Microvariation in the realization of Eastern Mayan number agreement

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1. Introduction

When linguists see patterns of optionality or free variation in syntax, we are – or at least we should be – dubious of the extent to which the attested patterns are, in fact, *truly optional*.

To briefly illustrate the point:

(1) ***The English dative alternation appears optional***
a. I sent Mary the book.
b. I sent the book to Mary.

However, we know that if we dig just a bit deeper, we find that the two constructions – the double object (1a) and prepositional dative (1b) have several differences.

(2) ***Double Object constructions disallow inanimate Goals***
a. *I sent Guatemala the book.
b. I sent the book to Guatemala.

(3) ***Prepositional datives do not retain idiomatic interpretations***
a. I gave Jack the creeps.
b. # I gave the creeps to Jack.

(4) ***Not all verbs permit both structures***
a. I donated the money to Mary.
b.* I donated Mary the money.

By exploring patterns of optionality in detail, we often find additional factors that are correlated with these patterns.

Furthermore, by understanding what these factors are, we can better understand the distribution of (apparent) optionality, and properly model these phenomena.

Today: We consider patterns of (non-)optionality in the realization of number agreement in 4 Eastern Mayan languages – Kaqchikel, K'ichee', Tz'utujiil (K'ichean) and Mam (Mamean).

In several environments, the realization of 3rd plural absolutive agreement (A3PL) appears to be optional. It is possible to realize no ABS-agreement at all.

(5) ***Optional absolutive agreement in Santiago Tz'utujiil***

a. Ajoj x-**e/Ø**-qa-loq' ik'e' ab'aj.
1PL PRF-**A3PL/Ø**-E1PL-buy two stone
'We bought two stones.'

b. Ik'e' ab'aj x-**e/Ø**-lokuptaj=ela.
two boy-PL PRF-**A3PL/Ø**-slide=DIR
'Two stones slid (from here to there).'

(6) ***Optional absolutive agreement in Kaqchikel***

a. X-**e/Ø**-in-pitz ri oxi' xkoya'.
PRF-**A3PL/Ø**-E1SG-squeeze DET three tomato
`I squeezed the three tomatoes.'

b. Y-**e/Ø**-nim-ïr ri taq xkoya'.
IMP-**A3PL/Ø**-big-INC DET PL.DIM tomato
'The little tomatoes are getting big.'

- ABS-agreement cross-references both transitive objects (5a, 6a) and intransitive subjects (5b, 6b).
- In both environments, A3PL can, but need not be realized—realizing no agreement morphology is also grammatical.

NB: 3rd person singular absolutive agreement also has no overt exponence.

However: Upon further inspection, we find that the presence/absence of A3PL is *not* in fact in free variation in these languages. Rather, it is constrained by two factors:
(i) Grammatical function
(ii) Animacy
Moreover, we find that these patterns of optionality are **not identical** in every language.

Taking the under-documented Santiago Tz'utujiil (5) as our point of departure, we demonstrate that systematic investigation of these patterns of (non-)optionality in agreement provide crucial insights into the proper modeling of the syntax of Eastern Mayan languages.

We maintain *there is no such thing as optional syntactic processes* (Chomsky 1995). Instead, all optionality is due to variation in the Lexicon (Borer 1986):

- Adopting this, we find that some patterns of optionality in Santiago Tz'utujiil are consistent with base-generated syntactic structures proposed for closely related languages.
- However, other patterns necessitate novel models of base-generated syntactic structures.

Outline: The remainder of the presentation is organized as follows:

- We discuss the basics of agreement in Eastern Mayan with a focus on Santiago Tz'utujiil (ST).
- We detail the patterns of optional agreement in ST, demonstrating its sensitivity to animacy and grammatical function.
- We present a model for how optional agreement arises.
- We then demonstrate that certain patterns of (non-)optionality force the adoption of novel syntactic structures in ST.
- We manipulate the model of optional agreement developed for ST to other Eastern Mayan languages, accounting for microvariation between the different languages.

