This work is a reference grammar of the Tzutujil language spoken in the departments of Sololá and Suchitépéquez in Guatemala. Tzutujil is one of approximately thirty Mayan languages that are spoken by several million people in Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras. All Mayan languages lie within the Meso-American cultural area. Tzutujil belongs to the Greater Quichean branch of the Eastern division of Mayan languages, and it is most closely affiliated with Cakchiquel, Quiché, Sacapultec, and Sipacapa (Campbell 1977; Kaufman 1974, 1976).

Tzutujil is spoken by approximately 50,000 people in midwestern Guatemala in an area extending from the highlands (Sp tierra fría) on the southern and western ends of Lake Atitlán to the lowlands (Sp tierra caliente) on the southern Pacific coastal plain. The Tzutujil area includes all of the towns on the south shores of Lake Atitlán, namely San Lucas Tolimán, Santiago Atitlán, San Pedro la Laguna, and San Juan la Laguna, as well as San Pablo la Laguna on the west end of the lake and Santa María Visitación to the southwest in the mountains high above the lake. The town of Chicacao, situated on the edge of the Pacific coastal plain some ten miles to the south of the lake, is also included within the Tzutujil area, as are many small villages, hamlets, and plantations scattered throughout the area between the lake and the Pacific coastal plain. (See maps 1 and 2.)

The Tzutujil area is bordered on the north, east, and southeast by Cakchiquel speakers, on the west and southwest by Quiché speakers, and on the south by Spanish speakers. Although San Lucas Tolimán is primarily a Tzutujil town, there are also a fairly large number of Cakchiquel speakers as this town lies on the eastern edge of the Tzutujil area. There are
also a few older people who speak Cakchiquel in Cerro de Oro, a village (Sp aldea) pertaining to the county seat (Sp municipio) of Santiago Atitlán. Cerro de Oro was settled, ca. 1880, by Cakchiquel speakers from Patzicia, but the vast majority of its inhabitants speak Tzutujil today. Quiché is also spoken in and around Santa María Visitation, which actually lies a short distance within Quiché territory. According to local legend (which there is no reason to doubt), this town was settled by people from Santiago Atitlán many generations ago. Natives of Santa María learn Tzutujil as their first language, but before they are very old they also learn Quiché since they are surrounded by Quiché speakers and since only Quiché is spoken in Santa Clara la Laguna, Santa María's sister town, which lies adjacent to it in the mountains above Lake Atitlán.

Other Mayan languages from all over Guatemala are also spoken in small numbers within the Tzutujil area, primarily on the larger plantations where migrant workers come seasonally to harvest coffee, cotton, sugar cane, etc. There are also transient traders from other parts of Guatemala who pass through the area buying and selling goods. Spanish is also spoken in the Tzutujil area, mostly by Ladinos (Guatemalan Spanish for 'non-Indian'). In addition, most Tzutujil men know Spanish to one degree or another and use it when traveling outside of the area, when dealing with people from outside the area, or when dealing with Ladinos from within the area who do not (wish to) speak Tzutujil. Few Tzutujil women speak Spanish, although some understand it to varying degrees. Tzutujil children usually do not learn Spanish at all unless they go to school or until they have extended contact with outsiders. But the number of Tzutujil children attending school is increasing year by year, especially the number of girls, who until recently almost never went to school. Most Ladinos who were born in the area or who have lived there for a long time speak Tzutujil, some with a high degree of proficiency, but many do not use it unless they are speaking with Tzutujiles who do not speak Spanish. The number of Ladinos in the Tzutujil area is rather low, although in some cases they are prominent politically and economically because they are usually shopkeepers, tradesmen, school teachers, national policemen, doctors and nurses, and plantation owners. The over-
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all Ladino population comprises less than 5 percent in the larger towns and is virtually non-existent in the smaller towns and villages.

A different variety of Tzutujil is spoken in virtually every town in the area. Each variety usually contains some lexical, phonological, morphological, and syntactic differences, although none of these differences are so great that any of the varieties are mutually unintelligible. The present work is primarily based on the Tzutujil spoken in San Juan la Laguna (SJ), which, from a historical linguistics perspective, is one of the more conservative varieties. However, a good deal is also said of the phonology of the Tzutujil spoken in Santiago Atitlán (SA), since this variety has undergone a considerable degree of phonological innovation.

