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Voice and Ergativity in Mayan Languages

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In recent years there has been a good deal of interest in ergativity and voice in linguistics because of the implications these have for grammatical theory. This paper is basically a description of the verbal category of voice in the context of ergativity in Mayan languages (see Table 1). Mayan languages are morphologically ergative, and many of them display characteristic features of syntactic ergativity as well. In addition, split-ergative constructions are also found in many of the languages. The category of voice is well developed in the family, and many of the languages have rather complex voice systems which include active, one or more passives, one or more antipassives, and instrumental and referential voices. The main purpose of this paper is to bring together data on voice and ergativity in the family as a whole. Voice and ergativity are discussed in some detail for at least one language from each of the main subgroups of Mayan: Huastecan, Yucatecan, Cholan, Tzeltalan, Kanjobalan, Mamean, Quichean, Pocom, and Kekchi.

Before actually presenting descriptions of voice and ergativity for particular languages, a number of concepts and working definitions are introduced in the section below 'Some Concepts and Working Hypotheses'. The discussion is informal and not meant to be definitive. The theoretical approach that emerges is perhaps at the same time rather eclectic and idiosyncratic, although I hope not necessarily inconsistent.
After discussing some concepts and definitions, a general characterization of what Mayan languages are like is presented. Then a discussion of voice and ergativity in particular languages is given. In the conclusion, some generalizations on ergativity and voice are stated and some hypotheses on voice and ergativity in Proto-Mayan are proposed.

Some Concepts and Working Definitions

Transitivity and the notion of subject. 3

An a priori assumption made in this paper is that there are two types of basic and fundamental universal activities recognized in all languages: transitive and intransitive. Transitive activities are those which involve two participants: one is a 'doer' herein called the agent (A), and the other is a 'nondoer' called the patient (P). Intransitive activities are those which involve only one participant called a subject (S). The S may be a 'doer' or a 'nondoer', the distinction isn't necessarily important. All languages, therefore, recognize and manifest a distinction between two fundamentally different classes of verbs which denote the two basic types of activities, respectively: transitive verbs (TVs) which require two arguments, A and P, in direct relationship with them; and intransitive verbs (TVs) which require only one argument, S, in direct relationship with them. Any other arguments (or NPs) in relationship with a verb are in an oblique relationship with it (e.g. dative, locative, instrumental, etc.).

Because the two participants in a transitive activity have different functions (i.e. 'doer' and 'nondoer') languages need to indicate the distinction between As and Ps by some grammatical means such as: (1) case inflections or particles, (2) word order, and (3) cross-referencing on the transitive verb. Cross-referencing, however, must always occur in
conjunction with (1) or (2), or take semantic features of the particular verbs and noun phrases into account, since cross-referencing alone can not distinguish the function of two 3rd person NPs, if they are not marked in some other way.

With respect to IVs, since S is the only participant in intransitive activities, there is no particular need to distinguish semantic As from semantic Ps, so languages tend to ignore the distinction. However, there are several possibilities for the manner in which Ss may be marked: (1) they may be marked in the same way as A (= nominative/accusative marking, see the section below 'Ergativity and Pivot'); (2) they may be marked in the same way as P (= absolutive/ergative marking, see 'Ergativity and Pivot'); (3) they may be marked like A if they are semantically agent-like and marked like P if they are semantically patient-like (= agent/patient marking); and (4) they may be distinguished completely from A and P. Nominative/accusative marking is perhaps the most common and well attested in the world's languages (e.g. Indo-European, Uto-Aztecan, Quechuan, and Japanese, to name but a few). Absolutive/ergative marking is found throughout the world in a number of different language groups such as Mayan, Eskimo, Basque, Georgian, some Australian languages, Hindi, and some Polynesian languages. Agent/patient marking is found in Siouan, Caddoan, and Iroquoian languages, as well as others, but the marking never seems to be 100 percent semantically consistent. Apparently, the only languages that distinguish S from both A and P are the Australian languages in the Ngura group and perhaps Motu (although the data isn't clear on the latter; cf. Dixon, 1979).

The choice of the term agent for the 'doer' participant in a transitive activity reflects the view held here that there is a central or
core meaning to the term: agents par excellence are human (or at least animate) and volitional, and they initiate and control activities. However, in natural languages the notion of agent is usually extended to include experiencing participants as well as inanimate and nonvolitional participants which do something to something else or cause some effect in something else. The term patient also has a central or core meaning: patients par excellence are inanimate, nonvolitional, noncontrolling, and noninitiating, and they normally receive, suffer, or are affected by the action of some agent. However, in natural languages the notion of patient is extended to include any 'nondoer' participant, animate or inanimate, in a transitive activity, as well as to things perceived or experienced (which usually are not affected by being experienced).

There is, then, a hierarchy of agency, or potentiality for being an agent, the inverse of which is a hierarchy of patienthood (see (1) below). On the far left are first and second persons, who, because they are inevitably human, are highest on the agency hierarchy (but lowest on the patienthood hierarchy). On the far right are inanimate objects which are lowest on the agency hierarchy (but highest on the patienthood hierarchy).

Agency Hierarchy

(1) \[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{1st person} & \text{proper human} & \text{human} \\
\text{2nd person} & \text{animate} & \text{inanimate} \\
\text{noun} & \text{noun} & \text{noun}
\end{array}
\]

Included within the agency hierarchy are two other (sub)hierarchies: (1) the animacy hierarchy (human > animate > inanimate), and (2) the person hierarchy (1st and 2nd person > 3rd person). These hierarchies indicate what is most likely to be an agent (or inversely, a patient), or at least what ought to be an agent, other things being equal. The hierarchies
are especially relevant in ergative languages, and perhaps in all languages.

The term S (of IV) has no particular central meaning since it is the only participant in an intransitive activity and may be either a 'doer' or a 'nondoer'. However, some languages, perhaps, assign meaning to S by aligning it with either A or P.

It should be noted that the terms A, P, and S are defined as fundamental (deep) semantic-syntactic functions as well as relations; these semantic-syntactic relations and functions along with the contrast between transitive and intransitive verbs are taken as axiomatic. This view contrasts markedly with, for example, Chomsky's constituent structure and dependency relations, and with relational grammar (as outlined by Johnson 1976, and Perlmutter and Postal 1974). In neither of these two schools is there a claim made that the transitive/intransitive contrast is fundamental. In the Chomskyan school there are no basic terms (e.g. agent, patient, subject, object, etc.), rather, these kinds of relations are secondarily defined by dependency relations. In relational grammar, however, Subject, Object, and Indirect Object, are defined as basic and universal terms having first order relationships with the verb.

In relational grammar, the term deep, logical, or semantic Object more or less coincides with P as used here, although the two terms are defined differently. The Indirect Object in relational grammar has a first order relationship with a verb, but in this paper it is viewed as basically having an oblique relationship with the verb. The deep, logical, or semantic Subject (with a capital S) in relational grammar includes the two terms, A and S (subject with small case s). The view held here is that Subject is not a fundamental term (like A, P, and S), although it is
a universal category which primarily has syntactic relevance. Thus, in the languages of the world the S of intransitive verbs and A of transitive verbs are usually treated alike in constructions like: (1) imperatives where both A and S are second persons; (2) jussives (e.g. I order you to X) where the P of the main verb is coreferential with an A or S of the subordinate verb, and therefore one of them is usually deleted; (3) those with verbs like 'can', 'try', 'begin', and 'finish', where the A (or S?) of the main verb is coreferential with the A or S of the subordinate verb and therefore is usually omitted under Equi-deletion; and (4) 'make do X' causatives where the P of the main clause is coreferential with the A or S or the subordinate verb, and therefore, one is usually deleted. A and S are treated alike (i.e. as Subjects) in constructions like these probably because A is a 'doer' and S may be a 'doer.'

The universal category of Subject as outlined above is often confused with language specific categories having to do with topic, theme, and syntactic pivot, by mistakenly calling them 'surface' subject.

Ergativity and Pivot

A language is morphologically ergative if it treats the S of IVs and the P of TVs in the same way grammatically, and the A of TVs in another way. This may be done with case inflections or cross-referencing affixes on the verb (e.g. in Mayan languages). The S of IVs and the P of TVs are called the absolutive and the A of TVs is called the ergative. This absolutive/ergative system (henceforth, simply 'ergative' system) contrasts with a nominative/accusative system (henceforth, simply 'accusative' system), where the S of IVs and A of TVs are treated alike grammatically, as opposed to the P of TVs. Here the S of IVs and A of TVs are the nominative and the P of TVs is the accusative.
Absolutive/Ergative vs Nominative/Accusative

(2)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ergative</th>
<th>absolutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV agent</td>
<td>IV subject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

nominative  accusative

Note that whether the S of IVs falls with the A of TVs morphologically, or with the P of TVs, makes no difference with respect to maintaining the fundamental distinctions of A, P, and S, since IVs have only one basic argument.

In general, the absolutive is the unmarked category and the ergative the marked category in ergative languages, while in accusative languages the nominative is usually unmarked and the accusative is the marked category (cf. Dixon 1979, Silverstein 1977). Marking here has to do with things like: (1) which categories have null case inflections and/or cross-referencing affixes; (2) which categories are obligatorily included in each sentence; and (3) which categories feed syntactic processes.

Note that in ergative languages, since the ergative category is the marked one, what really is being given special status is the fundamental term agent. It is kept distinct from both P and S (= absolutive), and in many ergative languages the syntactic processes affecting the ergative (= agent) are highly restricted. For example, in many Mayan languages an ergative NP can not be questioned, relativized, or clefted. Smith-Stark (1976b) has called this the 'Inert Ergative Constraint', which really means that the fundamental relationship between a TV and its agent cannot be violated directly, at least without making compensatory modifications. The notion of transitive agent is marked as if it were sacrosanct in ergative languages.
One characteristic feature of most ergative languages is that they display split-ergative systems (cf. Dixon 1979, Silverstein 1977). In other words, along side of constructions with ergative marking, they also have constructions which are marked in a nominative/accusative way (cf. Table 3, which identifies languages in Mayan which have morphological split-ergativity). Split-ergativity is not random, rather it occurs in well defined areas: (1) In some ergative languages certain IVs may require more agent-like marking because of their semantic features (e.g. jump, run, speak). In other words, IVs whose Ss are semantic agents, may require their Ss to be treated like As of TVs, thus making this part of the system essentially nominative. (2) In some ergative languages some Ss of IVs may be treated like As of TVs because their semantic features make them higher on the agency hierarchy (e.g. 1st and 2nd persons). Thus, with these NPs the system becomes essentially nominative. (3) In some ergative languages, nonpast/incomplete/imperfective tenses or aspects may require nominative marking while past/complete/perfective require ergative marking. Dixon (1979) claims that nonpast/incomplete/imperfective presuppose a more agent-like perspective for both IVs and TVs, so the Ss of IVs tend to be treated like As of TVs, making this part of the system essentially nominative. And (4), in some ergative languages subordinate clauses may require accusative marking while main clauses require ergative marking (we shall discuss the motivation for this in the Conclusion).

In Mayan languages, only one language, Mot, has a split system based on (2), the semantic features of nouns; first and second person are treated in an accusative way, third person in an ergative way. There are a number of Mayan languages which have splits in their tense/aspect systems, (3),
with accusative structures in the incompletive or progressive aspects and ergative marking in other tense/aspects. There are also a number of languages which use accusative structures in subordinate clauses, (4), and ergative structures in main clauses. It should be noted that in all Mayan languages with split-ergative structures, ergative marking has been extended to intransitive verbs. This is what is called an Extended Ergative System or a Marked Nominative System (Dixon 1979).

A language has syntactic ergativity if there are syntactic processes which rely on ergative structures for their operation. In other words, ergative structures feed syntactic processes like coordination, subordination, relativization, etc., rather than accusative structures. It is possible for a language to be morphologically ergative but not syntactically ergative if syntactic processes rely on accusative structures rather than on ergative ones (cf. examples in Dixon 1979). The more ergative a language is, the more syntactic processes will operate on ergative structures.

As noted above, in syntactically ergative languages usually the ergative category is restricted syntactically. For example, in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972, 1979), ergative NPs cannot be coordinated, relativized, or subordinated in purposive clauses. Ergative NPs first must be converted into absolutes by an antipassive transformation (see the next section on 'Voice' for a discussion of 'antipassive'). In many Mayan languages, ergative NPs cannot be questioned, relativized, or cleft: they must first be converted into absolutes by antipassivization (or passivization, at times) in order to participate in these syntactic constructions. In accusative languages, the converse is usually the case; accusative NPs are restricted syntactically. For them to participate in certain syntactic operations they must be converted into nominatives via
passivization (cf. Keenan 1976, and Keenan and Comrie 1976, for examples). What this means is that in ergative languages, the absolutive is the syntactic pivot, whereas in accusative languages the nominative is the syntactic pivot. 8

In the literature there has been a good deal of discussion over the notion of 'subject', in large part due to confusing the universal category of Subject as defined above and the language specific category of syntactic pivot.

Voice

Voice is an overt grammatical category basically pertaining to transitive verbs. The function of voice is to indicate the relationship the verb has with its arguments. The normal unmarked voice is the active voice which manifests the fundamental transitive relationship in which there are two arguments, agent and patient, in direct relationship with a transitive verb.

(3) Normal Active Voice: TV A P

A change in voice involves a disruption of the basic transitive relationship, along with overt morphological or syntactic marking of such a change. 9

One important function of voice changes is to allow the omission of one of the basic arguments of a TV in the semantic (deep) structure. This is a discursive device which makes possible the discussion of a transitive activity without mentioning one of the basic arguments when it is unknown or irrelevant, or when there is a desire on the part of the speaker to withhold such information. However, the omission of one of the arguments requires overt marking indicating that the basic transitive relationship
has been disrupted. When one of the arguments is omitted, the normally
transitive verb must be converted into a derived intransitive verb and the
remaining argument is inflected like any other S of IV. (Obviously, the
techniques for doing this are language specific.)

Thus, the **absolutive passive** voice marks the omission of the agent.
Since the A is omitted the verb is converted into a derived intransitive
and the P becomes the S. Thus, other things being equal, in an ergative
language the S will be inflected as an absolutive, and in an accusative
language the S will be inflected as a nominative.

\[(4) \quad \text{ACTIVE} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{PASSIVE}\]

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{VT A P} \\
\text{VI S (= P)}
\end{array}\]

Note that this view of passive is not the same as having transformations
delete agents (whole, or dummy elements like someone/something). The
agent is simply not specified lexically or referentially, although a non-
specific agent is implied in \_as a passive construction.\(^{10}\) True medio-passive
voices differ from passives only in that there is no implied agent. An
activity which is normally viewed as transitive is marked by medio-passive
voice indicating that it occurs without an agent (see Table 9).

The **absolutive antipassive**\(^{11}\) voice is the obverse of the passive (see
Table 10). It indicates that the patient has been omitted from the dis-
cussion of a normally transitive activity. Since the patient is omitted,
the normally transitive verb must be converted into a derived intransitive,
and the A becomes S of the derived IV. Other things being equal, in an
ergative language the S will be inflected as an absolutive, and in an
accusative language having an antipassive the S will be inflected as nomi-
inative.
Another important function of voice changes is to make possible the rearrangement of the arguments in relationship with a transitive verb. Here none of the participants basic to a transitive activity are omitted from the discussion, rather they are put in different functions with respect to the verb, usually by promotional or demotional processes. These rearrangements are usually motivated by syntactic restrictions (e.g. on what may be the syntactic pivot), and by discourse requirements (e.g. what is topic, theme, or in focus). Thus, for example, in many accusative languages, an accusative NP is not accessible to certain syntactic processes, so passivization is required in order to promote the P (= accusative) to the nominative case; the A is demoted from the nominative case to an oblique case. Since the A is no longer in direct relationship with the TV, it must be converted into a derived IV with P becoming S like with the absolutive passive. This type of passivization is also usually required when the P is the topic or theme of the discourse.

As discussed above in 'Ergativity and Pivot', in a number of Mayan languages there is an Inert Ergative Constraint which restricts the participation of ergative NPs in syntactic processes such as questioning, relativization, and clefting, or more generally when they are in focus. In order for an ergative NP to participate in such processes the normally transitive verb is put into the focus antipassive voice converting it to a derived intransitive. The ergative NP is clefted and promoted to
absolutive. There is also evidence that it is promoted to a higher clause becoming a predicate noun. The patient is either demoted to an oblique case or apparently remains intact.  

\[(7) \quad \text{ACTIVE} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{FOCUS} \quad \text{ANTIPASSIVE}\]

\[\text{VT} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{P} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{A} \quad \text{VI} \quad \text{(oblique)}\]

(Here the circled A indicates that the agent is clefted, and perhaps is in a higher clause.)

The incorporating antipassive is another voice occurring in a number of Mayan languages and many other ergative languages (as well as in non-ergative languages, e.g. Algonquian). The incorporating antipassive voice makes it possible for a nondistinct, nonspecific patient of a certain class to be incorporated into the verb complex. Here there is no particular patient specified, only a class of patients without specific reference (like in the English forms 'to bird-watch' and 'to deer-hunt'). Since the patient is incorporated into the verb complex, it is no longer an argument in direct relationship with the verb, so the verb must be converted into a derived intransitive, and the A becomes S.

\[(8) \quad \text{ACTIVE} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{INCORPORATING} \quad \text{ANTIPASSIVE}\]

\[\text{TV} \quad \text{A} \quad \text{P} \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{IV-P} \quad \text{S} \quad (= \text{A})\]

There is another type of voice which occurs in a number of Mayan languages that allows the rearrangement of the transitive relationship. In what is called the referential voice an NP that is normally in an oblique relationship with a TV is promoted out of the oblique case and is then treated as if it were one of the basic arguments in a transitive predication (see Table 11). The kinds of oblique arguments that may be
promoted are datives, benefactives, malefactives, and possessors of Ps. In those languages which have a referential voice, if one of these oblique arguments occurs in a transitive sentence it usually must be promoted. The TV remains transitive but has a referential voice suffix. The promoted argument is cross-referenced on the verb with absolutive marking as if it were the P. The P is not cross-referenced on the verb, nor does it receive oblique marking. Thus, it is demoted from having a direct relationship with the verb, but it is not demoted enough to receive oblique marking, rather it is left in limbo, or, using a term from relational grammar, it becomes a chômeur without status.