2. Background: Agreement basics in Eastern Mayan

Eastern Mayan languages display ergative-absolutive head-marking alignment:

- Transitive objects (7) and intransitive subjects (8) are cross-referenced by *absolutive (ABS-)agreement*.
- Subjects of transitive clauses (8) and possessors (9) are cross-referenced by *ergative (ERG-)agreement*.
- Case is not marked overtly on noun phrases.

(7) ***ERG-ABS-agreement in transitive clauses***

a. Ajoj x-e-qa-tzu' j'iye'.
1PL COM-A3PL-E1PL-see 3PL
'We saw them.'

b. J'iye' x-oq-ki-tzu' ajoj.
3PL COM-A1PL-E3PL-see 1PL
'They saw us.'

(8) ***ABS-agreement in intransitive clauses***

a. J'iye' x-i-e'l=ila
3PL COM-A3PL-go=DIR
'They went out.'

b. Ajoj x-oq-e'l=ila.
1PL COM-A1PL-go=DIR
'We went out.'

- In (7a) and (8a), *j'iye'* 'they' is cross-referenced by *e-/i-*, conditioned by phonological factors, despite differing grammatical function.
- In (7b) and (8b), *ajoj* 'we' is cross-referenced by *oq-*, again despite differing grammatical function.
- Transitive subjects receive distinct marking: *qa-* cross-references *ajoj* 'we' (7b), and *ki-* cross-references *j'iye'* 'they' (7b).

(9) ***ERG-agreement in possessed noun phrases***

a. qa-wa ajoj
E1PL-head 1PL
'our head(s)'

b. ki-wa j'iye'
E3PL-head 3PL
'their head(s)'

- The same morphology that cross-references transitive subjects in (7) cross-references possessors in (9).

Complete paradigms for strong pronouns, ABS-agreement, and ERG-agreement are provided in (10):

(10) ***ST pronominal and agreement paradigms***

	STRONG PRONOUN	ABS-AGREEMENT	ERG-AGREEMENT
1SG	*anen*	*en-/in-*	*(i)n-*
1PL	*ajoj*	*oq-*	*qa-*
2SG	*atet*	*a(t)-*	*a(w)-*
2PL	*ixix*	*ix-*	*i(w)-*
3SG	*ja*	*Ø-*	*r(u)-/u-*
3PL	*j'iye'*	*e-/i-*	*ki-*

NB: A TAM prefix precedes the agreement marker(s), as well. Templatic ordering of morphemes in aspect-bearing verbs is given in (11):

(11) ***Morpheme ordering in ST transitive verbs***

TAM — ABS-AGREEMENT — ERG-AGREEMENT — VERB STEM — VOICE SUFFIX – STATUS SUFFIX

Moreover, ST is morphologically and syntactically a *high-absolutive* or ABS=NOM language (Aldridge 2004, Legate 2008, Coon et al. 2014).

Morphologically: ABS-agreement is realized to the left of ERG-agreement, (11).

- If left-to-right ordering of morphemes in the verbal complex before the verb stem corresponds to descending structural height (Clemens & Coon to appear) → the probe that determines ABS-agreement is structurally higher than the probe that determines ERG-agreement.

Syntactically: ABS-agreement is absent whenever T^0 is absent/defective (Coon et al. 2014):

(12) ***Aspectless embedded clauses lack ABS-agreement***

a. A Xwan x-Ø-pet-a [ch'y-oj aw-ixin tet].
CL Juan COM-Ø-come-SS hit-AP E2SG-RN 2SG.
'Juan came to hit you.'

b. X-e-moj [r-tza-q-ik wey] nk'ajq'ij.
COM-E1SG-start E3SG-make-PAS-NML tortilla midday
'I started to make tortillas at midday.'

