This chapter is a presentation of the various kinds of pronouns and person markers occurring in Tzutujil. In 3.1, the independent personal pronouns and the person markers, both absolutive and ergative, are presented, and their uses are discussed. 3.2 presents the relative pronoun, 3.3 the interrogative pronouns, 3.4 the indefinite pronouns, and 3.5 the demonstrative pronouns.

3.1 PERSON MARKERS AND THE INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3.1.1 The Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns are given below. They distinguish three persons, first, second, and third; and two numbers, singular and plural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Independent Personal Pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1 inin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2 atet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3 jaa7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The primary function of the independent personal pronouns is to mark contrastive information in the sense discussed by Chafe (1976), and therefore they normally are not used unless the speaker wishes to emphasize the involvement of one person in an event or state as opposed to some other person. The independent personal pronouns are not required in noncontrastive situations since person is always indicated with either
the absolutive or ergative person markers (3.1.2). It should be noted that the first and second person independent pronouns are reduplicated forms, with minor phonological modifications, of the respective first and second person absolutive markers. The third person singular jaʔ7 is etymologically related to the definite article and relative pronoun ja (see 3.2, 7.1.3, and 7.1.7.1), and the third person plural jaʔeeʔ is derived from jaʔ7 plus a plural suffix -eeʔ (see section 5.1.1), along with vowel shortening.

3.1.2 The Person Markers: Absolutive (Set B) and Ergative (Set A)

In Tzutujil, as in other Mayan languages, there are two sets of person markers, the absolutive and the ergative. In Mayan studies the ergative markers are often referred to as 'Set A' and the absolutive markers as 'Set B'. The absolutive markers are prefixes on nonperfect verbs and proclitics on perfect verbs and stative predicates such as predicate adjectives and predicate nouns. They are also the bases for the independent personal pronouns in the first and second persons (3.1.1). The function of the absolutive markers is to indicate: (1) the subjects of intransitives, (2) the subjects of stative predicates, and (3) the patients or objects of transitive verbs. (For use of the term 'patient' herein, see chapter 8, note 4.) The absolutive markers are given below followed by examples.

The Absolutive Person Markers (Set B)

Bl in- Blp oq-
B2 at- B2p ix-
B3 Ø B3p ee- before consonants
~eʔ- before vowels

Examples of the Absolutive Person Markers (Set B):

in winaq 'I am a person' < winaq N 'person, people'
at winaq 'you are a person'
winaq 'he/she is a person'
oq winaq 'we are people'
ix winaq 'you all are people'
ee winaq 'they are people'

xinwarí 'I slept'

<

x- comp, in- B1,
war- IV 'sleep', -i pf

xatwarí 'you slept'

<

x- comp, at- B2

xwarí 'he/she/it slept'

<

x- comp, Ø B3

xoqwari 'we slept'

<

x- comp, oq- B3p

xixwarí 'you all slept'

<

x- comp, ix- B2p

xeewarí 'they slept'

<

x- comp, ee- B3p

xinkeech'ey 'they hit me'

<

x- comp, in- B1, kee- A3p,
ch'ey- RTV 'hit'

xatkkeech'ey 'they hit you'

<

x- comp, at- B2, kee- A3p

xkeech'ey 'they hit him/her/it'

<

x- comp, Ø B3, kee- A3p

xqkeech'ey 'they hit us'

<

x- comp, oq- B3p, kee- A3p

xixkeech'ey 'they hit you all'

<

x- comp, ix- B2p, kee- A3p

xeekeech'ey 'they hit them'

<

x- comp, ee- B3p, kee- A3p

xe7eech'ey 'you all hit them'

