

Positional Roots in Kaqchikel Maya

by

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ABSTRACT

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This work is the first in-depth investigation of the class of positional words in Kaqchikel (Mayan). Based on original fieldwork, I first establish the existence of a special class of positional roots in Kaqchikel. I show that these roots are clearly distinct from root classes of more common syntactic types like nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. Membership in the class is defined by the fact that members cannot appear underived and can take four derivational suffixes unique to the class. Since these facts are completely general, the result is that positional roots in Kaqchikel can be defined as all and only those CVC morphemes that have these five properties. Moreover, since these five properties are equally definitional, I correct a bias in the literature to identify the positional roots with the derived positional stative predicate. With the definition of positional root in hand, I then consider the full range of derivations available to positional roots and stems. The work concludes with a discussion of the semantics of positional roots and their derivations, especially the systematic and thus far unexamined differences between stative positional predicates and adjectival positional predicates, where the latter have an emphatic interpretation.

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CHAPTER ONE Introduction and Review of Literature

1.1 Introduction

Positionals in Kaqchikel have never undergone a thorough investigation. The goal of this thesis is to define positional roots as a major inflectional class. I intend to show how these roots may form adjectives, nouns, stative predicates, and verbs, analyzing the morphosyntax and the semantics of positionals. Membership in the class of positional roots is defined by the fact that members cannot appear underived and can take four derivational suffixes unique to the class. Since these facts are completely general, the result is that positional roots in Kaqchikel can be defined as all and only those CVC morphemes that have these five properties.

Moreover, since these five properties are equally definitional, I correct a bias in the literature to identify the positional roots with the derived positional stative predicate. With the definition of positional root in hand, I then consider the full range of derivations available to positional roots and stems derived from positional roots. The work concludes with a discussion of the semantics of positional roots and their derivations, especially the systematic and thus far unexamined differences between stative positional predicates and adjectival positional predicates, where the latter have an emphatic interpretation. It is my hope that the observations and analyses made in this thesis may be of value to other researches not only of Kaqchikel, but also to those of other Mayan languages.

1.2 Review of Literature

This section reviews the research¹ published on positionals in Mayan languages, including K'iche' Maya [(Kaufman 1977), (Kaan and Iboy 2004)], Tzeltal Maya (Brown 2000), and Chontal

¹ This review does not list every mention of positionals; however, I feel that this survey represents the major studies.

Maya (Knowles 1984). I first consider how these authors have defined the class of positional roots. I then summarize how positional roots and their canonical derivations have been characterized morphosyntactically and semantically.

1.2.1 Overview of Definitions of Positionals in Prior Research

Kaufman (1977) gives an overview of the structure of Mayan languages in general, and includes examples from K'iche'. Regarding stem classes, he states that positionals are special to Mayan languages, and that the roots which have a CVC form are “never inflected directly as positional stems.” This is in contrast to root transitive and intransitive verbs, which can appear fully inflected with no additional derivational morphology. According to Kaufman (1977), every Mayan language has a suffix particular to positional roots; this suffix is used to change the root into an “inflectional positional stem.” Kaufman (1977) says that these “inflectional positional stems” have some characteristics in common with adjectives and some in common with intransitive verbs. In sentences, positionals function like adjectives in that they can form stative predicates, but their derivational morphology is completely unlike other adjectives (e.g. terms for color, taste, or other properties like “heavy” or “far”). Kaufman (1977) also sets positionals apart as a semantic class. He claims that positionals describe characteristics of objects and people, such as shapes, dispositions, and changeable states.

Kaan and Iboy (2004) provide a more detailed overview of K'iche' positionals, offering an inventory of the roots and many of the main derivational possibilities. Examples of these derivations are provided in the next section. They define the class of positional roots in K'iche' based on their derivational possibilities. As with Kaufman (1977), Kaan and Iboy (2004) point out that positional

roots have a CVC form. The vast majority of Mayan roots have a CVC form, however, so this phonological structure is not unique to positional roots.

Knowles (1984) states that, in Chontal, positionals are a semantically, morphologically, and syntactically distinct class of roots, and that positional roots are defined primarily by their derivational potential. The situation is difficult in Chontal because many positional roots can be zero-derived into expressions of other classes, for example, root transitive verbs or nominal classifiers. I consider this complication and Knowles' reaction to it in greater depth in Section 3.3.

1.2.2 Morphosyntax of Mayan Positionals

The positional noun

In K'iche', the suffix $-V_Rl$ (where $-V_R$ indicates the root vowel) is added to a positional root to make an adjectival stem (unless the root begins with l or ends with r or l), according to Kaufman (1977).

- (1) t'uy-ul-ik
seated-STP-NOM
“sitting”

It is not clear from the text whether or not $-ik$ is the nominalizing suffix $-ik$ commonly used for citation forms. Given that some glosses identify the positional noun as a full clause, I assume it is the nominalizing suffix. Kaufman (1977) adds that the adjectival stems also take this suffix when appearing as a noun phrase internal modifier, but he claims that they do not occur productively in this prenominal position. This supports my reconstruction of the Kaan and Iboy (2004) data. Given the $-ik$

is nominalizing here, positional nouns occurring in prenominal position with *-ik* would not be adjectives, but the first noun in a noun-noun compound. We might expect such compounds to be less productive and more lexicalized as Kaufman notes.

Kaan and Iboy (2004) refer to this construction as the "positional adjective," and they say that it is the most common positional derivation in K'iche'. Examples from Kaan and Iboy (2004) of K'iche' "positional adjectives" are shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Positionals in K'iche. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

Root	Word	Meaning
char-	char-al-ik	“something that is long being dragged”
chem-	chem-el-ik	“arched water”
ch'an-	ch'an-al-ik	“something that is naked”
jaq'-	jaq'-al-ik	“something that is breaking or scratching”
ket-	ket-el-ik	“something that has been rounded off”
mak-	mak-al-ik	“person or animal that is unconscious”
patz-	patz-al-ik	“something that is thrown about or disorganized”

A phonotactic constraint

As we see in the table above, the suffix deriving the positional stem contains a final *l*. If the second consonant of the positional root (C_2) is *l* or *r*, the suffix $-V_Rn$ will be added to it, instead of the suffix $-V_Rl$. Clearly this is due to morpho-phonological dissimilation.

Table 2. Positionals in K'iche', where C_2 is l . (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

Root	Word	Meaning
tzal-	tzal-an-ik	“lying down on one's side”
jal-	jal-an-ik	“different, changed”
jol-	jol-on-ik	“untopped”
tol-	tol-an-ik	“empty”
xul-	xul-an-ik	“sloped”

Table 3. Positionals in K'iche', where C_2 is r . (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

Root	Word	Meaning
char-	char-an-ik ²	“something large being dragged”
jer-	jer-an-ik	“person or animal seated with the legs wide apart, with something parting them”
kir-	kir-an-ik	“scattered grains”

The positional adjective

Beyond the positional noun, Kaan and Iboy (2004) describe the positional adjective³, another common derivation of the positional root in K'iche'. This is derived by adding the suffix $-V_R C_l$ to the $C_1 V_R C_2$ positional root, followed by the suffix $-ik$. Kaan and Iboy (2004) do not discuss any semantic distinction between a positional nouns and positional adjectives derived from the same root. They say

² See also *char-al-ik* in Table 1.

³ This is referred to in their work as the 'descriptive adjective'.

that generally the $-V_R C_I$ suffix is only added to positional roots that fall into a third semantic category, namely form (but that occasionally it can be added to positional roots that indicate position or states of being.)

(2) ket-ek-ik (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

circular-EMP-ADJ.sg

“circular in outline”

Table 4 provides more examples of positional adjectives (that indicate form).

The suffix $-a'q$ is used, instead of the suffix $-ik$, when the positional adjective describes a plural entity. These two suffixes are not unique to derivations from positional roots. Table 4 shows examples of the singular and plural suffixes on positional adjectives.

Table 4. Singular and plural positional adjectives in K'iche'. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

Root	Singular	Plural	Meaning
b'ir-	b'ir-ib'-ik	b'ir-ib'-a'q	“strong, big, elongated”
b'uk-	b'uk-ub'-ik	b'uk-ub'-a'q	“in a bulky and covered form”
jis-	jis-ij-ik	jis-ij-a'q	“something thin (long or short) and sharp”
tzuk'-	tzuk'-utz-ik	tzuk'-utz-a'q	“sharp (something short, with the point sticking up)”
chak-	chak-ach-ik	chak-ach-a'q	“something with four legs, or very wide/tall”
jow-	jow-oj-ik	jow-oj-a'q	“loosened”
q'och-	q'och-oq'-ik	q'och-oq'-a'q	“doubled over, weak, watered down”

Another type of stative predicate

Kaan and Iboy (2004) present a type of stative predicate in K'iche' that can be derived from the positional roots by adding the suffixes $-V_R C_I$ and $-oj$ to the root.

- (3) q'oy-oq'-oj (Kaan and Iboy 2004)
 lying:back-EMP-STAT
 “lying back”

Although Kaan and Iboy (2004) do not gloss $-oj$, I treat it as a stativizing derivational morpheme. As support, Kaan and Iboy note that this type of word can be found only as a nonverbal predicate. It cannot appear as a noun phrase internal modifier. The meaning has to do with the state of being in the position that is indicated by the root. Here are a few other examples Kaan and Iboy (2004) provide:

Table 5. Another type of K'iche' stative adjective, as nonverbal predicates. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

K'iche'	Meaning
Oj t'uyut'oj na waraal.	“We're still seated here.”
E lik'ikoj jee la'.	“They're stretched out there.”
In tak'atoj waraal.	“I remain standing here.”
At pak'apoj echiri' xojaponik.	“You remained lying back when we arrived.”
Ø tukutuj la tz'i' chi uka'yexiik.	“The dog stayed squatting, thinking about it.”

Verbs derived from positional roots

Kaan and Iboy (2004) say that positionals can form a stem that will take an imperative marker ($k-$, $ka-$, $j-$, or $ch-$). Here are two examples:

- (4) a. K-ix-tzal-an-oq! (Kaan and Iboy 2004)
 IMP-2pl.ABS-lying:down-STP-SS
 “Lie down, you all!”
- b. K-oj-sep-el-oq.
 IMP-1pl.ABS-kneeling-STP-SS
 “Let's kneel down.”

Positional roots can also derive intransitive and transitive verbs. Kaufman (1977) lists the following distinctive markers for positional roots in K'iche':

stative (adjectives): $-V_{RI}$ (Kaufman 1977)

- (5) t'uy-ul
 “seated”

process (intransitives): $-e'$

- (6) -t'uy-e'
 “to sit down”

causative (transitives): $-V_{RI}b'a'$

- (7) -t'uy-u-b'a'
 “to sit something/someone down”

The distinctions between the above markers and the ones for nonpositional roots in Kaqchikel will be analyzed in Chapter 3.

Thus far we have only considered the morphology of positional roots and their derivations in

K'iche'. Similar derivations occur in Chontal showing that positional roots are a distinct root class in Mayan and they can form stems that are members of other well-known classes in the language. We saw syntactic evidence in K'iche' for the claim that the positional derived by $-V_{RI}$ is a verb, namely it can function as a predicate, but not as a preverbal adjective. Knowles (1984) shows that morphological data exists in Chontal to support this same claim. In Chontal, verbs are the only class of words inflected for mood, and the stative positional behaves like verbs in this respect: inflecting for mood.

Imperative (adding the suffix $-i'$ to the CVC root):

- (8) Wa'-i'! (Knowles 1984)
 standing-IMP
 "Stand up!"

Exhortative (adding the suffixes $-on-la$, the 1st person Set B pronoun + the 1st person inclusive plural, to the imperative stem):

- (9) Nok-i'-on-la! (Knowles 1984)
 kneeling-IMP-1pl.ABS-1pl
 "Let's kneel!"

This provides morphological support for Norman's claim (1973) that positional roots function as verbs. Moreover, Knowles (1984) points out that since in Chontal only intransitive verbs are inflected for the optative mood, positionals can be classified as intransitive verbs in Chontal.

Optative (adding $-ik$, the root, intransitive optative suffix, to the root):

- (10) a. Mac cum-ik-et. (Knowles 1984)
 NEG seated-OPT-2pl.ABS

"Don't sit down."

- b. K-o c'a'-ik-Ø.
1sg.ERG-want lying:down-OPT-3sg.ABS

"I want him to lie down."

It is this fact that Chontal positional roots can be inflected for mood, and in particular the optative mood, that supports Kaufman (1977) and Norman's (1973) claims that Cholan positionals are a special inflectional class of intransitives. Importantly, though, this morphological argument in favor of Kaufman (1977) and Norman (1973) comes at a price. In contrast to Kaufman's (1977) claim that positional roots in Mayan languages are never inflected directly as positional stems, we have seen from Knowles (1984) that Chontal positional roots can be directly inflected for the following three moods: imperative, exhortative, and optative. Knowles (1984) provides a table that shows that about 50% of Chontal positional roots behave in this polyvalent manner, also behaving like a transitive verb with zero derivation. About 6% more are homophonous with non-positional intransitive roots.

Finally, Chontal presents a unique type of positional derivation that does not occur in the other languages we have discussed. She says that most positional roots are also "CVC numeral classifiers;" This is likely not due to polyvalency, but to derivation. Knowles (1984) shows that the numerical classifiers seem to have been derived from positional or transitive roots using the -h- infix. Here is an example using the numerical classifier *rahp* ("long and thin"), derived from the positional *rap* ("count long and thin items"):

- (11) 'as ra-h-p wíeh (Knowles 1984)
 three NC road

'three roads'

Knowles (1984) offers the following evidence to support this claim, stating that Modern Chol has many CvhC numeral classifiers that have CVC verbal or positional counterparts:

Table 6. Numeral classifiers with positional counterparts in Modern Chol. (Knowles 1984)

pak	(transitive verb)	"to double over"
pak-tal	(positional)	"to be face down"
pa-h-k	(numerical classifier)	"count items doubled over"
k'uc	(transitive verb)	"to carry something"
k'u-h-c	(numerical classifier)	"count bundles"

1.2.3 Semantics of Mayan Positionals

The most detailed discussion of the semantics of positionals is in Brown (2000), concerning positionals in Tzeltal, of which there are several hundred. Unlike the previous authors, she defines positionals in primarily semantic terms. She says they are “a class of roots conveying POSITION (in stasis, or concurrent-with or as-a-result-of motion).” She also characterizes their use in semantic terms, namely to specify the position of various objects in the description of an event. Similar to the other languages we have considered, Tzeltal positional roots can take any of three forms in a clause:

1. It may be a predicate adjective (“be-in-position”).
2. It may be derivationally transitivized (to indicate “put-into-position”).
3. It may be intransitivized (“get-into-position”).

Brown (2000) provides three examples of the syntactic role of positionals. In these sentences, positionals are used to give “manner-like information” in the verbal clause. The positionals are shown in bold, and the motion verbs and directionals are shown in italics.

- (12) a. **xojol** *moel* sjol ta ala plastiko. (Brown 2000)
 “His head [the dog's] is **inserted-tightly** *upwards* into the little plastic thing.”
- b. **chawal** *ya x'anix* te kereme.
 “**Lying face-up** the boy *has fled* [from the bird.]”
- c. *jipot* **jawal** ta lum
 “He [the boy] *has been thrown* **lying face-upwards spread-eagled** to the ground.”

Brown (2000) also provides two example sentences of static scenes, either with only a positional or with a positional plus a directional. Again, the positionals are shown in bold, and the directionals are shown in italics.

- (13) a. in te tz'i'e, ay bi **jipil** ta te', ya syaan *tal ya stejk'an sba* yu'un. (Brown 2000)
 “As for the dog, there's something **hung** in the tree, he's stretching *towards it*, he **stands-himself-on-hind-legs** because of it.”
- b. te xpokoke **jukul** ya xk'abuot.
 “The frog [i.e. groundhog] is being looked at **squatting**.”

The following are examples of adjectival positionals combined with motion verbs and/or directionals:

(14) a. *ch'ay koel jawal* niwan ek. (Brown 2000)

“He *fell downwards lying-face-up* perhaps too.”

b. *pakal jilel* tz'i' ya yanil ton.

“The dog is *belly-down remaining-behind* at the bottom of the stone.”

While Kaufman (1977) and Kaan and Iboy (2004) focus most on morphosyntax, they do not only set positional roots apart by their derivational potential; they also set them apart semantically. Examples are given below of the various meanings positional roots can refer to, in the following two categories: position and states of being.

Table 7. Positionals that indicate position in K'iche'. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

Root	Word	Meaning
tak'-	tak'-al-ik	“stopped”
q'oy-	q'oy-ol-ik	“lying down”
t'uy-	t'uy-ul-ik	“seated (on something)”
ch'uk-	ch'uk-ul-ik	“seated (on your feet)”
q'e'-	q'e'-el-ik	“crossed”
xuk-	xuk-ul-ik	“kneeling”
tzal-	tzal-an-ik	“reclining”

Table 8. Positionals that indicate states of being in K'iche'. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

Root	Word	Meaning
chiq-	chiq-il-ik	“downcast”
won-	won-ol-ik	“shrunk, abandoned, or thrown down”

pach-	pach-al-ik	“ready, alert”
yux-	yux-ul-ik	“pensive, attentive”

Knowles (1984) also claims that Mayan positionals refer to the physical states or positions that human beings, animals, and things can assume, like standing, lying down, and sitting. Knowles lists other semantic groups found specifically in Chontal positionals: shape, orientation, aperture, containment, suspension, transference, configuration/aggregation, and light-reference.

Animacy

While most of these previous semantic descriptions focus on the lexical content of the positional itself, there also seem to be some animacy constraints imposed on the individual the positional is predicated of. Kaan and Iboy (2004) discuss animacy in K'iche', stating that positionals cannot all apply to the same types of beings. They point out that the use of positionals frequently has to do with the state of the spirit, and at times with conscious positions or will. According to Kaan and Iboy (2004), some positionals apply only to inanimate objects, some only to animals, and some only to people. Table 9 shows examples of positionals that only apply to inanimate objects.

Table 9. Positionals in K'iche' that can only refer to inanimate objects. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

tzuk'-	tzuk'-ul-ik	“something straight, thin, and standing, or arched over a surface (for example, a candle)”
tik'-	tik'-il-ik	“seated, with a central orientation, an object with a bottom (for example, a glass on a table)”
tik-	tik-il-ik	“sowed, applied to plants, stakes, anything that is pointed and plantable”
jab'-	jab'-al-ik	“thrown on the ground, or scattered in great quantities”

(only applies to grain-like items, for example, corn, beans, grains)

Table 10. Positionals in K'iche' that can only refer to animate objects. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

won-	won-ol-ik	“thrown down and left, but as if the thing is trying to hide out of fear or want to be alone and abandoned”
pach-	pach-al-ik	“quiet and attentive, ready for what is coming”
yux-	yux-ul-ik	“quiet, feigning or being humble, still, or dumb”

Table 11. Positionals in K'iche' that can only refer to people. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

chiq-	chiq-il-ik	“downcast out of timidity, anger, or pensiveness”
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Table 12. Positionals in K'iche' that can only refer to animals. (Kaan and Iboy 2004)

chuk-	chuk-ul-ik	“stooped and downcast out of hunger”
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In this way, we can see that positionals have their own semantic properties as well as placing semantic restrictions on their arguments.