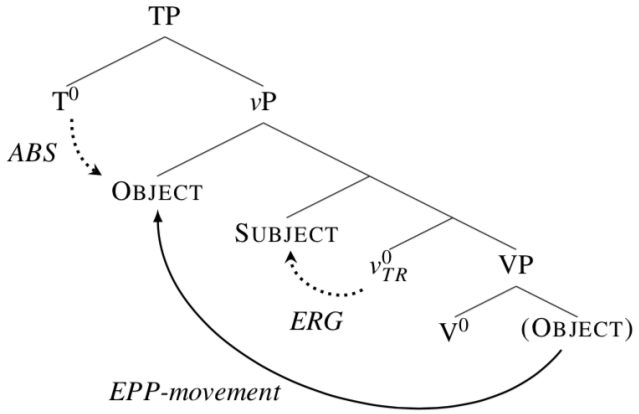
- The embedded clauses in (12) are non-finite; they lack TAM prefixes found in matrix clauses.
- Aissen 1992 argues that TAM morphology instantiates T^0.
- If the absence of the TAM prefix indicates the absence/defectiveness of T^0 *and* T^0 is the sole source of ABS-agreement → ABS-agreement is expected to be absent from these embedded clauses.

As a first pass, we model the ERG-ABS alignment of ST as follows. This will be amended below in light of the existence of optional agreement:

Transitive clauses: The subject is cross-referenced by ERG-agreement; the direct object by ABS-agreement.

- The transitive subject Agrees v^0 (or Voice^0), is assigned inherent case by that head, and remains *in situ* (e.g. Aissen 1992; Woolford 1997; Aldridge 2004; Legate 2008, Coon et al. 2014).
- Now recall that ST is a high-ABS language → T^0 is the locus of ABS-agreement.
- The direct object moves to Spec-*v*P to Agree with T^0; the *v*P is spelled-out as soon enters the derivation:

(13) ***Modeling ERG-ABS agreement in transitive clauses***



Intransitive clauses: The sole argument is cross-referenced by ABS-agreement.

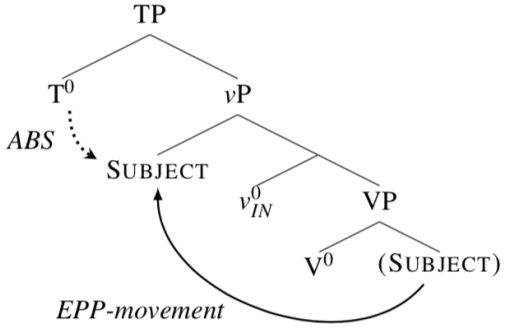
- Intransitive clauses also display high-ABS properties. ABS-agreement in eventive intransitives (8a,b) and stative (8c) intransitives, which lack TAM morphology, appears before the verb stem:

(14) ***Absolutive agreement in intransitive clauses***

a. J'iye' x-**i**-e'l=ila.
   3PL COM-**A3PL**-go=DIR
   'They went out.'
b. Ajoj x-**oq**-e'l=ila.
   1PL COM-**A1PL**-go=DIR
   'We went out.'
c. Atet **at**-nem.
   2SG **A2SG**-big
   'You are big.'

- Intransitive *v*P is also a phase (Legate 2003, Deal 2009; *pace* Coon et al. 2014).
- The high-ABS behavior is explained if intransitive v^0 also bears an EPP-feature.

(15) ***Modeling ABS-agreement in intransitive clauses***



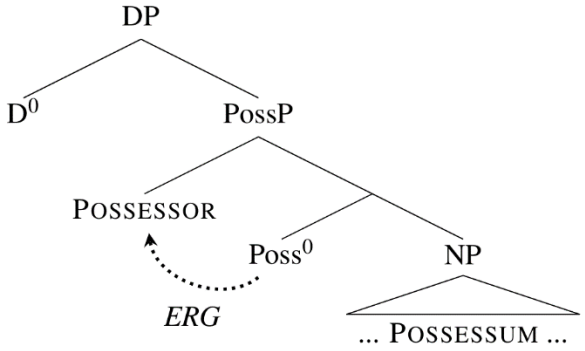
Coon (to appear) assumes that all intransitive verbs in Mayan are unaccusative.

- There is no morphological or syntactic evidence showing a partition among intransitive verbs between unergatives and unaccusatives.
- Prototypical unergatives like 'to run' are formed via *light verb + nominal* constructions – 'to eat a race'.

Possessors: The possessor is cross-referenced by ERG-agreement.

