | li
the | kab'l.
<i>house</i> |
| (2) | na-
present
habitual
= | ∅-
Set B <i>he</i> | xaqxoo
<i>standing up</i> | chi | re li | kab'l.
<i>house</i> | <i>he is always standing (out of habit, say) in the doorway of the house.</i> |
| (3) | na-
present
habitual
= | ∅ -
Set B <i>he</i> | xaqli
viV stem
derived
from xaq- | | chi re li | kab'l. | <i>he always stands up (i.e., gets To his feet) in the doorway of the house.</i> |

In example (1) there is no intimation presented that the man spoken about actually goes through the motions of standing up; all that is expressed is that he is standing. In (2) there is still nothing said of the motion of standing but just that the man habitually stands in his doorway. In (3) the man goes through the motions of standing up, a habitual action that might occur, for example, every time someone goes by his house.

Q'EQCHI GRAMMAR
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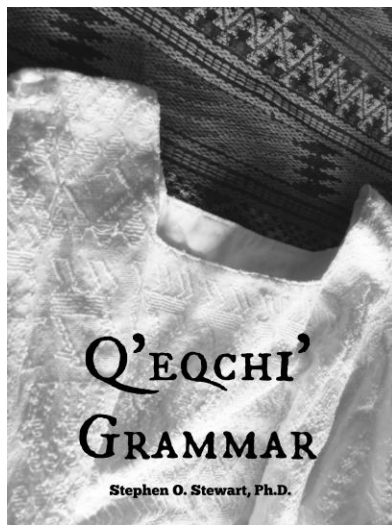
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Q'eqchi' is a Mayan language spoken by perhaps 800,000 people in north-central Guatemala and southern Belize. In Guatemala it is spoken primarily in the provinces (*departamentos* in the Guatemalan national terminology) of Alta Verapaz, Izabal, and Peten.