1.3 Conclusion

Previous research has provided examples of derivations from positional roots in the categories of intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, adjectives, and stative predicates. However the descriptions above have not exhaustively listed all of the potential derivations in Mayan languages; previous authors have not completely analyzed the morphosyntax or semantics of positional root derivations. I will try to

fill in the morphosyntactic and semantic gaps in the literature using data from Kaqchikel Maya.

1.4 Field Methods

When I began my fieldwork in Guatemala in September 2006, I had already been studying the Kaqchikel language for approximately three years, both at the University of Kansas and the Tulane University field school in Guatemala: Oxlajuj Aj. Pakal B'alam, Kaqchikel speaker from Tecpan, Guatemala, was the KU Kaqchikel instructor at the time. In these classes he taught the basics about positionals, and what had been written about them thus far in grammars (Cutzal 1999).

At Oxlajuj Aj in the summer of 2005, I became friends with one of the teachers, Magda Sotz Mux. At the time she was 25 years old. She is a native Kaqchikel speaker. The only other language she speaks is Spanish, not natively but fluently. She lives with her mother, father, sisters, and brother, all of whom are also native Kaqchikel speakers. She uses Kaqchikel in the home. At her primary place of work, selling goods in an Antigua market, she sometimes uses Kaqchikel and sometimes uses Spanish. I returned to Oxlajuj Aj in the summer of 2006. My first step in learning about the Kaqchikel positionals and their derivations was to go through the PLFM dictionary, one page at a time, and make a chart of every single positional root listed (see Appendix C).

After I had completed the chart, I noticed there were many gaps. I was eager to find out if the forms that were absent from the dictionary were possible. I decided to begin eliciting forms and example sentences, and finding out whether or not there may be other derivations. I selected Magda as my primary informant, and I spent a great deal of time living in her home in San Juan Comalapa in the summer and fall of 2006, researching positionals with her. Magda brought a fiery enthusiasm to this

work, and she had a natural curiosity about the details of her language--not every native speaker has this.

While preparing to do field work, one of the texts I had read was *Linguistics Fieldwork*, especially Larry M. Hyman's chapter, "Fieldwork is a state of mind." Hyman describes entering a community as a student instead of a teacher, showing respect for the language and the speaker. From the book I gleaned very helpful guidelines, such as, If there's ever any mistake it's the fault of the linguist, not the informant; and, No matter what happens the informant should always be made to feel that she is helping. It was his chapter that motivated me to conduct my elicitation sessions monolingually (entirely in Kaqchikel), without relying on Spanish.

An example of this elicitation technique is illustrated by the word for "blinking," (*chupuchik*), Example (75). Magda and I were working our way through the chart I made from the PLFM dictionary (Appendix C). When I said the form "chupuchik," Magda pointed to the Christmas lights hanging outside of the room where we were working. Instead of just using the Spanish word for "blinking," she described the Christmas lights in Kaqchikel, pointing out how they were on, then off, then on again, like eyelids opening and closing. I feel that conducting fieldwork monolingually is the best way to maintain the integrity of the elicitations and the analyses.

During this season of time, we placed much focus on the semantic relationship between the stative positional predicate and the positional adjective, where the latter has an emphatic interpretation. Conclusions in Chapter 5 are based on the data from these 60 test roots.

When I would ask Magda about the grammaticality of an utterance, she would look up at the ceiling, and wonder aloud, "Do I ever say that? Have I ever heard anybody use that form? In what

context?" Then she would confidently give me an answer: "Yes, I use that, but I use this other form more frequently," or, "No, I would never say that, and I've never heard anyone else in this town say it either."

Two years later (in 2008), when Magda was traveling in the States, I met with her again to process more positionals data together. I had selected 7 positional roots (*-tz'üy* "seated," *-chüp* "extinguished," *-b'öl* "cylindrical," *-köt* "twisted," *-k'ür* "disorganized," *-jäq* "open," *-sët* "circular"). I aimed to include positional roots with meanings from a few semantic categories and a few different root vowels. I also included two roots with a C₂ of liquids *l* and *r*. Together we made the chart of "Seven Kaqchikel Positionals and their Derivations," Appendix B. The questions I asked her then, and the forms I elicited, came from conversations I had had with Dr. Harold Torrence about my research. For example, we wanted to know if you could use the causative suffix in making a transitive verb from a positional root (see 2.4.4). For every root, I also asked Magda if she could think of any other form. Our research during this time is compiled (with the forms only) in Appendix B.

Much of my data I later tested with a second informant, Ana Lopez de Mateo, native Kaqchikel speaker from Patzun. Differences between the dialects of Lopez de Mateo and Sotz Mux were limited to variations in lexicon and pronunciation. All morphological data tested with Lopez de Mateo was consistent with that of Sotz Mux. Additionally, Magda's father, Mateo, also provided secondary confirmation of some of the data elicited from Magda. Based on all of this, my own fluency in Kaqchikel and regular work with native speakers in the highlands through a non-profit organization, and my use of all available written resources on the subject, I feel confident that this data is an accurate representation of common Kaqchikel speech.

CHAPTER TWO Overview of Kaqchikel Grammar

2.1 Introduction to Kaqchikel

Kaqchikel is one of the four largest languages of more than twenty Mayan languages spoken today in Guatemala (Brown, et. al. 2006). It belongs to the K'ichean branch of the Mayan language family tree, along with K'iche', Poqomchi', Q'eqchi', and Tz'utujil. Approximately 500,000 Kaqchikel speakers live in the central highlands of Guatemala, especially in the region between the Guatemala City (the capital) and Lake Atitlán. The language is spoken in forty-four municipalities in these departments: Sacatepéquez, Chimaltenango, Sololá, and Suchitepéquez (Brown, et. al. 2006).

Kaqchikel has a moderate degree of synthesis. It has a robust system of affixes that can attach to both nouns and verbs. Prefixes are inflectional; suffixes can be either derivational or inflectional. Kaqchikel has pro-drop: agreement markers on the verbs can take the place of pronouns (Matzar and Guaján 1997). The most common word orders in Kaqchikel are VOS and SVO; although the word order is relatively free, it is constrained by rules over the properties of arguments, including animacy and potency. The language is head-marking and head-nominal (Matzar and Guaján 1997).

2.2 The Noun Phrase in Kaqchikel

Nouns in Kaqchikel do not inflect for number or gender (though there are gendered classifiers for names). Nouns also do not normally inflect for number, though nouns denoting animate entities, especially people, can be marked for number by adding a plural marker to the end of the word. The morpheme *-a'* is added to nouns that have *a*, *e*, and *i* in the last syllable of the word.

- (15) a. ak'wal "child" (Sotz Mux 2006)
ak'wal-a' "children"
b. tijoxel "student"

- | | | |
|----|------------|--------------|
| | tijoxel-a' | “students” |
| c. | ajq'ij | “daykeeper” |
| | ajq'ij-a' | “daykeepers” |

The morpheme *-i'* is added to nouns that have *ä* and *ö* in the last syllable of the word.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---------|---------|-----------------|
| (16) | a. | xtän | “girl” | (Sotz Mux 2006) |
| | | xtan-i' | “girls” | |
| | b. | ixöq | “woman” | |
| | | ixöq-i' | “women” | |

Nouns with inanimate reference do not take plural marking. Context or plural agreement with some head indicates plurality. For example, the following noun could be either plural or singular depending on the context in which it occurs.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|-----|---------------|-----------------|
| (17) | a. | ri | ch'akät | (Sotz Mux 2006) |
| | | DET | chair | |
| | | | “the chair/s” | |

When the context does not make the number clear, one way to mark plural is to add the particle *taq* before the noun.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|--------------|-----------------|
| (18) | ri | taq | ch'akät | (Sotz Mux 2006) |
| | DET | pl | chair | |
| | | | “the chairs” | |

The plural marker *taq* can be used along with the number word.

- (19) ri ka'i' taq ch'akät (Sotz Mux 2006)
DET two pl chair
“the two chairs”

2.2.1 Adjectives in Kaqchikel

In addition to numerals and plural markers, the Kaqchikel noun phrase can also contain adjectives. As we might expect, adjectives in Kaqchikel do not pattern like nouns. While they can take plural agreement markers, as shown in Example 20, they do not have most of the other characteristics of nouns. For example, they cannot be the argument of a verb, they cannot be possessed, they cannot be modified by adjectives. Adjectives appear before the noun, after numbers, but either before or after the plural marker *taq*.

- (20) a. ri ka'i' taq nīm ch'akät (Sotz Mux 2006)
DET two pl big chair
“the two big chairs”
b. ri ka'i' nīm taq ch'akät
DET two big pl chair
“the two big chairs”

Another way to mark the plural is to add a suffix onto the adjective. This form may be used with or without a number word or *taq*.

- (21) a. ri nim-a'q ch'akät (Sotz Mux 2006)
DET big-pl chair

“the big chairs”

b. ri ka'i' taq nim-a'q ch'akät

DET two pl big-pl chair

“the two big chairs”

c. ri ka'i' nim-a'q ch'akät

DET two big-pl chair

“the two big chairs”

Syntax of adjectives

We now consider adjectives in more detail because one defining positional derivation creates adjective stems, shown in Section 3.2. First, outside of their nominal uses, adjectives can be the heads of stative sentences (nonverbal predicates), as shown in Example 22.

(22) Røj oj jeb'ël. (Sotz Mux 2006)

we 1pl.ABS beautiful

"We are beautiful."

Adjectives also appear inside the Noun Phrase, prenominaly, as we have seen.

(23) ri jeb'ël mes (Sotz Mux 2006)

DET beautiful cat

"the beautiful cat"

Moderatives and Diminutives

Although adjectives can appear underived as nonverbal predicates, they have derivational

morphology of their own. The most common way to diminish an adjective's meaning is to reduplicate the initial consonant and add *-öj*. The morphology is this: $C_1V_1C_2-C_1\ddot{o}j$.

- (24) a. säq “white” (Sotz Mux 2006)
 saq-söj “somewhat white”
 b. b’aq “skinny”
 b’aq-b’öj “somewhat skinny”

Not all adjectives can take this suffix. The majority of disyllabic ones cannot, but here are two that can.

- (25) a. jeb’-ël “beautiful” (Sotz Mux 2006)
 jeb’-e-jöj “somewhat beautiful”
 b. meq’ën “hot”
 meq’-e-möj “lukewarm”

This morpheme is not productive with nouns.

- (26) mes “cat” (Sotz Mux 2006)
 *mes-möj “small cat”

Along with the moderative, the diminutive *ök* picks out the class of adjectives. When appended to an adjective, this colors the adjective with endearment.

- (27) a. Jeb’-ël ök ri xtän. (Sotz Mux 2006)
 beautiful DIM DET girl
 “The girl is sweetly beautiful.”

- b. Ko'-öl ök ri tz'i'.
 small DIM DET dog

“The dog is adorably small.”

This morpheme cannot appear on its own, in place of the adjective.

- (28) *Ök ri xtän.
 DIM DET girl

“The girl is adorably small.”

Intensification

There are three primary ways to intensify a quality in Kaqchikel. These will be interesting to us when we consider, in Chapter 5, various ways to intensify the meaning of positional roots. The first intensifier we consider is the word *yalan*, “very.”

- (29) a. nīm “big” (Sotz Mux 2006)
 yalan nīm “very big”
 b. üt “good”
 yalan üt “very good”

Another way to intensify a quality is to add the intensifier suffix *-Vläj⁴*. Most monosyllabic adjectives can take this suffix.

- (30) a. nīm “big” (Sotz Mux 2006)

⁴ If the vowel in the nucleus of the root is front, the initial vowel in the suffix will be *a*. If the vowel in the root is otherwise, the initial vowel in the suffix will be *i*.

- | | | |
|----|----------|--------------|
| | nim-alāj | “very big” |
| b. | ütz | “good” |
| | utz-ilāj | “very good” |
| c. | sāq | “white” |
| | saq-ilāj | “very white” |

The third way to intensify the meaning of an adjective is to reduplicate the entire word.

- | | | | | |
|------|----|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (31) | a. | nīm | “big” | (Sotz Mux 2006) |
| | | nīm nīm | “very big” | |
| | b. | ütz | “good” | |
| | | ütz üt | “very good” | |
| | c. | sāq | “white” | |
| | | sāq sāq | “very white | |
| | d. | jeb’ël | “beautiful” | |
| | | jeb’ël jeb’ël | “very beautiful” | |

2.3 Ergativity in Kaqchikel

Kaqchikel is both morphologically and syntactically ergative. There are two sets of person/number markers, referred to by Mayanists as Set A (ergative markers) and Set B (absolutive markers). The Set A markers indicate possessors of nouns, subjects of transitive verbs, and complements of relational nouns. The Set B indicates objects of transitive verbs, subjects of intransitive verbs, and subjects of nonverbal predicates. Throughout this work I use the term ergative to refer to Set A markers and the term absolutive to refer to Set B markers.

Table 13. Set A (Ergative Markers)

	<i>Prevocalic</i>	<i>Preconsonantal</i>
1s	w/inw	nu
2s	aw	a
3s	r	ru/u
1p	q	qa
2p	iw	i
3p	k	ki

Table 14. Set B (Absolutive Markers)

	<i>Prevocalic</i>	<i>Preconsonantal</i>
1s	in	i
2s	at	a
3s	Ø	Ø/i
1p	oj	oj
2p	ix	ix
3p	e'	e

Note that sometimes an epenthetic *i* is added in place of the empty set for the 3s.ABS marker before consonants. This is not an allophone of the third person absolutive singular marker, but rather a phonetic addition unrelated to the case marking system. See the examples below that show both markers.

(32) a. n-i-b'iyin (Sotz Mux 2006)

INC-3sg.ABS-walk

"s/he walks"

b. x-Ø-b'iyin

COM-3sg.ABS-walk

"s/he walked"

Intransitive verbs only take one argument and minimally consist of the following:

Tense/Aspect-Abs-Verb Root.

(33) y-a-b'iyin (Sotz Mux 2006)

INC-2s.ABS-walk

“you walk”

Transitive verbs follow the formula: Tense/Aspect-Abs-Erg-Verb Root.

- (34) y-in-a-to' (Sotz Mux 2006)

INC-1s.ABS-2s.ERG-help

"you help me"

The absolutive markers (Set B) can also function as the subjects of nonverbal sentences.

- (35) Rije' e tijoxela'. (Sotz Mux 2006)

they 3p.ABS students

"They are students."

Many intransitive and transitive verb roots are related to each other derivationally (Maxwell 2006). However, some verbs in Kaqchikel have separate intransitive and transitive roots. We provide an example of this using the verb "to eat." Example 36a. shows the intransitive form, *-wa*, and Example 36b. shows its transitive form, *-tĭj*.

- (36) a. x-Ø-wa' (Sotz Mux 2006)

COM-3sg.ABS-eat

"she ate"

- b. x-Ø-u-tĭj

COM-3sg.ABS-3sgERG-eat:something

"she ate it"

For derived transitive verbs, the derived transitive status suffix *-j* is replaced with the antipassive marker *-n*. We see in Example 39 that because the verb becomes intransitive, the subject marker changes from ergative, in 39a., to absolutive, in 39b.

- (39) a. X-Ø-qa-tz'ib'a-j. (Sotz Mux 2006)
 COM-3sg.ABS-2pl.ERG-write:something-SS
 "We wrote it."
 b. X-øj-tz'ib'a-n.
 COM-2pl.ABS-write-ANTP
 "We wrote."

For root transitive verbs, the suffix *-on* is added to the root to form the antipassive.

- (40) a. X-Ø-ki-kem. (Sotz Mux 2006)
 COM-3sg.ABS-3pl.ERG-weave:something
 "They wove it."
 b. X-e-kem-on.
 COM-3pl.ABS-weave-ANTP
 "They wove."

2.4.3 Inchoative Verb Morphology

The inchoative is a way to derive intransitive verbs from nonverbal roots. An inchoative verb stem can be derived from an adjective by adding the suffix *-ir*.

- (41) X-Ø-pim-ir. (Sotz Mux 2006)

COM-3sg.ABS-INCH

"It became thick."

Where the root vowel of the adjective is *e*, the suffix *-ar* is added to form the inchoative.

(42) X-Ø-tew-ar. (Sotz Mux 2006)

COM-esg.ABS-INCH

"It became cold."

2.4.4 Causative Verb Morphology

Intransitive verbs can be made transitive by adding the causative marker *-isa*, plus the derived transitive status suffix *-j* to the verb stem. See Example 43.

(43) a. X-ix-käm. (Sotz Mux 2006)

COM-2pl-die

"You all died."

b. X-in-i-kam-isa-j.

COM-1sg.ABS-2pl.ERG-die-CAUS-SS

"You all killed me."

2.4.5 Combining Verb Suffixes

It is possible to add more than one verb suffix. In Example 44, we see the inchoative verb from Section 2.4.3, *xupimir*, made into a causative verb and thus taking on transitive verb morphology.

(44) X-Ø-qa-pim-ir-isa-j. (Sotz Mux 2006)

COM-3sg.ABS-1pl.ERG-thick-INCH-CAUS-SS

"We thickened it."

The above transitive verb can then be made passive (refer to Examples and 38 and 39 for passive verb construction), as shown in Example 45.

(45) X-Ø-pim-ir-isä-x. (Sotz Mux 2006)

COM-3sg.ABS-thick-INCH-CAUS-PASS

"It was made to become thick."

2.5 Summary

Although only a short summary, this section lays out the basic aspects of Kaqchikel grammar that I will reference in examining positionals in detail. Positional roots can form the various grammatical classes discussed here, and in many cases, the properties detailed here will be used as a test for membership in those classes. Also important, especially moving into Chapter 4, is the section on valency (3.3), because positionals undergo many distinct valency changing operations.

CHAPTER THREE Defining a Class of Positional Roots

3.1 Introduction

Like other Mayan languages, CVC roots play a critical role in the Kaqchikel lexicon. Kaqchikel has a large number of CVC roots that are distributed across many categories of the grammar, for instance, intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, nouns, and adjectives.

(46) Root Intransitive Verbs

(Sotz Mux 2006)

- a. -wär “sleep”
- b. -wa' “eat”
- c. -tzaq “fall”
- d. -kām “die”

(47) Root Transitive Verbs

- a. -chäp “grab”
- b. -k'ut “show”
- c. -löq' “buy”
- d. -pitz' “squeeze”

(48) Root Nouns

- a. tziĵ “word”
- b. tz'ib' “letter”
- c. q'ij “day”
- d. kej “horse”

(49) Root Adjectives

- a. nīm “big”

- b. säq “white”
- c. üt⁵ “good”
- d. xax “thin”

Root elements are not just important for their preponderance in the lexicon, but the language treats the root elements of a syntactic class differently from the way it treats derived elements of the same class. Consider, for instance, the fact that root transitives, like *-chäp*, take the status suffix *-a'* in the imperative mood (Example 50a.), while derived transitives, like *-tz'ib'a*, continue to bear the indicative status suffix *-j* in the imperative (Example 50b.)