- Like transitive subjects, the possessor Agrees with a functional head in the extended DP – $Poss^0$.

(16) ***Modeling ERG-agreement in possession constructions***



3. The (Non-)optionality of Agreement

However: In certain contexts, the agreement patterns outlined above ***do not obtain***!

- Rather, agreement would appear to be optional.

Optionality is conditioned by the grammatical function and animacy of the cross-referenced argument.

3.1 ABS-Agreement

(17) ***ABS-agreement with objects is always optional***

a. Ajoj x-**e-/Ø**-qa-tzu **ik'e' k'jool-a**
1PL PRF-**A3PL/Ø**-E1PL-see **two boy-PL**
'We saw two boys.'

b. Ajoj x-**e-/Ø**-qa-loq' **ik'e' ab'aj**.
1PL PRF-**A3PL/Ø**-E1PL-buy **two stone**
'We bought two stones.

- The animate object 'two boys' can be cross-referenced by A3PL or not (17a).
- The inanimate object 'two stones' can be cross-referenced by A3PL or not (17b).

(18) ***ABS-agreement with passive (and unaccusative) subjects is sensitive to animacy***

a. Ik'e' k'jool-a x-**e-/*Ø**-lokup-taj=ela.
two boy-PL PRF-**A3PL-/*Ø**-slide-PAS=DIR
'Two boys slid (from here to there).'

b. Ik'e' ab'aj x-**e-/Ø**-lokup-taj=ela.
two stone PRF-**A3PL-/Ø**-slide-PAS=DIR
'Two stones slid (from here to there).'

- The animate subject 'two boys' must be cross-referenced by A3PL (18a).
- The inanimate subject 'two stones' can be cross-referenced by A3PL or not (18b).

(19) ***ABS-agreement with positional subjects is obligatory***

a. Ik'e' k'jool-a **e-/*Ø**-pa'ala.
3PL boy-PL **A3PL-/*Ø**-stand.up
'Two boys are standing up.'

b. Puch ab'aj **e-/*Ø**-q'eb'an chwech tz'aq.
many stone **A3PL-/*Ø**-leanPREP.E3SG.RN wall
'Many stones are leaning against the wall'

- The animate subject 'two boys' must be cross-referenced by A3P (19a).
- The inanimate subject 'many stones' must be cross-referenced by A3P (19b).

(20) ***ABS-agreement with non-verbal predicates is obligatory***

a. J'iye'la ak'al-a **i-/*Ø-**nemaq
those child-PL **A3PL-/*Ø-**big
'Those children are big.'

b. J'iye'la ab'aj **i-/*Ø-**nemaq
those stone **A3PL-/*Ø-**big
'Those stones are big.'

- The animate subject 'those children' must be cross-referenced by A3PL (20a).
- The inanimate subject 'those stones' must be cross-referenced by A3PL (20b).

(21) ***ABS-agreement with local pronominals is obligatory***

J'iye' x-**oq-/*in-/*Ø-**ki-tzu' ajoj.
3PL PRF-**A1PL-/*A1SG-/*Ø-**E3PL-see 1PL
'They saw us.'

- Unlike 3rd person (17a), local person animate objects must be Agreed with in person and number.

3.2 ERG-Agreement

(22) ***ERG-agreement with subjects is obligatory***

a. Ik'e' k'jool-a x-oq-**ki-/*ru-/*Ø-**tzu' ajoj
Two boys-PL PRF-A1PL-**E3PL-/*E3SG-/*Ø-**see 1PL
'Two boys saw us.'

b. Ik'e' ab'aj x-Ø-**ki-/*ru-/*Ø-**to' a Xwan.
two stone PRF-Ø-E3PL-/*E3SG-/*Ø-help CL Juan
'Two stones aided Juan.' (context provided)

- The animate subject 'two boys' must be cross-referenced by E3PL (22a).
- The inanimate subject 'two stones' must be cross-referenced by E3PL (22b).