(9) \[ \begin{array}{c|c}
\text{ACTIVE} & \text{REFERENTIAL VOICE} \\
\hline
TV A P oblique R \rightarrow TV A R en chômeage P \\
\end{array} \]

\( R = \text{dative, benefactive, malefactive, and possessor of P} \)

Another voice related historically to the referential voice is the \text{instrumental voice}. The instrumental voice optionally allows an instrument NP to be promoted out of the oblique instrumental case; however, if it is promoted, it must also be put in focus. The instrumental voice is used when an instrument is questioned, relativized, or clefted. A TV in the instrumental voice remains transitive but has an instrumental voice suffix. Whether the instrument or the patient is cross-referenced on the verb in the instrumental voice depends on the language (see details in the section below on 'Voice and Ergativity in Selected Mayan Languages').
A General Characterization of Mayan Languages

In this section a brief and rather general characterization of Mayan languages is given. The discussion is not meant to be comprehensive, but rather is provided to give the reader a sense of what Mayan languages are like, especially with regard to verb structure and basic sentence structure.

Mayan languages are mildly synthetic and agglutination is the primary technique used in word formation. Prefixation is mostly restricted to person and tense/aspect inflections. Suffixation is the most common technique; almost all derivational affixes as well as many inflectional affixes are suffixes. Infixation occurs but is rare. Compounding is also a moderately important word formative process.

In general, Mayan languages are verb-first languages (see Table 4). The basic word order in the majority of the languages is Verb Patient Agent (VPA); however, VAP is the basic order in a number of languages, especially in the Kanjobalan and Mamean groups. AVP is recorded as the basic order in Chortí only, and is probably a rather recent innovation. All of the VPA languages, and some of the VAP languages have topicalization processes which front agents allowing them to occur before the verb; some of the languages also permit topicalized patients to occur before the verb as well. Thus, other possible (nonbasic) orders are AVP, APV, and occasionally, PVA. The latter is usually only permissible if the agent is higher on the animacy hierarchy than the patient (see the section above on 'Transitivity and the Notion of Subject').
Hua and Tenejapa Tzt are reported to have both VAP and VPA as basic orders. VAP is the normal order when the agent and patient are equal on the animacy hierarchy and VPA is the normal order when the agent is higher on the hierarchy than the patient. Norman and Campbell (1978) suggest that this was the situation in Proto-Mayan (PM). In most languages PAV order is ungrammatical in normal active transitive sentences but does occur in some languages (e.g. Quichean) in focus antipassive constructions when the patient is topicalized while the agent is in focus.

It should be noted that what is meant by 'basic word order' is the order used in normal active declarative transitive sentences which are not subordinate and in which none of the major constituents (V, A, P) is topicalized or in focus. The basic orders are not necessarily the most frequent statistically, since in normal conversation one or the other of the major constituents is often the topic or theme, in which case the basic order is usually modified. The basic order is the one which strictly provides information about a predicate and its arguments without highlighting any one of them.

Mayan languages are morphologically ergative, since the pronominal affixes which cross-reference Ss of IVs are the same as those indicating the Ps of TVs, while, on the other hand, the As of TVs are cross-referenced with a different set of pronominal affixes. The affixes cross-referencing Ss of IVs and Ps of TVs are called absolutive (B) pronominal affixes (see Table 6), and are often referred to as 'Set B' in Mayan studies. The affixes cross-referencing As of TVs are called ergative (A) pronominal affixes (see Tables 7 and 8), and are often referred to as 'Set A' in Mayan studies. Compare the following examples from Tzt and Kok. 16
(11) Tzt tal - em - ot
    como - perf- B2

(12) Tzt s - maj - oj - ot
    A3 - hit - perf - B2

(13) Tzt a - maj - oj - on
    A2 - hit - perf - B1

(14) Kek x - at - b'eo
    asp - B2 - go

(15) Kek x - at - x - b'oq
    asp - B2 - A3- call

(16) Kek x - in - aa - b'oq
    asp - B1 - A2 - call

The ergative markers are always prefixes and usually have differing
preconsonantal and prevocalic forms. Besides cross-referencing the
agents of TVs, they also cross-reference possessors (e.g. Kek x-tz'i7
'his dog', aa-tz'i7 'your dog', r-aag 'his pig', aaw-aag 'your pig').
The absolutive markers are prefixes in some languages and suffixes in
others, and sometimes occur as both prefixes and suffixes in the same
language, usually in differing constructions. They also often function
as independent pronouns, or at least as the formative bases on which
the independent pronouns are built. Finally, they are used to indicate
subjects in stative (nonverbal) sentences with, for example, predicate
adjectives and predicate nouns (e.g. Chl winik on 'I am a man'). It
should be noted that the third person singular absolutive marker is $ in
Mayan languages (with nonnull morphological variants in Hua and Chr only),
and that inflection, especially tense/aspect inflection, is sometimes
somewhat distinct with the third person singular null element.
Nouns in a direct relationship with a predicate (i.e. subjects of IVs or stative predicates, and agents and patients of TVs) are morphologically unmarked in Mayan languages (except for the cross-referencing on the verb). That is, there are no overt case marking affixes on nouns. However, nouns in an oblique relationship with a predicate are marked for case with either prepositions or relational nouns or a combination of both. Most Mayan languages have few prepositions but those that exist function like prepositions in European languages (e.g. Tzu pa tinaamit 'in town'). Relational nouns function like prepositions or case inflections but are formally nouns and are usually followed by their head noun and possessed by it (e.g. Tzu w-umaal 'by me', aw-umaal 'by you', r-umaal jar aachi 'by him the man = by the man', ch-aaw-e 'to you' < ch prep 'to, at' aaw- E2 -e 'to').

As the examples above indicate, possession in Mayan languages is normally indicated with an ergative prefix on the possessed noun, and if the possessor is third person, then it normally follows the possessed noun (e.g. Tzu ruu-tz'iil7 jar aachi 'his dog the man = the man's dog', ruu-g'a7 jar iixoq 'her hand the woman = the woman's hand'). Under possession some nouns undergo stem modification or omission of suffixes (cf. Tzu tz'iil7 'dog', q'ab'-aaj 'hand'). Possessor nouns may be omitted in context and fronted via topicalization processes.

Mayan languages have at least the following word classes, defined morphologically and syntactically: nouns, verbs, adjectives, and particles of various sorts. There are often other classes such as affect words, adverbs, numeral classifiers, and noun classifiers. Nouns are normally subcategorized depending on their behavior under possession. Verbs are always minimally sub-classified into transitive and intransitive,
and sometimes further into root transitives (RTV) and derived transitives (DTV); and rarely (Yucatecan only?) different kinds of intransitives are distinguished. TVs are always distinguished from IVs since they take both the ergative and absolutive person markers, while IVs only take the absolutive markers (or under special circumstances in some languages, only the ergative markers), never both sets at once.

The different classes of verbs are also usually distinguished by what modal suffixes they require. For example, in Quiché in the indicative mode RTVs require -o, DTVs -vj, and IVs -ik (cf. xub'an-o 'he did it', xukamisa-vj > xukamisaaj 'he killed it', xkam-ik 'he died').

There is also a special root class in Mayan called positional roots. These never occur in isolation but rather have special derived adjective and verb forms, as well as others. The roots get their name from the fact that they typically indicate the position, condition, state, or form that an object is in.

The structure of transitive verbs (see Table 5) in Mayan languages is typically of the form:

(17) aspect + absolutive + ergative + TV stem (+ mode)

Qui x-at-u-ch'ay-o 'he hit you'

or

(18) aspect + ergative + TV stem (+ mode) + absolutive

Lac t-inw-il-aj-ech 'I saw you'

Aspects minimally include completive and incompletive, and other common ones are progressive, potential or future (unrealized). What goes in the aspect slot, in some languages may actually be tense markers (e.g. past, remote past, present, future), or mode markers (e.g. imperative, optative). As noted above, the ergative person markers
are always prefixes while the absolutive markers may be prefixes or suffixes depending on the language. Mode suffixes include indicative, imperative, and subjunctive. In many languages, one or more verb classes may have zero marking in a given mode, and in some cases the mode suffix only appears when it would be in phrase final position. That is, it is omitted when anything follows in the same phrase or clause; this is especially true in the indicative mode. These suffixes are often called 'phrase final suffixes'. To a certain extent they have a dual function of indicating mode as well as phrase and clause boundaries.

Intransitive verbs conform to the structures above except that they always only have a single person marker, either a prefixed or suffixed absolutive marker; or, in some languages under certain conditions, an ergative prefix instead of an absolutive marker (see Tables 3 and 5).

Some languages distinguish between perfective and nonperfective verb structures, the ones above being the forms used in the nonperfective. Perfective verbs have no aspect prefix and a perfective marker occurs in place of a mode suffix. Cf.

(19) Tzu x - in - war - i
    completive B1 - sleep indic
    'I slept'

(20) Tzu in - war - naq
    B1 - sleep-perf
    'I have gone to sleep'

(21) Tzu x - at - nuu - ch'ey - \ø
    completive B2 - A1 - hit indic
    'I hit you'

(22) Tzu at - n - ch'ey - oon
    B2 - A1 - hit perf
    'I have hit you'

In many languages, directional affixes, and at times, adverbial particles, may intervene between one or more of the position slots
outlined above. However, the details are too complex to go into here.

Stative predicates, such as predicate adjective and predicate noun constructions, rarely have a formal copula. Usually, the predicate is simply juxtaposed with an absolutive person marker (e.g. Tzu in aachi 'I am a man', ə ix og 'she is a woman').

Mayan languages always have a series of plain stops and affricates and a corresponding glottalized series (see Table 2). There are also series of fricatives, nasals, resonants and semivowels. Most languages have a five vowel system, and some have a corresponding set of long vowels. A few languages have a six vowel system (see Campbell, Fox, Kaufman, and McQuown, especially Kaufman 1966-69).

Some other typical features of Mayan languages are briefly mentioned. Usually, there is an existential/locative particle which is roughly equivalent to Spanish estar 'be (located)' and hay 'there is/are'. It is used to indicate the existence or location of something. It is also used in possessive sentences in the construction: exists my X, meaning 'I have X'. Plurality as an inflectional category on nouns is well developed only with human nouns, if at all. Noun and numeral classifiers are important in some of the languages. And finally, reflexive constructions are formed with transitive verbs having a possessed object noun meaning 'self', the possessor being cross-referenced with the ergative prefix on the verb, which also has the ə third person singular absolutive marker.

Voice and Ergativity in Selected Mayan Languages

In this section the voice systems of a number of Mayan languages are outlined, and split-ergative constructions are discussed, in those
languages which have them (the languages marked with an asterisk ‘**’ in Table 1 are those under discussion in this section). The presentation will begin with Kek in the Greater Quichean group and proceed westward through other languages of the Eastern division, then move on to languages of the Western division, then northward to Yucatecan, and end with Huastec. At the beginning of each subsection the sources for each language are listed. 17

Greater Quichean


Pcm: Smith-Stark (1976a, b, 1978a, b).


Qui: Brasseur de Bourbourg (1961, Burgess and Fox (1966), Fox (1973),
   Larson (field notes), Mondloch and Eruska (1975), Norman (1978),
   Ximénez (1701-03).

Cak: Brinton (1884), Larsen (field notes), Norman (1978), Townsend
   (1960).


Greater Quichean – Kekchi

TVs in the active voice are unmarked in the indicative. RTVs end in a consonant and DTVs end in a vowel. Some examples are given below and should be compared with forms in other voices discussed later on.
(23) x-at-in-sak' 'I hit you'
    T-B2-Al-hit

(24) x-Ø-a-yok' li si7 'you cut the firewood'
    T-B3-A2-cut the firewood

(25) x-at-in-ch'iila 'I scolded you'
    T-B2-Al-scold

(26) x-Ø-x-kamsi 'he killed it'
    T-B3-A3-kill

Simple passives with absolutive and rearranging functions are marked
with -e7 on RTVs, and vowel length plus an intransitive mode suffix (e.g.
-k) on DTVs. An A may optionally be expressed in the sentence with a RN
(e.g. -b'aan 'by').

(27) x-at-sak'-e7 (in-b'aan) 'you were hit (by me)'
    T-B2-hit-Ps Al-by

(28) x-at-ch'iila-a-k (in-b'aan) 'you were scolded (by me)'
    T-B2-scold-Ps-M Al-by

There is also an 'impersonal' passive formed with -man which can
only have a 3rd person P and never allows an A to be expressed, although
it is implied.

(29) x-Ø-yok'-man li si7
    T-B3-cut-Ps the firewood

    'the firewood was cut/they cut the firewood'

Like most Mayan languages, Kek has past participial adjectives de-
cribed from TVs, which function in passive-like constructions. These
participles form stative predicates requiring an absolutive S which
cross-references the P of the underlying TV. The participles emphasize the result of a transitive activity; that is, that the P is in the state or condition resulting from the activity. Agents may optionally be indicated by a RN. -b'il derives participles from RTVs, and -mb'il derives them from DTVs (e.g. sak'-b'il at 'you are/have been hit', ch'iila-mb'il at in-b'aan 'you are/have been scolded by me').

In the Chamil dialect, there is also a reduplicating suffix -C₁₀ which derives both adjective and IV passives from RTVs only (cf. x-in-aa-b'ak 'you tied me up', b'ak'-b'oo-k in 'I am tied up', x-in-b'ak'-b'o 'I got tied up').

Antipassives are formed with -o on RTVs and -n on DTVs. These suffixes derive all three types of antipassives: absolutive, focus, and incorporating. The P is demoted to the dative case marked with the RN -o 'to, of, for' in focus antipassive constructions. In incorporating antipassive sentences, a generic patient NP follows the verb without further marking.

Absolutive

(30) x-at-b'is-o-k 'you were measuring'
    T-B2-measure-Ap-M (< b'is 'measure' TV)

(31) x-in-ch'iila-n 'I was scolding'
    T-B1-scold-Ap

Incorporating

(32) x-at-yok'-o-k si7 'you cut firewood (e.g. for a
    T-B2-cut-Ap-M firewood living)'
Focus

(33) laa7at x-at-sak'-o-k w-e
    'it was you who hit me'

(34) ani x-∅-sak'-o-k aw-e  'who hit you?'
    who T-B3-hit-Ap-M A2-to
    (cf. in active: ani x-∅-a-sak' 'who did you hit?)'
    who T-B3-A2-hit

(35) li wing li x-∅-kami-n r-e ...
    the man who T-B3-kill-Ap A3-to
    'the man who killed him...'

Morphological split-ergativity does not occur with finite verbs in Kek. However, there are passive infinitives of TVs formed in -b'al
(e.g. sak'-b'al 'to be hit'), which may take the ergative prefixes which
then cross-reference the underlying P of these nominalizations (e.g.
aa-sak'-b'al 'your being hit/for you to be hit'). The ergative prefixes,
here are formally possessive prefixes that semantically mark patients.
The passive infinitives are used in, for example, the progressive aspect
marked with the stative predicate yoo- 'to be in the act of doing some-
thing', which requires an absolutive S that is coreferential with the
Subject (A of TV or S of IV) of an infinitive embedded in a clause marked
by the preposition chi 'at'.

(36) yoo-k in chi aa-sak'-b'al
    prog-M Bl at E2-hit-nom
    'I am hitting you'
It is difficult to decide if this is a true case of split-ergativity or whether the apparent split is due simply (and perhaps unimportantly) to the possessive nature of the ergative prefixes. However, since the construction does occur in the progressive aspect, I have indicated in Table 3 that it is a possible case of split-ergativity. 18

Greater Quichean - Pocom

Pcm and Pch are essentially alike in terms of their voice categories and ergativity, so they will be discussed together. Differences will be noted when relevant to the discussion. The active voice is unmarked on RTVs, but DTVs require a mode suffix in the indicative (i.e. Pch -vj, and Pcm - vh - ej). IVs take the phrase final suffixes -ak in Pch and -i in Pcm.

(37) Pch x-at-in-ch'oy
    T-B2-A1-hit 'I hit you'

(38) Pcm x-in-ru-q'at
    T-B1-A3-cut 'he cut me'

(39) Pcm ih-Ø-ru-kaansa-ah
    T-B3-A3-kill-M 'he killed it'

The simple passive is marked with -vr on RTVs and -j on DTVs. Agents may optionally be expressed with a RN (e.g. -u7uun 'by').

(40) Pcm ih-Ø-q'at-ar-i (x-u7uun)
    T-B3-cut-Ps-M E3-by 'it was cut (by him)'

(41) Pcm ih-Ø-kaans-j-i
    T-B3-kill-Ps-M 'he was killed'
Pcm has another passive in -aam'j (e.g. ih-ʊ-q'axp-aam'j-i 'it was split' < q'axpi 'to split'). Pch has a similar historically related form in -mężnj, which derives passives from TVs derived from positionals (e.g. ʊ-ʊ-q'oz-oentiful-ik 'it was wrapped up' < oq'aa7 'to wrap up'). There are two other passives in Pch, one in -mężj (e.g. x-in-ch'ey-mężj-ik 'I was hit'). Brown states that As are not specified with this passive. The other passive, derived in -vəb', has the meaning 'to be repeatedly Xed' (e.g. x-in-ch'ey-əb' ik 'I was repeatedly hit').

Both Pch and Pcm have past participles used in adjective passive constructions, marked with -ooj on RTVs (e.g. Pch ch'ey-ooj 'it is/has been hit'), and -mężmaj on DTVs (e.g. Pcm kaans-amaj 'it is/has been killed').

Absolutive and focus antipassives are marked with -w on RTVs, and with -in in Pcm and -vn in Pch on DTVs. There apparently is no incorporating antipassive.