Lake Atitlán is situated in a basin in the center of the midwestern highlands of Guatemala. The lake is 92 square miles in area and has an average elevation of approximately 5100 feet. The deepest point in the lake has not been determined, but soundings have been made of well over 1000 feet. The lake is surrounded on the west, north, and east by steep precipices of over 2000 feet; the southern end is dominated by three volcanos: Tolimán (10,350 ft.), Atitlán (11,500 ft.), and San Pedro (9,925 ft.). In general, the area around the lake is rugged and rocky terrain with steep cliffs, deep canyons, gorges and ravines, and little flat ground. The climate in the lower elevations around the lake is semitropical monsoon, with temperatures ranging from about 50-90 degrees Fahrenheit; in the higher elevations the climate is more temperate. The heart of the rainy season (Sp invierno 'winter') is from the end of May to the end of October. November, December, and January are the heart of the dry season (Sp verano 'summer'), and usually there is no rain during this period. Occasional rains begin in February and become more frequent until by the end of May they are almost a daily occurrence. There is usually a short dry season (Sp caniculas 'dog days') lasting two weeks in July.

To the south of the volcanos on the southern end of the lake, the land begins a rapid descent to the southern Pacific coastal plain. Thus, at Chicacao, some ten miles south of the lake, the elevation is only a few hundred feet and the climate is tropical and hot all year.
Towns around the lake are generally separated by some distance and are situated on the rather scarce, relatively flat areas on the skirts of the volcanos or on the flanks of the mountains. Up until recently travel was difficult and dangerous between towns because the terrain is rugged and because the waters of Lake Atitlan can become extremely rough without warning. Traditionally, travel between towns was carried out either on narrow footpaths weaving up and down the sides of the mountains and in and out of the deep gorges, or by canoe across the (sometimes treacherous) waters of the lake. The difficulty in travel between towns accounts for the fact that each town around the lake is to a certain degree culturally and linguistically distinct. In recent years, however, travel has become somewhat more convenient, as roads have been built connecting at least some of the towns, and there are regularly scheduled motor-launch routes traversing the lake to and from the larger towns.

The Tzutujiles are basically slash-and-burn agriculturalists, and their lifestyle is directed more to the hills and mountains than to the lake. They live in densely populated ('nuclear') towns and go out to work in surrounding farmlands. At times, their fields are several hours' (or even days') walk from the towns. The most important crops are the ubiquitous corn, beans, chilis, and squashes of various types, but other vegetables and fruits are also important, especially as cash crops, for example: tomatoes, onions, garlic, lettuce, cabbage, green beans, cucumbers, avocados, hog plums, oranges, pitayas, bananas, mangos, zapotes, anise, coffee, and sugar cane, as well as others. Cornfields are usually on the mountain and hill sides (some on slopes of over 45 degrees), and on the more rocky terrain. Vegetables are usually grown on the flatter and richer soils; sugar cane is important only on the coastal plain. San Juan la Laguna is especially well known for its vegetable crops; in San Pablo la Laguna, the people's livelihood is almost exclusively directed toward the harvest of century plant or maguey, from which all kinds of twine products are manufactured; Cerro de Oro is known for its tule mats. Most Tzutujiles own their own farmlands, if only small plots. However, there are many people who do not own their own land or who own too little to make their livelihood entirely from it. These people either sharecrop or work as day laborers on the land of others. The latter is
especially true of people from San Juan la Laguna, since earlier in this century they lost most of their own land to outsiders (mainly to people from San Pedro la Laguna) through a series of legal and political disputes. Virtually all Tzutujil men, either seasonally or occasionally, go to work on the large plantations (Sp fincas) scattered from south of the volcanos down onto the coastal plain. This work is a necessity for most people since it provides one of the few sure sources of cash to pay medical and educational expenses and to buy food, clothing, and other goods not grown or made at home.

The basic social and economic unit of the Tzutujil is the household, which may be a nuclear family or somewhat extended nuclear family. The household usually has a domestic plot (Sp sitio) in town, on which there are one to several houses or buildings, usually thatched-roof houses with cane walls or adobe houses with either thatched or tiled roofs. The members of the household eat together and share the resources of the household, and all but the very old and very young contribute to it. Usually the eldest man and woman are considered to be the heads of the household.

Tzutujil men do the farmwork, and generally the basic farm tools, a hoe and a machete, are symbols of manhood. Men also collect firewood, and some hunt for birds, ducks and other game such as rabbit, peccary, paca, iguana, alligator, and deer (the latter two of which are almost extinct around the lake now). Men also do most of the traveling and marketing in towns outside of the area. The life of Tzutujil women is directed more toward the home. They raise children, prepare food, fetch water, wash clothes, and weave cloth for making clothes. They also are usually in charge of local marketing: buying goods for the household and selling goods produced by members of the household such as farm products and cloth. Children at a very early age begin to help in the chores of their respective sexes: boys helping their fathers in the fields and girls helping their mothers at home and in the market. Usually a household has a dog and perhaps a cat, some chickens or turkeys; some households have a pig or two; and very rarely a household might have a cow, donkey, horse, or mule.
Fishing has been important traditionally in most of the towns on the lake, but it has become less and less so because earlier in this century a foreign fish was introduced into the lake that rather voraciously ate up most of the other fish. The foreign fish itself is difficult to catch because it tends to stay in very deep water most of the time. In some towns (e.g. Santiago Atitlán) men traditionally did the fishing, while in others (e.g. San Juan la Laguna) women did most of the fishing. Today most fishing is done by men because it requires the use of a canoe in deep water.