(23) ***ERG-agreement with possessors is obligatory***

a. **ki-/*r-/*Ø-**tzb'alil ik'e ak'
E3PL-/*E3SG-/*Ø-color two chicken
'the color(s) of two chickens'

b. **ki-/*r- /*Ø-**tzb'alil ik'e ab'aj
E3PL-/*E3SG-/*Ø-color two stone
'the color(s) of two stones'

- The animate possessor 'two chickens' must be cross-referenced by E3PL (23a).
- The inanimate possessor 'two stones' must be cross-referenced by E3PL (23b).

3.3 Interim summary

(24) ***Patterns of (non-)optional agreement in Santiago Tz'utujiil***

	ERG-AGREEMENT		ABS-AGREEMENT			
	TRANSITIVE SUBJECT	POSSESSOR	NON-VERBAL	POSITIONAL	PASSIVE/ UNACCUSATIVE	TRANSITIVE OBJECT
ANIMATE	mandatory	mandatory	mandatory	mandatory	mandatory	optional
INANIMATE	mandatory	mandatory	mandatory	mandatory	optional	optional

As syntactic properties are the determining factors in the realization of (non-)optional agreement, we contend that the presence/absence of agreement is itself determined in the syntax.

- Optional agreement is not attributable to morphophonological or semantic/pragmatic factors.
- Below, we develop a model of the patterns of optional and non-optional agreement in ST.
- A full account of the facts requires adopting novel syntactic structures for the language.

4. Manipulating the Lexicon

We maintain that *there is no such thing as an optional syntactic operation* (Chomsky 1995).
- Whenever a syntactic operation can obtain, it must.
- Moreover, if the operation has a morphological consequence, that must be realized.

➔ Optional agreement, like the kind documented in Section 3, arises when the syntactic operation responsible for the realization of agreement morphology, namely AGREE, ***fails*.**

For AGREE to obtain, and by extension agreement to be realized, the following are required:
- *structural accessibility* – arguments must occupy a position which is accessible to the probe for the purposes of AGREE.
- *featural visibility* – arguments must bear features sought by the probe for the purposes of AGREE.

If either of these conditions does not hold, AGREE will fail and no agreement will be realized. However, the derivation may still converge (Preminger 2014).

Patterns of optional agreement arise because of competing derivations.
- In one derivation AGREE obtains. In the other AGREE does not.
- These distinct derivations arise due to variations in the Lexicon (Borer 1986).
- In certain configurations, competing derivations are unavailable, yielding obligatory agreement.

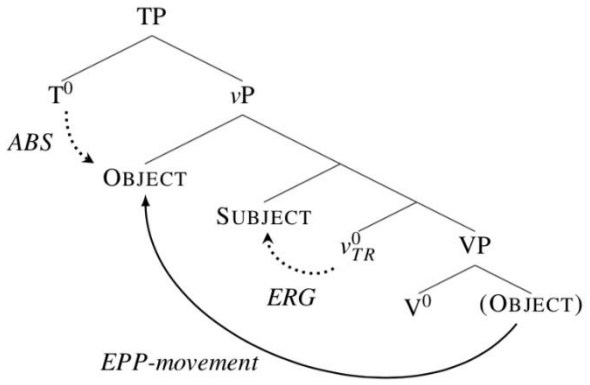
4.1 Structural Accessibility

Recall, ST is a High-ABS language:
- T^0 is the sole source of ABS-agreement.
- When T^0 is absent/defective (TAM-less embedded clauses), ABS-agreement is absent.

Proposal: Transitive v^0 comes in two flavors – [+EPP] and [-EPP].
- [+EPP] v^0 renders the direct object structurally accessible to T^0, (25a)
- [-EPP] v^0 does not (25b).
- Arguments must occupy the edge of the lower phased edge to be *structurally accessible* to T^0.

(25) ***EPP movement feeds object ABS-agreement***

a.