**Absolutive**

(42) Pcm x-in-k'at-w-i 'I burned/did some burning'

T-B1-burn-Ap-M

(cf. active: ih-ʊ-nu-k'at 'I burned it')

T-B3-Al-burn

(43) Pcm ih-ʊ-kaans-in-i 'he was killing'

T-B3-kill-Ap-M

In Pcm the focus antipassive has the functions listed above in the section 'Voice' and an additional one: it also occurs when the A is a negative indefinite pronoun. In both Pch and Pcm the focus antipassive is optional; and in Pcm it is used only with 3rd person As, especially
when ambiguity would occur if it were not used. Ps are optionally de-
moted to the dative case marked with the RN -eh 'to, for, of'. However,
in Pcm when the P is not demoted, it is impossible to tell whether the
A or P is marked on the verb, since with 3rd persons the S is always the
∅ absolutive. Examples of the focus antipassive with clefted, questioned,
and negative As are given below.

(44) Pch re7 tz'i7 x-∅-hoy-w-ik r-e winaq
the dog  T-B3-bite-Ap-M A3-to man
'it was the dog that bit the man'

(45) Pch re7 hin x-in--b'uhyu-n-ik r-eh
the I  T-B1-quiet-Ap-M A3-to
'I am the one who quieted him down'

(46) Pcm ha7 wach ih-∅-tok-w-i (r-eh)
who  T-B3-hit-Ap-M B3-to
'who hit him?'
(cf. with 1st per: ha7 wach ih-∅-nu-tok
'who did I hit?'

(47) Pcm qu ham' wach ∅-∅-to7-w-i r-eh
nobody  T-B3-help-Ap-M A3-to
'nobody helped him'

Both Pocom languages have an instrumental voice, marked with
-b'e in Pch and -b'e -±7e in Pcm. The addition of this suffix results
in a DTV whether or not it is attached to a RTV or DTV. In both lan-
guages the instrumental voice is used in order to put the instrument
NP in focus (see section on 'Voice'). The instrument is promoted out
of an oblique case marked with a preposition or RN, and is clefted.
In Pcm the P is optionally demoted to an oblique case marked with a RN. Patient demotion apparently does not occur in Pch, but since the examples available for Pch are only in the 3rd person it is impossible to tell whether the P or the instrument is marked on the verb. The examples below are all from Pcm.

(48) hila7 x-θ-a-q'at-7i-eh w-ihchin (N.B. -7e+Vh
what T-B3-A2-cut-I-M A1-to > -7ich)
'what did you cut me with?'

(49) hila7 x-in-a-q'at-7i-eh (cf. with (48))
what T-B1-A2-cut-I-M
'what did you cut me with?'

(50) ma7 ha7 ih-θ-nuh-muh-7i-eh r-o
the water T-B3-A1-wet-I-M A3-to
'with the water I wet it'

Notice in (48) and (50) that the instrument is promoted to absolutive and marked on the verb as B3, and the P is demoted to the dative case. In (49) the instrument is promoted out of an oblique case but the P is not demoted. In Pcm, the instrumental voice suffix may also be used optionally in a sentence with an instrument in an oblique case, without instrument promotion or patient demotion.

(51) hin \{ih-θ-nu-sir \}
\{ih-θ-nu-sir-7i-ch\}
ma7 xuut pech r-iij ak'ach
I T-B3-A1-paint-I-M the jug with A3-back feather
'I painted the water jug with a feather'
And it can be used in sentences where the P is demoted, but the instrument is not promoted!

(52) ih-∅-nu-mek-7i-eh r-eh ma7 chie7 pech ma7 maachit
    T-B3-A1-pull-I-M  A3-to the tree with the machete
    'I pulled the tree with the machete'

These last two examples seem to indicate that the instrumental voice in Pcm is in a state of flux and is perhaps breaking down, as it has in Cak (see the next section on 'Quichean Proper').

Both Pcm and Pch have accusative marking in the incompletive aspect marked with the proclitic na in Pch and nW in Pcm. And Pch has accusative marking with the progressive particle k'ahchi7. In both cases the ergative prefixes have been extended to IVs in these aspects because the IVs are really action nominalizations derived with nominalizing infinitive suffixes. They, therefore, require the ergative possessive prefixes. These nominalizations are subordinate to the aspect particles, which Brown and Smith-Stark claim are higher predicates.

(53) Pcm nu ru-wir-iik       'he sleeps'
    T  A3-sleep-infin

(54) Pcm nu ∅-ru-q'at-om  'he cuts it'
    T  B3-A3-cut-infin

Greater Quichean - Quichean Proper

Qui, Tzu, and Cak19 are discussed together, because in general their voice systems are similar. Differences will be noted as they occur.
The active voice in the indicative on RTVs is unmarked in Tzu and Cak but is marked with the phrase final suffix -o in Qui. DTVs have the indicative mode suffix -V in Qui and Tzu, and -j in Cak. IVs are marked with -ik in Qui, -i in Tzu, and unmarked in Cak. Examples of the active voice are given below.

(55) Qui x-in-a-ch'ay-o 'you hit me'
     Tzu x-in-aa-ch'ey
     Cak x-in-a-ch'ay
     T-B1-A2-hit (-M)

(56) Qui x-in-a-tzuku-uj 'you looked for me'
     Tzu x-in-a-kaano-oj
     Cak x-in-a-kaano-j
     T-B1-A2-search-M

The simple passive with both absolutive and rearranging functions is marked with -x on DTVs, and with the infix -j- in Tzu on RTVs, which has become vowel length -V- in Qui, and in Cak has either become zero or vowel ablaut. In the Milpas Altas dialect of Cak the suffix -o may optionally mark passive on RTVs, especially where zero marking would otherwise result.

(57) Qui x-in-ch'ay-ik 'I was hit'
     Tzu x-in-ch'ejy-i
     Cak x-i-ch'ay(-e7)
     T-B1-hit(Ps)-(M)

(58) Qui x-in-tzuku-x-ik 'I was looked for'
     Tzu x-in-ka-no-x-i
     Cak x-i-ka-no-x
     T-B1-search-Ps(-M)
Agents may be expressed with RNS (e.g. Tzu *xinch'ejy aw-umaal* 'I was hit by you'), but in Qui expressed As are restricted to 3rd person.

All three languages have a 'completive' passive in -(V)taj used on both RTVs and DTVs. This passive emphasizes the result of the activity and/or its termination. Agents may be optionally expressed in any person.

(59) Qui x-in-tzuku-taj aw-umaal 'I was finished being looked for by you'

All three languages have a passive in -(V)r which is restricted in use to only a handful of RTVs and seems to be identical in function to the simple passive discussed above (e.g. Cak *x-ğ-k'ám-ař* 'it was taken'). Dayley (1978) has called this the 'archaic' passive because of its restriction in use and because it is cognate with the simple passive (-Vr) in Pocom.

Tzu has a nonproductive medio-passive formed with the infixes -(I) or -(I)', which occurs only on a dozen or so roots (e.g. *x-ğ-k'i7s-i* 'it stopped' < RTV k'is 'stop'; *x-ğ-tzajq-i* 'it fell down' < RTV tzaq 'lose').

Adjectival passives based on past participles occur in all three languages. They are formed with -(oon) (> -on in Cak) on RTVs and -(vn) (> -n in Cak) on DTVs. Agents may optionally be expressed with these forms (e.g. Tzu *at ch'ey-oon w-umaal* 'you are/have been hit by me', in *kaano-on r-umaal* 'I an/have been looked for by him'). Another adjectival passive occurs, in at least Qui and Tzu, that is related to the -(V)taj passive. It is built on -(V)tal. This adjectival passive emphasizes the result of the activity and deemphasizes the activity itself (e.g. Qui *in kuna-tal-ik* 'I am cured').
The absolutive antipassive is formed with -oon (> -on in Cak) on RTVs and -vn (> -n in Cak) on DTVs.

(60)  Tzu   x-at-ch'ey-oon-i 'you were hitting/did
       T-B2-hit-Ap-M some hitting'
       x-at-kaano-on-i 'you were searching'
       T-B2-search-Ap-M

It should be noted that the absolutive voice is not used with all TVs. There are a few which apparently, because of their semantic features, cannot be put into absolutive voice. For example, in Qui the TVs meaning 'take out' and 'cry over' do not have absolutive antipassive forms. There are also a few derived IVs that are formally like absolutive antipassives; however, they have been lexicalized so that their Ss refer to the P of the underlying TV not the A. For example, in Qui x-ṛ-raqi-n-ik (< DTV raqi 'to break apart') means 'it broke apart' not the expected 'he broke (something) apart'. It is also noteworthy, that in Qui (but not in Tzu or Cak), the P may be expressed with the dative relational noun in absolute antipassive sentences.

(61)  ka-ṛ-log'o-n lee in-tat ch w-eh
       T-B3-love-Ap the my-father to me-to
       'my father loves (to) me'

cf. active: k-in-u-log'o-oj lee in-tat
       T-B1-A3-love-M the my-father
       'my father loves me'

Mondloch and Hruska (1975) say this construction is used to disambiguate possible ambiguities. Norman and Larsen (1979) say that absolutive
sentences with patients expressed, have a slightly different meaning than their active counterparts. For example, the active form x-in-u-ch'ay-o means 'he hit me', whereas the absolutive sentence x-g-ch'ay-on ch q-eh means something like 'he hit at me'. In the latter case, the P in the dative case is in some sense only marginally a P, since it isn't necessarily affected by the activity. The absolutive voice with Ps demoted to the dative case may, then, be a means for expressing the distinction between true Ps and marginal ones in Qui (in the same way that prepositions apparently function in English; i.e. 'I hit him' vs. 'I hit at him').

Focus antipassives are marked with -ow (> -o in Cak) on RTVs, and -Vn (> -n in Cak) on DTVs. Verb agreement in the focus antipassive is rather interesting in Quichean. Normally, the absolutive person marker on the verb cross-references whatever is higher on the person hierarchy (cf. the section above on 'Transitivity and the Notion of Subject'), whether it is the A or the P. Compare the Tzu examples below.

(62) Tzu    Inin x-in-ch'ey-ow-i jar aachi
            I    T-Bl-hit-Ap-M    the man
            'I was the one who hit the man'

(63) Tzu    Jar aachi x-in-ch'ey-ow-i
            the man    T-Bl-hit-Ap-M
            'the man was the one who hit me'

There is no problem with ambiguity in these cases because the A is always clefted and occurs immediately before the verb. The P may either occur after the verb or be fronted via topicalization, in which case the P occurs first in the sentence. Sentences in the focus antipassive with a topicalized P are the only instances in Quichean with
PAV word order. Compare the following examples.

(64) Tzu  jar aachi x-∅-ch'ey-ow-i jar ixoq
        the man  T-B3-hit-Ap-M  the woman
        'the man was the one who hit the woman'

(65) Tzu  jar iixoq x-∅-ch'ey-ow-i jar aachi
        the woman T-B3-hit-Ap-M  the man
        'the woman was the one who hit the man'

(66) Tzu  jar iixoq jar aachi x-∅-ch'ey-ow-i
        the woman  the man  T-B3-hit-Ap-M
        'the woman, the man was the one who hit her'

In Qui one of the arguments, A or P, must be 3rd person in focus
antipassive sentences. However, in Tzu the non-3rd persons may occur,
and when they do the verb always agrees with the A and the P occurs in
the genitive case marked with the RN -Vxiiñ 'of, for'. Also, in Tzu the
person hierarchy can be overridden by using -Vxiiñ to mark the P.

(67) Tzu  Iniñ x-in-ch'ey-o aw-xiin
        I  T-B1-hit-Ap  A2-of
        'I was the one who hit you'

(68) Tzu  Je7ee7 x-ee-ch'ey-o w-xiin
        they  T-B3p-hit-Ap Al-of
        'they were the ones who hit me'

Tzu has an incorporating antipassive marked with 'short' forms
of the focus antipassive, -o for RTVs and -n for DTVs, which normally
occur when indefinite NPs follow. The A is always clefted in the in-
corporating antipassive, like in the focus antipassive, and a generic P
immediately follows the verb.
(69) Tzu Je7ee7 x-ee-ch'ey-o winaq
they T-B3s-hit-Ap people
'they are the ones who hit people'

Instrumental voice is marked with -b'e in Quichean. This voice behaves differently in the three languages, however. In Qui and Tzu the instrument must be put in focus by clefting in the instrumental voice. In Qui the instrument is promoted to absolutive and the P is demoted to the genitive case marked by the RN -ee(ch).

(70) Qui ch'iich' x-∅-in-sok-b'e-j aw-eech
machete T-B3-Al-wound-I-M A2-of
'it was a machete that I wounded you with/
I used a machete to wound you'

In Tzu the instrument is promoted out of the instrumental case but it is not advanced as far as the absolutive; the P remains in the absolutive.

(71) Tzu machat x-in-r-choy-b'e-ej
machete T-B1-B3-cut-I-M
'it was a machete that he cut me with'

In Cak when -b'e is used, the instrument is not promoted at all, although the instrument along with its RN case marker may be fronted (i.e. topicalized).

(72) Cak r-ik'in jun machat x-i-ru-sok-b'e-ej
A3-with a machete T-B1-A3-wound-I-M
'with a machete he wounded me'
(73) Cak x-ŋ-u-choy(b'e-j) r-ik'in jun machát
       T-B3-A3-cut(-I-M) A3-with a machete
       'he cut it with a machete'

Thus, in Cak -b'e no longer has voice changing power; the basic transitive relationship is not disrupted when it occurs. Rather it is used simply to optionally indicate that there is an instrument in the sentence.

The instrumental voice may be used in conjunction with the passive. Examples are given in (74). These examples also illustrate the different degrees of advancement of the instrument NP in Qui, Tzu, and Cak, respectively. In Qui the instrument is clearly advanced to the absolutive since it is cross-referenced on the verb while the P is in an oblique case. In Tzu the instrument is extracted out of the oblique case but is not advanced to absolutive, since the P is cross-referenced on the verb with the absolutive prefix. In Cak the instrument is fronted (i.e. topicalized) but is neither extracted from an oblique case nor advanced.

(74) Qui ch'iich' x-ŋ-sok-b'e-x aw-eech
       machete T-B3-wound-I-Ps A2-of
       'a machete was used to wound you'

Tzu machat x-in-choy-b'e-x-i
       machete T-B1-cut-I-Ps-M
       'it was a machete that I was cut with'

Cak r-ik'in jun machát x-i-sok-b'e-x
       A3-with a machete T-B1-wound-I-Ps
       'with a machete I was wounded'

It is interesting to note that the three Quichean languages taken together reflect the rather complex situation in Pcm with the
instrumental voice.

There are no morphological accusative structures in Quichean proper, although there are passive infinitives of TVs that may take the ergative possessive prefixes which reference semantic Ps. These nominalizations do not function in any paradigmatic way in the tense/aspect systems of Quichean, as they did, for example, in Kek and Pocom.

Mamean


Ixl: Ayres (1979), Elliot and Elliot (1966).

Mamean - Mam

Relative to other Mayan languages, Mam is rather distinct in two ways. First, some of the pronominal affixes have conjunct forms, and the second and third persons are merged to a certain degree (cf. Tables 6, 7, and 8, and England for details). Second, active transitive verbs almost always require directional (D) particles within the verb complex. Some active TVs may occur without Ds but it is uncommon. The Ds are similar in function and meaning to directional particles used with many verbs in English (e.g. up, down, in, out, away, at, etc.), and like English, many of the particles are lexically determined. That is, all Ds do not occur with any TV, and usually one or two particular Ds always occur with a given TV. In many cases, the Ds do not add any significant meaning to the TV, they are simply (almost) obligatory
elements. All of the Ds are derived from IVs of motion; they are usually slightly modified, short forms of the IV root (e.g. xi 'away' < xil 'go', ok 'in' < ool 'enter'). Whenever there is a directional element in the TV complex, the verb must always have the suffix -7n (~ -7-...-n ~ -yyn). Compare the examples below.

(75) ma  gö-t-tsuy
    T B3-A3-grab
    ma  gö-tzaj t-tzy-u7n
    T B3-D A3-grab-suf
    ma chin t-tzeaq'a-ya
    T B1 A..-hit-...2
    ma chin-ok t-tzeaq'a-n-a
    T B1-D A..-hit-suf-...2
    ma  gö-ky-tx'aj
    T B3-A3p-wash
    o  gö-kub' n-b'y-o7n  n-man
    T B3-D Al-hit-suf Al-father

Mam has a number of passives, but they are not well distinguished functionally in the literature (cf. England 1979, with England et al, 1979). The simple passive seems to be marked with -et (~ -at ~ -t). There are conflicting reports on whether or not As may be expressed, and in any event, no examples are given.

(76) ma  gö-tzy-et
    T B3-grab-Ps
    ma  cyi-txj-et
    T B3p-wash-Ps

'it was grabbed' SI
'they were washed' TS

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Other passives occurring in Man are: (a) an unmarked 'impersonal' passive used only with 3rd person Ps, and which does not allow As to be expressed; (b) one in -b'aj which requires a directional; (c) one in -i - + used on RTVs only, which emphasizes the result of the activity, and allows an expressed A, but if one is not expressed, then England says that it implies there was no A; (d) one in -(VV)njtz which allows an expressed A, but like the preceding passive, if one is not expressed, then it implies there was no A; (e) participial passives marked by -7n (~ -7-...-n . -Vvn).

(77) ma Ș-tzuy
    T B3-grab
    Ș tz-ul q'a-b'aj
    T B3-D leave-Ps
    ma Ș-ku7x yuup-j (w-u7n-a) 'it want out/it was put out
    T B3-D put out-Ps (Al-by) by me' SI fire
    ma Ș-yuup-anjtz (t-u7n
    T B3-put out-Ps (Al-by)
    Ș txaqo-7n 'it was put out by itself (by him)' SI
    B3 light-Pp

All antipassives in Man are marked with the suffix -n (~ -(V)Vn).