- (50) a. T-Ø-a-chap-a'.
 IMP-3sg.ABS-2sg.ERG-grab-SS
 “(You) Grab it!”
- b. T-Ø-a-tz'ib'a-j.
 IMP-3sg.ABS-2sg.ERG-write-SS
 “(You) Write it!”

The goal for this chapter is to motivate the existence of a distinct class of positional roots. I proceed by way of morphology, showing that a set of four derivational morphemes picks out a class of positional roots. First, I show that positional roots are unique in the root system in that they cannot appear underived. I then consider their derivations into stative predicates, adjectives, intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs, showing that in each case, positional roots behave differently from other root

5 The adjective *utz* may appear to be VC instead of CVC. However, a syllable that seems to begin with a vowel in Kaqchikel actually begins with a glottal stop, even though this is not always reflected in standard orthography (Brown, et. al. 2006).

classes. This class is the positional.

3.2 The Derivational Properties of Positional Roots

Zero derivation

Before showing how derivational morphology derives a class of positional roots, we first show that this class is unique in not permitting zero derivation. As Kaufman (1977) notes for K'iche', positional roots are always derived in Kaqchikel. There are no zero-derived positional roots appearing with only inflectional morphology. For instance, consider the intransitive verb root *-wär* "sleep". It can surface as an intransitive verb without derivational morphology.

- (51) X-e-wär. (Sotz Mux 2006)
COM-3pl.ABS-sleep
"They slept."

Crucially, the roots I am interested in can never appear in underived forms as in (51). For example, the root *-tz'üy* "seated", cannot appear underived, as shown, along with two other roots, in Example (52).

- (52) a. *X-e-tz'uy. (Sotz Mux 2006)
COM-3pl.ABS-seated
"They sat."
b. *X-e-k'ur.
COM-3pl.ABS-disorganized
"They got disorganized."

- c. *X-e-set.
COM-3pl.ABS-round
"They became round."

This discussion motivates the following generalization for positional roots.

(53) **Generalization 1:** A root is positional if and only if it cannot surface underived.

This is a strong⁶ generalization. It means that if a language learner comes across a bit of inflectional morphology attached to an unknown CVC syllable or a bare unknown CVC syllable, she can instantly decide that this piece of morphology is not a positional root.

Given that positional roots cannot appear underived in Kaqchikel, I now describe the derivations specific to positional roots. Although the derivational possibilities for positionals are large and contain exceptions and caveats (Chapter 4 considers many of these derivations), I identify four derivations that every root in the positional inventory can undergo without exception. I then use these four derivations and the fact about zero-derivation to define the class of positional roots. The wider result is that there is strong language-internal evidence showing that positional roots form a distinct root class in Kaqchikel.

Intransitive positional verbs

The first derivation takes a CVC root and derives an intransitive verb via the suffix *-e'*. I gloss it ITP for 'intransitive positional'.

⁶ This generalization is so strong that it may run into a problem with a handful of exceptions. In section 3.3 I provide an analysis of these exceptions that show the generalization is still sound.

- (54) a. tz'uy “seated” (Sotz Mux 2006)
 b. X-i-tz'uy-e'.
 COM-1sg.ABS-seated-ITP
 "I sat down."
- (55) a. pa' “standing”
 b. X-i-pa'-e'.
 COM-1sg.ABS-standing-ITP
 "I stood up."
- (56) a. xuk “kneeling”
 b. X-i-xuk-e'.
 COM-1sg.ABS-kneeling-ITP
 "I knelt."

Examples 54-56 show that positional roots with *-e'* form intransitive verb stems and bear normal intransitive inflectional morphology, namely a single absolutive agreement marker and a tense/aspect/mood prefix. Importantly, the *-e'* suffix does not derive intransitive verbs generally. It does not apply to other root classes to make intransitive verbs.

(57) Root Intransitive Verbs

- a. wär “sleep”
 b. *X-i-war-e'.
 COM-1sg.ABS-sleep-ITP
 “I slept.”

(58) Root Transitive Verbs

- a. chäp “grab”
- b. *X-i-chap-e'.
COM-1sg.ABS-grab-ITP
“I grabbed.”

(59) Root Nouns

(Sotz Mux 2006)

- a. tzij “word”
- b. *X-i-tzij-e'.
COM-1sg.ABS-word-ITP
“I spoke.”

(60) Root Adjectives

- a. nīm “big”
- b. *X-i-nim-e'.
COM-1sg.ABS-big-ITP
“I got big.”

Even though many of these roots could be the core of plausible intransitive verb meanings, and in fact, all of these roots can be derived intransitive verbs; they do not take the derivation *-e'*. The suffix *-e'* only derives intransitive verbs from positional roots.

Transitive positional verbs

Just as with intransitives, there is a unique derivational morpheme that applies to positional

roots yielding a transitive verb. This suffix is of the form $-V_R b' a'$, where V_R is a copy of the root vowel.

I gloss this suffix TRP for 'transitive positional' verb.

(61) a. tz'uy “seated” (Sotz Mux 2006)

b. X-Ø-in-tz'uy-ub'a'.

INC-3ABS-1ERG-seated-TRP

"I sat her/him down."

(62) a. xuk “kneeling”

b. X-Ø-in-xuk-ub'a'.

COM-3sg.ABS-1sg.ERG-kneeling-TRP

"I knelt her/him down."

Once again, while $-V_R b' a'$ applies in a completely productive manner to the class of roots we identify as positional, it cannot create transitive verbs out of other roots, even when it would make sense semantically.

(63) Root Intransitive Verbs (Sotz Mux 2006)

a. wär “sleep”

b. *X-Ø-in-war-ab'a'.

COM-3sg.ABS-1sg.ERG-sleep-TRP

“I made her/him sleep.”

(64) Root Nouns

a. tzij “word”

b. *X-Ø-in-tzij-ib'a'

COM-3sg.ABS-1sg.ERG-word-TRP

“I made her/him speak.”

(65) Root Adjectives

a. nīm “big”

b. *X-Ø-in-nim-ib'a'

COM-3sg.ABS-1sg.ERG-big-TRP

“I made her/him big.”

Clearly *-V_Rb'a'* is not generally a transitivizing morpheme. It only applies to a restricted class of roots, namely those roots that take *-e'*, that is, the positional roots.

Positional stative predicates

The positional nominal predicate, glossed STP, is derived from a CVC root by the suffix *-V_Rl* (or *-an* in case the final root consonant is a liquid). This is the classic derivation for positional roots, and most authors refer to this construction as simply 'the positional'. This is a poor choice for two reasons. First, it causes confusion because it picks out this derivation as somehow basic, yet there is no reason to consider this derivation to be definitional since it is no more productive than the other derivations discussed in this chapter. Second, this terminology highlights the construction, as if it were special in the language. 'The positional' is just another stative nonverbal predicate. In fact, any noun or adjective in the language can be used as a stative predicate. By banishing the term 'positional' for this construction, we are left in a less exciting place, but a more ordered one. The language has intransitive verbs, and transitive verbs, and nonverbal nominal predicates, and positional roots can produce all three.

Below are some examples of nominal positional predicates.

- (66) a. tz'uy “seated” (Sotz Mux 2006)
b. In tz'uy-ül.
1sg.ABS seated-STP
"I am seated."
- (67) a. pa' “standing”
b. E pa'-äl.
3pl.ABS standing-STP
"They are standing."
- (68) a. xuk “kneeling”
b. Ri ixöq xuk-ül.
DET woman kneeling-STP
"The woman is kneeling."

Examples 66-68 above are instances of normal non-verbal predicates. The predicate bears no tense/aspect/mood morphology, and absolutive agreement is realized as a clitic. This is parallel to nonverbal predicates built on nouns and adjectives as shown Section 2.2.1. Importantly, $-V_{RI}$ does not generally derive stative nonverbal predicates. Consider the following two examples.

- (69) Root Intransitive Verbs (Sotz Mux 2006)
- a. wär “sleep”
b. *In war-äl.
1sg.ABS sleep-STP

“I am sleeping.”

(70) Root Transitive Verbs

- a. chäp “grab”
b. *Ix chap-äl.
2pl.ABS grab-STP
“You all are grabbed/grabbing.”

While positional roots can derive stative predicates, verbs do so by means of the perfect. They must first be derived into a noun or adjective, which can be then zero-derived into a stative predicate.

Some authors (e.g. Kaan and Iboy 2004), have called this construction the positional adjective. This is clearly not the case. While adjectives, i.e., noun phrase internal modifiers, can form the nucleus of a nonverbal stative predicate underived (71), positional roots derived by $-V_Rl$ cannot be used as noun phrase internal modifiers (72) in Kaqchikel. (Sotz Mux 2006)

(71) ko'öl “small”

- a. jun ko'öl che'
one small tree
“a small tree”
b. Jun che' ko'öl.
one tree small
“The tree is small.”

(72) tz'uy “seated”

- a. *jun tz'uy-ül achin

one seated-STP man

“a seated man”

b. Jun achin tz'uy-ül.

one man seated-STP

“The man is seated.”

These data show that positional roots derived by $-V_Rl$ are not adjectives, but pure stative predicates. This is in contrast to the final defining derivation I consider.

Positional adjectives

Positional adjectives have a slightly different form from the other derivations. While the others are monomorphemic, the derivation of the positional adjective can be decomposed into two parts. First, there is a reduplicated morpheme, copying the vowel and first consonant of the root. It is of the form $-V_R C_l$ as seen below. In what follows we will gloss these mirror reduplicants as -EMP for emphatic.

Chapter 5, which addresses the semantics of positionals, shows that reduplication of this sort has intensive or emphatic semantics and even applies outside the class of positionals. The importance of the reduplication for our purposes now is that it forms the base for deriving positional adjectives. First, note that reduplicated positional roots are not yet derived into any syntactic class. Like their root counterparts, such stems can never appear without additional derivational morphology. The morphology I am interested in here derives an adjective and comes in two forms, $-ik$ and $-äq$, where the former is an instance of singular agreement (73) and the latter is an instance of plural agreement (74). I gloss them -ADJ.sg and -ADJ.pl respectively.

(73) ri set-es-ik ik' (Sotz Mux 2006)

DET round-EMP-ADJ.sg moon

"the very round moon"

(74) ri kotokäq kumätz

DET twisty-EMP-ADJ.pl snake

"the very twisty snakes"

These examples show that unlike the positional stative predicate, the positional adjective is truly an adjective. Since adjectives in the language can be nonverbal predicates, they can also appear in sentences like the following two.

(75) Ri q'aq' chup-uch-ik. (Sotz Mux 2006)

DET light extinguished-EMP-ADJ.sg

"The light is blinking."

(76) Ri läk k'ur-uk'-äq.

DET dishes disorganized-EMP-ADJ.pl

"The dishes are very disorganized."

While *-ik* and *-äq* apply completely productively to the class of positional roots, once again, they cannot derive adjectives from arbitrary roots. Consider the following ungrammatical examples, which have plausible semantics.

(77) Root Intransitive Verbs

a. wär "sleep"

- b. *ri war-aw-ik/äq achin/achi'a'
 DET sleep-EMP-ADJ.sg/ADJ.pl man/men
 “the sleepy man/men”

(78) Root Nouns

- a. qal “parrot”
 b. *ri qal-aq-ik/äq achin/achi'a'
 DET parrot-EMP-ADJ.sg/ADJ.pl man/men
 “the parrot-like man/men”

One simply cannot derive adjectives from arbitrary roots using the *-ik/äq* morphology. It only applies to positional roots that have undergone emphatic reduplication.

A final argument that positional roots having undergone this derivation are, in fact, adjectives, is that the plural/singular distinction applies more widely to root adjectives. The plural *-äq* suffix may be related to the adjectival plural agreement marker *-a'q*⁷, which is added to adjectives that are not derived from positional roots. Example (79) shows that this suffix may be used with the word *taq*, to express plurality.

- (79) ri nim-a'q ch'akat
 DET big-pl chair
 "the big chairs"

The fact that Kaqchikel makes a distinction in general between singular and plural adjectives

⁷ It would be interesting to reconstruct the historical relationships between these two morphemes. The root adjectival plural suffix in Kaqchike, *-a'q*, is identical to the plural adjective agreement suffix for positional adjectives in K'iche'. Perhaps both come from the same source in Proto-quichean and Kaqchikel has innovated a distinction between root and derived plural adjectives.

provides evidence that positional roots derived by *-ik/äq* are adjectives, since their derivation mirrors a pattern found more widely in the class into which they derive reduplicated positional roots.

3.3 A Loose End: The Case of 'Bivalent' Roots

There are apparent exceptions to the initial generalization about positional roots, namely, that they cannot appear underived. The problem is that there seem to be a small group of roots that successfully take the core derivational suffixes detailed here, but also behave as root transitive verbs (I have not found intransitive examples). Specifically, they can appear underived with just inflectional morphology and also participate in the derivations available to root transitives.

- (81)
- a. -nüt “to put some things together”
 - b. -jäq “to open something”
 - c. -chüp “to turn something off”
 - d. -küt “to twist or double something over”
 - e. -kïch “to disorganize something”
 - d. -qïtz “to make creaks and noises”
 - f. -pïk “to make someone walk on tiptoes”

For instance, the root *jäq-* participates in the follow 'positional' derivations (see Example 82), yet it can also be used as a transitive root, as in Example 83.

- (82) *jäq* “opened” (Sotz Mux 2006)
- a. *jaq-äl* “to be in an open configuration”
 - b. *jaq-e'* “to open” (intransitive)

c. jaq-ab'a' "to open" (transitive)

d. jaq-aj-ik "really opened"

(83) jäq "to open something"

a. X-Ø-in-jäq.

COM-3sg.ABS-1pl.ERG-open

"I opened it."

b. X-i-jaq-on.

COM-1sg.ABS-open-AP

"I opened."

c. X-Ø-jaq.

COM-3sg.ABS-open.PASS

"It was opened."

d. T-Ø-a-jaq-a'!

IMP-3sg.ABS-2sg.ERG-open-SS

"(You) Open it!"

The crucial example is (83)d. Notice that the transitive form of *-jäq* takes the imperative status suffix licensed only for root transitives. This example hints at what is truly going on here. It is not that the positional root *-jäq* can simply appear underived, unlike the rest of the positional roots, but that there are actually two *-jäq* roots in the lexicon. The first is a positional root, while the second is a transitive verb root. There is at least one argument in favor of this position. First, if roots like *-jäq* were special transitive positional roots, we would expect there to be morphological gaps in the transitive

derivation for positionals. The reason is that the root would already be transitive. But no such gap exists. Every one of the odd roots has a grammatical transitive derivation with $-V_R b'a'$.

- (84) a. jaq-ab'a' "to make something open" (Sotz Mux 2006)
b. chup-ub'a' "to turn something off"

Importantly, other transitivizing morphology, for example, the causitive $-isa$ does not productively apply to verbs roots that are already transitive. If there were a single root $-jäq$ splitting the transitive-positional divide, I would expect that same thing to happen for transitive derivations with $-V_r b'a'$.

To sum up, the potential bivalency in the positional root system is actually due to homophonous roots in both the transitive and positional root classes. This is a nice result because it maintains the strong generalization that positional roots cannot surface underived. I am left with an interesting question, though. Why should all of these homophonous roots alternate between positional and transitive roots, and not intransitive roots? One idea is that the transitive forms are basic. They denote relations between an agent an object that is put into a position. The positional is then derived by chopping off the preparatory action, leaving only the object in the final state, which is exactly what a positional is. Another option is that the positional roots are basic, but that these positionals are special in that the world presents us many cases where an agent arranges an object in that position. This permits a reanalysis of the positional as a transitive root denoting precisely that relation of an agent putting an object in the requisite position. I will not decide between these options here, but they provide an important area of future work.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter established the existence of a distinguished class of roots called positionals. I defined the positional root via four derivational morphemes that apply in an exception-less manner to this class of roots. Moreover, these four derivational morphemes cannot derive roots from other classes. I also distinguished positional roots by the fact that they cannot appear underived, and in the final section I dealt with a few potential counterexamples by showing that there are actually two homophonous roots, one in the positional class and one in the class of root transitives. With this in hand, the next chapter considers the morphosyntax of positional roots and their derivations in detail. In particular, I am going to focus on a wider class of derivations. They are interesting because some do not apply as regularly to positional roots; some apply to positionals and other classes. I also consider derivations applied to positional roots already derived by the canonical derivations considered in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR Advanced Morphosyntax of Kaqchikel Positionals

4.1 A Non-canonical Intransitive Positional Derivation

We saw in the previous chapter that intransitive verbs are derived from positional stems in a completely productive manner via the suffix *-e'*. There is another way to derive intransitive verbs from positional stems that only applies to those roots that do not accept the standard stative positional suffix *-V_{RI}l* due to phonotactic constraints. Recall that roots ending in [r] or [l] are derived into stative predicates via the suffix *-an* (85a. and c).

- (85) a. e k'ur-an (Sotz Mux 2006)
3pl.ABS disorganized-STP
"they are disorganized"
- b. *e k'ur-ul
3pl.ABS disorganized-STP
"they are disorganized"
- c. e b'ol-an
3pl.ABS cylindrical-STP
"they are cylindrical"
- d. *e b'ol-ol
3pl.ABS cylindrical-STP
"they are cylindrical"

Like stative predicates derived via the standard morphology, these cannot be inflected as a regular intransitive verbs (86a.--d.).

- (86) a. *x-Ø-k'ur-an (Sotz Mux 2006)
 COM-3sg.ABS-disorganized-STP
 "it became disorganized"
- b. *x-Ø-b'ol-an
 COM-3sg.ABS-cylindrical-STP
 "it became cylindrical"
- c. *x-Ø-tz'uy-ul
 COM-3sg.ABS-seated-STP
 "it became seated"
- d. *x-Ø-pa'-al
 COM-3sg.ABS-standing-STP
 "it became standing"

Interestingly, the ungrammatical stative morphology for roots ending in [r] or [l] (87) is used for a second intransitive derivation along with *-e'* (88). This has not yet been noticed in the literature.

- (87) a. x-Ø-b'ol-ol (Sotz Mux 2006)
 COM-3sg.ABS-cylindrical-STP
 "it cylindricated"
- b. x-Ø-k'ur-ul
 COM-esg.ABS-disorganized-STP
 "the dishes got disorganized"
- (88) a. x-Ø-b'ol-e'

COM-3sg.ABS-cylindrical-ITP

“it became cylindrical”

b. X-Ø-k'ur-e' ri lak.

COM-esg.ABS-disorganized-ITP DET dishes

“The dishes became disorganized.”

There are currently no semantic differences between these two intransitive derivations. It will be interesting to see if differences do start to develop.

4.2 Transitive Extensions to the Transitive Positional Stem (root- $V_Rb'a'$)

In Section 3.2 of the previous chapter, we saw that transitive verbs could be derived completely productively from positional stems with the suffix $-V_Rb'a'$. See the two examples below.

(89) X-Ø-in-tz'uy-ub'a' (Sotz Mux 20060)

INC-3ABS-1ERG-seated-TRP

"I sat her/him down."