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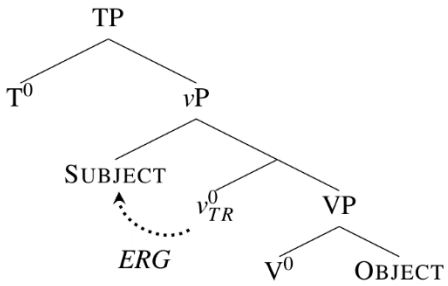


- In the absence of EPP movement, AGREE cannot obtain between the object and T^0.
- **The existence of both derivations in (25), yields apparent optionality of A3PL for transitive objects.**

NB: Local persons cannot occur with $v^0_{[\text{-EPP}]}$ due to the Person Licensing Constraint (Béjar & Rezac 2003).

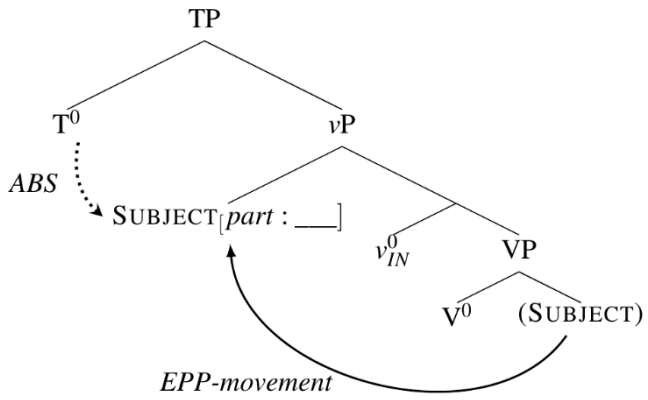
4.2 Featural Visibility

But: A3PL optionality is also sensitive to animacy.
- Inanimate passive subjects show optional A3PL.
- Animate passive subjects show mandatory A3PL.

Proposal: 3rd person arguments bear [Part(icipant):___].
- Animate noun phrases necessarily bear [part: ___]
- Inanimate noun phrases can bear [part:___] but need not.
- Arguments must bear [part] to be *featurally visible* to T^0, (26) (cf. Preminger 2014).

(26) ***[Part] feeds ABS-agreement***

a.



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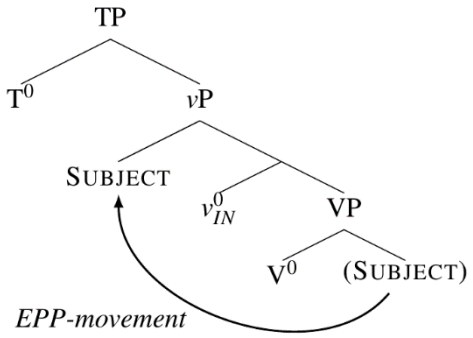


- In the absence of [part], AGREE cannot obtain between the passive/unaccusative subject and T^0.
- **The existence of both derivations in (26), results in apparent optionality of A3PL for inanimate passive/unaccusative subjects.**

4.3 Obligatory agreement

In many other environments, agreement is obligatory.
- Transitive subjects and possessors trigger obligatory ERG-agreement (22-23).
- Subjects of positional verbs and non-verbal predicates trigger obligatory ABS-agreement (19-20).

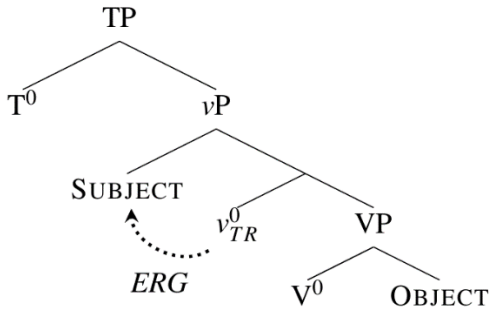
Neither lexical manipulation employed in (25) or (26) is available for these arguments.

4.3.1 Ergative Agreement

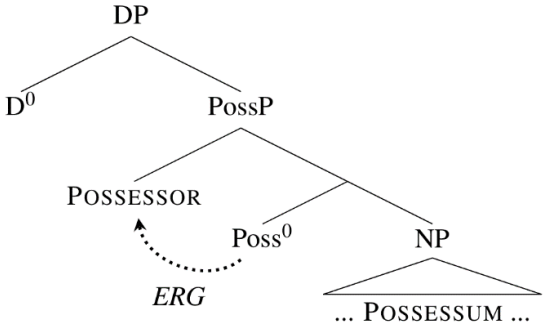
Both transitive subjects and possessors are commonly thought to be base-generated in specifier position.