The absolutive voice has two functions, one for omitting Ps, the other allowing a P to be expressed in the sentence, usually with the topic RN -i7j 'about'. Its primary function, apparently, is to allow the expression of a transitive activity without a directional particle.
(78) ma cyin-txj-on     'I washed' TS
    T B1 - wash-AP
    ma cyi-txj-on t-17j mes  'they washed the table' TS
    T B3p-wash-AP A3-RN table

Apparently, there is an incorporating antipassive function which allows generic nouns to occur in the sentence without further marking.

(79) ma cyi-txj-on mes  'they washed tables' TS
    T B3p-wash-AP table
    ma chi-tzy-uun xiinaq cheej
    T B3p-grab-AP man horse

    'the men caught horses' SI

There is also a focus antipassive in which the A is clefted. If an overt 3rd person P occurs in the sentence, it is marked with the dative RN -e(e) 'to'. However, the focus antipassive verb has the 3rd person absolutive marker cross-referencing the P anyway, that is, even though the overt patient NP is in the dative case. For example, in (80) the overt patient NP is in the dative case, the verb has the Ø 3rd person absolutive marker cross-referencing the P anyway, and the A is not cross-referenced on the verb at all. In (81), there is no overt patient NP, but the verb is inflected with cyi-, 3rd person plural absolutive, cross-referencing the P. Thus, in Mam, a verb in the focus antipassive does not agree with the A, but does agree with the P, even if it is overtly marked by a RN in the dative case.

(80) na7yan e Ø-kub' b'y-on t-e n-man
    I T B3-D hit-AP A3-to A1-father

    'I was the one who hit my father' TS
(81) na7yan ma cyi-kub' b'yu-on
     I T B3p-D hit-Ap
     'I was the one who hit them' TS

(82) aal tzun ma g-kub' paat-an t-e jaa-7
    who T B3-D burn-Ap A3-to house
    'who burned the house down?' TS

(83) Xwan ma g-kub' paat-an t-e jaa-7
    Juan T B3-D burn-Ap A3-to house
    'John was the one who burned the house down' TS

In certain kinds of subordinate clauses, and after affect words
and some adverbs (which may also be subordinating), the ergative pre-
fixes are also used to mark Ps in these subordinate clauses, at least
when there is a directional (no examples have been found without
directionals). Cf.

(84) aj t-kan-eet ... 'when it was found...
     when A3-find-Ps
     na7xtzan t-ex q-laq'o-7n 'we still haven't bought it
     still not A3-D Alp-buy-suf

Since the directionals are ultimately derived from IVs, and since
patient markers are always prefixed to the directionals, it is difficult
to say whether the ergative prefixes have been only extended to Ss of
IVs or to Ps of TVs as well. In any case, these constructions are
examples of extended ergativity, and perhaps of accusative marking.
It should be noted that if the ergative prefixes are extended to both
Ss of IVs and Ps, then this is not a case of accusative marking, since
all three arguments in these constructions are marked with ergative
prefixes.
Agt and Ixl will not be discussed in the same detail as Mam. The various voice categories will simply be noted and examples will be given.

Examples of TVs in the active voice in Agt are given below. Note that there is a distinction between RTVs and DTVs.

(85) ja kkh n-b'iy
     T  B2  Al-hit
ja g 7n-qatz
     T  B3  Al-tear
ja g 7n-kyimsa-aj
     T  B3  Al-kill-M

The simple passive is marked with -lijb (-chipj -wijdj) on RTVs and -ijj on DTVs. Agents may optionally be expressed with the RN -a?nj 'by'. RTVs also have another passive in -xijdj which seems to emphasize the fact that there was an agent present in the activity (more than with the simple passive), regardless of whether or not it is expressed in the sentence. Participial passives are marked with -iidj on RTVs and -7nj on DTVs.

(86) ja g-b'iy-lij (w-a?nj)  'he was hit (by me)'
     T  B3-hit-Ps  Al-by
ja g-b'iy-xijdj (t-a?nj)  'he was hit (by him)'
     T  B3-hit-Ps  A3-by
b'iy-ijdj-chin  'I am/have been hit'
     hit-Pp-B1
ja ը-kyims-ij 'he was killed'
T B3-kill-Ps
kyims-a7n-ը 'he is/has been killed'
kill-Pp-B3

There is also a nonproductive medio-passive occurring with a few RTVs, which is indicated by lengthening the root vowel; historically (perhaps synchronically ??) the lengthened vowel comes from an infixed -h- (e.g. ja ը-gaatz 'it tore' < gatz RTV 'tear').

The absolutive antipassive voice is marked with -oon on RTVs and -Vn on DTVs. The root vowel of most RTVs is lengthened in this construction. Patients may be expressed in the absolutive with either of the RNs tz-eetz 'to' or tz-e7 'with, about'; however, there is a slight meaning change from that of the active voice.

(87) ja chin-b'iy-oon 'I fought/was hitting'
T B1-hit-Ap
ja chin-b'iy-oon tz-aw- eetz T B1-hit-Ap to-A2- to with
'...hit at
ja chin-kyimsa-an 'I killed'
T B1-kill-Ap

The focus antipassive is also marked with -oon/-Vn but there is no lengthening of a root transitive vowel. In this voice the A is clefted and the verb agrees with the P if it is non-3rd person, and it may agree with either the A or the P if the P is 3rd person. Note that focus antipassives require the dependent tense/aspect markers (e.g. m - n dependent proximate past = ja main proximate past). This probably indicates that the clefted A is in a higher clause and is a predicate noun.

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(88) in n-xh-b'iy-oon 'I was the one who hit you'
   B1 T-B2-hit-Ap
   in m-Ø-kyimsa-an 'I was the one who killed him'
   B1 T-B3-kill-Ap
   ~ in m-in-kyimsa-an
   B1 T-B1-kill-Ap

Extended ergative accusative structures occur in Agt in dependent
time adverbial clauses in the indefinite past tense (with null marking).
The verb forms, however, in these cases are nominalizations and therefore
the ergative prefixes cross-referencing underlying Ss of IVs are formally
possessors. Cf.

(89) ye a-b'iyool in... 'when you hit me...'
    art A2-hit-nom B1
    ye a-kyim-e7n... 'when you died...'
    art A2-die-nom

Mamean - Ixil

Examples of TVs in the active voice in Ixil are given in (90). Note
that there is a distinction between RTVs and DTVs.

(90) kat a-q'os in 'you hit me'
    T A2-hit B1
    kat t-echb'ú q 'he ate it'
    T A3-eat  B3

DTVs have a passive in -l. RTVs have passives in -ax (-vX),
-p, and -l - ch, which Ayres does not distinguish further. Agents
may be expressed with the RN -a7n 'by' with at least some of these
passives. Participial passives are marked with -el on RTVs and -mal on
DTVs.
(91) kat q'os-ax-i ø (t-a7n) 'it was hit (by him)'
T hit-Ps-M B3 (A3-by)
kat q'os-p-i ø 'it was hit'
T hit-Ps-M B3
kat q'os-l-i ø 'it was hit'
T hit-Ps-M B3
q'os-çl ø 'it is/has been hit'
hit-Pp B3
kat echb'u-l-i ø 'it was eaten'
T eat-Ps-M B3
echb'u-mal ø 'it is/has been eaten'
eat-Pp B3

Absolutive and focus antipassives are marked with -on on RTVs and -n on DTVs. Patients may be expressed optionally in the absolutive with either of the RNs ø 'to' or -17 'for, to'. It is not clear how absolutes with expressed Ps differ from the active voice.

(92) kat q'os-on axh (s w-17) 'you hit (me)'
T hit-Ap B2 (Al-for)
kat echb'u-n o7 'we ate'
T eat-Ap Blp

With focus antipassives the A is clefted and the verb agrees with the P.

(93) in kat q'os-on axh 'I was the one who hit you'
B1 T hit-Ap B2

Unlike Nam and Agt, Ixl has an instrumental voice in b'e. In the instrumental voice the instrument is promoted out of an oblique case marked with a RN like -uoy' or -a7n, and it is clefted to the front of
the sentence. Depending on the speaker, the P may either be demoted to an oblique case marked with the RN -i7, or it may remain in the absolutive. As in all Mayan languages with -b'e, the passive and instrumental voices may occur together. Compare the following sentences.

(94) n-in-tzok' ø tze7 t-ucy' machit
    T-Al-cut     B3 tree A3-with machete
'I am cutting the tree with a machete'

(95) machit n-in-tzok'-b'e ø tze7
    machete T-Al-cut-I     B3 tree
'with a machete I cut the tree'

(96) u machit kat tzok'-ox-b'e ø u tze7 (s w-a7n)
    the machete T cut-Ps-I     B3 the tree (Al-by)
'with a machete the tree was cut (by me)'

(97) ma7l u tze7 ø-i-q'os-b'e ø u naj t-i7 u ixoj
    one the stick T-B3-cut-I     B3 the man A3-to the woman
'with a machete the man hit (to) the woman'

(98) uula ø-a-k'oni-b'e in
    sling-shot T-A2-shoot-I B1
'with a sling-shot you shot me'

The ergative prefixes are extended in use to cross-reference Ss of IVs in Ixl in the progressive aspects, in certain dependent clauses without tense/aspect markers, with certain beginning adverbs without tense/aspect markers, with the question words for 'how' and 'why', and in one type of imperative in the Chajul dialect. In all of these cases the IV must occur with the suffix e7, which is also the incompletive transitive phrase final suffix. It is noteworthy that focus antipassives do not take ergative prefixes like other IVs in the
progressive aspects; rather they are inflected with the absolutive markers. An example of extended ergative constructions is given below in the progressive aspect marked with in.

\[(99) \quad \text{in w-il-c7} \, \text{g} \quad \text{I am seeing it}
\]
\[\text{T Al-see-M B3} \]
\[\text{in w-ul-e7} \quad \text{I am arriving}
\]
\[\text{T Al-arrive-M}
\]

Greater Kanjobalan

Chj: Hopkins (1967), Lengyel (notes), Maxwell (1976, m.s.), Williams and Williams (1966).


Greater Kanjobalan - Chujoan

In Chj, in the indicative RTVs take the phrase final suffix \text{-a7}, DTVs take \text{-ej}, and IVs take \text{-i}. Examples of TVs in the active indicative are given in (100) and (101).

\[(100) \quad \text{tz-in-y-il-a7} \quad \text{he sees me}
\]
\[\text{T-B1-E3-see-M}
\[\text{tz-ôñ-s-mak'-a7} \quad \text{he hits us}
\]
\[\text{T-B1p-E3-hit-M}
\]

\[(101) \quad 7ix-\text{g-s-mak'} \text{ waj Xun} 7ix Malin \quad \text{Mary hit John}
\]
\[\text{T-B3-A3-hit he John she Mary}
\]

Chuj has two passives, one in \text{-aj (- -chaj)} and another in \text{-ax (- -max)}. Maxwell says these are essentially the same. Lengyel claims
that -aj places emphasis on the fact that there is an agent involved while -ax does not. Compare the examples below with the RN y-uj 'by', on account of'.

(102) 7ix-∅-mak'-chaj waj Xun (y-uj 7ix Malin)

T-B3-hit-Ps he John A3-by she Mary

'John was hit (by Mary)'

(103) no wakx 7ix-∅-mak'-chaj (> xma7chj) Y-uj Petul

the cow T-B3-hit-Ps A3-by Peter

'the cow was hit by Peter'

(104) no wakx 7ix-∅-mak'-ax (> xma7x) y-uj Petul

the cow T-B3-hit-Ps A3-on account of Peter

'the cow was hit on account of Peter'

There is also a participial passive adjective formed with -b'il (e.g. mak'-b'il 'he is/has been hit').

Chj has an incorporating antipassive in -w that allows indefinite NPs to be incorporated into the verb complex.

(105) 7ix-ach-mak'-w-i 7anima

T-B2-hit-Ap-M people

'you hit people'

There is an absolutive antipassive in -waj which optionally allows Ps to be expressed obliquely in a prepositional phrase with t'a 'to'.

Note the difference in meaning between active sentences and absolutive sentences with expressed Ps.

(106) 7ix-∅-mak'-waj 7ix Malin (t'a waj Xun)

T-B3-hit-Ap she Mary to he John

'Mary did some hitting (to John)'

A focus antipassive occurs in -an. It is not clear how verb agreement works in this voice in Chj, since the only available examples
are in the 3rd person.

(107) ha 7ix Malin 7ix-∅-mak'-an waj Xun
cleft she Mary T-B3-hit-Ap he John

'It was Mary who hit John'

Chj has accusative marking in the progressive aspect marked with wan+. When wan+ is used with IVs their Ss are cross-referenced with the ergative prefixes. In addition, when wan+ is used with TVs, they are (psuedo)intransitivized with the focus antipassive suffix -an. They, therefore, require the IV phrase final suffix -i. Nevertheless, their As are cross-referenced with the ergative prefixes and their Ps with the absolutive prefixes. In other words, wan+ makes IVs behave somewhat like TVs, and TVs somewhat like IVs. Cf.

(108) wan k-olu7maj-i 'we are getting dirty'

T Alp-get dirty-M
wan ∅-k-aw-an-i 'we are planting it'
T B3-Alp-plant-Ap-M

Toj is briefly mentioned. In the indicative TVs take the phrase final suffix -a and IVs -i(y). Like Chj, Toj has a passive in -j which seems to place emphasis on the fact that there is an agent involved, and another in -x which does not emphasize agent involvement. There is a participial passive in -ub'al. Cf.

(109) x-∅-j-mak'-a 'I hit him'

T-B3-Al-hit-M
∅-mak'-j-iy-on (y-uj) 'I was hit (by him)'
T-hit-Ps-M-B1
∅-mak'-x-iy-on (y-uj) 'I was hit (by him)'
T-hit-Ps-M-B1
mak'-ub'al Ø 'he is/has been hit'

hit-Pp B3

There is an absolutive antipassive in -wan ~ -wun (e.g. mil-wan-
'kill' IV < mil- TV and te7-wun 'wound' IV < te7- TV). From the examples
in Furbee-Losee, there do not seem to be focus or incorporating anti-
passives. However, there is an intransitivizing suffix -Vn which
apparently is cognate with focus antipassives in nearby languages
(e.g. nul-in 'suck, chew' < nul- 'suck on, eat' TV). There is also
an intransitivizing infix -j- which is probably cognate with the
Quichean passive and Agt medio-passive (cf. Toj majk'- 'hit' IV <
mak' TV, nijk-'tremble' < nik- 'stir' TV, kujch- 'be carried' < kuch-
'carry on the back' TV). From the available examples it is difficult
to tell the precise functions of -Vn and -j-.

There apparently are no accusative structures in Toj.

Greater Kanjobalan - Kanjobalan Proper

From this group Jac will be discussed in some detail. In the active
indicative RTVs have the phrase final suffix -a, and DTVs -o; IVs have
-(y)\ in the indicative (n.b. the enclitic an occurs finally in a clause
with a 1st person). In the irrealis (including future) RTVs have the
phrase final suffix -a7 (~ -o7 ~ u7) and DTVs -7, while IVs have -oj.
Examples of TVs in the active voice are provided in (110).

(110) ch-in ha-maq'an 'you hit me'

T-B1 A2-hit 1st

(x)-Ø-s-maq' naj ix 'he hit her'

T-B3-A3-hit he she
Jac has several passives which Craig distinguishes in the following ways: (a) -ot: can not occur in the future; usually does not occur with an expressed A, and when it does only with a 3rd person A; however, As are not necessarily presupposed; (b) -lax: same as -ot except that it can occur in the future and presupposes an A; (c) -lo: normally occurs with an expressed A in any person; usually used in negative or restrictive senses; is not 100 percent productive; (d) -cha: may occur with an expressed A in any person; implies the P is helpless; is not 100 percent productive; and (e) -b'il: participial adjective passive, which may take an expressed A.

(lil) x-∅-maq'-ot ix (y-u naj) 'she was hit (by him)'
    T-B3-hit-Ps she (A3-by he)
x-in-maq'-ot an 'I was hit'
    T-B1-hit-Ps 1st
ch-in-il-lax-oj (y-u naj) 'I'll be seen (by him)'
    T-B1-see-Ps-M
matxa x-∅-7il-la (w-u) an 'it was not seen yet not yet T-B3-see-Ps (A1-by 1st) (by me)'

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ch-ach-kil-cha (w-u an) 'you are helped (by me)'
T-B2-help-Ps (Al-by 1st)
tz'un-b'iil ø (w-u an) 'it is/has been planted
plant-Pp B3 (Al-by 1st) (by me)'

Jac has an incorporating antipassive in -w and an absolutive antipassive in -wa.

(112) ch-ach-il-w-i anima 'you people-watch'
T-B2-see-Ap-M people
ch-ach-il-wa-yi 'you watch'
T-B2-see-Ap-M

There is a focus antipassive in -n which is normally used only with 3rd person As. The absolutive prefix on the verb cross-references the P not the clefted A. This indicates that the clefting function of the focus antipassive raises the A into a higher clause making it a predicate noun.

(113) ha7 naj x-ø-maq'-n-i ix 'it is he who hit her'
cleft he T-B3-hit-Ap-M she
mak k-ach 7il-n-i 'who saw you?'
who T-B2 see-Ap-M

There is another construction involving the suffix -n, which combines focus and incorporating functions. The RN -et 'to, with' along with an ergative prefix marking its head (e.g. w-et 'to/with me') may be incorporated into the verb structure between the absolutive marker and the verb stem. TVs are always intransitivized with -n in this construction. In addition, there is a clefted conjunction argument occurring outside the verb structure.
Craig notes that informants consistently translate the head of the incorporated RN as the subject in Spanish, not the clefted conjunct, in sentences such as these. This is the only case that I know of in Mayan languages where incorporating constructions of this sort occur. They deserve further study.