<

x- comp, e7- B3p, ee- A2p

The ergative person markers are prefixes and function to indicate:
(1) the agents (or conventionally 'subjects') of transitive verbs, and
(2) the possessors of nouns. (For use of the terms 'agent' and 'subject' herein, see chapter 8, note 4.) There are two sets of ergative prefixes, those occurring before stems beginning with a consonant and those occurring before stems beginning with a vowel (see the list of ergative prefixes below). The forms enclosed in parentheses are short forms used before stems of more than one syllable (see phonological rule 24, section 1.6.2). The first person singular allomorphic variant in(~)- and the third personal singular variant uu- occur only in transitive verbs when the absolutive marker is Ø, indicating a third person singular patient. uu- disappears altogether before TV stems of more than one syllable. In vowel-initial TV stems, y- may vary optionally with uu- if the absolutive marker is not Ø third person singular. In addition, it should be noted that in- always disappears if it is immediately preceded by the incomplete aspect prefix n- (see section 4.1.2.2). Compare the examples following the list of ergative prefixes.
The Ergative Prefixes (Set A)

preconsonantal
A1 nnu- (~n-) ~ in- (~∅) w- ~ inw- ~ nw-
A2 saa- (~s-) saw- (~aw-)
A3 ruu- (~r-) ~ uu- (~∅) r-
A1p qaa- (~qa-) q-
A2p ee- (~e-) eew- (~ew-)
A3p kee- (~ki-) k-

Examples of the Ergative Prefixes (Set A):

nuutza7n 'my nose' < nnu- A1 preconsonantal, tza7n N 'nose'
aatza7n 'your nose' < saa- A2
ruutza7n 'his/her/its nose' < ruu- A3
qaatza7n 'our noses' < qaa- A1p
eetza7n 'you all's noses' < ee- A2p
keetza7n 'their noses' < kee- A3p
nb'aaqiil 'my body' < n- A1 short preconsonantal, b'aaqiil N 'body'
ab'aaqiil 'your body' < a- A2
rb'aaqiil 'his/her/its body' < r- A3
qab'aaqiil 'our bodies' < qa- A1p
ekib'aaqiil 'you all's bodies' < ki- A2p
wak' 'my chicken' < w- A1 prevocalic, ak' N 'chicken'
asawak' 'your chicken' < saw- A2
rak' 'his/her chicken' < r- A3
qak' 'our chicken' < q- A1p
eewak' 'you all's chicken' < eew- A2p
kak' 'their chicken' < k- A3p
wijqa7n 'my burden' < w- A1 prevocalic, ijoq7n N 'burden'
avijqa7n 'your burden' < aw- A2 short prevocalic
rijqa7n 'his/her/its burden' < r- A3
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qijqa7n 'our burden' < q- A1p
ewijqa7n 'you all's burden' < ew- A2p
kijqa7n 'their burden' < k- A3p

Ergative prefixes with the consonant-initial monosyllabic root transitive verb choy- 'cut':

xatnuuchoy 'I cut you' < x- comp, at- B2, n- A1
xinchoy 'I cut it' < x- comp, Ø B3, in- A1
nchoy 'I cut it' < n- incomp, Ø B3, in- A1
[xall contracted to n-]
xaachoy 'you cut it' < x- comp, Ø B3, aa- A2
xinaachoy 'you cut me' < x- comp, in- B1, aa- A2
xooruuchoy 'he cut us' < x- comp, oq- B1p, ruu- A3
xuxchoy 'he cut it' < x- comp, Ø B3, uu- A3
xqaaachoy 'we cut it' < x- comp, Ø B3, qa- A1p
[xall contracted to n-]
xakuunchoy 'we cut you all' < x- comp, ix- B2p, qaa- A1p
xeechoy 'you all cut him' < x- comp, Ø B3, ee- A2p
xe7eechoy 'you all cut them' < x- comp, e7- B3p, ee- A2p
xekoechoy 'they cut it' < x- comp, Ø B3, kee- A3p
xakoechoy 'they cut them' < x- comp, ee- B3p, kee-A3p