(27) ***Modeling ERG-agreement***

a.



b.



ERG-agreement always obtain between a functional head and the argument it selects.

It is a consequence of the Spec-Head configuration that renders these arguments both *structurally accessible* and *featurally visible*.

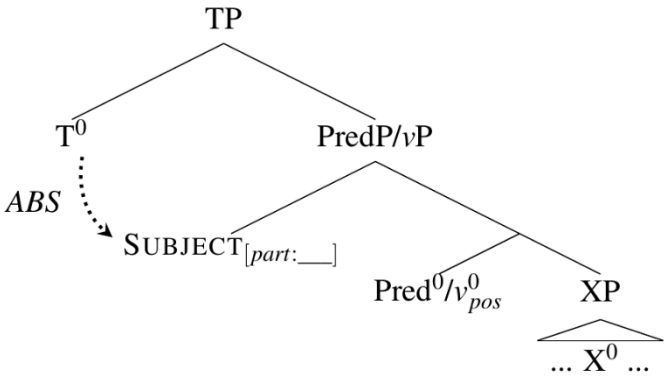
- There is no phase boundary between the probe and goal.
- Specifiers, unlike complements, cannot be featurally reduced (cf. Adger & Harbour 2007)

4.3.2 Absolutive Agreement

The same analysis can be afforded to positional and non-verbal predicate subjects, *if we adopt the position that not all single argument, ABS-marked clauses are unaccusative* (*contra* Coon to appear).

- Subjects of non-verbal predicates and positionals are base-generated in Spec-PredP and Spec-*v*P.
- However, neither Pred^0 nor positional v^0 trigger Spec-Head ERG-agreement.
- Instead, T^0 targets the argument for ABS-agreement

(28) ***Modeling obligatory ABS-agreement***



- Generated at the phase edge, no phase boundary can intervene → the argument is *structurally accessible.*
- Specifiers are required to bear [part] → the argument is *featurally visible*.

5. Microvariation across Eastern Mayan

These lexical manipulations used to model (non-)optional agreement in ST can be extended to other Eastern Mayan languages that also display patterns of optional agreement.

Patterns of (non-)optional agreement have been described for Kaqchikel and K'ichee' (K'ichean) and Mam (Mamean), although the full extent of (non-)optionality has yet to be explored.

(29) ***Microvariation in the realization of agreement***

	ERG SUBJECTS		ABS SUBJECTS		ABS OBJECTS	
	ANIMATE	INANIMATE	ANIMATE	INANIMATE	ANIMATE	INANIMATE
TZ'UTUJIIL	mandatory	mandatory	mandatory	optional	optional	optional
KAQCHIKEL (Henderson 2008)	mandatory	optional	mandatory	optional	optional	optional
K'ICHEE' (England 2011)	mandatory	mandatory *(one datum)*	mandatory	banned	mandatory	banned
MAM (England 2011)	mandatory	*no data*	mandatory	optional	optional	optional

- Kaqchikel shows sensitivity to animacy, but no sensitivity to grammatical function.
- K'ichee' shows sensitivity to grammatical function and animacy but differs from ST in that inanimate ABS-agreement is ungrammatical, not optional.
- Mam appears to be identical to ST (given available data), and we do not discuss it further.

5.1 Kaqchikel

(30) ***ABS-agreement with objects is always optional*** (Henderson 2008)

a. X-**e-/Ø-**in-tz'ët ri ixtan-i'
PRF-A3PL-/Ø-E1SG-see DET girl-PL
'I saw the girls.'

b. X-**e-/Ø-**in-pitz ri oxi' xkoya'.
PRF-**A3PL-/Ø-**E1SG-squeeze DET three tomato
`I squeezed the three tomatoes.'

(31) ***ABS-agreement with subjects is sensitive to animacy*** (Henderson 2008)

a. X-**e-/*Ø-**ok' ri ixtan-i'
PRF-**A3PL-/*Ø-**enter DET girl-PL
'The girls entered.'

b. Y-**e-/Ø-**nim-ïr ri taq xkoya'.
IMP-**A3PL-/Ø-**big-INC DET PL.DIM tomato
'The little tomatoes are getting big.'