(90) Yalan x-Ø-ki-kot-ob'a' ri b'ey koma ri samajela'.

very COM-3sg.ABS-3pl.ERG-twisty-TRP DET road because DET workers

"The workers curved the road a lot."

What is interesting is that while transitive verbs can be derived in a productive manner, the resulting transitive verbs are not nearly as productive with respect to transitive verb morphology as other transitives. In this section I consider some canonical transitive verb derivations and contrast their

transitive verb from the positional root and then passivizing that.

Of the rest of the transitive derivations, none were productive in a majority of the seven roots I tested. First, the antipassive *-n* was grammatical with only two of the seven roots. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (94) a. x-Ø-tz'uy-ub'ä-n
COM-3sg.ABS-seated-TRP-ANTP
"She sat [it] down."
b. x-Ø-b'ol-ob'ä-n
COM-3sg.ABS-cylindrical-TRP-ANTP
"She made [it] cylindrical."

Slightly less restrictive was the nominalized antipassive, indicated by possessing the antipassive base, which was productive with three roots. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (95) a. ru-tz'uy-ub'ä-n
3sg.ERG-seated-TRP-ANTP
"her seatedness"
b. ru-chup-ub'ä-n
3sg.ERG-extinguished-TRP-ANTP
"its state of being extinguished"
c. ru-jaq-ab'ä-n
3sg.ERG-open-TRP-ANTP
"his openness"

4.3.1 Intransitive Derivations from the Stative Positional Stem

The first derivation, *-oj*, applied to five of the seven test stems. Its general meaning is repetition. The intransitive subject goes into and out of the state or position at hand many times.

(97) a. X-Ø-tz'uy-ul-*oj*. (Sotz Mux 2006)

COM-3sg.ABS-seated-STP-REP

“She sat down many times, on many different chairs.”

b. X-Ø-chup-ul-*oj*.

COM-3sg.ABS-turned:off-STP-REP

“It blinked on and off repeatedly.”

The speaker I worked with did not like *-oj* deriving *kot* “twisted” or *set* “circular”. It may be that it is difficult to imagine a situation where something passes in and out of a twisted or circular state in a rhythmic manner, unlike, for example, blinking on and off.

I also identified a variant of *-oj*, namely *-uj*. (Sotz Mux 2006)

(98) a. x-Ø-tz'uy-ul-*uj*

COM-3sg.ABS-seated-STP-REP

“she sat down many times, on many different chairs”

b. x-Ø-chup-ul-*uj*

COM-3sg.ABS-turned:off-STP-REP

“it blinked on and off repeatedly”

It truly is a variant. Speakers assign it the same meaning and there is an implicational

relationship between the two suffixes. If a root takes *-uj*, it takes the more general suffix *-oj*, though it is not the case that the implication holds in the opposite direction.

A final intransitive derivation I discovered, building off the stative positional stem employs the suffix *-o'*. Of the seven roots I tried, this derivation applied in only two.

- (99) a. x-Ø-chup-ul-o'
COM-3sg.ABS-turned:off-STP-o'
“it flickered”
- b. x-Ø-set-el-o'
COM-3sg.ABS-round-STP-o'
"it was becoming a circle"

This suffix does not seem to have a uniform semantics. Perhaps it derives a state into a process or activity. For instance, *-setelo'* is an intransitive denoting the process of becoming a circle, while *-chupulo'* denotes the process of becoming off, which is flickering, as when a light fixture starts to break.

4.4 Verb Derivations from Reduplicated Positional Root (root- $V_R C_1$)

In this section I investigate derivations built on stems derived from full mirror reduplicated positionals, i.e., $CVC-V_R C_1$. Recall that adding the suffix *-ik* or *-äq* yields a derived adjective. The derivations investigated here really support my analysis up to this point, namely the reduplicated portion does not derive a new syntactic category. Instead, this is provided by a later suffix, whether this be adjectival or intransitivizing.

First, we saw in the previous section that for some forms, the derivational suffix *-oj* alternates with *-uj* in deriving intransitive verbs from stative positional stems. Although none of the seven reduplicated positional roots I collected take *-oj*, there was one that took the variant *-uj*.

- (100) a. X-Ø-chup-uch-uj.
 COM-3sg.ABS-turned:off-EMP-REP
 “It blinked on and off repeatedly.”

Although the next suffix, *-o'*, is of the same form as the repetitive suffix, this suffix does not seem to indicate repetition when applied to reduplicated positional roots. In fact, it means the opposite. The subject moves into the state only once.

- (101) a. X-Ø-k'ot-ok'-o' ri kotz'i'j.
 COM-3sg.ABS-twisty-EMP-o' DET plant/flower
 “The plant twisted.”
Like if a vine grew around an object in its path.
- b. X-Ø-jaq-aj-o' ruchi' jay.
 COM-3sg.ABS-open-EMP-o' door
 “The door opened.”
The door opened once.

It is not clear whether these suffixes are homophonous, or whether the reduplication moderates the effect of the *-o'* suffix in some way.

Of the seven test roots, the final two suffixes I consider here are the most productive derivations

- (104) a. Rija' x-e-ru-k'ur-ula' k'i'y läk.
 She COM-3pl.ABS-3sg.ERG-disorganized-Vla' many dishes
 "She disorganized a lot of dishes."
- b. X-e-ru-kot-ola' ri kotz'i'j roma ri kaq'ij.
 COM-3pl.ABS-3sg.ERG-twisty-Vla' DET flower by DET wind
 "The wind twisted the flowers."
- c. X-e-ru-jaq-ala' ri ruchi':jay roma ri achin.
 COM-3pl.ABS-3sg.ERG-open-Vla' DET door by DET man
 "The man opened many doors just once."

At first pass, the immediate question is why not analyze this suffix as a stative positional predicate further derived by the suffix $-a'$, namely $-V_r l -a'$. There is one strong argument against this position. First, normal transitive verbs can undergo this derivation, which is obviously the same because it has the same meaning. Since this derivation applies productively to transitive roots, if it were of the form $-V_r l -a'$, I would expect to be able to derive stative predicates from arbitrary transitive roots via $-V_r l$, but these are all ungrammatical. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (105) a. *e chap-äl
 3pl.ABS grab-STP
 "they are grabbed"
- b. *e tz'et-ël
 3pl.ABS see-STP
 "they are seen"

Clearly we cannot derive $-V_{r,l}a'$ by way of $-V_{r,l}$.

The second derivation is of the form $-V_{r,C_I}a'$. It requires repetition of the action on the same object in the same way at a fevered or maniacal pace. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (106) a. N-i-chup-uch-a' ru-wach.⁸
 INC-3sg.ABS-extinguished-EMP-a' 3sg.ABS-eyes
 "Her eyes are blinking"
- b. X-e-ru-kot-ok-a' ri kotz'i'j roma ri kaq'ij.
 COM-3pl.ABS-3sg.ERG-twisty-EMP-a' DET flower by DET wind
 "The wind twisted the flowers many times."
- c. Rija' x-e-ru-k'ur-uk'-a' ri läk.
 She COM-3pl.ABS-3sg.ERG-disorganized-EMP-a' DET dishes
 "She disorganized the dishes many times."

The core question again is whether we are dealing with two suffixes or one. I think there is evidence that there are two suffixes here. The first is mirror duplication $-V_{r,C_I}$ and the second, the suffix $-a'$. The main reason is that there appears to be a common core to the semantics of mirror reduplication across derivations. For example, positional adjectives derived by mirror reduplication have an emphatic or intensified semantics (which we will consider in depth in the next chapter). In some cases this intensification involves repetition (107). (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (107) a. nak'-an-ik
 attached-EMP-ADJ.sg

⁸ Sotz Mux added that the following forms also mean "Her eyes are blinking": *Nichupulij ruwäch*, and *Nichupuchüt ruwäch*.

positionals derived by *-b'äl*.

- (109) a. chup-u-b'äl "light switch"
b. set-e-b'äl "an instrument for making things round"
c. jaq-a-b'äl "key" or "doorknob"

You will notice that we also get a copied root vowel when a root is suffixed with *-b'äl*. I believe that this vowel is not a part of the suffix underlyingly, but appears for phonotactic reasons. As evidence, notice that some positional roots allow direct suffixation of *-b'äl*.

- (110) tz'uy-b'äl "seat"

There are a few exceptions to the productive application of the instrumental. Sotz Mux did not like the following examples, though this probably has to do with being able to imagine appropriate instruments derivable from the semantics of the root.

- (111) a. *b'ol-o-b'äl "an instrument for making things cylindrical"
b. *k'ur-u-b'äl "an instrument for making things disorganized"

The final nominalizing suffix to consider applies to stative positional stems, that is positional roots derived by *-V,l*. The resulting stative predicate can then be derived into a noun with the suffix *-en*, as in Example (112). (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (112) a. ri jaq-al-en
DET open-STP-NOM
"the opening"

b. ri set-el-en ri ke'en
 DET round-STP-NOM DET cornmeal
 "the roundness of the cornmeal"

c. Iwir choj tz'uy-ul-en x-Ø-qa-b'än.
 yesterday exactly seated-STP-NOM COM-3sg.ABS-1pl.ERG-do
 "Yesterday we only did sitting."

This suffix does the same to other intransitive predicates in the language. (Sotz Mux 2006)

(113) a. ri etz'an-en
 DET play-NOM
 "the game"

b. ri uxlan-en
 DET rest-NOM
 "the rest"

c. ri palaqin-en
 DET wander-NOM
 "the idleness"

Although there were many positionals that did not take this nominalizing suffix, there are also many root and derived verbs from other classes that do not take *-en*.

4.5.2 Summary

To summarize, this section investigated a series of derivations that apply not just to positional roots and their derived stems, but to a wider class of roots and stems that also include the positionals. This shows that the morphology of Kaqchikel is many layered. There are derivations that apply strictly within classes, but there are those that cross-classify. It also shows that the verbs derived from position stems undergo further derivation for verbs. Once a verbal stem is derived from a positional it has the properties of a verb.

4.6 Conclusions

The chapter took a wider look at the morphosyntax of positional roots and their derivations. While the previous chapter considered only those derivations that applied productively to all and only positional roots, thus defining the class, this chapter looked more broadly at the derivational potential of positionals. I selected seven test roots, and I considered special derivations that only applied to a subclass of positional roots, namely the non-canonical intransitives of roots like *-b'ol*. I also considered two root derivations that apply, not just to positional roots, but to all transitive roots as well. Finally, I investigated special morphology restricted to stems derived from positional roots. What was interesting was that in each case, the derivations were not completely productive. In some instances I was able to make sense of the unproductive suffixes, for example, by showing that *-uj* is merely a variant of the more productive *-oj*, or showing how the semantic content of the derivation would be odd with semantics of the misbehaving root. By moving outside of the core derivations of positional roots, this chapter goes further than any work in describing the wide variety of morphological processes affecting Kaqchikel positionals.

CHAPTER FIVE Special Semantic Considerations in Kaqchikel Positionals

5.1 Introduction

I showed in Chapter 3 that the morphology best defines positional roots as a class. However, some interesting generalizations can be made about the semantics of positional roots as well. In Chapter 1, I described how the semantics of positional roots in other Mayan languages has been characterized in prior research. Kaufman (1977), for example, says that the meanings of positionals fall into these three areas: shape (e.g. round, oval, square), disposition (e.g. seated, standing), and changeable states (e.g. loose, tight). Kaufman (1977) also notes that there are not very many adjectives in a typical Mayan language, and that most of the words that are the semantic equivalent of adjectives in European languages are actually positionals in Mayan languages.

The most detailed list of semantic categories for positionals in a Mayan language, of the ones surveyed in this literature review, is given by Knowles (1984) for Chontal. She offers the following list of semantic categories: shape (e.g. bulging, rolled up), position (e.g. upended, squatting), orientation (e.g. slanted, face up), aperture (e.g. open), containment (e.g. covered, buried), suspension (e.g. hanging), transference (e.g. thrown, scooped, dripping, returned), configuration/aggregation (e.g. piled thickly, bundled, broken off, bunched up, attached to a branch, loaded firewood), light-reference (e.g. visible). I take this as an interesting starting point, and in examples (114)a.--i., I provide a Kaqchikel positional root for each of the semantic categories Knowles (1984) uses for Chontal.

(114) (Sotz Mux 2006)

Shape:

a. setël "round"

Position:

b. b'ik'il "squatting"

Orientation:

c. b'uqül "inclined"

Aperture:

d. jaqäl "open"

Containment:

e. kujül "uncovered"

Suspension:

f. chiyil "dangling"

Transference:

g. b'achäl "thrown out"

Configuration/Aggregation

h. watzäl "piled up"

Light-reference

i. chupül "extinguished"

The primary quality of each of the above Kaqchikel stative positional predicates (in the categories provided by each of the three authors) is that they are states.

5.2 The Semantics of States of Being

States are events or situations that have no natural endpoint (Vendler 1959). For example, if there is an event where I "ate a hamburger" or "climbed up the mountain", the event had a natural

- c. direction
xul-an
south-STP
- d. size
qan-äl
obese-STP
- e. condition
chup-ül
extinguished-STP

5.3 The Mirror Reduplicant

Having characterized the basic semantic content of positional roots, I now want to focus on one derivation, namely mirror reduplication, that modifies the semantic contribution of the basic root. The effect can be most clearly seen when considering the contrast between a stative positional predicate and a positional adjective being used as a non-verbal predicate. Since both positionals are fulfilling the same semantic function in the same syntactic construction, I attribute the difference in their semantics to their different morphology. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (116) a. E set-ël.
 3pl.ABS round-STP
 "They are round."
- b. E setesäq.
 3pl.ABS round-EMP-ADJ.pl

- "They are very round."
- (117) a. Ri ya' Ø chemël.
 DET water 3sg.ABS standing[water]-STP
 "The water is standing."
- b. Ri ya' Ø chemechik.
 DET water 3sg.ABS standing[water]-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "The water is flooded."
- (118) a. E b'atz'äl.
 3pl.ABS bound-STP
 "They are bound [with string]."
- b. E b'atz'ab'äq.
 3pl.ABS bound-EMP-ADJ.pl
 "They are very bound [with string wrapped around them many times]."

Recall that the the suffix *-äq/ik* is merely an adjectival number agreement suffix. I wouldn't expect that it would drastically change the semantics of the root. In contrast, the fact that reduplication can alter the semantics of a form is well attested crosslinguistically. Thus, I tie the emphatic semantics of the (b.) examples to the mirror reduplication of the root material.

While other authors have noticed that the reduplicated form changes the semantics in Kaqchikel (Richman 1982), there has been no work trying to categorize the possible semantic changes, much less an explanation for why we should see the changes that we do, and not others. In this section I will complete the first task and propose some ideas about the second.

To get an idea of the range of semantic alternations imposed by mirror reduplication, I selected sixty roots and elicited stative positionals and the reduplicated positional adjectives. I found that there were 6 different classes. The most common semantic effect is to ensure that the subject be in the requisite state, but to a greater degree. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (119) a. chok'-ol
piled-STP
"piled or stacked"
- b. chok'-och-ik
piled-EMP-ADJ.sg
"very piled [higher and heavier than *chok'öl*]"
- (120) a. jutz'-ül
deformed-STP
"deformed"
- b. jutz'-uj-ik
deformed-EMP-ADJ.sg
"extremely deformed"
- (121) a. kich-ïl
disorganized-STP
"disorganized"
- b. kich-ik-ik
disorganized-EMP-ADJ.sg
"very disorganized"

- (122) a. jech'-əl
 disfigured-STP
 "disfigured"
- b. jech'-ej-ik
 disfigured-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "permanently disfigured"

There was no clear second place. The rest of the semantic interpretations for the reduplicated suffixes were roughly even. With this in mind, the next class I want to consider are those that when reduplicated require that the state repeat. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (123) a. chup-ül
 extinguished-STP
 "extinguished"
- b. chup-uch-ik
 extinguished-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "blinking"
- (124) a. nak'-äl
 sticky-STP
 "sticky"
- b. nak'-an-ik
 sticky-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "attaching and detaching repeatedly"

- (125) a. q'otz-öl
 folded-STP
 "folded over"
- b. q'otz-oq'-ik
 folded-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "folded over many times"

Another class of roots seems to have no predictable connection between the stative predicate and the reduplicated form. There are some that are clearly semantically related, but the interpretation is just slightly different in unclear ways. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (126) a. chuyül "handful of little things [like rice]"
 b. chuyuchik "splayed [like the ends of hair in a ponytail]"
- (127) a. ch'ikil "standing straight up"
 b. ch'ikich'ik "slanted"

The second group that fits into this class differs from the stative positional in basically arbitrary ways. There seems to be no hope to predict the meanings across derivations. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (128) a. nakäl "spread [like butter on bread]"
 b. nakanik "foolish"
- (129) a. b'aräl "gurgling [like stomach noises]"
 b. b'arab'ik "air-headed"
- (130) a. b'alan "piled up"

b. b'alab'ik "round"

Finally, there were positional roots for which there was no difference in the interpretation of stative predicate form and the reduplicated adjectival form. (Sotz Mux 2006)

(131) a. chak'äl "tall"

b. chak'achik "tall"

(132) a. witzil "crestfallen"

b. witziwik "crestfallen"

(133) a. b'ayäl "flexible"

b. b'ayab'ik "flexible"

(134) a. b'achäl "wrinkled, creased"

b. b'achab'ik "wrinkled, creased"

5.4 Gradability

While I do not have a proposal for those roots that show no change under reduplication or show unpredictable changes, I think that there is a way to unite those roots that repeat under reduplication and those roots that require the subject bear the state to a great degree. I think that the difference is in whether the state is gradable or not. The idea is that for most of the roots, the states they denote are gradable, that is, you can satisfy them to different degrees. Consider the root *b'uy*, meaning soft. It is very easy to take a group of soft things and rank them in order of softness. Intensification under reduplication for roots like this would then just pick out those soft things that are higher on the scale. This is precisely how a majority of these roots can be treated. (Sotz Mux 2006)

- (135) a. b'uy-ul
 soft-STP
 "soft"
- b. b'uy-ub'-ik
 soft-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "very soft"
- (136) a. chuk'-ül
 stiff-STP
 "stiff"
- b. chuk'-uch-ik
 stiff-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "very stiff"
- (137) a. loch-öl
 wet-STP
 "wet"
- b. loch-ol-ik
 wet-EMP-ADJ.sg
 "waterlogged"

What is interesting is that this is not the case for all roots, particularly those that repeat.

Consider the root *chup*, "extinguished" or "off". This root is not gradable. It is impossible to take a bunch of things in the "off" state and rank them by how "off" they are. For these roots, since

intensification cannot shift the scale; it is realized as repetition instead. This can be seen with the following roots.