Ergative prefixes with the polysyllabic derived transitive verb kuuna- 'cure' with the nonperfect suffix -li (kuuna- + -li > -kuuna-aj):

xatkuaunaj 'I cured you' < x- comp, at- B2, n- A1
xinkuunaaj 'I cured him' < x- comp, Ø B3, in- A1
nkuaunaj 'I cure him' < n- incomp, Ø B3, in- A1
[xall contracted to n-]
xakuaunaj 'you cured him' < x- comp, Ø B3, a- A2
xinakuunaaj 'you cured me' < x- comp, in- B1, a- A2
xoqruunaaj 'he cured us' < x- comp, oq- B1p, ru- A3
xkuunaaj 'he cured her' < x- comp, Ø B3, v- A3
nkuaunaj 'he cures her' < n- incomp, Ø B3, v- A3
xqakuaunaj 'we cured her' < x- comp, Ø B3, qa- A1p
Ergative prefixes with the polysyllabic vowel-initial transitive verb aajo7- 'love, want':

- xat(c)waajo7 'I loved you'
- xinwaajo7 'I loved her'
- mwaaajo7 'I love her'
- xinawaajo7 'you loved me'
- xawaajo7 'you loved him'
- xoqraajo7 'he loved us'
- xraajo7 'he loved her'
- xqasaajo7 'we loved her'
- xixqasaajo7 'we loved you all'
- xewaaajo7 'you all loved him'
- xe7ewaajo7 'you all loved them'
- xkaajo7 'they loved him'
- xekaaajo7 'they loved them'

Even though the prevocalic ergative prefixes are normally affixed to stems beginning with a vowel, and the preconsonantal ergative prefixes are normally affixed to stems beginning with a consonant, there are a number of important exceptions. For example, the relational noun xiin 'for, of' always takes the prevocalic ergative prefixes even though an initial vowel never appears (e.g. wxiin 'for me, of me, mine' not *nuuxiin; awxiin 'for you, of you, yours' not *aaxiin, etc.). Therefore, it must be assumed that xiin begins with some unidentifiable underlying vowel, thus Wxiin rather than Xiin.

In addition, there are about a half dozen Tzutujil roots that in all other respects behave like vowel-initial forms but that always take the
preconsonantal ergative prefixes with a glottal stop intervening between the prefix and the root:

- nuu7o7 'my poo-poo' < (7)o7 [baby talk for 'shit']
- nuu7ojb' 'my phlegm' < (7)ojb' 'phlegm'
- nuu7oich' 'my ear of green corn' < (7)ojch' 'ear of green corn'
- nuu7aak' 'my Salvia chie' < (7)aak' 'Salvia chie'
- n7o7om 'my iguana' < (7)o7on 'iguana'

Also, Spanish loans that begin with a stressed vowel always take the preconsonantal ergative prefixes (see section 1.2.1).

- n7obra 'my work' < Sp obra 'work'
- n7eera 'my vegetable patch' < Sp era 'vegetable patch'
- n7ule 'my rubber' < Sp hule 'rubber'
- n7arka 'my bow' < Sp arco 'bow, arch'

On the other hand, Spanish loans that begin with an unstressed vowel usually take the prevocalic ergative prefixes (e.g. valámbrre 'my wire' < Sp alambre; weréensya 'my inheritance' < Sp herencia; wogar 'my home' < Sp hogar; wamílyaar 'my helper' < Sp auxiliar; n7opinyoon 'my opinion' < Sp opinión).

The use of the preconsonantal ergative prefixes on Spanish loans with initial vowels may indicate, on the one hand, that the preconsonantal prefixes are becoming more productive or less marked than the prevocalic prefixes and are taking over the latter's function. On the other hand, it may indicate that the glottal stop phonetically inserted before initial vowels (see rule 4, section 1.2) is becoming phonemic, especially in pretonic position. With respect to the five native Tzutujil forms that unexpectedly require the preconsonantal prefixes, either they have phonemic initial glottal stop, in which case they are the only native forms that do, or they are examples of an incipient encroachment by the preconsonantal prefixes on the domain of the prevocalic prefixes. The latter possibility should not be taken too lightly, since all of the
forms, except (7)07, are rarely possessed, and (7)07 is baby talk. In other words, these are forms where one might expect analogical leveling to begin.