The most important social activities outside of the household traditionally are bound to religious festivals and to the cofradías. Cofradías are brotherhoods of Catholic men and their wives, and their main functions are to care for the images of saints and to make sure that religious festivals, ceremonies, rituals, and dances are performed properly at the appropriate times throughout the year. There are from one to several cofradías, each having its own patron saint, in every town. Cofradías were established in Mayan towns very early after the Conquest, and they are the primary manifestation of the syncretism of traditional Mayan religion and Catholicism. However, there have always been people (Sp de costumbre) who practice rituals and religious rites outside of the cofradía system. These people adhere to more traditional Mayan religious beliefs influenced less by Catholicism. Today, there are also other groups not tied to the cofradías. For example, evangelical Protestantism has become increasingly more important in this century, and a group called Acción Católica was established in most towns in the late forties and early fifties. Acción Católica practices a more orthodox Catholicism, and it tends to oppose the more syncretic ways of the cofradía system. Until fairly recently both the religious and civil systems in each town were tied to the cofradías. However, today there is a civil government in each town that is independent of the cofradías. Mayors are elected, and a number of officials are appointed by them. There is also a secretary (usually a Ladino or someone quite literate) of each municipio ('county seat'), who is either appointed by the governor of the department or hired by the town and approved by the governor. The secretary's function is to be the liaison between the town and national
government and to handle legal affairs involving the town and the outside. In addition, all men (except Ladinos) are obligated to perform various kinds of community services on a rotating basis.

For more detailed information on the geography and ethnography of the Tzutujil area the following primary sources should be consulted: Gross (1974), Lothrop (1933), McBryde (1947), Mendelson (1965), Orellana (1984), Rojas Limas (1968), Stoll (1958), Tax (1937), and Tax and Hinshaw (1969).

Typologically, Tzutujil is an ergative language, as are other Mayan languages (see Dayley 1981, on ergativity in Mayan, and Dixon 1979 and Silverstein 1976, on ergativity in general). Tzutujil is morphologically ergative in that the agents or subjects of transitive verbs (as well as possessors of nouns) are indicated with one set of person markers, the ergative set, while patients or objects of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates are indicated with a different set of person markers, the absolutive set. Tzutujil is also syntactically ergative in that there are a number of constraints on the syntactic processes in which agents of transitive verbs may participate, constraints that do not apply to patients of transitive verbs and subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates. Ergativity is also manifested in the voice system since Tzutujil has absolutive antipassive and agent focus antipassive voices that are typical of many ergative languages.

Tzutujil is also basically a verb-first language, and it displays a number of grammatical features often correlated with languages in which the verb normally comes before its patient or object, i.e. a VO language. Most of these features are listed below; they are discussed in detail in later chapters in the sections enclosed in parentheses. (The reader should consult Comrie 1981, especially chapter 4; Graham and Blake 1981, especially chapters 3 and 6; Greenberg 1963; Lehmann 1978, especially pp. 22-23; and Vennemann 1973, 1974, 1975, for detailed discussions of correlates of VO languages as well as of OV languages.)
Tzutujil Grammar

Grammatical Features in Tzutujil

Typical of a VO Language

-- Preposition before its object (7.1.2, 8.1.2)
-- Auxiliary before verb (10.2.4)
-- Modal before verb (but also modals after verb) (7.2.1, 8.1.2)
-- Marker of comparison before standard (6.3)
-- Title before name (5.2.5)
-- Given name before family name (5.2.5)
-- Additive number before other number (5.2.2)
-- Noun before possessor (5.1.2, 8.1.1)
-- Noun before relative clause (8.1.1, 10.2.1)
-- Noun before adjective (but also adjective before noun) (6.1, 8.1.1)
-- Negative marker before verb (7.1.5, 9.1)
-- Interrogatives before verb (7.1.4, 9.4)
-- Main sentence before complement (but also a few complements before main sentence) (10.2.4)
-- Whole clause before gapped clause (10.1.1)
-- Pronouns developed (chapter 3)
-- Reflexive pronouns (9.5)
-- Passive developed (9.6.1)
-- No cases (5.1)
-- Complex syllables (1.4)
-- Prefixing (but also much suffixing) (chapters 2 through 6)

Tzutujil also has a number of features that are not so typical of a VO language: (1) there is a good deal of suffixing; (2) most modals occur after the verb instead of before it; (3) many morphophonemic modifications occur finally in words rather than initially (see 1.6).