- (138) a. jaq'äl "lying on one's side"
 b. jaq'ajik "lying on one's side over and over again"
- (139) a. ch'apäl "grabbed"
 b. ch'apach'ik "grabbed again and again"
- (140) a. ch'anäl "naked"
 b. ch'anach'ik "repeatedly taking off and putting on one's clothes"
- (141) a. pachäl "perched [as a hen on her eggs]"
 b. pachapik "repeatedly perching, then leaving, then perching again"

For some of these the observant might protest that maybe they are gradable, for instance, *jaq'äl* “lying on your back”. Interestingly, many of these roots that repeat under intensification are ambiguous between repetition and the greater degree reading. This is perfectly acceptable to me. Whether we get repetition or not should depend on how gradable a speaker wants to treat a state in context. There are some states that are clearly gradable and can never involve repetition, for instance, *setël* “circular” vs. *setesik* “perfectly circular”, and those that can never be gradable, like *chiip* “off” vs. *chupuchik* “blinking”. It only makes sense that there should be some that could fit into either category depending on context and how imaginative the speaker is.

CHAPTER SIX Conclusion and Discussion

In summary, examples of derivations from positional roots in the categories of intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, adjectives, and stative predicates have been given in previous research. But the descriptions have not exhaustively listed all of the potential derivations in Mayan languages. Previous authors have not completely analyzed the morphosyntax or semantics of positional root derivations in Kaqchikel. My intention has been to help fill in some of the morphosyntactic and semantic gaps in the literature using data from Kaqchikel.

In Chapter 3, after reviewing the literature and introducing the grammar of Kaqchikel, I established the existence of a distinguished class of positional roots. I defined the positional root via four derivational morphemes that apply in an exception-less manner to this class of roots. Moreover, these four derivational morphemes cannot derive roots from other classes. I also distinguished positional roots by the fact that they cannot appear underived, and I dealt with a few potential counterexamples by showing that there are actually two homophonous roots, one in the positional class and one in the class of root transitives.

In Chapter 4, I considered the morphosyntax of positional roots and their derivations in detail. In particular, I focused on a wider class of derivations. Some do not apply as regularly to positional roots; some apply to positionals and other classes. I also considered derivations applied to positional roots already derived by the canonical derivations considered in this chapter.

While the previous chapter considered only those derivations that applied perfectly productively all and only to positional roots, thus defining the class, this chapter looked more broadly at the derivational potential of positionals. I considered special derivations that only applied to a subclass of positional roots, namely the non-canonical intransitives of roots like *-b'ol*. I also considered two root

derivations that apply, not just to positional roots, but to all transitive roots as well.

I also investigated special morphology restricted to stems derived from positional roots. What was interesting was that in each case, the derivations were not completely productive. In some instances I were able to make sense of the unproductive suffixes, for example, by showing that *-uj* is merely a variant of the more productive *-oj*, or showing how the semantic content of the derivation would be odd with semantics of the misbehaving root. By moving outside of the core derivations of positional roots, this chapter goes further than any work in describing the wide variety of morphological processes affecting Kaqchikel positionals.

The work closed with a discussion of the semantics of positional roots and their derivations, especially the systematic and thus far unexamined differences between stative positional predicates and adjectival positional predicates, where the latter have an emphatic interpretation.

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Appendix A

Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABS	absolute
ADJ	adjective
ANTP	antipassive
CAUS	causative
COM	completive
DET	determiner
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
EMP	emphatic
ERG	ergative
IMP	imperative
INC	incompletive
INCH	inchoative
INST	instrumental/locative suffix
ITP	intransitive positional
MOD	moderative
NC	numerical classifiers
NOM	nominalizing suffix
NEG	negation
OPT	optative
PASS	passive
pl	plural
REP	repetitive suffix
sg	singular
SS	status suffix
STAT	stative suffix
STP	positional stative predicate
TRP	transitive positional

Appendix B: Seven Kacchikel Positional Roots and their Derivations

		tz'uy-	chup-	bol-	kot-
A1	root-STP	tz'uy-ül	chup-ül	bol-an	kot-öl
A2		tz'uy-ül tz'uy-ül	chup-ül chup-ül	^h bol-an b'bol-an	kot-öl kot-öl
A3		yalan tz'uy-ül	yalan chup-ül	yalan b'bol-an	yalan kot-öl
		adjectives			
B1	root-EMP-ADJ sg	tz'uy-utZ-ik	chup-uch-ik	b'bol-ob'-ik	kot-ok-ik
B2	root-EMP-ADJ pl	tz'uy-utZ-äq	chup-uch-äq	b'bol-ob'-äq	kot-ok-äq
B3		^h yalan tz'uy-utZ-ik	yalan chup-uch-ik	yalan b'bol-ob'-ik	yalan kot-ok-ik
B4		^h tz'uy-utZ-ik tz'uy-utZ-ik	chup-uch-ik chup-uch-ik	^h bol-ob'-ik b'bol-ob'-ik	kot-ok-ik kot-ok-ik
B5	root-näq	tz'uy-ur-näq	chup-näq	^h bol-o-näq	^h kot-o-näq
		verbs			
C1	(V)-root	*x-Ø-u-tz'uy	x-Ø-u-chup	*x-Ø-u-b'ol	x-Ø-u-kot
C2	(V)-root-root	*x-Ø-u-tz'uy-tz'uy	x-Ø-u-chup-chup	*x-Ø-u-b'ol-b'ol	*x-Ø-u-kot-kot
C3	(V)-root-e'	x-Ø-tz'uy-e'	x-Ø-chup-e'	x-Ø-b'ol-e'	x-Ø-kot-e'
C4	(V)-root-CAUS	*x-Ø-u-tz'uy-isaj	*x-Ø-u-chup-isaj	*x-Ø-u-b'ol-isaj	x-Ø-u-kot-ow-isaj
C5	(V)-root-V _R -tej	*x-Ø-tz'uy-u-tej	x-Ø-chup-u-tej	*x-Ø-b'ol-o-tej	x-Ø-kot-o-tej
C6	(V)-root-PASS	*x-Ø-tz'uy-ux	x-Ø-chup-ux	*x-Ø-b'ol-äx	*x-Ø-kot-öx
C7	(V)-root-ANIP	*x-Ø-tz'uy-un	x-Ø-chup-un	*x-Ø-b'ol-on	*x-Ø-kot-on
D1	(V)-root-STP	*x-Ø-tz'uy-ül	*x-Ø-chup-ül	*x-Ø-b'ol-an	*x-Ø-kot-öl
D2	(V)-root-STP (other)			x-Ø-b'ol-öl	
D3	(V)-root-STP-o'	*x-Ø-tz'uy-ül-o'	*x-Ø-chup-ül-o'	*x-Ø-b'ol-öl-o'	*x-Ø-kot-öl-o'
D4	(V)-root-STP-oj	(x-Ø-tz'uy-ül-öj)	x-Ø-chup-ül-öj	*x-Ø-b'ol-öl-öj	*x-Ø-kot-öl-öj
D5	(V)-root-STP-a'	x-Ø-u-tz'uy-u-la'	x-Ø-u-chup-ül-a'	x-Ø-u-b'ol-öl-a'	x-Ø-u-kot-öl-a', x-Ø-u-kot-o-b'a-la'
D6	(V)-root-STP-äj			x-Ø-u-b'ol-öl-äj	*x-Ø-u-kot-öl-äj
D7	(V)-root-STP-äx			x-Ø-b'ol-öl-äx	x-Ø-kot-öl-äx
D8	(V)-root-STP-uj	x-Ø-tz'uy-ül-uj	x-Ø-chup-ül-uj	*x-Ø-b'ol-öl-uj	*x-Ø-kot-öl-uj
E1	(V)-root-EMP-V _R '	x-Ø-tz'uy-utZ-u'	*x-Ø-chup-uch-u'	*x-Ø-b'ol-öl-ob'-o'	x-Ø-kot-ök-o'
E2	(V)-root-EMP-o'				x-Ø-kot-ök-o'
E3	(V)-root-EMP-o'	*x-Ø-u-tz'uy-utZ-o'	*x-Ø-u-chup-uch-o'	*x-Ø-u-b'ol-öl-ob'-o'	*x-Ø-u-kot-ök-o'
E4	(V)-root-EMP-a'	x-Ø-u-tz'uy-utZ-a'	x-Ø-u-chup-uch-a'	x-Ø-u-b'ol-öl-ob'-a'	x-Ø-u-kot-ök-a'
E5	(V)-root-EMP-uj	*x-Ø-tz'uy-utZ-uj	*x-Ø-chup-uch-uj	*x-Ø-b'ol-öl-ob'-öj	*x-Ø-kot-ök-öj
E6	(V)-root-EMP-üt	x-Ø-tz'uy-utZ-üt	x-Ø-chup-uch-üt	*x-Ø-b'ol-öl-ob'-öt	x-Ø-kot-ök-öt
F1	(V)-root-V _R -b'a'	x-Ø-u-tz'uy-u-b'a'	x-Ø-u-chup-u-b'a'	*x-Ø-u-b'ol-öl-o-b'a'	x-Ø-u-kot-o-b'a'
F2	(V)-root-V _R -b'äj	x-Ø-u-tz'uy-u-b'äj	*x-Ø-u-chup-u-b'äj	*x-Ø-u-b'ol-öl-o-b'äj	*x-Ø-u-kot-o-b'äj
F3	(V)-root-V _R -b'än	x-Ø-tz'uy-u-b'än	*x-chup-u-b'än	x-b'ol-o-b'än	*x-kot-o-b'än
F4	(V)-root-V _R -b'äx	x-Ø-tz'uy-u-b'äx	*x-chup-u-b'äx	x-b'ol-o-b'äx	x-kot-o-b'äx
		nouns			
G1	root-STP-en	tz'uy-ül-en, *x-öj-tz'uy-ül-en	*chup-ül-en, *x-öj-chup-ül-en	^h bol-öl-en, *x-b'ol-öl-en	^h ru-kot-öl-en, *x-e-kot-öl-en
G2	root-V _R -b'äl	tz'uy-u-b'äl	chup-u-b'äl	^h bol-öb'-äl	kot-o-b'äl, kot-o-b'a-b'äl
G3	ru-root-V _R -b'än	ru-tz'uy-u-b'än	ru-chup-u-b'än	^h ru-b'ol-o-b'än	^h ru-kot-o-b'än
G4	root-root	*tz'uy-tz'uy	*chup-chup	^h bol-b'ol	^h kot-kot

Appendix B: Seven Kacchikel Positional Roots and their Derivations

		K'ur-	jaq-	set-
A1	root-STP	K'ur-an, K'ur-ül	jaq-äl	set-el
A2		*K'ur-an K'ur-an, *K'ur-ül K'ur-ül	jaq-äl jaq-äl	set-el set-äl
A3		*yalan K'ur-an, *yalan K'ur-ül	yalan jaq-äl	yalan set-el
		adjectives		
B1	root-EMP-ADJ.sg	K'ur-uk'-ik	jaq-äl-ik	set-es-ik
B2	root-EMP-ADJ.pl	K'ur-uk'-äq	jaq-äl-äq	set-es-äq
B3		yalan K'ur-uk'-ik	*yalan jaq-äl-ik	yalan set-es-ik
B4		*K'ur-uk'-ik K'ur-uk'-ik	*jaq-äl-ik jaq-äl-ik	set-es-ik set-es-ik
B5	root-näq	*Kur-u-näq	jaq-a-näq	
		verbs		
C1	(tv)-root	*X-Ø-u-K'ur	X-Ø-u-jäq	*X-Ø-u-set
C2	(tv)-root-root	*X-Ø-u-K'ur-K'ur	*X-Ø-u-jaq-jaq	*X-Ø-u-set-set
C3	(iv)-root-e'	X-Ø-K'ur-e'	X-Ø-jaq-e', (X-Ø-jaq)	X-Ø-set-e'
C4	(tv)-root-CAUS	*X-Ø-u-K'ur-ussaj, *X-Ø-u-K'ur-um-issaj	*X-Ø-u-jaq-issaj, *X-Ø-u-jaq-aw-issaj	*X-Ø-u-set-issaj
C5	(iv)-root-V _{ri} -tej	*X-Ø-K'ur-u-tej	X-Ø-jaq-a-tej	*X-Ø-set-e-tej
C6	(iv)-root-PASS	*X-Ø-K'ur-üx	X-Ø-jaq-äx	*X-Ø-set-ex
C7	(iv)-root-ANTP	*X-Ø-K'ur-un	X-Ø-jaq-on	*X-Ø-set-on
D1	(iv)-root-STP	X-Ø-K'ur-ül	*X-Ø-jaq-äl	*X-Ø-set-äl
D2	(iv)-root-STP (other)			
D3	(iv)-root-STP-o'	*X-Ø-K'ur-ül-o'	*X-Ø-u-jaq-äl-o' ?	X-Ø-set-el-o'
D4	(iv)-root-STP-oj	(X-Ø-K'ur-ül-oj)	X-Ø-jaq-äl-oj	*X-Ø-set-el-oj
D5	(tv)-root-STP-a'	X-e-nu-K'ur-ül-a'	X-Ø-u-jaq-äl-a'	X-Ø-u-set-el-a'
D6	(tv)-root-STP-äj	*X-Ø-u-K'ur-ül-äj	*X-Ø-u-jaq-äl-äj	*X-Ø-u-set-el-äj
D7	(iv)-root-STP-äx	X-Ø-K'ur-ül-äx	X-Ø-jaq-äl-äx, X-Ø-jaq-äl-öx	X-Ø-set-el-öx
D8	(iv)-root-STP-uj	X-Ø-K'ur-ül-uj	*X-Ø-jaq-äl-uj	*X-Ø-set-el-uj
E1	(iv)-root-EMP-V _{ri} '	X-Ø-K'ur-uk'-u'	(see below for X-Ø-jaq-äl-a')	*X-Ø-set-es-e'
E2	(iv)-root-EMP-o'	*X-Ø-K'ur-uk'-o'	X-Ø-jaq-äl-o'	X-Ø-set-es-o'
E3	(tv)-root-EMP-o'	*X-Ø-u-K'ur-uk'-o'	X-Ø-u-jaq-äl-o'	*X-Ø-u-set-es-o'
E4	(tv)-root-EMP-a'	X-Ø-u-K'ur-uk'-a'	X-Ø-u-jaq-äl-a'	X-Ø-u-set-es-a'
E5	(iv)-root-EMP-uj	*X-Ø-K'ur-uk'-uj	*X-Ø-jaq-äl-uj	*X-Ø-set-es-uj
E6	(iv)-root-EMP-üt	X-Ø-K'ur-uk'-üt	X-Ø-jaq-äl-öt	*X-Ø-set-es-ët
F1	(tv)-root-V _{ri} -b'a'	X-Ø-u-K'ur-u-b'a'	X-Ø-u-jaq-a-b'a'	X-Ø-u-set-e-b'a'
F2	(tv)-root-V _{ri} -b'äj	*X-Ø-K'ur-u-b'äj	*X-Ø-u-jaq-a-b'äj	*X-Ø-u-set-e-b'äj
F3	(iv)-root-V _{ri} -b'än	*X-Ø-K'ur-u-b'än	*X-Ø-jaq-a-b'än	*X-Ø-set-e-b'än
F4	(iv)-root-V _{ri} -b'äx	X-Ø-K'ur-u-b'äx	X-Ø-jaq-a-b'äx	X-Ø-set-e-b'äx
		nouns		
G1	root-STP-en	*K'ur-ül-en, *X-K'ur-ül-en	jaq-äl-en, *X-Ø-u-jaq-äl-en	set-el-en
G2	root-V _{ri} -b'äl	*K'ur-u-b'äl	jaq-b'äl	set-e-b'äl
G3	ru-root-V _{ri} -b'än	*ru-K'ur-u-b'än	ru-jaq-a-b'än	*ru-set-e-b'än
G4	root-root	K'ur-K'ur	*jaq-jaq	ru-set-e-b'än

Appendix C: All Positional Roots from PLFM Kaqchikel Dictionary

Positional Root	Descriptive Adjective	Positional Adjective	Intransitive Verb	Transitive Verb	Spanish meaning
b'äch	b'achab'ik				Desarreglado. Persona de mala presentacion, tambien colabora el mal andar. <i>others: b'achanik, b'achaxik, b'äch (restregar con el pie o la mano, embarrar, manchar)</i>
b'äk'		b'ak'äl	xb'ak'e'	xub'ak'ab'a'	Atado: amarrado pita o hilo. Encorvado: varejon, palo. <i>others: b'ak'anik, b'ak'axik, b'ak'ik, b'äk' (pegar con lazo o varejon, torcer algo duro como palo o varilla de hierro) b'ak'onik, b'ak'oxik, b'äk' (enrollar cosas delgadas como pitas o lazos, encorvar varejon, pegar con varejon)</i>
b'äl		b'alan	xb'ale'	xub'alab'a'	Perchado, como lena.
b'äq	b'aqab'ik	b'aqäl	xb'aqe'	xub'aqab'a'	Tirada, cosa aguada. O gordo. <i>others: b'aqenik, b'aqexik, b'aqej (llevar cosa larga y aguada, traer cosa larga y aguada, como culebra o un bolo)</i>
b'är		b'aräl (y b'aran)	xb'are'	xub'arab'a'	Medio grueso y largo, como tamal. Juntos y rectos los pies.
b'ätz'		b'atz'äl (y b'atz'an)	xb'atz'e'	xub'atz'ab'a'	<i>others: b'atz'anik--amarrar, envolver (y b'atz'onik, b'atz'oxik)</i>
b'äy	b'ayab'ik				Blando, suave, flexible.
b'ay		b'ayäl	xb'aye'	xub'ayab'a'	Aguado. Tirada cosa aguada. Echado, un perro. <i>others: b'ayenik--llevar algo en la boca.</i>
b'ej		b'ejäl (y b'ejan)	xb'eje'	xub'ejb'a'	Mal puesto. Algo encostado o en red, bien cargada una planta.
b'ik'		b'ik'il	xb'ik'e'	xub'ik'ib'a'	Acalabrada: una vena.
b'öl		b'iqil (y b'eqel)			Suave para desgranar.
b'ol	b'olob'ik	b'olan	xb'ole'	xub'olob'a'	Tirada cosa rolliza, como trozo o perro.
b'oq		b'oqon	xb'oqe'	xub'oqob'a'	Arrancado. <i>others: b'oqonik--arrancar. Pedir salario por adelantado. Asentar carga de bestia. Jalar, absorber.</i>
b'ör	b'orob'ik	b'oröl (y b'oran)	xb'ore'	xb'orob'a'	Manojado; para florear: milpa.
b'üq		b'uqül	xb'uqe'	xub'uqub'a'	Dejado algo en el polvo.
b'us	b'usb'ik	b'usul	b'usus	b'usunik	Torcido, encorvado, doblado.
b'ütz	b'utzub'ik	b'utzül (y b'utzan)	xb'utze'	xub'utzub'a' b'utzunik	Amontonado: ropa, pino, etc.
b'u'		b'uyül (y biyul)			Suave, blando.
chak	chakachik	chakäl	xchake'	xuchakab'a'	Parado, animal de cuatro patas, aves o personas en pies y manos. <i>others: chakachot, chakalik</i>
chäk	chak'achik	chak'äl (y chak'an)	xchak'e'	xuchak'ab'a'	Tirada una rama. <i>others: chak'anik, chak'exik</i>
cham	chayachik	chamäl	xchame'	xuchamab'a'	Paralizar, calmar, suspender. Desarrollada: una rama.
	cheb'echik (y cheb'echäq)				Anchas y gruesas: patas de animal.
	chelechik				Dentado.
chëm		chemäl (y cheman)	xcheme'	xuchemeb'a'	Amontonado: maiz. Reposada: agua.
chët	chetechik				Barbudo, barbado.