Before leaving the person markers, there are several important facts that should be noted. First, in transitive verbs, which are inflected for both agent and patient, the absolutive markers indicating the patient always precede the ergative prefixes indicating the agent. Second, Tzutujil is morphologically ergative since the same set of person markers (i.e. the absolutive markers) indicate both the subjects of intransitive verbs and the patients (or conventionally 'objects') of transitive verbs, while a different set of person markers (i.e. the ergative prefixes) indicate the agents (or conventionally 'subjects') of transitive verbs. And finally, inanimate arguments in a sentence often do not trigger number agreement with the absolutive and ergative person markers. In other words, overt marking of plurality with the absolutive and ergative person markers is not obligatory if a subject, patient, agent, or possessor is inanimate. Inanimate arguments are usually indicated with the third person singular markers, whether or not they are semantically plural. Number may be indicated in other ways, however, such as with the proclitic plural particle taq or with plural forms of (at least some) adjectives. Compare sentences (1) and (2) below. In both sentences the predicate is the adjective nimaq, the plural form of nim 'big'. In (1), the subject is animate achi7a7 'men' (plural of aachi 'man'), and therefore the predicate is inflected with third person plural absolutive $\text{\textcopyright}$. On the other hand, in (2) the subject is inanimate jaay 'house', and even though it is marked for plurality with taq, the predicate is inflected with third person singular absolutive ø.

(1) Ee nimaq taq achi7a7.
    Elp big-plr plr men 
    'The men are big.'

(2) Nimaq taq jaay.
    big-plr plr house
    'The houses are big.'
3.2 THE RELATIVE PRONOUN

The relative pronoun is *ja* 'that, who, which', which is identical in form to the definite article *ja*. Before vowels *ja* becomes *jar* (see rule 16, section 1.6.1). The use of *ja* in relative clauses seems always to be optional (see section 7.1.3 on relativizers, and 10.2.1 on relative clauses). Three examples are given below.

Examples of the Relative Pronoun *ja*:

(3) Jaa7 xuloq' tii7iij (ja) q'iinaq.
    she B3-A3-bought meat that rotten
    'She bought some meat that was rotten.'

(4) Jar sachi (ja) wk'eqeq chila7 xkami.
    the man who lived there died
    'The man who lived there died.'

(5) Uleep sówra pro winaq (jar) ee pejnaq najt naqaaj ee k'o chwach.
    land sufficient but people who B3p have-come far near B3p be on-it
    'Land is sufficient but people who have come from far and near are on it.'

3.3 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

There are two interrogative pronouns: *naq* 'who, what, which' and *choq* (~ *choj*) 'whom, what'. *Naq* is used to question direct arguments in a proposition, that is, subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates, and agents and patients of transitive verbs. *Choq* is used to question the following oblique arguments: datives, instrumentals, benefactives, conitatives, and possessors. *Choq* is always used in conjunction with a following relational noun (see section 5.2.1 on relational nouns), which distinguishes the semantic role of the oblique argument. (See section 7.1.4 on interrogative particles, and section 9.4 on the formation of interrogative sentences.)
Oblique Interrogatives Based on Choq 'Whom'
choq chee (~choj chee) 'to whom, with what' < chee 'to, with'
choq k'iin (~choj k'iin) 'with whom' < -uuk'iin 'with'
choq xiin (~choj xiin) 'for whom, of whom, whose' <
-uxt'in 'for, of'

Note that choq xiin may be used optionally in conjunction with naq: naq
choq xiin (~naq choj xiin) 'for whom, of whom, whose'.

3.4 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The indefinite pronouns are listed below. Note that most of them
are built on juun, which functions as the number 'one', the indefinite
pronoun 'one', and the indefinite article 'a, an'. Juun has a number of
variant combining forms: juun ~ jun ~ ju- ~ ju?-?. Jun is normally used
before other words (especially head nouns) in the same phrase, and ju-
and ju?- are used in compounds and with suffixes.