(32) ***ERG-agreement with subjects is sensitive to animacy*** (Henderson 2008)

a. X-Ø-**ki-/*u-**pön wäy ri ixtan-i'
PRF-Ø-**E3PL-/*E3SG-**make tortilla DET girl-PL
'The girls made tortillas.'

b. Ri ka'i' q'aq x-Ø-**ki-/u-**ban k'iy sip
DET two fire PRF-Ø-**E3PL-/E3SG-**made a.lot smoke
'The two fires made a lot of smoke.'

These data can be explained within the present proposal, as follows:

- Like Tz'utujiil, transitive v^0 comes in different flavors [+EPP] or [-EPP], while intransitive v^0 is always [+EPP].
- This ensures that animate ABS-objects can, but need not, trigger A3PL, while animate intransitive ABS-subjects must trigger A3PL.
- Unlike Tz'utujiil, uniform optionality of A3PL with inanimate arguments, regardless of grammatical function, arises due to the ability of inanimates to be generated without [part] features in all positions.

5.2 K'ichee'

(33) ***ABS-agreement with objects is sensitive to animacy*** (England 2011)

a. X-**ee-/*Ø-**r-il ri altom-aab'
PRF-**A3PL-/*Ø-**E3SG-see DET girl-PL
'She saw the girls.'

b. K-**Ø-**u-tzaq-o
IMP-**Ø-**E3SG-threw.away-SS
'He threw them.'

These data can be explained within the present proposal, as follows:

- Transitive and intransitive v^0 are always [+EPP]. This ensures movement of all internal arguments to Spec-*v*P.
- Thus, animate ABS-subjects and ABS-objects, which always bear [part], obligatorily trigger A3PL. So do animate ERG-subjects, generated in Spec-vP.
- Conversely, inanimate arguments lack [part] features, regardless of base-position. Even in Spec-vP, inanimate ABS-objects and ABS-subjects do not trigger A3PL.

6. Conclusion and extensions

- We described patterns of apparent optionality in Santiago Tz'utujiil (K'ichean).
- We observed that this apparent optionality is sensitive to grammatical function and animacy of the DP cross-referenced by agreement.
- Assuming that there is no optionality in syntactic operations (Chomsky 1995) and that variation is found in the Lexicon (Borer 1986), we proposed that the presence/absence of [EPP] on v^0 and the presence/absence of [part] on DP condition the realization of agreement.
- We then used these patterns of (non-)optionality to diagnose the syntactic structure of several constructions in the language.
- Some patterns of optionality are consistent with base-generated syntactic structures proposed for closely related languages. However, other patterns necessitate novel models of base-generated syntactic structures - positionals and non-verbal predicates.
- We demonstrate how manipulations to the lexical variation proposed for ST can be employed to capture similar, but distinct, patterns of optionality in other Eastern Mayan languages.

These featural manipulations make a number of predictions that we plan to investigate in future work.

- Consequences of lexical manipulations for other syntactic phenomena within the same language (e.g. AF correlated with Obj-AGR).
- Consequences of novel structures for other syntactic phenomena (e.g. sub-extraction asymmetries; cf. Imanishi 2014)
- Consequence of microvariation on additional patterns of variation (e.g. In Kaqchikel inanimate subject ERG-agreement is also optional. Thus, inanimates can lack [part] regardless of the base-generated position → Holding everything constant, possessor ERG-agreement and positional ABS-agreement should also be optional).

Abbreviations

A, ABS – absolutive, AF – Agent Focus, AP – antipassive, CL – classifier, COM – completive, DET – determiner, DIM – diminutive, DIR – directional, E, ERG – ergative, IMP – imperfective, INC – inchoative, NML – nominalizer, PL – plural, part – participant, PAS – passive, PREP – preposition, PRF – perfective, RN – relational noun, SG – singular, SS – status suffix, ST – Santiago Tz'utujiil

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