Accusative structures occur in Jac in what are called 'tenseless' embedded clauses. Tenseless embedded clauses are those which do not have either of the two 'tenses': 'incompletive' marked by ch- and a number of allomorphs, and 'completive' marked by x- ~ xk- (and other allomorphs). Tenseless clauses include, among others, those with the subordinating aspect particles: lānan continuative, kat post-sequentive, and lahwi presequentive. In tenseless embedded clauses, IVs require the ergative prefixes cross-referencing their Ss. TVs in tenseless embedded clauses become 'psuedo-intransitives' marked with the focus antipassive suffix -n, and with intransitive mode and/or phrase final suffixes. However, these psuedo-intransitives require ergative prefixes cross-referencing their A's, and absolutive prefixes cross-referencing their P's. Thus, in tenseless clauses TVs behave somewhat like TVs in that they take ergative prefixes, and TVs behave somewhat like IVs in that they require IV mode and phrase final suffixes. This is similar to the situation in Chj in the progressive aspect. Cf.
(115) lañan ha-way-i       'you are sleeping'
    prog A2-sleep-M
(116) x-∅-ul    naj kat ∅-y-il-n-i    naj ix
    T-B3-arrive he seq B3-A3-see-Ap-M he she
    'he came and then he saw her'
(117) x-∅-y-il    naj him ha-maq'-n-i
    T-B3-A3-see he B1 A2-hit-Ap-M
    'he saw you hit me'

Greater Kanjobalan – A Note on Motozintlec (= Mocho)

There are no available sources on Mot but Larsen and Norman (1979) cite examples from Kaufman's field notes showing that Mot exhibits split-ergativity according to semantic features of NPs. Specifically, the ergative prefixes are used to cross-reference 1st and 2nd person As of TVs and Ss of IVs. On the other hand, in the 3rd person, As of TVs are cross-referenced with the ergative prefixes, and the Ss of IVs in the 3rd person are cross-referenced with the absolutive ∅ marker. Ps of TVs are always cross-referenced with the absolutive markers. Thus, in the 1st and 2nd persons Mot exhibits marked nominative (= extended ergative) structures; while in the 3rd person Mot exhibits ergative marking. Compare the examples in (118) and (119).

(118) ii-muq-u-∅      'I burned it'
    Al-burn-M-B3
ii-maaq-i      'I went up'
    Al-go up-M

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\text{(119)} \ x-muq-u-\emptyset \quad \text{'he burned it'}

\text{A3-burn-M-B3}

\text{maaq-i-\emptyset} \quad \text{'he went up'}

\text{go up-M-B3}

Mot is apparently the only Mayan language which exhibits split-ergativity governed by the semantic features of NPs.

\text{Tzeltalan}

\text{Tzt:} \quad \text{Aissen (1977), Cowan (1969), Cowan and Merrifield (1968), Hurley de Delgado and Sánchez (1978), Jacobs and Longacre (1977), Laughlin (1975), Sarles (1966), Smith (1975).}

\text{Tzl:} \quad \text{Kaufman (1963, 1971), Robles (1966), Smith (1975).}

\text{Tzeltalan - Tzotzil}

In Tzt the absolutive markers cross-referencing Ps of TVs can be both prefixes and suffixes with differing forms in each position (cf. Table 6). In the active indicative, TVs are unmarked. IVs are also unmarked in the indicative. Subjects of IVs are prefixes in the nonperfective indicative, but suffixes in the perfective, and Ss of stative predicates are also suffixes. Examples of TVs in the active voice are given below.

\text{(120)} \ ch-a-mil-un \quad \text{'you kill me'}

\text{T-A2-kill-B1}

\text{ch-i-s-maj} \quad \text{'he hits me'}

\text{T-B1-A3-hit}

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"I gave it"
T-B3-AL-give
"he helps me"
T-B1-A3-help-B1

(121) i-∅-s-maj Maryan li nlo7 e
T-B3-A3-hit Mariano the Chamulan dem
'the Chamulan hit Mariano'

Tzt has a simple passive in -at (~ -ot in San Bartolo). In some
dialects (Zinacantán only ?), there is another passive in -e, which appar-
ently is used only on RTVs. There is a present passive participle in -vl
and a past passive participle in -b'il. In passive sentences, As may
optionally be expressed with the RN -u7un 'by'.

(122) n-i-maj-at
T-B1-hit-Ps
"I was hit"
ch-imaj-e (y-u7un le7e) 'I am hit (by that one)'
T-B1-hit-Ps (A3-by that)
pak'-al-∅ 'it is stuck on'
stick on-Prp-B3
pak'-b'il-∅ 'it has been stuck on'
stick on-Pp-B3

(123) i-∅-maj-e y-u7un ulo7 li Maryan e
T-B3-hit-Ps A3-by Chamulan the Mariano dem
'Mariano was hit by the Chamulan'

Tzt has an absolutive antipassive in -wan which can be used on
virtually any TV.

(124) n-i-mil-wan
T-B1-kill-Ap
'I killed'
There are two other absolutive antipassives which are not productive: -(o)maj (e.g. tzuk'-omaj 'wash' IV < tzuk' 'wash' TV), and -waj (e.g. nau-waj 'sew' IV < nau 'sew' TV).

There is a focus antipassive in -on which is used only with 3rd persons, and is rare. Since it is used only with 3rd persons it is impossible to say whether the verb agrees with the A or P. The A is clefted to the front of the sentence.

(125) ulo7 i-g-maj-on li Maryan
Chamulan T-B3-hit-Ap the Mariano
'the Chamulan was the one who hit Mariano'

Tzt has a referential and instrumental voice in -b'e. In the referential voice, dative, benefactive, and ablative or malefactive NPs, and possessors of Ps, are obligatorily promoted from an oblique case to the absolutive. The P is not demoted to an oblique case, but is no longer cross-referenced on the verb with an absolutive marker. However, if the P is plural, it is marked on the verb with the plural suffix -ik.

(126) dative: ch-a-k-al-b'-ot 'I'll tell it to you'
ch-aw-ak'-b'e-∅ 'you'll give it to him'
T-A2-give-R-B3
benefactive: ch-a-j-mil-b'e-ik 'I'll kill them for you'
T-B2-A1-kill-R-plr
malefactive: ch-i-s-poj-b'-un 'she'll snatch it from me'
T-B1-A3-snatch-R-B1
possessor
of P: n-a-tik-b'-un j-wakax

T-A2-enclose-R-B1 Al-cow
'you enclosed my cattle'
1a-Ø-j-mil-b'e
T-B3-Al-kill-R
'I killed it of/for him'

Note that the referential voice may be used in conjunction with the
the passive voice.

(127) ch-i-7ak'-b'-at jun tzeb'
T-B1-give-R-Ps a girl
'I am being given a girl'

In the instrumental voice, an instrument NP may optionally be promo-
ted out of an oblique case marked with the preposition ta 'by, with, at,
to'. However, it is not clear whether the instrument or the P is cross-
referenced on the verb in the instrumental voice, because the only avail-
able examples are in the 3rd person where the absolutive marker is null.

Compare the two examples in (128); in the first one, the instrument has
not been promoted; in the second, it has.

(128) 1a Ø-s-mil ta machita
T-B3-A3-kill with machete
'she killed him with a machete'
ta-Ø-s-paj-b'e akuxa ti ka7e
T-B3-A3-prick-I needle the horse
'he pricked the horse with a needle'

It is noteworthy, that the instrumental voice in Tzt does not require
clefting of the instrument as it does, for example, in Quichean.
Tzeltalan - Tzeltal

Voice categories in Tzl are similar to those of Tzt. Examples of TVs in the active voice in Tzl are provided in (129). Note that the absolutive markers are always suffixed in Tzl.

(129) la j-pas-∅ 'I did/made it'
T Al-do-B3
ya j-mil-at 'I kill you'
y a s-maj-∅ 'she hits him'
T A3-hit-B3

In (130) a number of sentential examples of TVs (from Tenejapa Tzl) in the active voice are provided. These sentences illustrate how word order differs depending on the status of the A and P on the animacy hierarchy: if A equals P the order is V A P; if A is higher than P the order is V P A.

(130) la s-mil-∅ Jpetul te Jwan A=P
T A3-kill-B3 Peter the John
'Peter killed John'
la s-t'om-∅ ta ti7el tz'il te baka A=P
T A3-bite-B3 with teeth dog the cow
'the dog bit the cow (with teeth)'
la s-mil-∅ baka te Jpetul e A>P
T A3-kill-B3 cow the Peter dem
'Peter killed the cow'
y a s-maj-∅ y-inam ta Jpetule A>P
T A3-hit-B3 A3-wife agt Peter
'Peter hits his wife'
Tzl has a passive in -ot (e.g. maj-ot 'he was hit' with null tense and person marking). Kaufman (1963) states that As may be expressed in passive sentences with either the RN -u?un 'by' or the preposition ta 'by, with, to, at'; or they may be unmarked. Kaufman gave no examples; however, Smith has presented a number of examples of passive sentences with unmarked As, some of which are given here in (131). Note that in passive sentences, like with active sentences, word order differs depending on the status of the A and P. But the order in passive sentences is the converse of that in active sentences. In passive sentences, if the P is equal to the A, then the order is V P A; if the P is higher than the A, then the order is V A P.

(131)  
0-mil-ot-Ø Jpetul te Jwan  
T-kill-Ps-B3 Peter the John  
'Peter was killed by John'  
0-mil=ot=Ø baka te Jpetul  
P>P A  
T-kill-Ps-B3 cow the Peter  
'Peter was killed by the cow'  
0-maj-ot-Ø y-inam te Jpetul  
P>P A  
T-hit-Ps-B3 A3-wife the Peter  
'Peter was hit by his wife'

There is a past passive participle in -b'ìl (e.g. pas-b'ìl-Ø 'it has been done').

Tzl has a fully productive absolutive antipassive in -awan (e.g. mil-awan 'kill' IV < mil TV), and there are two other fairly productive ones: -omaj (e.g. tz'is-omaj 'sow' IV < tz'is TV), and -(V)wej (e.g. k'aj-awej 'harvest IV < k'aj TV). No evidence of incorporating or focus antipassives have been found in Tzl.

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Like Tzt, Tzl has a referential voice in -b'e, which obligatorily promotes dative and benefactive NPs, and possessors of Ps, to the absolutive. No examples of instrumental promotion have been found.

(132)  
la y-ak'-b'e-Ø  
T A3-give-R-B3  
ya s-pas-b'-on  
T A3-do-R-B1  
la s-mil-b'e-Ø  
s-tz'i7  
Jwan te Jpetul e  
T A3-kill-R-B3  
A3-dog  
John the Peter  
dem  
'Peter killed John's dog'

The referential and passive voices may be used together.

(133)  
Ø-ak'-b'o-t-Ø  
jun  
Jwan te Xmal e  
T-give-R-Ps-B3  
a  
John the Maria  
dem  
'Maria was given paper by John'

No split-ergative constructions have been reported for either Tzt or Tzl.

Cholan


Chl:  Aulie and Aulie (1978), Warkentin and Whittaker (1970),

Whittaker and Warkentin (1965).

Cholan - Chorti

In Chr, TVs are not inflected for tense or aspect; these categories are distinguished in context and by adverbials. KTVs end in a consonant and in the indicative they take the mode suffix -i (ـ -ة). DTVs end in a vowel and have a null indicative marker. Absolutive markers cross-
referencing Ps are always suffixed. In the indicative, most IVs require a mode suffix (e.g. -Vy, or -a ~ -i ~ -o ~ ə). IVs distinguish incomple-
tive and completive aspects by the way person markers are attached. In the incompletive, a distinct set of person markers (neither absolutive nor ergative) is prefixed (e.g. in-kan-o 'I learn'). In the completive, absolutive person markers are suffixed (e.g. kan-v-c7n 'I learned'). Note that often there are phonological modifications when affixes are attached to stems and when they are juxtaposed. Examples of TVs in the active indicative are provided in (134).

(134)  in-xur-i-ə       'I cut it'
       Al-cut-M-B3
       u-xur-i-ə       'he cut(s) it'
       A3-cut-M-B3
       u-chamse-ə       'he kills/killed it'
       A3-kill-B3
       inv-ajk'u-ə       'I hit it'
       Al-hit-B3
       inv-ajk'-c7t       'I hit you'
       Al-hit-B2

The simple passive on RTVs is marked with an infix -j-, and on DTVs with -n. Only 3rd person As may be expressed in the simple passive.
There is another passive in -tə', but it is not clear how it is distin-
guished from the simple passive. All TVs have a past passive participle in -b'ir. An A in any person may be expressed with the participial passives.

(135)  in-xujr-a       'I am cut'
       Bl-cut(Ps)-M
xujr-e7n  u-men  'I was cut by him'
cut(Ps)-M-B1  A3-by
chamso-n-a-Ø  'it was killed'
kill-Ps-M-B3
ajk'u-n-a-Ø  'it was hit'
hit-Ps-M-B3
a-man-tz'-a  'it is bought'
B3-buy-Ps-M
xur-b'ir-Ø  a-men  'it has been cut by you'
cut-Pp-B3
ajk'u-b'ir-Ø  'it is/has been hit'
hit-Pp-B3

There are three suffixes which apparently derive medio-passives: 
-\( k' \), -\( p \), and -\( t \). It is not certain how productive these suffixes are.
The -\( t \) suffix is probably cognate with the -\( ot \) passive in Tzeltalan.

(136)  a-b'ut'-k'-a  'it fills'
B3-fill-Mp-M

cf. u-b'ut'-i 'he fills it'

a-muk-p-a  'it gets covered'
B3-cover-Mp-M

cf. u-muk-i 'he covers it'

a-tz'ak-t-a  'it accumulates'
B3-add to-Mp-M

cf. u-tz'ak--i 'he adds to it'

Absolute antipassives are formed with -\( on \) on RTVs and -\( (w)an \) on DTVs.

(137)  a-xur-on  'he cuts'
B3-cut-Ap
a-chams-an  'he kills'
B3-kill-Ap

RTVs have another absolutive antipassive in -m, which emphasizes the fact that there is a P involved in the activity, even though it is not specified.

(138)  a-xur-m-a  'he cuts (something)'
B3-cut-Ap-M

There do not appear to be focus or incorporating antipassives in Chr.

Chr does not have an overtly marked referential voice (as, for example, in Tzeltalan and Ch1), but dative NPs are usually advanced to the absolutive. Verbs with advanced datives may be in the passive as well. In (139) dative advancement has not occurred; the dative NP is marked by the preposition ta 'to' and the RN -b'a. In (140) dative advancement and passive occur together.

(139)  e  Jwan uy-sb'ta'ø in-te7 karta  ta ni-b'a
       the John A3-send-B3 one       letter  to Al-dative
       'John sent a letter to me'
(140)  uy-ajk'u-7on  e  chicha
       A3-give-B1p  the  rum
       'he gave me the rum'
(141)  ajk'u-n-ø7on  e  chicha
       give-Ps-B1p   the  rum
       'we were given the rum'

In the incompletive, Chr displays certain accusative-like features. The 1st person prefixes used to cross-reference Ss of IVs are identical with the ergative prefixes (cf. Tables 6, 7, and 8). The 2nd person singular IV prefix may be an extension from the 2nd person plural erga-
tive. The 3rd person singular is not null as it is in other Mayan languages, although it is not identical with the 3rd person ergative either. It seems that there is a tendency towards accusative marking in the incompletive, especially with 1st person. 30

Cholan - Chol

In Chol, there is an important distinction between the completive aspect (marked with tza7 and allomorphs) and the incompletive aspects (e.g. mi present, woli progressive, and mu7 - mux incompletive). In the completive indicative, RTVs have the mode suffix -V1(y) which is a reduplication of the root vowel; and DTVs have null marking. In the incompletive aspects, RTVs have null marking, and DTVs take -n. IVs in the completive (indicative) take the suffix -i(y) (~ e(y)), and their Ss are cross-referenced with the absolutive suffixes (e.g. tza7 ach-iy-on 'I entered'). In the incompletive, IVs take the suffix -el, and their Ss are cross-referenced with the ergative prefixes (e.g. mi k-och-el 'I enter'). Thus, Chol displays split-ergativity since it has ergative structures in the completive, and accusative structures in the incompletive. The accusative structures in the incompletive are examples of extended ergative or marked nominative structures. Examples of TVs in the active indicative are presented below. 24

(142) mi-j-k’el-Ø

'I see it'

T-Al-see-B3

mi-j-k’el-et

'I see you'

T-Al-see-B2

tza-j-k’el-e-Ø

'I saw it'

T-Al-see-M-B3
tza-j-k'el-ey-et  'I saw you'
T-Al-see-M-B2

mi-k-taj-Ø  'I meet him'
T-Al-meet-B3

tza-k-taj-a-Ø  'I met him'
T-Al-meet-M-B3

mi-7-taj-on  'he meets me'
T-A3-meet-B1

Tz-i7-taj-ay-on  'he met me'
T-A3-meet-M-B1

mi-k-cha7le-n-Ø  'I do it'
T-Al-do-M-B3

tza-k-cha7le-Ø  'I did it'
T-Al-do-B3

Passives of RTVs are formed with the infix -j-, unless the root ends in s, x, or j. If the root ends in one of these consonants, then the passive is formed with -l in the incompletive and -l in the completive.

Passives of DTVs are formed with -nt.

(143)  mi-j-k'ejl-ol  'I am seen'
T-Al-see(Ps)-M

tza7 k'ejl-ly-on  'I was seen'
T  see(Ps)-M-B1

mi-k-taj-t-əl  'I am (being) met'
T-Al-meet-Ps-M

tza7 taj-l-ey-on  'I was met'
T  meet-Ps-M-B1

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woli-7-cha7le-nt-el 'it is being done'
T A3-do-Ps-M

tza7 cha7le-nt-i-Ø 'it was done'
T do-Ps-M-B3

Agents may be expressed with the preposition ti 'by, with, to' or cha7an 'by, because of'.

(144) tza7 päs-b'e-nt-i-Ø jun Jwan ti Alponso
T show-R-Ps-M-B3 paper John by Alphonse

'John was shown paper by Alphonse'

Past passive participles are formed with -b'il (e.g. k'el-b'il-on 'I am/ have been seen', kolta-b'il-Ø 'he is/has been saved').