chët	chetenik chetexik	chetäl			Aserrar madera con facilidad.
chïp		chipil	xchipe'	xuchipib'a'	Polvoroso, como polilla, espolvoreado.
chiq	chiqichik (y chiqichäq)				Fea: persona. Cabizbajo, desidioso.
chiq	chiqinik				Jalar a alguno por la fuerza.
chir	chirichik	chiril	xchire'	xuchirib'a'	Resbaloso, como tierra seca o piedrecitas. Arrastrada, ropa.
chïy	chiyichik	chiyil (y chiyan)	xchiye'	xuchiyib'a'	Cargado de fruta: un arbol. Como la uva, la cereza, el frijol, etc. Con flecos.
	<i>others: chiyilöj, chiyicha', chiyo'l</i>				
chob'	chob'ochik				Malhablado o maleducado, bocon, una olla o persona.
chöl		cholan	xchole'	xucholob'a'	En linea recta, alineado.
chuk'	chuk'uchik	chuk'ül	xchuk'e'	xuchuk'ub'a'	Flaco, tieso, o desnutrido.
	<i>others: chuk'uch'ik</i>				
chup		chupül	xchupe'	xuchupub'a'	Apagado.
	<i>others: chupuchüt, chupunik</i>				
chüq		chuqül	xchuqe'	xuchuqub'a'	Apoyado: el animal queriendo soltarse.
	<i>others: chuq'ab'ej, chuq'ab'e, uchuq', chuquchüt</i>				
chuy		chuyul	xchuye'	xuchuyub'a'	Junto: granos. Amontonado: granos.
	<i>others: chuyaj</i>				
ch'an	ch'anach'ik	ch'anäl (y ch'anan)	xch'ane'	xuch'anab'a'	Desnudo.
	<i>others: ch'ana'y</i>				
ch'ap	ch'apach'ik	ch'apäl	xch'ape'	xuch'apab'a'	Prendido.
	<i>others: ch'apanik, ch'apoj (sembrar sin echar abono)</i>				
ch'aq	ch'aqach'ik	ch'aqäl	xch'aqe'	xuch'aqab'a'	Bien bolo. Bien mojado. Tirado algo aguado o mojado.
	<i>others: ch'aqach'o'</i>				
ch'ar	ch'arach'ik	ch'aräl	xch'are'	xuch'arab'a'	Partido, rajable. Ronco. Rajado olla de barro.
	<i>others: ch'arach'o</i>				
ch'em	ch'emech'ik	ch'emel (y ch'emël)	xch'eme'	xuch'emeb'a'	Orilla quebrada o xolco: un trasto.
	<i>others: ch'emeb'anik, ch'emeb'axik (quebrar la orilla de algo)</i>				
ch'eq	ch'eqech'ik	ch'eqël	xch'eqe'	xuch'eqeb'a'	Mojada, empapado.
	<i>others: ch'eqeb'anik, ch'aqach'ik</i>				
ch'er		ch'ereI	xch'ere'	xuch'ereb'a'	Sudoroso.
ch'ik		ch'ikil	xch'ike'	xuch'ikib'a'	Ensartado.
ch'in	ch'inich'ik	ch'inin			Sonoro co metal. Tintinear, sonar campanilla.
ch'ip	[ch'apach'ik]	ch'ipil	xch'ipe'	xuch'ipib'a'	Orillado. Prendido.
ch'ir	ch'irich'ik	ch'iran	xch'ire'	xuch'irib'a'	Redondo, gordo, y pequeno. Como olla chiquita, o persona que esta sola en un lugar grande.
ch'ix	ch'ixch'ik	ch'ixil	xch'ixe'	xuch'ixib'a'	Encogido, hecho bodoque.
ch'ök		ch'oköl	xch'oke'	xuch'okob'a'	Montado. Baldo con liquido.
ch'öl	ch'oloch'ik	ch'olan	xch'ole'	xuch'olob'a'	Arruinado economicamenta, pelado.
ch'oq	ch'oqoch'ik	ch'oqöl (y ch'oqan)	xch'oqe'	xuch'oqob'a'	Flojo, espeso: atol, comida, etc.

	<i>others: ch'oroch'ik</i>				
ch'öt	ch'otoch'ik				Persona a quien se la caen los dientes.
ch'öx	ch'oxch'ik	ch'oxöl	xch'oxe'	xuch'oxb'a'	Bola deformada. Rabona: mujer de falda corta.
jäch	jachajik	jachäl	xjache'	xujachab'a'	Abierta en una punta dos cosas unidas.
	<i>others: jachaja', jachajo', jachanik, jachaxik, jachatäj</i>				
jäm		jamäl (y jamän)	xjame'	xujamab'a'	Vacio, desocupado.
	<i>others: jamaxik, jamanik (Vaciar cualquier cosa en otra.)</i>				
jän	janajik	janäl	xjane'	xujanab'a'	Bien hinchado, bien lleno. Apretado.
	<i>others: jananik</i>				
jäq	jaqajik	jaqäl	xjaqe'	xjaqab'a'	Abierto.
	<i>others: jaqanik, jaqaxik</i>				
jäq'	jaq'ajik	jaq'äl	xjaq'e'	xujaq'ab'a'	Recostado, inclinado hacia los lados o para atras.
jat'	jat'ajik	jat'äl			Llenar bien algo, abarrotar.
	<i>others: jat'inik</i>				
jëch'	jech'ejik	jech'ël	xjech'e'	xjech'eb'a'	Torcido, disparateo, desigual. Que esta desviado de su posicion normal.
jek	jekejik	jekël (y jekan)	xjeke'	xujekeb'a'	Colgado. Mal parado, mal formado.
	<i>others: jekejäq, jekenik</i>				
jëp	jepejik	jepël	xjepe'	xujepeb'a'	No muy alta, desarrollado, gordo y bajo.
jëq	jeqejik	jeqël	xjeqe'	xujeqeb'a'	Desarrollada: planta que se extiende bastante. Sentado en el suelo.
	<i>others: jeqenik</i>				
jetz'	jetz'ejik	jetz'ël	xjetz'e'	xujetz'eb'a'	Torcido, mal parado, torcerse, cojo, romboide.
jew	jewejik	jewäl (y jewël)	xjewe'	xujeweb'a'	Sentado incomodo, con un pie a un lado.
jil	jilijik	jilan	xjile'	xujilib'a'	Tendido. Largo rollizo y liso.
jiln		jinik	xjine'	xujinib'a'	Bien cargado un arbol de fruta, cundido. Muchedumbre.
	job'ojik				Ahondada, ahuecada una superficie, hondonada.
	jolojik				Muy inclinado un lugar.
jöm	jomojik	jomöl	xjome'	xujomob'a'	Concavo, ahondada una superficie.
jör	jorojik	zoröl (y joran)	xjore'	xujorob'a'	Flaco: persona o animal. Palabra un poco ofensiva.
jöt(?)		jotöl	xjote'	xujotob'a'	Subido, elevado, caro.
jotz'(?)	jotz'ojik	jotz'öl	xjotz'e'	xjotz'ob'a'	Torcida, silla, mesa, etc.
jow		jowöl	xjowe'	xujowob'a'	Tirado y abultado, como un cuero.
jüb'	jub'ujik	jub'ül	xjub'e'	xjub'ub'a'	Abultado.
	<i>others: jub'unik, jub'uxik (pegar con mazo)</i>				
juk		jukül	xjuke'	xujukub'a'	Colgada, doblada hacia abajo alguna cosa.
juk'	juk'ujik	juk'ül	xjuk'e'	xujuk'ub'a'	Bien destroncados, plantas.
	<i>others: juk'unik</i>				
jüp	jupujik	jupül	xjupe'	xujupub'a'	Convexo, embrocada: como una plangana.
	<i>others: jupinik (echar agua con las manos), jupub'anik (empollar, echar la gallina)</i>				
jür	jurujik	jurül (juran)	xjure'	xujurub'a'	Salida: una cosa de algo. Ladera bien inclinada sin vegetacion, hoyo o abismo sin vegetacion.
	<i>others: jurunik</i>				

jutz'	jutz'ujĭk	jutz'ül	xjutz'e'	xujutz'ub'a'	Deformado, deforme. Jutz'ujĭk: triangular, puntiagudo, rombo. Cosa que empieza ancha y termina aguda.
	<i>others: jutz'unĭk (dejar estallada alguna cosa como caja)</i>				
käw		kawäl	xkawe'	xukawab'a'	Suelto el cabello (mujeres). Estar vacío un objeto.
keb'(?)	keb'ekĭk	keb'äl (y keb'ël)	xkeb'e'	xukeb'eb'a'	Embarrado. Pegajoso, baboso, lodoso.
	<i>others: keb'exĭk, keb'enĭk</i>				
ken	kenekĭk	kenäl (y kenël)	xkene'	xukeneb'a'	Pegajoso, gelatinoso.
	<i>others: kenën (pegajoso o baba adherible)</i>				
kich	kichikĭk	kichĭl	xkiche'	xukichib'a'	Desordenado, alborotado. Manchada.
	<i>others: kichonĭk</i>				
kiy	kiyikĭk	kiyĭl (y kiyan)	xkiye'	xukiyib'a'	Bien cargado: un árbol de fruta. Muy remendada: una ropa. Kiyikĭk (lanudo perro).
	<i>others: kiyonĭk (menear la carga una bestia, moverse las olas)</i>				
köb'		kob'öl	xkob'e'	xukob'ob'a'	Enjabonada: una cosa, ligoso, jabonoso.
	<i>others: kob'öb', kob'onĭk</i>				
kon	konokĭk	konöl (y konan)	xkone'	xukonob'a'	Cosa cabezona caída.
	<i>others: konenĭk, konexĭk</i>				
kör	korokĭk	koröl (y koron)	xkore'	xukorob'a'	Flojo.
	<i>others: koronĭk, koroxĭk</i>				
köt	kotokĭk	kotöl	xkote'	xukotob'a'	Encorvado, doblado. Torcido: objeto rollizo.
	<i>others: kotonĭk, kotoxĭk, kotĭk, ninköt</i>				
kotz'		kotz'öl	xkotz'e'	xukotz'ob'a'	Acostado.
köw	kowokĭk	kowöl	xkowe'	xukowob'a'	Vacio y boca arriba: un objeto.
	<i>others: kowenĭk, kowexĭk, kowej</i>				
köx	koxkĭk	koxöl (y koxan)	xkoxe'	xukoxb'a'	Parada: una persona de corte alto.
küb'	kub'ukĭk	kub'ül	xkub'e'	xukub'ub'a'	Amontonado y podrido.
	<i>others: kub'enĭk, kub'exĭk, kub'ej</i>				
kuch		kuchül	xkuche'	xukuchub'a'	Tapado.
	<i>others: kuchunĭk, kuchuxĭk, kuchĭk (cubrir, tender tela sobre algo)</i>				
kuj	kujkĭk	kujül	xkuje'	xukujb'a'	Descubierta: la cabeza. Empobrecida: la tierra, terreno cascajo, abultado.
	<i>others: kujinĭk, kujixĭk, kujĭk (golpear, quebrar terrones de tierra)</i>				
kun	kunukĭk	kunül	xkune'	xukunub'a'	Parada: alguna cosa cabezona.
	<i>others: kunenĭk, kunexĭk, kunej (llevar objeto con cabeza)</i>				
kup		kupül	xkupe'	xukupub'a'	Salido: alguna cosa de su lugar. Que estorba el paso.
kuq		kuqül	xkuqe'	xukuqub'a'	Confiado, afianzado, satisfecho, contento.
	<i>others: kuqb'anĭk, kuqub'ab'äl k'u'x</i>				
kus	kuskĭk	kusül	xkuse'	xukusb'a'	Descubierta: la cabeza. Persona callejera. Objeto sin agarrador.
küt		kutül (y katan)	xkute'	xukutub'a'	Estar alguna cosa corta o cuta.
	<i>others: kutunĭk, kutuxĭk, kutĭj, kutin, kutenĭk</i>				
k'ak	k'akak'ĭk	k'akäl (y k'akan)	xk'ake'	xuk'akab'a'	Un poco abierta. Puerta o pared.
k'äp		k'apäl	xk'ape'	xuk'apab'a'	Boquiabierto.
	<i>others: k'apanĭk, k'apaxĭk, k'apĭk</i>				

k'är	k'arak'ik	k'aräl (y k'aran)	xk'are'	xuk'arab'a'	Ralo puesto como esqueleto o costilla de animal. Como los tallos de la milpa o arboles.
k'äs			xk'ase'	xuk'asb'a'	Vivo, la primera forma es irregular.
	<i>others: k'aslem, k'aslik,</i>				
k'oj		k'o	xk'oje'		Estar, existir, haber, tener, es irregular porque la primera forma del posicional no sale.
	<i>others: xk'uje, k'oijen</i>				
k'ol		k'olan	xk'ole'	xuk'olob'a'	Puesta: cosa redonda.
k'on		k'onöl	xk'one'	xuk'onob'a'	Tirado: cosa como bola; estar cualquier cosa en un plan grande.
	k'orok'ik				
k'ül	k'ulan		xk'ule'	xuk'ulb'a'	Casado.
	(y xuk'ulub'a')				
	<i>others: k'ulbanik, k'ulb'axik, k'ulb'ik (casamiento, matrimonio), k'ulk'uxin (casarse, andar siempre junto con otro)</i>				
k'up	k'upuk'ik	k'upül	xk'upe'	xuk'upub'a'	Una cosa dura, como fruta o tortilla fria.
	<i>others: k'upunik, k'upuxik, k'upik (comer tortilla tiesa, roer)</i>				
k'ür	k'uruk'ik	k'urül (y k'uran)	xk'ure'	xuk'urub'a'	Regadas: muchas cosas. Desordenadas, cosas como tablas, sillas, etc.
läb'	lab'alik	lab'äl	xlab'e'	xulab'ab'a'	Tendida: tela delgada u hoja de arbol muy delgada y suave.
	<i>see also: läp</i>				
laj		lajäl	xlaje'	xulajab'a'	Caidas: plantas.
läp		lapäl	xlape'	xulapab'a'	Tendida: tela delgada.
	<i>see also: läb'</i>				
latz'	latz'alik	latz'äl	xlatz'e'	xulatz'ab'a'	Arrinconado. Persona muy delgada.
leb'	leb'elik	leb'ël	xleb'e'	xuleb'eb'a'	Botado, como atol: marrano gordo. Grande: estomago. Aguado: lodo.
lëch'	lech'elik	lech'ël	xlech'e'	xulech'eb'a'	Roto, sin un pedazo, incompleto.
li'	lil'ik	li'il	xli'e'	xulib'a'	Plano. Acostado: persona boca arriba; tendido como un muerto.
	<i>others: li'an</i>				
lich		lichil	xliche'	xulichib'a'	Plegado.
lik'	lik'ilik	lik'il	xlik'e'	xulik'ib'a'	Boca arriba: cosas. Boca ancha, tinaja, canasta.
liq'		liq'il	xliq'e'	xliq'ib'a'	Tirada: una cosa lisa en un lugar resbaloso.
löch'	loch'ol'ik	loch'öl (y loch'an)	xloch'e'	xloch'ob'a'	Aguado como lodo o tamal con mucha manteca; bien bolo.
	<i>others: loch'onik, loch'oxik, loch'ik, loch'</i>				
lök	lokolik	loköl	xloke'	xulokob'a'	Estar con brazo o pierna fracturada. Inutil: las manos o los pies al hacer algo.
lub'	lub'ulik	lub'ul	xlub'e'	xulub'ub'a'	Aguado o suave, caido (como hojas de plantas).
luk	lukulik	lukul	xluke'	xulukub'a'	Doblado, encorvado, agachado. Jorobado.
	<i>others: lub'unik, lub'uxik, lub', lüb' (doblar la orilla de alguna cosa de metal), lukunik, lukunen, luke' (agacharse), luk (hacer reverencia bajando la cabeza)</i>				
mäk		makäl	xmake'	xumakab'a'	Tendida: una tela no pesada sobre alguna cosa.
matz		matzäl	xmatze'	xumatzab'a'	Cubierto, tapado.
	<i>others: matzenik, matzexik, matzej</i>				
	mayamik				
	mok'omik				
mu'		mu'ül	xmu'e'	xumub'a'	Remojado.