Indefinite Pronouns

juun 'one; a, an'

jun chik 'another (one)' < chik 'another; already, again'

jun ka?i7 'a couple, a few, a number of' < ka?i7 'two'

jun le7 'another one there' < le7 'there, that'

jun ri7 'another one here' < ri7 'this in mind, here in mind'

jun tifira 'everyone, everybody, all (of)' < (?) Sp tiro

jule7 'some' < -i- (?), -ee? plr

ju7jun 'some (distributively), each one (distributively)' <

reduplication

jutz'it 'a little bit (of)' < -tz'it 'little bit'

majun 'no one, nobody, none, nothing; there isn't/aren't any' <

ma 'no, not'

ma k'o ta 'no one, nobody, none, nothing; there isn't/aren't any' <

ma 'no, not', k'ooli 'exist, there is/are'. ta irreal

xanaqa 'whatever, whoever, anything, anyone, anybody' <

xa 'only', naq 'what, who, which'. ta irreal
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xab'artakii7 'wherever, anywhere' < xa 'only', b'aarkii7 'where',
tax real
nojeel 'everyone, everybody, all (of)' < noj- (?), -eel suf,
-onojeel possessed form:
  ronojeel 'all of it'
  qonojeel 'all of us'
  ewonojeel 'all of you all'
  konojeel 'all of them'
nojeelal 'everyone, everybody, all (of)' < nojeel, -aal suf,
-onojeelaal possessed form:
  ronojeelaal 'all of it'
  qonojeelaal 'all of us'
  awonojeelaal 'all of you all'
  konojeelaal 'all of them'

The indefinite pronouns may also be used as adjectives and/or quantifiers.

3.5 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Tzutujil has a fairly large number of demonstrative pronouns that also function as demonstrative adjectives. They not only locate referents spatially as well as temporally but also play an important role keeping track of various referents in discourse with respect to 'given', 'definite', and 'contrastive' information (as defined in Chafe 1976). The simple demonstratives given below are all based on the third person independent pronouns: jaa7 'he, she, it' and ja7ee7 'they', plus the demonstrative and locative particles: (a)wa7 'this/here', (a)la7 ~ le7 'that/there (pointing; emphatic)', and (a)ri7 'that/there (yonder; in mind)' (see section 7.1.6 on the demonstrative/locative particles). The forms preceded by '+' enclosed in parentheses are short forms used immediately following verbs, interrogatives, and relational nouns.
Simple Demonstratives

jaa wa7 (a-a-wa7) 'this'
jaaee7 wa7 'these'
jaa la7 (a-la7) 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
jaaee7 la7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'
jaa ri7 (a-ri7) 'that (yonder; in mind)'
jaaee7 ri7 'those (yonder; in mind)'
jaa warii7 (a-warii7) 'that yonder; this/that in mind'
jaaee7 (a)warli7 'those yonder; these/those in mind'
jaa laalei7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
jaaee7 alalei7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'
jaa laari7 'probably that'
jaaee7 laari7 'probably those'

There is another set of demonstratives that are based on the same elements as the simple demonstratives plus the particle k'aa, which indicates contrastive information and/or a shift in topic (see sections 7.1.6 and 7.1.7.3).

Contrastive/Topic-Shifting Demonstratives

jaa k'aawa7 'this'
jaaee7 k'aawa7 'these'
jaa k'aala7 'that (pointing; emphatic)'
jaaee7 k'aala7 'those (pointing; emphatic)'
jaa k'aaari7 'that (yonder; in mind)'
jaaee7 k'aaari7 'those (yonder; in mind)'
jaa k'aaawari7 'this/that in mind'
jaaee7 k'aaawari7 'these/those in mind'

Note that immediately following verbs, interrogatives, and relational nouns, jaa7 is normally omitted from the singular forms above. Thus, for example, after the interrogative naq 'what', k'aala7 is used instead of the full form jaa k'aala7 (e.g. naq k'aala7? 'what is that?' but not *naq jaa k'aala7).