There are no antipassive constructions in Chl. Aside from Hua, Chl is the only Mayan language which does not have an antipassive voice of any kind.

Chl has a referential voice in -b'e in which dative, benefactive, and malefactive NPs, and possessors of Ps, are advanced to absolutive. Ps are removed from the absolutive but are not demoted to an oblique case.

(145) mi-j-k'ajti-b'e-n-et 'I am asking you it/it of you'

woli-j-k'el-Ø 'I am watching for him'
T-A1-see-R-M-B3

tz-i7-taj-b'e(y)-on 'he met him for me'
T-A1-meet-R-B1

m-i7-b'ejlō-b'e-n-Ø i-wo7el 'she drags his food'
T-A3-drag-R-M-B3 A3-food

As the example in (144) illustrates, the referential voice may be used in conjunction with the passive.

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At the beginning of this discussion of Chl, it was noted that in the incompleteive Chl has accusative marking since the ergative prefixes are used to cross-reference the Ss of IVs as well as the As of TVs. It is noteworthy that the mode suffix on IVs in the incomplete is -vl. This suffix is used throughout Mayan languages as a nominalizing suffix forming verbal nouns as well as deriving nouns in other types of constructions (e.g. Chl yäx Adj. 'clear of water', yäx-el n. 'greenness'; Tzu rax 'green', rax-aal 'greenness'). It seems likely, then, that IVs in the incomplete aspects are (or at least originally were) nominalizations requiring the possessive ergative prefixes to cross-reference their Ss. The incomplete aspect particles may be (have been) higher predicates subordinating verbs following them.

Yucatecan


Yuc is the only language discussed from this group of Mayan languages.

In Yuc there is a major distinction between RTVs and DTVs. Active IVs are also distinguished from inactive IVs. Active IVs (AIVs) are those which have a semantic A as subject, and inactive IVs (IIVs) are those which have a semantic P as subject. The distinction between AIVs and IIVs results in a further sub-classification of DTVs. Inflectionally, TVs derived from AIVs are distinguished from TVs derived from IIVs, under certain conditions. In addition, there is an important distinction between verbs in the (indicative) incomplete aspect, and verbs in all other aspects and/or modes. In the incomplete, verbs display accusa-
tive marking, since both As of TVs and Ss of IVs are cross-referenced with ergative prefixes, and Ps of TVs are cross-referenced with absolutive suffixes. In the completive aspect, and subjunctive and perfective modes, verbs have ergative marking since As of TVs are cross-referenced with ergative prefixes, and Ss of IVs and Ps of TVs are cross-referenced with absolutive suffixes. This kind of split-ergativity is an example of extended ergative or marked nominative morphological marking.

In the incompleteive, TVs have the mode suffix -\textit{t}k\textsuperscript{1}, and IVs have -\textit{la}, while AIVs are unmarked. In the completive, TVs take the mode suffix -\textit{aj}, and IVs have the phrase final suffix -\textit{i}.\textsuperscript{25} Examples of TVs in the active indicative are given in (146).

\begin{align*}
(146) & \quad \text{RTV} & \quad \text{k-in-tz'on-ik-Ø} & \quad 'I \ shoot \ it' \\
& & \text{t-in-tz'on-aj-Ø} & \quad 'I \ shot \ it' \\
& & \text{T-Al-shoot-M-B3} \\
& & \text{k-in-jok'-ik-Ø} & \quad 'I \ break \ it' \\
& & \text{t-in-jok'-aj-Ø} & \quad 'I \ broke \ it' \\
& & \text{T-Al-break-M-B3} \\
& \quad \text{DTV} & \quad \text{k-u-miłst-ik-Ø} & \quad 'he \ sweeps \ it' \\
& & \text{t-u-miłst-aj-Ø} & \quad 'he \ swept \ it' \\
& & \text{T-A3-sweep-M-B3} \\
& \quad \text{DTV} & \quad \text{k-in-kıns-ik-ech} & \quad 'I \ kill \ you' \\
& & \text{t-in-kıns-aj-ech} & \quad 'I \ killed \ you' \\
& & \text{T-Al-kill-M-B2}
\end{align*}

The passive voice on RTVs is marked with the infix -\textit{tv}_1 - which causes the preceding vowel to have high tone. On DTVs the passive is marked with the suffix -\textit{a7a} in the incompleteive and -\textit{a7a} plus -\textit{b} (\textit{\textsuperscript{2}} -\textit{a7ab}) in the completive. Agents may be expressed with the preposition \textit{t(i)} plus the RN
u-mêen plus an independent pronoun.

(147) k-in-tz'ô7on-ol 'I am (being) shot'
T-Al-shoot(Ps)-M

 tz'ô7on-en 'I was shot'
shoot(Ps)-Bl

k-u-jê7ek'-el t-u-mêen tên 'it is broken by me'
T-A3-break(Ps)-M by I

jê7e'-ô t-u-mêen tên 'it was broken by me'
break(Ps)-B3 by I

k-u-mîst-á7a-l  'it is (being) swept'
T-A3-sweep-Ps-M

mîst-á7ab'-i-ô 'it was swept'
sweep-Ps-M-B3

k-in-kiins-á7a-l t-u-mêen leti?
T-Al-kill-Ps-M by he

'I am (being) killed by him'

kiins-á7ab'-en t-u-mêen leti?
kill-Ps-Bl by he

'I was killed by him'

Some RTVs have a medio-passive voice which is marked by vowel length and high tone. Here the P is subject but no A is implied.

(148) k-u-jêek'-el 'it breaks'
T-A3-break(Mp)-M

jêek'-i-ô 'it broke'
break(Mp)-M-B3

Both RTVs and DTVs have 'passive infinitives' in -b'il (e.g. kon-b'il 'to be sold' and kiins-b'il 'to be killed'). These forms in -b'il

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are cognate with past passive participles in many other Mayan languages (cf. Table 9). It is not clear whether the forms in -b'il in Yuc can serve as past passive participles as well as infinitives.

Bickerton states that Yuc also has 'agentless' passives in -p and -k', but no examples are given. These suffixes seem to be cognate with the corresponding medio-passive suffixes in Chr.

The absolutive antipassive of RTVs is formed by lengthening the root vowel, along with low tone, in the incompletive. In the completive, the suffix -naj is added to the stem with a lengthened vowel and low tone. The absolutive antipassive of DTVs from IIVs is formed with the suffix -aj in the incompletive, and -aj plus -naj in the completive. DTVs from AIVs do not have an absolutive antipassive per se, since the active intransitive verb itself fills this semantic slot. However, in the completive AIVs require the -naj absolutive suffix anyway. Let's look at the examples in (149).

(149) RTV

k-in-tz'on
T-Al-shoot(Ap)
tz'on-naj-en
shoot(Ap)-Ap-Bl
k-in-jèek'
T-Al-break(Ap)
jèek'-naj-en
break(Ap)-Ap-Bl

'DVT

< IIV
k-in-kfins-aj
T-Al-kill-Ap

'I shoot'
'I shot'
'I break (something)'
'I broke (something)'
'I kill'
k′ins-aj-naj-en 'I killed'
kill-Ap-Ap-B1
<k AI V
k-u-mīis 'he sweeps'
T-A3-sweep
mīis-naj-i-∅ 'he swept'
sweep-Ap-M-B3

There is an incorporating antipassive in Yuc, in which indefinite
generic patient NPs may be incorporated within the verb, at least within
RTVs (forming IVs). No examples of an incorporating antipassive have
been found with DTVs. In the incompleteive the incorporated P occurs
immediately following the verb root with no further marking. In the
completive, the incorporated P occurs immediately following the verb
root, and then is followed by the antipassive suffix -naj. Cf.
(150) k-in-p’o7-nòok 'I wash clothes'
T-Al-wash-clothes

cf. active: k-in-p’o7-ιk nòok 'I wash the clothes'
p’o7-nòok-naj-en 'I washed clothes'
wash-clothes-Ap-B1

    cf. active: t-in-p’o7-aj nòok 'I washed the clothes'

Patient incorporation in Yuc is complete. It is the only instance in a
Mayan language (that I know of), where the incorporated generic P is
inserted between the verb stem and following suffixes.

There is a focus antipassive used in Yuc when As are questioned and
clefted.26 In this construction, the agent NP occurs at the beginning of
the sentence but is not cross-referenced on the verb. In fact, the verb
apparently has no tense, aspect or mode marking, with the exception of
the phrase final suffix -q. The P is cross-referenced on the verb with

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an absolutive suffix. Compare the examples in (151).

(151) mas puch-en?  'who hit me?'
    who hit-B1
    tèen puch-e-ch  'I was the one who hit you'
    I hit-B2
    max puch-e-∅?  'who hit him?'
    who hit-M-B3
    tèen puch-e-∅  'I was the one who hit him'
    I hit-M-B3
    max míist-e-∅? naj  'who swept the house?'
    who sweep-M-B3 house
    tèen míist-e-∅  naj  'I was the one who swept the house'
    I sweep-M-B3 house
    max il-e-ch?  'who saw you?'
    who see-B2

cf. active: max t-aw-il-aj-∅?  'who did you see?'

These forms appear to be intransitive and in the completive aspect, since there is null mode marking and only Ps are cross-referenced. However, the phrase final suffix -∅ is usually used on TVs when no other mode suffix occurs (e.g. in the subjunctive), and the phrase final suffix -i is normally used on IVs in the completive. In other words, forms in the focus antipassive display features of both transitive and intransitive verbs. The focus antipassive needs further study in Yuc.

The historical origins of the passive and medio-passive markers in Yuc are noteworthy. High tone and vowel length marking the medio-passive on RTVs is cognate with the infix -i- occurring as a passive or medio-passive marker in a number of other Mayan languages (cf. Table 9). Yuc
syllables of the form CVVC are reflexes of PM *CVhC or *CVjC (cf. Campbell 1977, Fox 1978, Kauman 1966-69, and McClaran 1977). Evidence from Quichéan shows that the PM infix was originally *-i- not *-j-. There is evidence that the infixed ʔTV₁ marking the passive on RTVs in Yuc was originally *ab’. In Classical Yuc the passive on both RTVs and DTVs was -ab’ (cf. McQuown 1967); and in Modern Yuc the passive is marked with -TV₁b’ on RTVs which end in ʔ (e.g. tz’a7 'give' > tz’a7-ab’ 'be given', chiʔ 'bite' > chiʔ-ib’ 'be bitten’). Also, in contemporary Mopán, closely related to Yuc, the passive on RTVs is -TV₁b’ and on DTVs it is -ab’ (Will Norman, p.c.). The suffix -ʔʔa marking the passive on DTVs in Modern Yuc reflects the earlier -ab’; the *b’ has become ʔ, and an echo vowel has been added (ʔ ~ b’ is a common alternation in many Mayan languages). The form of the passive in the completive of DTVs (i.e. -ʔʔab’) has probably been created analogically on the basis of -ʔʔa-1 incompletive passive, and -ʔʔa-k subjunctive passive, originally from *-ab’-al and *ab’-ak, respectively. Thus, it seems likely that RTVs originally had passives of the form *CVVC-ab’ which became *CVV₀CV₁7. Then this suffix became an infix resulting in passives of the form *CVVCV₁CV₁.

Syllables of this form regularly become CVV₀CV₁ in Yuc with the addition of an echo vowel.

As was discussed at the beginning of this section on Yuc, the ergative prefixes are used to cross-reference Ss of IVs in the incompletive aspect, resulting in accusative marking. It is noteworthy that the ergative prefixes cooccur with the (IV mode) suffix -V₁ in the incompletive. It was pointed out in the previous section on Chí, that -V₁ is a pan-Mayan nominalizing suffix. Therefore, accusative marking in Yuc probably can be attributed to the use of possessive ergative prefixes on verbal
nouns in the incompleteive aspect. These verbal nouns were (are?) probably subordinate to adverbiacl particles used in the incompleteive, some of which have prefixal forms (e.g. k- < ki present, which is kaj in Lac; t- < tan durative; tz'- < tz'o7ok terminative).

Huastec


There are no good grammatical descriptions of Hua, so what is said here is rather brief and tentative. TVs always end in a thematic suffix (Tm), which is usually of the form -Vy, -Vw, or -V(7). In the incompleteive this suffix is then followed by -al; in the completeive no suffix follows. The ergative and absolutive person markers are proclitics. When the marker of the P of a TV is nonnull (i.e. when it is not 3rd person), then collapsed pronominals are used (e.g. tilin A2/A3 -> Bl, ti A3 -> B2, tu A2/A3 -> Blp or A1 -> B2). Some examples of TVs in the active voice are presented in (152).

\begin{align}
\text{(152) } & \quad \text{\texttt{G-u nuj-uw-al}} & \quad \text{'I sell it'} \\
& \quad \text{\texttt{B3-A1 sell-Tm-M}} & \quad \text{\texttt{G-in al-iy-al}} & \quad \text{'he looks for it'} \\
& \quad \text{\texttt{B3-A3 search-Tm-M}} & \quad \text{\texttt{G-in kwee7-ey-al}} & \quad \text{'he robs it'} \\
& \quad \text{\texttt{B3-A3 rob-Tm-M}} & \quad \text{\texttt{G-u t'aj-a-al}} & \quad \text{'I do it'} \\
& \quad \text{\texttt{B3-A1 do-Tm-M}} & \quad \text{\texttt{G-u t'aj-a?7}} & \quad \text{'I did it'} \\
& \quad \text{\texttt{B3-A1 do-Tm M}} & \quad &
\end{align}
tin kw'iy-a-al 'he scolds me'
A3->B1 scold-Tm-M

tin kw'iy-a7 'he scolded me'
A3->B1 scold-Tm

tu kwath-a-al 'I hit you' present
A1->B2 hit-Tm-M

tin kwath-a7 'he hit me' past
A3->B1 hit-Tm

Like Tz1, Hua has differing word order depending on the status of the A and P on the animacy hierarchy. If the A equals the P then the order is V A P; if the A is higher than the P then the order is V P A.

(153)  $\varnothing$-in kwath-a7 an uxum an inik  \[ A = P \]
B3-A3 hit-Tm the woman the man
'the woman hit the man'

$\varnothing$-in k'at'-uw an pik'o7 an olom  \[ A = P \]
B3-A3 bite-Tm the dog the pig
'the dog bit the pig'

$\varnothing$-in k'oju-ow oox i ajan an inik \[ A > P \]
B3-A3 pick-Tm three corn the man
'the man picked three ears of corn'

Hua has a passive formed in -aab'; and -b'il plus -aab' form past passive participles.

(154)  $\varnothing$ juj-uw-aab' 'it is (being) sold'
B3 sell-Tm-Ps

in al-iy-aab' 'I am (being) looked for'
B1 search-Tm-Ps
t'aj-b'il-aab' 'made/done'
do-Pp-Ps
kwe7-b'il-aab' 'robbed'
rob-Pp-Ps

There is another passive suffix -n, which apparently forms both passives and medio-passives.

(155) in kw'iy-n-al 'I am scolded'
B1 scold-Ps-M
ti t'aj-a-n 'te hiciste'
B2 do-Tm-Ps (Sp. 'you do it to yourself/
it was done to you')
Ø kwaj1-a-n 'it fell'
B3 knock down-Tm-Mp
   < kwaj1-a-al 'knock over/down' TV
Ø k'ib'-a-n 'it got lost'
B3 lose-Tm-Mp
   < k'ib'-a-al 'lose' TV

This passive or medio-passive suffix is probably cognate with the antipassive suffix -(v)n found in most other Mayan languages (cf. Table 10). However, there does not appear to be an antipassive of any kind in Hua.

There is a referential voice formed in -ch(i), which has the reduplicated plural form -chinch.

(156) Ø u nuj-ch-al 'I sell it to him'
B3 Al sell-R-M
Ø u nuj-chinch-al 'I sell it to them/
B3 Al sell-R-M I sell them to him'
Ø in kwe7-ch-al
B3 A3 rob-R-M
Ø in t'aj-ch-al
B3 A3 do-R-M

The referential voice may be used in conjunction with either of the two passives.

(157) in nuj-chinch-aab'
B1 sell-R-Ps
in kwe7-chi-n-al
B1 rob-R-Ps-M

'I am (being) sold them'

Kaufman (p.c.) has noted that there is a suffix -na7 which derives instrumental verbs (e.g. t'aj-na7 'do with' < t'aj-a-al 'do', and koto-x-na7 'cut with' < kot-oy-al 'cut'). It is not clear whether this suffix is productive or whether it is a voice changing suffix, as, for example, -b'e in some other Mayan languages (cf. Table 11).

Conclusion

In this section a number of generalizations about ergativity and voice are stated, especially with respect to Mayan languages. In addition, some speculations are made about the voice system of Proto-Mayan (PM). The speculations are meant to be working hypotheses pointing to areas of further research, and are not intended as actual reconstructions. And since the primary purpose of this paper is not historical, the argumentation justifying the hypotheses is neither rigorous nor comprehensive. The motivation for presenting the hypotheses is to stimulate further investigation on the part of Mayanists to provide evidence supporting or disproving them. It should be noted that what is said about PM primarily
pertains to the non-Huastec part of the family (i.e. to the stage of FM after Huastec split off), since Huastec is not only the most divergent Mayan language, it is also one of the least documented.

Ergative languages differ in one important respect from other types of languages (e.g. accusative languages): the agent of a transitive verb is a marked (ergative) category, and has a rather sacrosanct position. Therefore, it is often the case that the (ergatively marked) transitive agent is not accessible to certain kinds of grammatical processes like relativization, questioning, and clefting (and, in some non-Mayan languages, coordination). In order for a transitive agent to undergo processes such as these, it must be modified so that it does not formally look like a transitive agent; that is, it must not have ergative marking. The focus antipassive construction, therefore, plays an important role in many ergative languages. Its primary function is to make unequivocally explicit who the agent is without marking it (sacrosanctly) ergative. It is used in those grammatical processes which are not accessible to ergatively marked agents. It may also be used when there is a possibility of ambiguity as to which NP in a transitive sentence is the agent and which is the patient.