The description and analysis of the grammar of Tzutujil presented in this work are based on nearly four years of fieldwork in Guatemala. From August 1973 to October 1976 and from June through September 1977 the author lived in Guatemala working as a linguist for the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (PLFM; see Dayley 1975), and in July 1980 the author did supplementary fieldwork there, sponsored by the Survey of California and Other Indian Languages, University of California, Berkeley.
While working for the PLFM the author's main duties were: (1) to teach general linguistics to Mayan Indian students who spoke a number of different Mayan languages; (2) to teach Tzutujil students how to develop educational and other written materials in their language; (3) to supervise the Tzutujil students in compiling a bilingual Tzutujil-Spanish dictionary; and (4) to work with the Tzutujiles doing grammatical analysis of their language.

The Tzutujil examples presented herein and the data on which the grammatical description and analysis are based come from several sources: (1) the author's field notes from elicitation sessions and from recordings of dialogs; (2) a substantial body of texts collected and transcribed by the Tzutujil students and checked by the author; and (3) the Tzutujil-Spanish dictionary compiled by the Tzutujil students and the author (Dayley et al. 1977, computer printout). The dictionary in itself comprises a tremendous amount of data on Tzutujil. It contains over 6300 lexical entries, each with translations, principal grammatical parts, and in most cases at least two sentence examples of each entry used in context. The sentence examples were written by the Tzutujil students and checked by the author.

The reader may wish to consult the following sources, which also contain a good deal of data and information on Tzutujil: Andrade (1946), Brasseur de Bourbourg (1961), Butler and Butler (1977), Butler and Fleming (1976), Butler and Peck (1980), Carlin (1970), Dayley (1978, 1981), Stoll (1958), and Ximénez (1701-3).

A few words are in order on the translations of Tzutujil sentences in the chapters that follow. In most cases, a literal, interlinear, word-by-word translation is provided, along with a more figurative or idiomatic translation, as in (1):

the ones-of-San-Juan not only little their-experience (= a lot)
'The people from San Juan have a lot of experience.'
In the literal word-by-word translation, a Tzutujil word and its English translation occurring directly below it begin at the same point, but since they are usually of different lengths they normally do not end at the same point (e.g. xa and 'only'). Dashes between words in the English translation indicate that all of the notions of the English words connected by dashes are included in the single Tzutujil word above, although not necessarily in the same order or even by corresponding morphemes. For example, the Tzutujil word ajsanjwaanii7 is composed of a noun deriving prefix, aj-, meaning 'one characterized by/one from', sanjwaan from Spanish San Juan; and the plural suffix -ii7, all of which together mean 'ones-from-San-Juan' or Juaneros in Spanish. Occasionally, especially in the case of Tzutujil idioms, a second more figurative translation is provided in parentheses after or below the literal translation. For example, the three Tzutujil words ma xa ko? literally mean 'not only little', but together they are an idiomatic phrase meaning 'a lot'.

Sometimes, where relevant to the discussion, morpheme-by-morpheme translations are given, as in (2):

(2) X-in-war-i inin.
    comp-Bl-sleep-pf I
    'I slept.'

In this case, dashes occur between the Tzutujil morphemes; dashes also occur between the English glosses (or abbreviations) of the Tzutujil morphemes, and the English glosses occur in the same relative order as the Tzutujil morphemes. For example, the Tzutujil word xinwari = x-in-war-i is composed of the completive aspect prefix x-; the first person singular absolutive prefix in-, abbreviated 'Bl'; the intransitive verb root war- 'sleep'; and the phrase-final suffix -i, abbreviated 'pf'. It should be noted here that prefixes are cited with a following dash (e.g. x-), suffixes with a preceding dash (e.g. -i), and infixes with a preceding and following dash (e.g. -j- passive infix, not illustrated here). Also, bound roots are usually cited with a following dash (e.g. war-) to indicate that they cannot occur alone, although noun roots that
always require a possessive prefix are cited with a preceding dash (e.g. -aal 'woman's child').

Occasionally literal interlinear translations are not provided, as in (3):

(3) Inin xinwari.
"I slept."

especially when the Tzutujil word order is the same as the English word order, when the internal structure of the Tzutujil sentence is irrelevant to the discussion, or when the internal analysis is self-evident from context.

Finally, it should be noted that the grammatical category of gender does not exist in Tzutujil. Therefore, out of context, third person singular pronouns and person markers may be translated with either 'he/him/his', 'she/her', or 'it/its', or in context, with whichever gender is appropriate.