	<i>others: mu'unik, mu'uxik, mu'ik</i>				
much'	much'umik			Pequena o fina, hoja de las plantas, telas o adornos de telas; resquebrajado, como vidrios.	
mül	mulumik	mulan	xmule'	xumulub'a'	Amontonadas: cosas duras, adolorido por cansancio. Mulumik: deshecho, despedazado, amontonadas cosa pequeñas.
	<i>others: mululenik, mululxik, mululej</i>				
mür		murül (y muran)	xmure'	xumurub'a'	Esponjado, como terron de tierra al mojarse.
mutz		mutzul	xmutze'	xumutzub'a'	Cubierto. Amontonado algo que no pesa.
	<i>others: mutzenik, mutzexik, mutzej (llevar cubierto al nene en brazos)</i>				
nak	nakanik	nakäl	xnake'	xunakab'a'	Zonzo, tonto, atontado.
	<i>others: nakenik, nakexik, nakej</i>				
näk'		nakäl	xnak'e'	xunak'ab'a'	Pegada sin pegamento, prendido, prensado suavemente.
	<i>others: nak'enik, nak'exik, nak'ej (llevar o traer algo pequeño o no tomar en cuenta lo que pesa)</i>				
nätz'		natz'äl	xnatz'e'	xunatz'ab'a'	Pegado con algo como goma.
	<i>others: natz'onik, natz'oxik, nätz'</i>				
nük'		nuk'ul (y nuk'an)	xnuk'e'	xunuk'ub'a'	Perchado, ordenado, planificado.
	<i>others: nuk'unik, nuk'uxik, nuk'ik, nük'</i>				
nüt		nutul (y nutüj)	xnute'	xunutub'a'	Junto, pegado.
	<i>others: nutunik, nutuxik, nutik, nüt (armar, arreglar, componer)</i>				
pa'		pa'äl	xpa'e'	xupab'a'	Parado cesado, paralizado, suspendido.
	<i>others: pab'anik, pab'axik, pab'a'</i>				
pach		pachäl	xpache'	xupachab'a'	Echada: gallina calentando huevos.
päch'	pach'apik	pach'äl	xpach'e'	xupach'ab'a'	Descosida: una tela o así es su estilo.
päk'		pak'äl	xpak'e'	xupak'ab'a'	Parado: persona muy grande.
	<i>others: pak'enik, pak'exik, pak'ej (llevar cosas grandes), pak'apik (alto: persona o cosas, palabra un poco vulgar)</i>				
pïch		pich'il	xpiche'	xupichb'a'	Patas arriba un animal muerto.
pik'		pik'il	xpik'e'	xupik'ib'a'	Acurrucado.
	<i>others: pik'onik, pik'oxik, pik (caminar en la punta de los pies)</i>				
pil	pilipik	pilan	xpile'	xpilib'a'	Flojo, algo amarrado.
	<i>others: pilenik, pilexik, pilej (llevar la ropa floja) pilinik, pilixik, pilik, pïl (pelar algo)</i>				
pïr		pir'il	xpire'	xupirib'a'	Partido.
	<i>others: pirunik, piruxik, pir</i>				
pïtz'	pitz'ipik	pitz'il	xpitz'e'	xupitz'ib'a'	Destripado, aplastado.
	<i>others: pitz'inik, pitz'ixik, pïtz' (destripar, apretar), pitz'ipik (aguado debil al enfermarse mucho)</i>				
pok'		poköl	xpok'e'	xupok'ob'a'	Tirado.
	<i>others: pok'opik (doblada: como tabla por el sol)</i>				
pötz'	potzopik				Duro y liso.
	<i>others: potz'onik, potz'oxik, pötz' (cortar palo seco muy duro, picar tierra muy duro)</i>				
pun		punül	xpune'	xupunub'a'	Tirado como bolo.
	punupik				Convexo, abultado.
qeb'	qeb'eqik	qeb'äl (qeb'el, q'e'el)	xqeb'e'	xuqeb'eb'a'	Sentada: persona bien gorda.
	<i>others: qeb'enik, qeb'exik, qeb'ej, qe'ej (llevar persona, bien gorda, en brazos o cargado), qeb'eqik (gorda y bajita: una persona)</i>				

qel	qeleqöj	qelan	xqele'	xuqeleb'a'	Enojado, serio.
	<i>others: qeleqik, qeleqo', qelon (hablar de mala gana una persona)</i>				
qën		qenäl (qenan)	xqene'	xuqeneb'a'	Acostado, sentado parado persona o animal bien gordo.
	qereqik				Resbaloso, como tierra seca o con piedrecitas.
qëx	qexqik	qexäl	xqexe'	xuqexeb'a'	Sentada. Parada: personao animal bien gordo.
qir	qiriqik	qiril (y qiran)	xqire'	xuqirib'a'	Resbaloso: un lugar con piedrecitas; apoyado por no querer caminar: bolo, nino o animal.
qitz'	qitz'iqik				Ruidosa: una puerta u otra cosa de madera.
	<i>others: qitz', qitz'iqo' (hacer ruido una puerta o cosa de madera)</i>				
qol	qoloqik	qolan	xqole'	xuqolob'a'	Caida: la ropa hasta los pies. Persona que lleva siempre la ropa casi caída y floja, raspada.
qöy	qoyoqik	qoyöl (qoyan)	xqoye'	xuqoyob'a'	Tirada: una culebra vieja de pellejo muy duro.
q'at		q'atäl	xq'ate'	xuq'atab'a'	Prensado, trabado.
	<i>others: q'ataq'ik (grada, arista, curvas en el cuerpo por gordura)</i>				
q'ëb'		q'eb'äl	xq'eb'e'	xuq'eb'a'	Atravesado.
	<i>others: q'eb'anik, q'eb'axik, q'eb'a'. Q'e'el, q'e'äl, xq'e'e', xuq'eb'a'. Q'e'enik, q'e'exik, q'e'ej (llevar algo atravesado)</i>				
q'ëch	q'echeq'ik	q'echäl	xq'eche'	xuq'echeb'a'	Torcido.
q'ir	q'iriq'ik	q'iril (y q'iran)	xq'ire'	xuq'irib'a'	Anudado.
q'öch	q'ochhoq'ik	q'ochöl	xq'och'e'	xuq'ochob'a'	Doblado, tirado como bolo.
	<i>others: q'ochonik, q'ochoxik, q'öch (arrugar; zafarse un pie, doblarse un pie, telas, papeles, etc.), q'ochotajik (zafado: hueso por algun golpe)</i>				
q'otz		q'otzöl	xq'otze'	xuq'otzob'a'	Doblado en mala forma, arrugado (tela, papel, etc.), tirado como un bolo.
	q'otzonik, q'otzoxik, q'ötz (doblar desordenadamente, arrugar papel o tela)				
q'oy	q'oyoq'ik	q'oyöl	xq'oye'	xuq'oyob'a'	Tirada: cosa aguada y rolliza, como culebra, perro o persona.
q'uj	q'ujq'ik	q'ujül	xq'uje'	xuq'ujb'a'	Encorvado, doblado. Jorobado.
q'üp'	q'upuq'ik	q'upül			Quebradiza: madera (que se puede quebrar facilmente).
	<i>others: q'upinik, q'upixik, q'upij. Q'upunik, q'upuxik, q'üp. (quebrar ramas o cosas largas)</i>				
räb'	rab'arik	rab'äl	xrab'e'	xurab'ab'a'	Tirada: cosa larga y suave. Delgado y largo, largo y recto.
	<i>others: rab'enik, rab'exik, rab'ej (llevar una cosa larga y suave)</i>				
räk'	ra'arik	rak'äl	xrak'e'	xurak'ab'a'	Muy alto: arbol o persona.
rän	ranarik	ranäl	xrane'	xuranab'a'	Alto y medio redondo de grosor. Parada: cosa rollize.
	<i>others: ranenik, ranexik, ranej (llevar alguna cosa alta y medio rolliza)</i>				
räp		rapäl	xrape'	xurapab'a'	Hilvanado, puesta: cosa angosta, larga y suave.
	<i>others: raparik (hilvanar, coser a grandes puntadas), rapinik, rapixik, rapij (coser dejando grandes espacios, hilvanar)</i>				
raq'	raq'arik	raq'äl	xraq'e'	xuraq'ab'a'	Recostado. Inclinado: un lugar, pendiente, recostado, inclinado pendiente: camino o cerro, caidas: orejas de animales.
rëch'	rech'erik	rech'ël	xrech'e'	xurech'eb'a'	Bien abierta: la boca de una persona o alguna cosa; palabra despectiva.
	<i>others: rech'erik (persona adulta o nina que habla en voz alta), rech'enik, rech'exik, rech'ik, rëch' (abrir)</i>				
rëm	remerik	remël	xreme'	xuremeb'a'	Reposada: el agua. Muy aguado.
	<i>others: remenik, remexik, remej (llevar liquido)</i>				
rib'	rib'irik	rib'il	xrib'e'	xurib'ib'a'	Tirada: una cosa muy aguada.
	<i>others: rib'irik (una cosa aguada o suave, nino lloron a causa de una enfermedad) rib'inik, rib'ixik, rib'ij (tocar cosa aguada)</i>				
rik'	rik'irik	rik'il	xrik'e'	xurik'ib'a'	Tendido. Muy ancho.
	<i>others: rik'inik, rik'ixik, rik'ik, rik' (extender, desplegar)</i>				

rim	rimirik	rimil	xrime'	xurimib'a'	Agua estancada; encharcado. Ralo, encharcada, recado.
rip	ripirik	ripil	xripe'	xuripib'a'	Tendida, extendida: cosa ancha y suave. Parado (palabra modismo).
	<i>others: ripirik (grande: oreja de animal) ripenik, ripexik, ripej (llevar cosa tendida)</i>				
riq'	riq'irik	riq'il (y riq'an)	xriq'e'	xuriqu'ib'a'	Tirada: una cosa aguada, como tomate o agua en nailon.
röb'	rob'orik	rob'öl	xrob'e'	xurob'ob'a'	Sin paletones: corte de mujer.
	<i>others: rob'enik, rob'exik, rob'ej (llevar el corte sin paletones, bajo y apretado)</i>				
röq		roqöl	xroqe'	xuroqob'a'	Botado, tirado.
	<i>others: roqorik (guanga, floja: ropa, mal hablada persona) roqinik, roqixik, roqij (aventar algo, arrojar, botar algo, tirar)</i>				
rub'	rub'urik	rub'ul	xrub'e'	xurub'ub'a'	Mojado: papel, hojas o ropa. Empapado.
	<i>others: rub'unik, rub'uxik, rub', rub'ej (mojar, remojar, empapar)</i>				
rüch'	ruch'urik	ruch'ül	xruch'e'	xuruch'ub'a'	Muy aguado, aguanoso.
rüj	ruj'rik	ruj'ül	xruje'	xurub'a'	Metida: alguna cosa en el agua, tirado: algo en el agua.
	<i>others: rujenik, rujexik, rujej (llevar ropa semilavada)</i>				
sa'		sa'äl	xsa'e'	xusab'a'	Asado, asoleado.
sach		sachäl	xsache'	xusachab'a'	Inconsciente, ausente, perdida: cosa o persona.
	<i>others: sachonik, sachoxik, sachik, säch (perder alguna cosa, gastar dinero)</i>				
sän		sanäl	xsane'	xusanab'a'	Descubierta: parte del cuerpo de una persona o animal, como un marrano de cuerpo liso. Metido y bien trabado, desnudo.
	<i>others: sanasik (hinchado, bien lleno barrigon, bien gordo)</i>				
		selesik			Sin orilla: olla redonda.
sep		sepel	xsepe'	xusepeb'a'	Sentada en el suelo, como una mujer gorda.
seq'		seq'el	xseq'e'	xuseq'eb'a'	Barrigon y descubierto.
	<i>others: seq'esik (hundidos: los ojos)</i>				
sët	setesik	setël (setan, seton)	xsete'	xuseteb'a'	Redondo, como ciculo.
	<i>others: setenik, setexik, setik, sët (cortar palo rollizo, hacer bien redonda alguna cosa, redondear) setenik, setexik, setej (llevar una cosa redonda, como plato)</i>				
sët'	set'esik	set'ël	xset'e'	xuset'eb'a'	Desnudo.
	<i>others: set'esik (bien gordas: nalgas) set'enik, set'exik, set'ej (llevar en los brazos a un niño o persona adulta, gorda y desnuda)</i>				
si'		si'il (si'an)	xsi'e'	xusi'b'a'	Calmado, cesado.
sib'		sib'il	xsib'e'	xusib'ib'a'	Descubierto: el estomago o el ombligo.
	<i>others: sib'isik (salidos, como los ojos de la rana)</i>				
sil		silan	xsile'	xusilib'a'	Calmado.
sir	sirisik	siril (y siran)	xsire'	xusirib'a'	Puesta: una cosa redonda. Esferico, redondo.
	<i>others: sir, sir (pegar con los puños hacer una cosa redonda) sirenik, sirexik, sirej (llevar cualquier cosa hecha una bola) sironik, siroxik, sirik, sir (hacer bola alguna cosa)</i>				
söb'	sob'osik	sob'öl	xsob'e'	xusob'ob'a'	Hundida: alguna parte suave como dejar huellas sobre las hojas podridas o en mezcla fresca.
	<i>others: sob'osik (hundidos: los ojos)</i>				
sök		soköl (y sokan)	xsoke'	xusokob'a'	Desordenados: los trastos en la cocina sentadas: muchas personas en el suelo.
sör	sorosik	soröl (y soran)	xsore'	xusorob'a'	Tirada: cosa gruesa y larga.
	<i>others: sorosik (rollizo y no muy largo, como un dedo inflamado) sorenik, sorexik, sorej (llevar los pies o brazos hinchados)</i>				
söt	sotosik	sotol	xsote'	xusotob'a'	Echado como un perro.
söt'		sot'öl (sot'an)	xsot'e'	xusot'ob'a'	Roto: algun papel o bote.
	<i>others: sot'onik, sot'oxik, sot'ij (perforar algo, pegandole con una piedra u otra cosa)</i>				

sow	sowöl	xsowe'	xusowob'a'	Tiradas: hojas secas, nailon o ropa arrugada y desordenada. <i>others: sowonik, sowoxik, sowik, sów (mover hojas secas, ropa, nailon, etc., comer hierba o zacate los animales)</i>	
suq'	suq'ül	xsuq'e'	xusuq'ub'a'	Enredado. <i>others: suq'unik, suq'uxik, süq' (enredar hilo, trigo, pita, etc., enganar)</i>	
täk	takäl (y takan)	xtake'	xutakab'a'	Recostada: una cosa ancha en la pared o detras de otra cosa; parado. <i>others: takenik, takexik, takej (llevar cosa ancha; arrancar una puerta completa o la mitad)</i>	
täk'	tak'atik	tak'äl	xtak'e'	xutak'ab'a'	Parada: persona muy alta. <i>others: tak'enik, tak'exik, tak'ej (llevar cosas altas y anchas)</i>
tan	tanäl	xtane'	xutanab'a'	Suspendido, cesado.	
tär	taratik	taräl (y taran)	xtare'	xutarab'a'	Parada: una cosa quebrada. <i>others: taratik (semidestruida y vieja, una cosa como silla, cama, etc. ronco: persona que cambia de voz) taranik, taraxik, tarij (botar golpear una cosa quebrada)</i>
tas	tasäl (y tusal)	xtase'	xutab'a'	Perchado como tela y hojas de papel; posicion de los gajos de una fruta.	
teb'	teb'ël	xteb'e'	xuteb'eb'a'	Sentado. Una palabra de insulto.	
tëch'	tech'etik	tech'äl (y tech'an)	xtech'e'	xutech'eb'a'	Sentada: persona gorda. <i>others: tech'etik (nalgon) tech'enik, tech'exik, tech'ik, tëch' (mover las nalgas al caminar o bailar) tech'enik, tech'exik, tech'ej (llevar una persona bien gorda)</i>
tek'	tek'etik	tek'ël	xtek'e'	xutek'eb'a'	Boca arriba, como personas o cosas anchas de poco volumen. <i>others: tek'enik, tek'exik, tek'ej (llevar una cosa boca arriba) tek'etik (ancho y de poco peso)</i>
tëq'	teq'etik	teq'ël	xteq'e'	xuteq'eb'a'	Roto, perforado. <i>others: teq'unik, teq'uxik, teq'uj (perforar, agujerar)</i>
tër	teräl (y teran)	xtere'	xutereb'a'	Partido en dos. <i>others: terenik, terexik, terej (llevar alguna cosa partida) terunik, terixik, teruj (quitar pedazos de cosas duras, romper un buen pedazo de la ropa)</i>	
tex	textik	texël	xtexe'	xutexb'a'	Cosa gruesa, como olla de barro u otra cosa. <i>others: texenik, texexik, texej (llevar cualquier cosa bien gruesa)</i>
tik	tikil	xtike'	xutikib'a'	Sembrado. <i>others: tikonik, tikoxik, tikik, tik (sembrar, iniciar)</i>	
tik'	tik'il	xtik'e'	xutik'ib'a'	Boca arriba. <i>others: tik'enik, tik'exik, tik'ej (llevar canastas o cualquier trasto boca arriba)</i>	
tin	tinitik	tinil (y tinan)	xtine'	xutinib'a'	Parada, una cosa muy pesada. <i>others: tininik, tinixik, tinij, tinuj (dejar caer una cosa pesada)</i>
tis	tisil (y tisan)	xtise'	xutisb'a'	Agachado: acurrucado. <i>others: tistik (persona o animal bien gordo y bajo)</i>	
titz'	titz'il (y titz'an)	xtitz'e'	xutitz'ib'a'	Trabado bien lleno.	
töb'	tob'otik	tob'öl	xtob'e'	xutob'ob'a'	Tener puesta ropa floja. <i>others: tob'onik, tob'oxik, tob'ik, töb' (beber liquido por tragos grandes)</i>
tok'	tok'otik	tok'öl	xtok'e'	xutok'ob'a'	Forma de sentarse con las piernas abiertas. <i>others: tok'enik, tok'exik, tok'ej (llevar objeto grande, de poco volumen y boca arriba)</i>
tol	tolotik	tolan	xtole'	xutolob'a'	Desocupado, vacio, deshabitado. <i>others: tolotik (mal tallado: objeto de madera u otro material)</i>
töm	tomotik	tomöl	xtome'	xutomob'a'	Estirada: alguna cuerda. <i>others: tominik, tomixik, tomij (dar un toque a una cuerda bien estirada)</i>

top	topotik	topol	xtope'	xutopob'a'	Acuclillado con las rodillas descubiertas; parada en mala posición y sin oficio: una persona, salido de su lugar: un objeto, como cachos.
tüb'		tub'ül (y tub'an)	xtub'e'	xutub'ub'a'	Abultado.
	<i>others: tub'utik (enojado, callado; persona, serio) tub'enik, tub'exik, tub'ej (llevar estomago abultado)</i>				
tün		tunül (y tunan)	xtune'	xutunub'a'	Doblada: la ropa una sobre otra ordenadas: las tortillas; junta: una cosa con otra; perchado, arrimerado.
	<i>others: tunenik, tunexik, tununexik, tunej (llevar un rimero de tortillas, llevar una cosa sobre otra o en pares) tununik, tunuxik, tun (doblar, ordenar)</i>				
tüp		tupül	xtupe'	xutupub'a'	Salida una piedra u otra cosa.
tuq	tuqutik	tuqul (y tuqül)	xtuqe'	xutuqub'a'	Desmayado; debil, caidas como las orejas de algunos animales.
	<i>others: tuqutik (decaida, una persona; tonto) tuqenik, tuqexik, tuqej (llevar ropa caida)</i>				
tur	turutik	turül (y turan)	xture'	xuturub'a'	Desarmada: alguna cosa.
	<i>others: turutik (descompuesto, desarmado) turenik, turexik, turej (llevar alguna cosa desarmada o en mal estado) turunik, turuxik, turik, tur, tür (deshacer, desarmar, destruir)</i>				
tus		tusul	xtuse'	xutusb'a'	Arrimerado: papel, libros, etc. doblado: papel, tela o tortilla.
	<i>others: tusej (llevar cosas arrimeradas)</i>				
tüx	tuxtik	tuxül (tuxan)	xtuxe'	xutuxub'a'	Enojado.
t'äy	t'ayat'ik	t'ayäl	xt'aye'	xut'ayab'a'	Tartajo; tartamudo; tonto.
t'ëb'		t'eb'äl (y t'eb'an)	xt'eb'e'	xut'eb'eb'a'	Bien gordo. Ropa bien remendada, alguna cosa ancha, de poco volumen y muy pesada.
	<i>others: t'eb'enik, t'eb'exik, t'eb'ik, t'eb', t'ëb' (remendar bastante una ropa) t'eb'enik, t'eb'exik, t'eb'ej (usar ropa remendada, llevar a una persona o cosa bien gorda)</i>				
t'ës	t'est'ik	t'esäl (y t'esan)	xt'ese'	xut'esb'a'	Gordas: las nalgas de una persona. Muy gordo.
t'ün	t'unut'ik	t'unül	xt'une'	xut'unub'a'	Sentado, parado persona o animal bajito y gordo.
t'ür	t'urut'ik	t'urül	xt'ure'	xut'urub'a'	Hinchada: cualquier parte del cuerpo por piquete de un zancudo, mosquito, etc.
tzak		tzakäl	xtzake'	xutzakab'a'	Puesto en el fuego para cocer.
	<i>others: tzak'atzik (reseca: alguna planta) tzakonik, tzakoxik, tzäk, tzik (cocer)</i>				
tzäl	tzalatzik	tzalan	xtzale'	xutzalab'a'	Estar de lado.
	<i>others: tzalanik, tzalaxik, tzäl (ladear) tzalenik, tzalaxik, tzalej (llevar algo de lado debajo del brazo)</i>				
tzäy	tzayatzik	tzayäl (y tzayan)	xtzaye'	xutza'yab'a'	Amontonado: pino, paja, zacate seco, etc.
	<i>others: tzayatzik (liviano, como pino paja, etc.)</i>				
tzëb'	tzeb'etzik	tzeb'el	xtzeb'e'	xutzeb'eb'a'	Deshecho y suave.
	<i>others: tzeb'enik, tzeb'exik, tzeb'ik, tzeb', tzëb' (comer alguna cosa espesa, deshacer cosas suaves sin dividir las)</i>				
tzëp	tzepetzik	tzepäl	xtzepe'	xutzepeb'a'	Espeso: un liquido.
tzij		tzijil (y tzijan)	xtzije'	[impossible]	Encendido (irregular--you can't get the TV form).
	<i>others: tzijinik, tzijixik, tzijik, tzij (encender, prender)</i>				
tzit	tzititzik	tzitil (y tzitan)	xtzite'	xutzitib'a'	Muy pequeña: una cosa.
	<i>others: tzitenik, tzitexik, tzitej (llevar alguna cosa pequeña)</i>				
tziy	tziyitzik	tziyil (y tzian)	xtziye'	xtziyib'a'	Amontonado: pino, musgo y otras cosas finas. Muy remendada: la ropa.
	<i>others: tziyenik, tziyexik, tziyej, tzayej (llevar algo viejo, desordenado y sin peso en la mano)</i>				
tzok'		tzok'ol (y tzok'öl)	xtzok'e'	xutzok'ob'a'	Alta y delgada: una planta; delgado, flaco.
	<i>others: tzok'otzik (reseca: una cosa)</i>				
tzüb'		tzub'ül	xtzub'e'	xutzub'ub'a'	Amontonado.
	<i>others: tzub'utzik (deshecho; cacheton abultada: una cosa; desarrregladas cosas como: ropa, monte, etc. Palabra de insulto que se le dice a una persona enojada)</i>				