In ergative languages like Mayan languages, which do not have morphological case marking on agent and patient NPs, but rather only cross-reference these roles with affixes on the verb, the possibility of ambiguity can arise when there are two 3rd person NPs in the sentence, and when certain kinds of grammatical processes (e.g. topicalization) disrupt the normal word order. Thus, for example, if the normal order is V A P (or V P A, for that matter), when one of these NPs is fronted via topicalization the result is NP V NP, and therefore, it may not be clear
which NP, the agent or the patient, has been fronted. The focus anti-
passive may be used to disambiguate in this situation because it expli-
citly indicates that the NP immediately preceding the verb is the agent.

In all Mayan languages which have a focus antipassive the agent is
always clefted to the left of the verb and the verb becomes a derived
intransitive. However, generally speaking, there are three different
ways in treating patients and verb agreement: (1) In Kek and Pocom,
and sometimes in Tzu, the patient is demoted to an oblique case marked
with a RN, and the verb agrees with the agent because it is the only
argument left in direct relationship with the verb. Pcm optionally allows
the patient to not be marked with an RN. In Tzu, the patient is demoted
and the verb agrees with the agent when there are two non-3rd person
arguments in the sentence, or, in order to override person hierarchy
agreement (discussed next). (2) In Qui and Cak, and usually in Tzu, the
verb agrees with whatever argument (agent or patient) is highest on the
person hierarchy, and the patient is not demoted. Aquacatec also option-
ally allows the verb to agree with a non-3rd person agent if the patient
is 3rd person. (3) In other Mayan languages (i.e. in Mamean, Kanjobalan,
Tzeltalan, Yucatecan) with a focus antipassive, the verb agrees with the
patient.

In those cases where the verb agrees with the patient, it seems
likely that the process of focus antipassivization removes the agent from
having a direct relationship with the transitive verb. The removal of the
agent then leaves the patient as the only argument of the verb, so the
verb agrees with it and also becomes intransitive. This situation is
illustrated in (158).
In those cases where the verb agrees with the argument highest on the person hierarchy the situation is essentially like that in (158), if the patient is equal to, or higher than, the agent. But if the agent is higher on the person hierarchy than the patient, its higher status overrules verb agreement with the patient, and forces the verb to agree with the agent even though it has been removed from a direct relationship with the verb.

Since Kek and Pocom are the only languages in which the verb in the focus antipassive regularly agrees with the agent, and since in Quichean proper, and optionally in Aguacatec, verb agreement with the agent is restricted to special circumstances (i.e. those governed by the person hierarchy), it seems likely that verb agreement with the agent in the focus antipassive is an innovation, given that in all other Mayan languages the verb agrees with the patient.

The suffix -(V)n occurs as a marker of the focus antipassive in all Mayan languages, except Yuc (cf. Table 10). In Greater Quichean, another suffix, -ow (~ -o ~ -w), marks the focus antipassive on RTVs only. The use of this suffix in Quichean in the focus antipassive is viewed here as an innovation. As a first approximation then, the following hypothesis is made with regard to the focus antipassive in PM.

**Hypothesis 1:** PM had a focus antipassive voice marked with the suffix *-(V)n, in which the verb agreed with the patient, and the agent was clefted to the left of the verb and removed from having a direct relationship with it (as in (158)). The focus
antipassive was used when agents were questioned, relativized, and clefted.

In Chl, Tzeltalan, Greater Kanjobalan, Kek, and Pocom, there is a suffix -w (with various modifications) used to mark the absolutive antipassive (cf. Table 10). Other languages with an absolutive antipassive mark it with -(v)n, at least under certain conditions. In this paper, the view is that the use of -(v)n as an absolutive marker has come about by extending its usage from the focus antipassive construction. And conversely, the use of the -ow suffix in Greater Quichean to mark the focus antipassive on RTVs has come about through extension from the absolutive passive. At present, I have no good explanation of precisely how this postulated flip-flop in functions of -(v)n and -ow came about in Quichean.

Hypothesis 2: PM had an absolutive antipassive voice marked with *-w, which allowed the omission of the patient in the expression of a transitive activity (as in (5)).

Several languages scattered throughout the Mayan family have an incorporating antipassive (cf. Table 10). In Greater Kanjobalan this voice is marked with -w, and in Kek and Tzu it is marked with -o (<-ow) on RTVs.

Hypothesis 3: In PM the suffix *-w was also used in incorporating antipassive constructions in which a nonspecific generic patient was incorporated into the verb complex (as in (6)). The verb became a derived intransitive and agreed with the agent. The incorporating antipassive is marked with -(v)n in Mam and Yuc, and it is used on DTVs in Kek and Tzu. The use of -(v)n in these languages to mark the incorporating antipassive is viewed here as having come about.
through extending its use from the focus antipassive.

Hua and Pch have passives in -Vb', and Classical Yuc had one in -ab' (cf. Table 9). Mam has one in b'aj, which historically is a compound formation from b' plus -aj. Kek has a passive in e7 which historically comes from *eb'. The suffix e7 (<*eb>) is also found in Quichean marking intransitive verbs from positional roots, and in Milpas Altas Cak marking passives of RTVs. Adjectival passives in b'il are found in Hua, Yucatecan, Cholan, Tzeltalan, Kanjobalan, and Kek. Historically, this suffix is a compound formation built on b' plus an adjectival/nominal suffix il. Whenever there is a passive construction based on the suffix b', unrestricted expression of agents in an oblique case is allowed.

Hypothesis 4: PM had a passive in *-Vb', which allowed unrestricted expression of agents in an oblique case (as in (6)). PM also had a past passive participle in *-b'-il, which also allowed unrestricted expression of agents in an oblique case.

In Yuc, Tzl, Agt, and Tzu, there are medio-passives marked with an infixed -i- or -V-. And in Cholan and Quichean there are passives in -i- and -V-. Historically, these infixes can be shown to be a reflex of PM *-h-.

In those languages where the infix is used as a passive marker, there are usually restrictions on the expression of agents (e.g. only 3rd person agents may be expressed in Chr and Qui), and in general, the infix passive seems to deemphasize the role of the agent.

Hypothesis 5: PM had a medio-passive, or perhaps a passive deemphasizing the role of the agent, marked with the infix *-h- (cf. (4) and discussion of medio-passive).

Passives in t are also fairly widespread in a number of Mayan languages. Cholan has one in t; Tzeltalan and Jac have one in ot (~ at);
and Quichean has one in -taj which can be further analyzed into -t plus -aj historically.\textsuperscript{28} Will Norman (p.c.) says that there is a cognate of this suffix in Hua which is used as an intransitive verb marker on positional roots.

**Hypothesis 6:** PM may have had a passive in $^*\text{-t}$.

A recurrent element in Mayan languages in passive constructions, and in some cases in antipassive constructions, is the suffix $\text{-v}_j$ - $\text{-v}_n$, from PM $^*\text{-v}_j$.\textsuperscript{29} This suffix occurs in many languages as a generalized intransitive marker (and in a few languages as a transitive marker as well). It probably did not have a specific passive (or antipassive) function in PM, but has been restricted in use in a number of languages.

In Tzeltalan and Chol the suffix -b'e marks the referential voice, and in several Eastern Mayan languages, as well as in Tzt, -b'e functions as the instrumental voice marker. There is internal evidence in Quichean, which indicates that there was once a referential voice in these languages as well (e.g. Tzu tzijo-b'e-xik 'to talk to' < tzijo-xik 'to speak about').

**Hypothesis 7:** PM had a referential voice marked with $^*\text{-b'e}$, which (obligatorily ?) promoted datives, benefactives, malefactives, and possessorors of patients, to the absolutive. $^*\text{-b'e}$ also (optionally ?) promoted instruments to absolutive, especially when they were in focus. The patient removed from the absolutive was not put in an oblique case, but rather left en chômage without further marking.

Accusative morphological marking occurs in a number of Mayan languages (cf. Table 3). All accusative structures in Mayan are instances of extended ergativity: that is, in every case the ergative prefixes have been extended to IVs marking their subjects. Accusative structures in
Yuc, Ch1, Agt, Pocom, and Kek, have clearly come about through the use of nominalizations in certain kinds of constructions, especially in embedded clauses which may include the incomplete and progressive aspects. In all of these cases the possessive ergative prefixes occur on nominalizations of IVs cross-referencing their underlying subjects. The use of nominalizations in the incomplete and progressive aspects in Kek and Pocom are clearly cases of (aspect marking) adverbial particles acting as higher predicates with embedded clauses containing the nominalizations. The use of nominalizations in the incomplete aspects in Yuc and Ch1 may have come about in a similar way, but it isn't clear that this is the case synchronically.

Ch1, Jac, Mam, and Ixl have accusative marking in several kinds of subordinate clauses (which do not seem to be embedded nominalizations). In all of these cases, it appears that the verbs of the subordinate clauses are not marked with the normal tense/aspect inflections. They are either tenseless/aspectless, or have subordinating adverbial particles which may denote time and aspect, among other things.

Mot appears to be the only Mayan language with accusative marking governed by the semantic features of NPs (i.e. non-3rd persons are marked accusatively and 3rd persons are marked ergatively).

**Hypothesis 8:** (A) PM was morphologically ergative in that agents of transitive verbs were cross-referenced on the verb with a set of ergative prefixes, and the subjects of intransitive verbs and the patients of transitive verbs were cross-referenced with another set of absolutive affixes. Possessors of NPs were also cross-referenced with ergative prefixes. (B) PM may have had marked accusative structures (= extended ergative structures) in certain
kinds of tenseless/aspectless subordinate clauses, especially with embedded nominalizations in which the underlying subjects of intransitive verbs were cross-referenced with ergative possessive prefixes.

An important question remains unanswered in the study of ergativity. In many ergative languages accusative structures are found in the incomplete/nonpast tenses and aspects. Why should there be such a tendency? Even if accusative marking can be attributed to nominalizations in many of these cases, why should there be more of a tendency towards nominalizations in these aspects and tenses than in the completive or past?

Footnotes

1 The family of Mayan languages contains about 30 languages which, with the one exception of Huastec, are all spoken in a more or less contiguous area stretching from the states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Yucatán, Campeche, and Quintana Roo, in southeastern Mexico, into Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras. Huastec is separated from the rest of the family and is spoken over 1000 miles to the north in the states of San Luís Potosí and Vera Cruz, Mexico. The separation of Huastec dates very early in the development of the Mayan family, and it is generally thought that the territory occupied today by Mayans has not changed a great deal for a long time, although there have been internal movements of particular language groups within the contiguous area (see Kaufman 1966-69, 1974).

The abbreviations used for grammatical terms in this article are as follows:

A agent; and ergative (Set A) person prefix (e.g. A1 = 1st person singular ergative, A2p = 2nd person plural ergative).
AIV  active intransitive verb.

Ap  antipassive suffix.

B  absolutive (Set B) person affix (e.g. B1 = 1st person singular absolutive, B2p = 2nd person plural absolutive).

C  consonant.

C<sub>x</sub>  consonant determined by the x-consonant of the preceding root or stem.

D  directional particle.

DTV  derived transitive verb.

I  instrumental voice suffix.

IIIV  inactive intransitive verb.

IV  intransitive verb.

M  mode suffix and/or phrase final suffix.

Mp  medio-passive voice suffix.

P  patient.

Pp  past participle deriving suffix.

Pr  preposition.

Ps  passive voice suffix.

R  referential voice suffix.

RN  relational noun.

RTV  root transitive verb; i.e. a nonderived transitive verb.

S  subject.

T  tense/aspect prefix or proclitic.

Tm  thematic suffix.

TV  transitive verb.

V  vowel (lexically determined).

V<sub>x</sub>  vowel harmonizing with the x-vowel of the preceding root or stem.
The discussion of Huastec, however, is wanting, because, unfortunately, there is not sufficient literature on this important language to give a full account of voice.

Some of the discussion of transitivity here, parallels that found in Dayley (1978) and Dixon (1979), and has been influenced by earlier works, especially Fillmore (1968), Chafe (1970), and Smith-Stark (1976a).

See M. Silverstein's (1977) important article on ergativity and the agency hierarchy for a more detailed and rigorous discussion. Note that the diagram of the agency hierarchy given here omits many details. For example, plural forms are always higher on the hierarchy than singular forms.

See Dixon (1979) for a detailed discussion of 'Subject' in this sense.


Dixon (1979) makes the stronger claim that no language is 100 percent morphologically ergative, that all ergative languages have constructions displaying accusative morphology. This seems to be an overstatement, since, for example, there are a number of Mayan languages which do not appear to have any signs of accusative morphology (cf. Table 3).

The term pivot is defined and discussed in detail in Dixon (1979). The notion of pivot is a good one, although I wish there was a better term.

The overt nature of a voice change is meant to exclude such sentences as:
We ate.

John drinks.

The stick broke.

from being viewed as having undergone a voice change (e.g. antipassivization and medio-passivization). The normally transitive verbs 'eat', 'drink' and 'break', are viewed here as having lexical intransitive forms. This view contrasts, for example, with Heath (1976) and Postal (1976).

10 Cf. Friedn (1975) and Langacher and Munro (1975) for insightful discussions of nonderived passives similar to the one outlined here.

11 Antipassive voices most commonly occur in ergative languages but also occur in some accusative languages as well (e.g. Uto-Aztecan). The term antipassive was first coined by Silverstein ca. 1968 (cf. 1977). There are a number of different kinds of antipassives with differing functions (cf. Heath 1976). In this paper we will only be concerned with absolutive, incorporating, and focus or agent antipassives because they are the only ones occurring in Mayan languages (cf. Table 10). For other discussions of antipassives see Dayley (1978), Dixon (1972, 1979), Postal (1977), and Smith-Stark (1976b, 1978). The term absolutive (or verbo absoluto in Spanish) describing the absolutive antipassive in Mayan languages goes back at least to the colonial period (cf. Ximénez 1701-03).

12 The two different functions of voice changes, i.e. the omission of arguments and rearrangement of arguments, could be viewed as semantic and syntactic voice changes, respectively. Although, I prefer to view them both as ultimately semantically motivated.

13 For a relationship between focus and relativization see Schacter (1973).
14. This is a simplified generalization; the details of the focus antipassive differ in different Mayan languages, especially with respect to which argument, A or P, is referenced on the verb with an absolutive person marker. See the section on 'Voice and Ergativity in Selected Mayan Languages' for details in particular languages. I prefer the term 'focus antipassive' because it describes the function of this voice. Perhaps a more accurate, albeit cumbersome, name would be the agent focus antipassive.

15. Compare the uses or functions of the instrumental voice with those of the focus antipassive and agents. See Norman (1978) for a discussion of the instrumental voice in Mayan.

16. Abbreviations of the language from which examples come sometimes precede the examples in order to avoid confusion.

17. Data on the various languages discussed here varies a great deal in both quantity and quality, and so exemplification of voice and ergativity will differ accordingly in the presentation of each language. It would be nice if, for example, the same verb(s) could be used to exemplify each of the voices in a given language. However, in the literature it is seldom the case that examples of each voice are available for the same verb. I present examples of forms cited by authors of the primary sources, and use the same verb(s) when they are available. Usually examples are presented with dashes indicating morpheme boundaries and minimal glosses are given for each morpheme (cf. the list of abbreviations in footnote 1). A certain amount of morphological analysis is left up to the reader in order for the discussion not to become too redundant. Phonological rules are not discussed unless absolutely necessary, but the reader should be aware that there are rules lengthening, shortening, and deleting vowels.
under certain conditions (e.g. in stressed or unstressed syllables, because of certain affixes, etc.). Also many affixes are cited with one of the segments being V or C. Without a subscript number a V or C is lexically determined; with a subscript number a \( V_x \) or \( C_x \) is determined by the \( x-V \) or \( C \) of the root or stem. For example, \( -V_l \) means the vowel of the suffix is lexically determined; \( -V_{\text{f}} \) means the vowel of the suffix is the same as the first vowel of the preceding root or stem. Orthographies of all of the languages have been regularized to conform with Kaufman (1975).

Many of the cases of split-ergativity in Mayan can be traced historically (if not synchronically) to nominalizations like these where ergative possessive prefixes are used to mark underlying Ss of IVs (see the Conclusion). Kek seems to show an incipient stage of this development.

Data on Tzu is from the San Juan dialect; the Qui data is from the Nahualá dialect; and the Cak data is from Magdalena Milpas Altas and Comalapa. In general, dialectical differences within Mayan languages are not discussed unless they are crucially relevant to voice and ergativity.

There is actually another class of DTVs marked with the indicative suffix \(-V_{\text{f}}\). These will not be discussed since they behave essentially like DTVs in \(-V_{\text{f}}\) (see Dayley 1978 and 1982, for details).

The absolutive affixes in Table 6 given for Mam as well as for Agt are underlying or basic forms. These two languages have complex morphophonemics in the absolutives. See England (1975) and Larsen (1978) for detailed discussions. The data on Mam is from Northern Mam, either from Todos Santos (TS) or from San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán (SI). Northern Mam differs substantially from Western and Southern Mam, not discussed here.

Norman and Campbell (1978) mistakenly called passives in \(-ot\), 'antipassives'. This error was probably due to the fact that Tzl allows
unmarked As in passive sentences, an abnormality in Mayan languages. This
makes them look somewhat like focus antipassives which, in some languages,
allow A and P to both be unmarked even though the verb is formally intrans-
sitive. That these are not focus antipassives is clear since the As are
not clefted, and according to Kaufman the As can be overtly marked in an
oblique case with ta or -u7un, like normal passives. Verbs in -ot are not
absolutive antipassives either; this voice is marked by -awan (cf. (132)).
Active and passive sentences are clearly distinguished in Tz1 by the
suffix -ot and by the contrasts in word order in the two different voices.
It is noteworthy, however, that the preposition ta may be used to mark As
in active sentences as well as passives (cf. the last example in (130)
where ta is used to mark the A of an active sentence).

The 1st person singular is not particularly criterial, since in
many Mayan languages the 1st person singular absolutive and ergative
affixes are similar.

N.B. mi plus the 3rd person ergative prefix i- becomes mi7 and woli
plus i- becomes woli7; mi and woli plus the 2nd person singular ergative
prefix a- become ma7 and wola7, respectively. The 1st person ergative
prefix k- becomes j- before k.

Throughout this paper the perfective, subjunctive, and imperative
modes have been ignored since they are not really relevant to a discussion
of voice and ergativity. It should be noted, however, that most Mayan
languages have at least three of the following four modes: indicative
(= nonperfective), perfective, subjunctive, and imperative. In Yuc the
perfective is formed with the suffix -maj on TVs and with -a7an on the
completive stem of IVs. The subjunctive is marked with the phrase final
suffix -a on TVs, and with the suffix -v,k - ak on the completive stem
of IVs.

26 The focus antipassive is not well documented in Yuc. The examples cited here are from Blair (1964:118) and Tozzer (1921:94). This construction needs further study to see, for example, if it is used in agent-relativization and other aspects and modes.

27 Pocom reflects PM *h as h and PM *i as i. The infixed -h- occurring in Pocom cognate with the (medio) passive in other languages, is used to mark intransitive verbs from positional roots (e.g. yohk-ik 'to lie down' < yok- 'lying down'). Also Qui reflects syllabic internal PM *-j- as -j- (e.g. najt 'far' < PM *najt), but reflects syllabic internal PM *-h- as -V- (e.g. b'alam 'tiger' < *b'ahlam).

28 N.B. the -et passive suffix in Mam is not cognate with other passives in -t. The t in the Mam suffix reflects PM *r.

29 N.B. -Vn (~ -Vŋ) here from PM *-Vŋ is distinguished from -Vn of the (focus) antipassive which clearly comes from PM *-Vn, since the *n is reflected as n in all languages.

30 Since this article was written there have been two others commenting on the section herein on Chorti. One is John Fought's (1982) criticisms of Dayley's treatment of Chorti verb morphology, and the second is Dayley's (1982) response to Fought's comments. For a detailed discussion of the verb morphology of Chorti, as well as other Cholon languages, the reader might also consult Kaufman and Norman's (1982) excellent article.
Mayan Language Family
(Kaufman 1974, 1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>Huastec complex</th>
<th>Chicomeceitec (Chi)</th>
<th>Huastec (Hua)*</th>
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<td>Yucatec (Maya) complex</td>
<td>Yucatec (Yuc)*</td>
<td>Itzá (Itz)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lacandón (Lac)*</td>
<td>Mopan (Mop)</td>
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<td>Western division</td>
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<td>Tzeltal (Tzl)*</td>
<td>Tzotzil (Tzt)*</td>
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<td>1 Chujecan group</td>
<td>Tojolabal (Toj)*</td>
<td>Chuj (Chj)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Kanjobal group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a Kanjobal complex</td>
<td>Kanjobal (Kan)</td>
<td>Acatec (Act)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jacaltec (Jac)*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b Motozintlec (Mot)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Eastern division</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Greater Mamean branch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Mamean group</td>
<td>Mam*</td>
<td>Teco (Tec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Ixil an group</td>
<td>Aguacatec (Agt)*</td>
<td>Ixil (Ixl)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Greater Quichean branch</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Uspantec (Usp)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Quiché complex</td>
<td>Quiché (Qui)*</td>
<td>Achí (Ach)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sacapultec (Sac)</td>
<td>Sipacapa (Sip)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tzutujil (Tzu)*</td>
<td>Cakchiquel (Cak)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 Pocom complex</td>
<td>Pocomam (Pcm)*</td>
<td>Pocomché (Pch)*</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These languages are discussed in detail in this paper. Abbreviations for languages are enclosed in parentheses.

Table 1

99
Orthographies for Mayan Languages

(Kaufman 1975)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>tz</th>
<th>ty</th>
<th>ch</th>
<th>tx</th>
<th>cy</th>
<th>ky</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>kw</th>
<th>q</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p'</td>
<td>t'</td>
<td>tz'</td>
<td>ty'</td>
<td>ch'</td>
<td>tx'</td>
<td>cy'</td>
<td>ky'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>kw'</td>
<td>q'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'</td>
<td>d'</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>xh</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>l</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>y</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loans: b, d, g, rr

i ä u ii uu

e a o ee aa oo

Explanations

Symbols have their normal phonetic values except for the following:

- C' = [ĉ] glottalized ejective consonant.
- VV = [V:] long vowel.
- ʔ = [ʔ] glottal stop.
- ŋ = [ŋ] velar nasal.
- Cy = [C'y] palatal consonant.
- Cw = [C'w] labial consonant.
- j = [χ] uvular fricative.
- th = [θ] theta.
- tz = [z] split apico-alveolar affricate.
- tx = [t] retroflex palatal affricate.
- cy = [c'] lamino-palatal affricate.
- ch = [č] lamino-palatal affricate; except in Todos Santos Mam and Chajul Ixil where it is [ĉ], a groove apico-alveolar affricate contrasting with cy and tz.
- xh = [š] lamino-palatal fricative; except in Todos Santos Mam where it is groove apico-alveolar.
- x = [s] retroflex fricative in Mam, Agt, Ixl, Jac, Kan, and Act where it contrasts with xh;
- ʃ = [ʃ] lamino-palatal fricative in all other languages where there is no contrast between xh and x.
- sh = [ʃ] lamino-palatal fricative occurring only in Todos Santo Mam, where it contrasts with xh and x.
- ŋ = [ŋ] or [ŋ] depending on the language.

Table 2
Mayan Languages Exhibiting Nominative/Accusative Structures
(Split-Ergativity)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lang</th>
<th>Nom/Acc</th>
<th>Incomp</th>
<th>Subord</th>
<th>Prog</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr</td>
<td>(x)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chl</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Mot</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixl</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tzu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pch</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kek</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
<td>=</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3
Basic Word Order in Mayan Languages

| V O S:       | Yuc, Lac, Mop | Qui, Cak, Tzu |
| V P A       | Chl           | Pcm, Pch    |
|             | Tzl, Tzt     | Kok         |
|             | Toj, Chj     |             |

| V S O:       | Chj, Jac     |
| V A P       | Mam, Agt, Ixl|
|             | Cak          |

| S V O:       | Chr          |
| A V P       |             |

| V O S/V S O: | Hua, Tenejapa Tzl |
| V P A/V A P |             |

N.B. All of the V O S (V P A) languages commonly allow subjects (agents) to occur before the verb under topicalization; some of the V S O (V A P) languages do as well. Some languages also allow topicalized objects (patients) to occur before the verb. Thus, other commonly occurring (nonbasic) word orders are S V O and S O V, and occasionally, O V S. In Hua and Tenejapa Tzl, V S O is the basic order when agent and patient are equal on the animacy hierarchy, and V O S when the agent is superior to the patient. In Chj and Cak, there are dialects with basic V S O, and others with basic V O S.
Verb Structures in Mayan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Verb (TV)</th>
<th>1) asp + erg + TVstem (+ mod) + abs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yuc, Lac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tzl, Tzt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chr, Chl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ixl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2) asp + abs + erg + TVstem (+ mod)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam, Agt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui, Cak, Tzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj, Jac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm, Pch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive Verb (IV)</th>
<th>1) asp + IVstem (+ mod) + abs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yuc, Lac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tzl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chr, Chl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ixl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2) asp + abs + IVstem (+ mod)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam, Agt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui, Cak, Tzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj, Jac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm, Pch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3) asp + erg + IVstem (+ mod)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yuc, Lac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr, Chl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam, Ixl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm, Pch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. 'Directional' particles may occur between some of the morpheme slots indicated above in some of the languages.

Table 5

103
### Absolutive Affixes (Set B)

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Lang</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>Plexcl</th>
<th>Plinc1</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>ŋ/u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ix</td>
<td>it..chik</td>
<td>u..chik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuc</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-ech</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>-o7on</td>
<td>-e7ex</td>
<td>-o7on'/ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-ech</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>-oon</td>
<td>-eex</td>
<td>-i07/ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itz</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>-ech</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>-o7on</td>
<td>-e7ex</td>
<td>-oo7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>ix-</td>
<td>a..ob'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-et</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>ox</td>
<td>ob'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzl</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>otikotik</td>
<td>-ex</td>
<td>-ik/laį</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>-ot</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>i..kutik</td>
<td>a..ik</td>
<td>-ik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toj</td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>-otikon</td>
<td>-ex</td>
<td>e7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj</td>
<td>(h)in</td>
<td>(h)ach</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>(h)on</td>
<td>(h)ex</td>
<td>(h)eb'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
<td>(h)in</td>
<td>(h)ach</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>(h)on</td>
<td>(h)ex</td>
<td>(h)eb'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>(ch)in..(y)a</td>
<td>-(y)a</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>(q)o..(y)a</td>
<td>i..(y)a</td>
<td>(ch)i-</td>
<td>-e7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agt</td>
<td>(ch)in-</td>
<td>-(j)i in</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>(q)o7-</td>
<td>(i)(k)x-</td>
<td>(ch)e7-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixl</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>axh</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>o7</td>
<td>ex</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>oj-</td>
<td>ix-</td>
<td>e7/-e'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cak</td>
<td>in/-i-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>oj-</td>
<td>ix-</td>
<td>e7/-o'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzu</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>oq-</td>
<td>ix-</td>
<td>e7/-o'</td>
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</tr>
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<td>ti-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>aj/ah</td>
<td>ti..ta</td>
<td>i/-ŋ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pch</td>
<td>in-</td>
<td>at-</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>oj-</td>
<td>at..tag</td>
<td>oj-</td>
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</tr>
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<td>in</td>
<td>at</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>oh/o/oo</td>
<td>ex</td>
<td>e7/eb'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms marked with a preceding dash are suffixes; with a following dash they are prefixes; with no dash they are both prefixes and suffixes.

When no 1st person plural inclusive form occurs, then there is no distinction between inclusive and exclusive.

Table 6

104
### Preconsonantal Ergative Prefixes (Set A)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lang</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>Flexcl</th>
<th>Plincl</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i/a..chik</td>
<td>in..chik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuc</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>a..e7ex</td>
<td>u..o7ob'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>in..o7</td>
<td>ɔk..eex</td>
<td>a..eex</td>
<td>u..o7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itz</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>a..e7ex</td>
<td>u..oo7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr</td>
<td>in/ni</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u..0b'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Chl</td>
<td>k/j</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>k..lojon</td>
<td>lak</td>
<td>la7</td>
<td>i..ob'</td>
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<td>j..tik</td>
<td>a..ik</td>
<td>s..ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>j..kutik</td>
<td>j..tik</td>
<td>a..ik</td>
<td>s..ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toj</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>j..tikon</td>
<td>j..tik</td>
<td>ha..ex/ik</td>
<td>s..e7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj</td>
<td>hin</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ko/ki</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>s..heb'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
<td>hin</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ko</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>s..heb'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>n..(y)a</td>
<td>t..(y)a</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>q..(y)a</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ky..(y)a</td>
<td>ky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agt</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>s/xh/</td>
<td>x/∅</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>chi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixl</td>
<td>in/un</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ku/qu</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td>in/nu</td>
<td>a(a)</td>
<td>u(u)</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>i(i)</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cak</td>
<td>in/nu</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ru/u</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzu</td>
<td>in/(n)u</td>
<td>a(a)</td>
<td>r(uu)/</td>
<td>uu/∅</td>
<td>qa(a)</td>
<td>e(e)</td>
<td>ki/kee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>(h)a</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>(h)a..ta</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pch</td>
<td>in/ni/n</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>r/i</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>a..taq</td>
<td>ki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kek</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>a(a)</td>
<td>(i)x</td>
<td>qa</td>
<td>e(e)</td>
<td>x..eb'</td>
<td>e?x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Forms separated by two dots are discontinuous morphemes, the first being a prefix and the second a suffix or enclitic.

Table 7

105
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lang</th>
<th>S1</th>
<th>S2</th>
<th>S3</th>
<th>Plexcl</th>
<th>Plincl</th>
<th>P2</th>
<th>P3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>a..chik</td>
<td>in..chik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuc</td>
<td>inw</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>uy</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>aw..e7ex</td>
<td>uy..e7ob'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac</td>
<td>(in)w</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>(u)y</td>
<td>(in)w..07</td>
<td>k..eex</td>
<td>aw..eex</td>
<td>(u)y..07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itz</td>
<td>(in)w</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>(u)y</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>aw..e7ex</td>
<td>(u)y..007</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr</td>
<td>inw/niw</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>uw/uy</td>
<td>kaw ka</td>
<td>iw/iy</td>
<td>iw/uy/ob'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chl</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>(i)y</td>
<td>k..lojon lak la7w</td>
<td>(i)y..ob'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzl</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k..kotik k..tik</td>
<td>aw..ik</td>
<td>y..ik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tztl</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k..kutik k..tik</td>
<td>aw..ik</td>
<td>y..ik</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toj</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>(ha)w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k..tikon k..tik</td>
<td>(ha)w..{ex</td>
<td>y..c7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>hey</td>
<td>y..heb'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>haw</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>hey</td>
<td>y..heb'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>w..(y)a</td>
<td>t..(y)a</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>q..(y)a</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>ky..(y)a</td>
<td>ky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agt</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>ky</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixl</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>aw/a</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>et</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td>w/inw</td>
<td>(a)aw</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(i)iw</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cak</td>
<td>w/inw</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>iw</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzu</td>
<td>w/(i)nw</td>
<td>(a)aw</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(e)cw</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>(h)aw</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(h)aw..ta</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pch</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>aw</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>aw..taq</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kek</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>(a)aw</td>
<td>(i)r</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>(e)er</td>
<td>r..eb'</td>
<td>e7r</td>
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Table 8

106
## Passive Voices in Mayan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lang</th>
<th>Simple Pass</th>
<th>Other Pass</th>
<th>Medio-Pass</th>
<th>Adj Pass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hua</td>
<td>-aab'</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-b'il-aab'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuc</td>
<td>-77V--a7</td>
<td>-p -k'</td>
<td>7V-</td>
<td>-b'il</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-b'il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr</td>
<td>-j/-n</td>
<td>-t tz'</td>
<td>-t k' -p</td>
<td>-b'ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chl</td>
<td>-j--t/-nt</td>
<td></td>
<td>-b'il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzl</td>
<td>-ot</td>
<td>-j-</td>
<td>-b'il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
<td>-at</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-b'il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toj</td>
<td>-j</td>
<td>-x</td>
<td>-ub'al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj</td>
<td>-(ch)aj</td>
<td>-ax</td>
<td>-b'il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
<td>-ot</td>
<td>-lax cha lo</td>
<td>-b'il</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam</td>
<td>-eet -j-1</td>
<td>-njtz -b'aj</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-(V')7n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixl</td>
<td>-l-ch/-l</td>
<td>-p Vx</td>
<td>-el/-mal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agt</td>
<td>-lij/-ij</td>
<td>-xij</td>
<td>-v-</td>
<td>-ij/-7n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td>-V--x</td>
<td>-(V)taj -Vr</td>
<td>-oon/-Vn</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cak</td>
<td>-V--x</td>
<td>-(V)taj -Vr-e7</td>
<td></td>
<td>-on/-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzu</td>
<td>-j--x</td>
<td>-(V)taj -Vr-7--j-</td>
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<td>-oon/-Vn</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pcm</td>
<td>-Vr-j</td>
<td>-aam'j</td>
<td>-ooj/-Vmaj</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pch</td>
<td>-Vr-j</td>
<td>-mVj -Vb'</td>
<td>-ooj/-Vmaj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kek</td>
<td>-e7/-V</td>
<td>-man</td>
<td>-(m)b'il -C10</td>
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**Table 9**

107
### Antipassive Voices in Mayan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lang</th>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>Incorporating</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<td>Hua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuc</td>
<td>˜V-(naj)/-aj(-naj)</td>
<td>Φ(-naj)</td>
<td>Φ + NO {agt} {asp}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac</td>
<td>Φ + IV mode suff</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr</td>
<td>-on/-(w)an</td>
<td></td>
<td>-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzl</td>
<td>-awan</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(o)maj</td>
<td>-(V)wej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
<td>-wan</td>
<td></td>
<td>-on</td>
<td>-(V)waj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toj</td>
<td>-wan ~ -wun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Vn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj</td>
<td>-waj</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-w</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ham</td>
<td>-(VV)n</td>
<td>-(VV)n</td>
<td>-(VV)n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agt</td>
<td>˜V-..-oon/-Vn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-oon/-Vn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixl</td>
<td>-on/-n</td>
<td></td>
<td>-on/-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td>-oon/-Vn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ow/-Vn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzu</td>
<td>-oon/-Vn</td>
<td>-o/-n</td>
<td>-ow/-Vn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cak</td>
<td>-on/-n</td>
<td></td>
<td>-o/-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm</td>
<td>-w/-in</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w/-in</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pch</td>
<td>-w/-Vn</td>
<td></td>
<td>-w/-Vn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kek</td>
<td>-o/-n</td>
<td>-o/-n</td>
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</table>

Table 10

108
### Referential and Instrumental Voices

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<th>Lang</th>
<th>Referential</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
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<td>Hua</td>
<td>-ch</td>
<td>(-na7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yuc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chr</td>
<td>-∅</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chl</td>
<td>-b'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzl</td>
<td>-b'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzt</td>
<td>-b'c</td>
<td>-b'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jac</td>
<td></td>
<td>(-ni)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ixl</td>
<td></td>
<td>-b'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qui</td>
<td></td>
<td>-b'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cak</td>
<td></td>
<td>(-b'c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tzu</td>
<td></td>
<td>-b'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pcm</td>
<td></td>
<td>-b'c - -7c</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pch</td>
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<td>-b'c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

Table 11
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