tzüj		tzujül (y tzujan)	xtzujé'	xutzujb'a'	Sentado, como un perro.
tzük	tzukutzik	tzukul	xtzuke'	xutzukub'a'	Salida, cosa delgada.
tzuk'	tzuk'utzik	tzuk'ül	xtzak'e'	xutzuk'ub'a'	Elevado o alto; alguna cosa animal o ave.
tzüp		tzupül	xtzupe'	xutzubpub'a'	Acurrucado.
<i>others: tzuputzik (trompudo: cara enojada)</i>					
tzüy		tzuyül (y tzuyan)	xtzuye'	xutzuyub'a'	Amontonado pino, cascara de frijol o habas secas.
tz'aj		tz'ajäl	xtz'aje'	xutz'ajb'a'	Pegado: algo en la pared.
<i>others: tz'ajinik, tz'ajanik, tz'ajixik, tz'ajik, tz'äj (pegar a alguien desnudo o con la ropa apretada)</i>					
tz'an		tz'anäl	xtz'ane'	xutz'anab'a'	Prendido, pegado. Desnudo; liso como chilacayote; descubierto.
<i>others: tz'aninik, tz'anixik, tz'anik, tz'an (Golpear alguna cosa desnuda o lisa, como un chilacayote, un tambor, una espalda, etc.) tz'anatz'ik (Pelada: alguna cosa descubierta: parte del cuerpo)</i>					
tz'ar	tz'aratz'ik	tz'aräl (y tz'aran)	xtz'are'	xutz'arab'a'	Apachado, aplastado contra el piso.
tz'ëb'		tz'eb'äl (y tz'eb'an)	xtz'eb'e'	xutz'eb'eb'a'	Amontonado: lodo o cosa mojada.
<i>others: tz'eb'enik, tz'eb'exik, tz'eb'ej (llevar todo o cosa mojada) tz'eb'etz'ik (muy espeso)</i>					
tz'ir		tz'iril (y tz'iran)	xtz'ire'	xutz'irib'a'	Estar en silencio, extension, denida el ave en el aire, o un barrilete.
<i>others: tz'iro, tz'iron (estar silencio) tz'iron (estar silencio un lugar; estar silencio el tiempo)</i>					
tz'ub'	tz'ub'utz'ik	tz'ub'ul	xtz'ub'e'	xutz'ub'ub'a'	Empapado, mojado.
tz'u'		tz'u'ul	xtz'u'e'	xutz'u'ub'a'	Sarazo, como mazorca o frijol en vaina que no estan bien secos y que es dificil aporrear.
tz'uy	tz'uyutz'ik	tz'uyül	xtz'uye'	xutz'uyb'a'	Sentado.
<i>others: tz'uyutz'ik (puntiagudo, como el asiento de una olla que no puede sentarse bien) tz'uyulen (sentarse)</i>					
wäch	wachawik	wachäl	xwache'	xuwachab'a'	aspero; escabroso.
<i>others: wachanik, wachaxik, wachik, wäch (rascarse la cabeza)</i>					
wäj	wajawik	wajäl	xwaje'	xuwajb'a'	Amontonadas cosas secas o duras.
<i>others: wajenik, wajexik, wajej (llevar cosas secas o duras como guacales, jicaras, piedras, etc.) wajawik (desarrollada y baja: una planta; levantadas y flojas: cosas secas como hojas, paja, pie de trigo)</i>					
wäk'	wak'awik	wak'äl	xwak'e'	xuwak'ab'a'	Tirada: una rama seca; parado: insecto de patas grandes, como la arana.
<i>others: wak'awik (ramoso, como rama sin hojas o cuernos de animal) wak'enik, wak'exik, wak'ej (llevar rama sin hojas)</i>					
wäl		walan	xwale'	xuwalab'a'	Perchado; alineado; ordenadas: cosas largas en el suelo.
<i>others: walalej (alinear cosas largas)</i>					
wän	wanawik	wanäl	xwane'	xuwanab'a'	Pelon; calvo; sonoro.
<i>others: waninik, wanik, wanixik, wanj, wän (dar un golpe a algo sonoro)</i>					
waq	waqawik	waqäl	xwaqe'	xuwaqab'a'	Empedrado, con piedras pequenas.
wäq'	waq'awik	waq'äl	xwaq'e'	xuwaq'ab'a'	Pelon, pelada y dura: cosa pequena como jicara; quebradizo, como pepita de durazno o habas.
<i>others: waq'inik, waq'ixik, waq'ij (quebrar de un solo golpe cosas muy duras)</i>					
wär	warawik	waräl (y waräl)	xware'		Dejada para otro dia: cosa comestible.
<i>others: warawik (rala: una tela) waranik, waraxik, waraj (velar)</i>					
wätz	watzawik	watzäl	xwatze'	xuwatzab'a'	Liviano, como las hojas de papel sin pesor; puesto: algo sin peso, como monte seco o ramas chiquitas.
<i>others: watzawik (aspero rustico)</i>					
wěj	wejwik	wejäl (y wejan)	xweje'	xuwejb'a'	Cargado de frutas: un arbol; desorganizado lo que tiene adentro: una carga.
<i>others: wejenik, wejik, wejexik, wejej (llevar una carga con las cosas)</i>					
weq		weqäl	xweqe'		Adornado, anadido.
<i>others: weqonik (adornar, anadir, trajearse bien)</i>					

wër	werewïk	weräl (weran)	xwere'	xuwereb'a'	Desmoronado: un pan u otra cosa rajado: pan u otra cosa. <i>others: werenik, werexik, werez (llevar alguna cosa rajada o desmoronadiza)</i>
wütz	witziwïk	witzil	xwitze'	xuwitzib'a'	Decaida, como una gallina enferma.
wök	wokowïk	woköl	xwoke'	xuwokob'a'	Levantado: suelo u objeto. <i>others: wokonik, wokoxik, wokik, wök (Golpear cosa gruesa y dura, como la espalda de los sapos)</i>
wök'	wok'owïk	wok'öl	xwok'e'	xuwok'ob'a'	Doblada: cosa tiesa como cuero, lamina, etc.
won	wonowïk	wonol	xwone'	xuwonob'a'	Sentado, como conejo. <i>others: wononik, wonoxik, wonik, wön (encojer alguna cosa quemandola)</i>
wüj	wujwik	wujül	xwuje'	xuwujb'a'	Puesta: tinaja, olla u otra cosa grande, alta y ancha.
wul	wuluwïk	wulan	xwule'	xuwulub'a'	Destruído, derrumbado. <i>others: wuluwïk (destruible) wulanik, wulaxik, wulaj (desplomar, derrumbar, destuir)</i>
wuq'	wuq'uwik	wuq'ül	xwuq'e'	xuwuq'ub'a'	Agachado. <i>others: wuq'uwik (jorobado) wuq'unik, wuq'unen, wuq'e' (agacharse)</i>
xäk	xakaxïk	xakäl	xake'	xusakab'a'	Parado con las piernas abiertas. <i>others: xakaxik (separadas en una punta: dos cosas) xakenik, xakexik, xakej (llevar alguna cosa que tiene la punta abierta) xakonik, xakoxik, xäk (caminar con los pies abiertos)</i>
xak'	xak'axïk	xak'äl	xak'e'	xuxak'ab'a'	Desnudo, flaco. <i>others: xak'axik (desnudo; pelada: rama sin hojas o corteza) xak'enik, xak'exik, xak'ej (llevar a nene o persona grande desnuda)</i>
xän	xanaxïk	xanäl	xane'	xuxanab'a'	Desnudo. <i>others: xanenik, xanexik, xanej (llevar al nene o persona desnuda)</i>
xäq'	xaq'axik	xaq'äl	xxaq'e'	xuxaq'ab'a'	Amontonada: cosa deshecha, como frutas o verduras. <i>others: xaq'axik (deshecho como fruta o verdura podrida, o un cadaver en descomposicion)</i>
xëq	xeqexïk	xeqäl (y xeqan)	xeqe'	xuxeqeb'a'	Sentada: persona gorda. <i>others: xeqenik, xeqexik, xeqik, xäq (comer en exceso, hartar mucho)</i>
xëq'	xeq'exik	xeq'el (y xeq'ël)	xxeq'e'	xuxeq'eb'a'	Lodoso; podrida y deshecha: la fruta debajo del arbol. <i>others: xeq'enik, xeq'exik, xeq'ik, xëq' (preparar lodo: se meten y se sacan los pies en el para que sea fino)</i>
xib'	xib'ixïk	xib'ïb'	[these two, impossible]		Llena: una olla, saco, pecho de ave. Posicional irregular por salir a tercierea forma. <i>others: xib'inik, xib'ixik, xib'ik, xïb' (llenar un saco hasta donde sea posible)</i>
xïch'	xich'ixïk	xich'il (y xich'an)	xich'e'	xuxich'ib'a'	Enredado. <i>others: xich'inik, xich'ixik, xich'ik, xich' (enredar)</i>
xïl	xilixik	xilan	xile'	xuxilib'a'	Deshilada: una tela; rajable: madera. <i>others: xilixik (roto, como ropa o papel con flecos) xiliniik, xilixik, xilij (rajar una vez algo; deshilar, cortar una vez, herir con algo de punta aguda o buen filo; romper una vez dejando flecos)</i>
xim	ximïl		xxime'	[impossible]	Amarrado, atado. Posicional irregular por no salir la tercera forma. <i>others: ximonik, ximoxik, ximixik, xim (amarrar, atar, centir)</i>
xïr	xirixïk	xir'il (y xiran)	xxire'	xuxirib'a'	Puesta: cosa pequena y redonda o persona gorda y baja. <i>others: xirenik, xirexik, xirik, xirej (llevar alguna cosa redonday chiquita: persona, animal o un objeto)</i>
xit'	xit'ixïk	xit'il	xxit'e'	xuxit'ib'a'	Jateado bien lleno: un saco u otro objeto. <i>others: xit'ixik (muy lleno; apretado: algo dentro de una cosa) xit'inik, xit'ixik, xit'ik, xit' (llenar bien una cosa)</i>
xöq'	xoq'oxïk	xoq'öl	xoq'e'	xuxoq'ob'a'	Estar lodoso un lugar; dejar lodoso un lugar. <i>others: xoq'onik, xoq'oxik, xoq' (batir)</i>

xot	xotoxik	xotöl	xxote'	xuxotob'a'	Inclinado, ladeado. <i>others: xotenik, xotexik, xotej (llevar algo ladeado)</i>
xuk	xukuxik	xukül	xuke'	xuxukub'a'	Hincado, inclinado, como el cabo del azadon corredizo: un nudo. <i>others: xukunik, xukunen, xuke' (hincarse)</i>
xul	xuluxik	xulan	xule'	xuxulub 'a'	Pendiente.
xür	xuruxik	xurül (y xuran)	xxure'	xuxurub'a'	Preforado con hoyo pequeño. <i>others: xurunik, xurixik, xurij (preforar haciendo hoyo pequeño)</i>
yäb'	yab'ayik	yab'äl	xyab'e'	xuyab'ab'a'	Doblada: cosa blanda o suave. <i>others: yab'ayik (aguado y largo)</i>
yäch'	yach'ayik	yach'äl (y yach'an)	xyach'e'	xuyach'ab'a'	Amarrada en medio alguna cosa como manajo. <i>others: yach'enik, yach'exik, yach'ej (llevar alguna cosa delgada de en medio, por naturaleza o por estar amarrada; usar un pedacito de trapo en lugar de faja) yach'onik, yach'anik, yach'oxik, yäch' (amarrar, atar)</i>
yäk	yakayik	yakäl	xyake'	xuyakab'a'	Guardado, levantado. <i>others: yakayik (alto, angosto o delgado: animal o carga) yakenik, yakexik, yakej (llevar algo no tan pesado en la mano, como un palo)</i>
yak'	yak'ayik	yak'äl	xyak'e'	xuyak'ab'a'	Delgado de en medio, como longanizas tecomates, cintura de mujeres. <i>others: yak'ayik (delgado de en medio por naturaleza o por estar amarrado) yak'enik, yak'exik, yak'ej (llevar alguna cosa delgada de en medio, por naturaleza o por estar amarrada)</i>
yäm	yamayik	yamäl	xyame'	xuyamab'a'	Marchito. <i>others: yamayik (debilitada una persona marchita una planta)</i>
yän	yanayik	yanäl (y yanan)	xyane'	xuyanab'a'	Caida, la cabeza de algo suave o aguado. <i>others: yanayik (alguna cosa suave o aguada; persona de buena altura y edad tierna) yanenik, yanexik, yanej (llevar alguna cosa suave o aguada)</i>
yät	yatayik	yatäl	xyate'	xuyatab'a'	Amarrada: alguna cosa floja, como palos. <i>others: yatenik, yatexik, yatik, yät (amarrar en medio algun manajo de palos u otra cosa, algo flojo) yatenik, yatexik, yatej (llevar un manajo de algo, amarrado de en medio)</i>
yätz'	yatz'ayik	yatz'äl (y yatz'an)	xyatz'e'	xuyatz'ab'a'	Apretada: la ropa. <i>others: yatz'enik, yatz'exik, yatz'ej (llevar ropa apretada)</i>
yöb'	yob'oyik	yob'öl	xyob'e'	xuyob'ob'a'	Golpeado: objeto que queda marcado como cosas de lata. <i>others: yob'oyik (golpeado: objeto de lata; hundido: el suelo u otra cosa concavo) yob'inik, yob'ixik, yob'ij (golpear dura alguna cosa quedando marcada)</i>
yöch	yochoyik	yocho'ch			Arrugado. <i>others: ruyochochil, xyochochir, yochenik, yochexik, yochej (llevar alguna cosa arrugada)</i>
yöj	yojyik	yojöl (y yojan)	xyoje'	xuyojb'a'	Estar en mal estado un objeto; haber un grupo de cosas duras. <i>others: yojyik (desarmado o en mal estado) yoyenik, yojexik, yojej (llevar alguna cosa en mal estado o un grupo de cosas duras y secas)</i>
yop	yopoyik	yopöl	xyope'	xuyopob'a'	Listo; flojo: un vestido; rizado. <i>others: yopoyik (grande: el ruedo de un corte)</i>
yöq'	yoq'oyik	yoq'öl	xyoq'e'	xuyoq'ob'a'	Flojo: un saco o red.
yöt'	yot'oyik	yot'öl	xyot'e'	xuyot'ob'a'	Golpeado: algun objeto de metal. <i>others: yot'onik, yot'oxik, yöt' (golpear lata) yot'inik, yot'ixik, yot'ij (golpear una vez, lata)</i>
yüb'	yub'uyik	yub'ül	xyub'e'	xuyub'ub'a'	Cerrada: la boca de un objeto de metal o boca de persona. <i>others: yub'uyik (aplastado, bien cerrada: la boca de un objeto de metal, arrugada: fruta seca) yub'unik, yub'uxik, yüb' (doblar cosas como de lata; tocar apretando para saber si algo esta suave)</i>
yüch	yuchuyik	yuchül	xyuche'	xuyuchub'a'	Fruncido: saco, red u otra cosa con pliegues en la boca; cosida: alguna cosa sin remiendo. <i>others: yuchuyik (arrugado doblado en desorden: tela o papel rizado) yuchunik, yuchuxik, yuchik, yüch (cerrar la boca de la red jalando la correa; rizar telas; surcir)</i>

yük'	yuk'uyïk	yuk'ül	xyuk'e'	xuyuk'ub'a'	Levantado, extendido el cuello.
yüm	yumuyïk	yumül	xyume'	xuyumub'a'	Cerrada: boca de persona.
	<i>others: yumuyïk (cerrada: la boca; arrugada y seca: una fruta) yumunik, yumuxik, yumik, yüm (cerrar y encoger la boca)</i>				
yüp	yupuyïk	yupul	xyupe'	xuyupub'a'	Cerrados: los ojos (puede ser por gusto, sueño o enfermedades)
	<i>others: yupuyïk (debil u opaca: una luz) yupunik, yupuxik, yupik, yüp (cerrar los ojos)</i>				
yüq	yuquyïk	yuqül	xyuqe'	xuyuqub'a'	Amarrado, comprometido.
	<i>others: yuquyïk (largo?) yuqub'anik, yuqb'axik, yuqub'a' (amarrar, atar)</i>				
yüt	yutuyïk	yutül	xyute'	xuyutub'a'	Atado, acalambrado; juntas: las piernas.
yüt'	yut'uyïk	yut'ül	xyut'e'	xuyut'ub'a'	Pequeñas: las nalgas, chupada: una fruta.
	<i>others: yut'unik, yut'exik, yut'ej (llevar fruta bien chupada o alguien de nalgas pequeñas)</i>				
yüx	yuxuyïk	yuxül	xyuxe'	xuyuxb'a'	Medio dormido.
	<i>others: yuxyik (dormilon; persona que luego se emborracha) yuxenik, yuxexik, yuxik, yuxej (llevar a alguien semidormido)</i>				