

INTRODUCTION TO MAYAN LINGUISTICS*

Ryan Bennett, Jessica Coon, and Robert Henderson,
Yale University, McGill University, University of Arizona

May 29, 2015

1 Introduction

This special issue of *Language and Linguistic Compass* is dedicated to a three-part survey of the grammatical structure of Mayan languages. The articles in this collection focus on core, well-studied aspects of Mayan linguistics: phonology (Bennett), syntax (Coon), and semantics (Henderson). The perspective taken is broadly typological, but also informed by theoretical issues in formal linguistics. Our goal is to share the richness of Mayan languages with the broader linguistic community, in the hopes of encouraging future research on these fascinating languages.

This introduction includes an overview of the Mayan language family and its internal structure (§2), as well as a discussion of the kinds of publications that we've drawn on in compiling the target articles (§3). We close with an outline of the glossing and transcription conventions that we've adopted for this special issue (§4).

2 Genetic classification and language names

2.1 The region and speakers

Mayan languages are spoken by over six million people across Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras, as well as in various diaspora communities in the United States and Canada. The Maya area is divided into two geographical regions, the Highland and Lowland areas, with the boundary falling roughly along the chain of mountains that runs through central Guatemala (Figure 1; see [Law 2014](#) for discussion).

Guatemala has the highest density of Mayan speakers of any country today. Official census estimates suggest that about 40% of Guatemalans speak a Mayan language natively; this almost certainly

*Thanks to Douglas Gordon and Walter R.T. Witschey for producing the maps included in this article, and Cora Lesure for research assistance. We would like express our gratitude to Judith Aissen, Nora England, John Haviland, and Roberto Zavala for fostering our interest in Mayan languages and linguistics.

underestimates the actual percentage of native Mayan speakers in the country, which is likely 50-60% or higher (Fischer and Brown 1996a; England 2003). In some areas the percentage of native Mayan speakers is closer to 90-100%, as in parts of the Q'eqchi'-speaking region in the department of Alta Verapaz (Richards

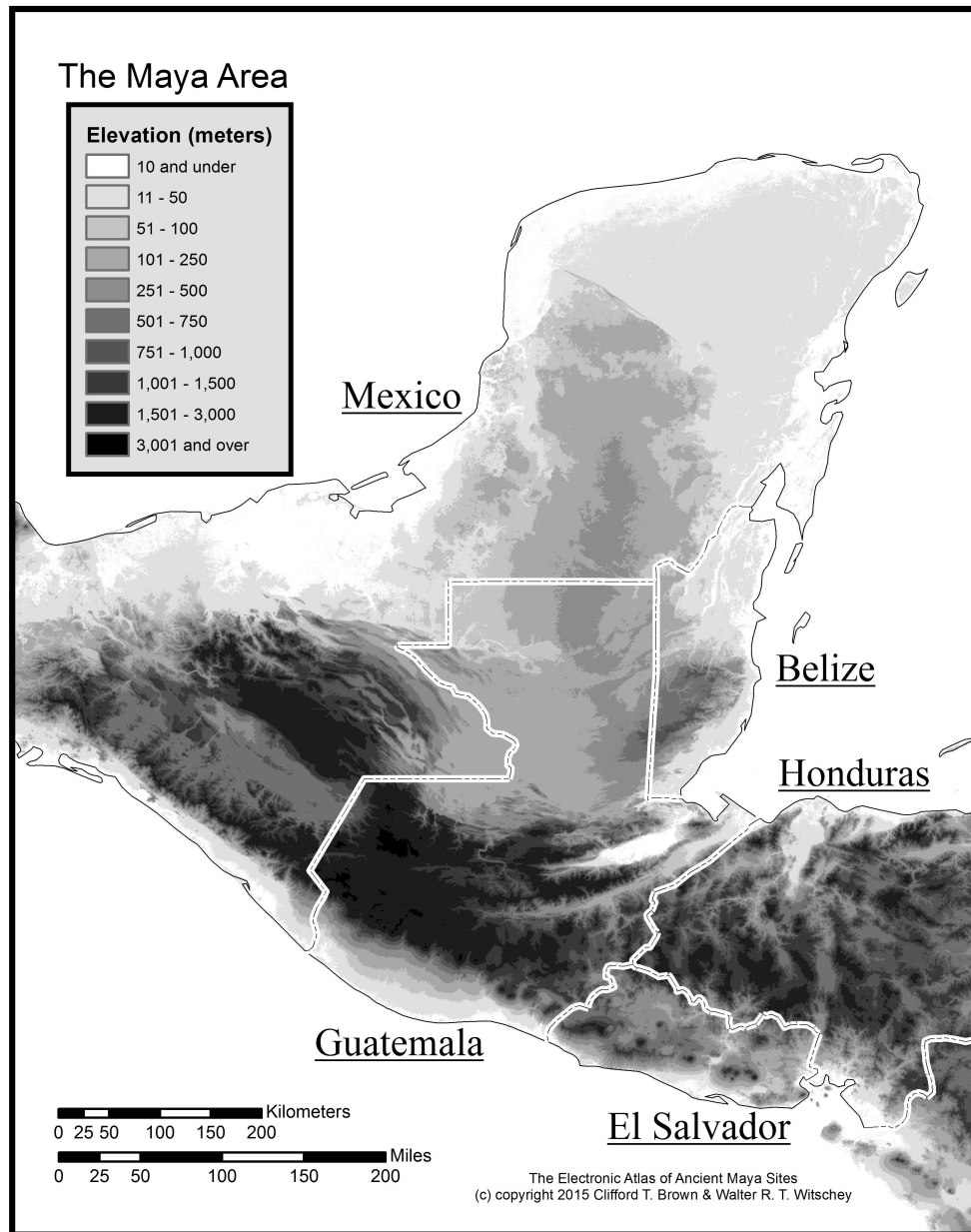


Figure 1: Elevation map of the Maya area. Prepared by and courtesy of Walter R.T. Witschey and Clifford T. Brown. Copyright 2015, The Electronic Atlas of Ancient Maya Sites, <http://MayaGIS.smv.org> (Witschey and Brown 2015).

2003). Many (perhaps most) speakers of Mayan languages in Guatemala are bilingual in Spanish, but monolingualism in Mayan languages is widespread, especially in rural areas. Multilingualism in two or more Mayan languages is also attested, particularly in municipalities which lie on a border between distinct linguistic areas (e.g. both K'iche' and Uspantek are spoken as home languages in the municipality of Uspantán; K'iche' serves as a *lingua franca* in this area for speakers of Uspantek, Ixil and Q'eqchi').

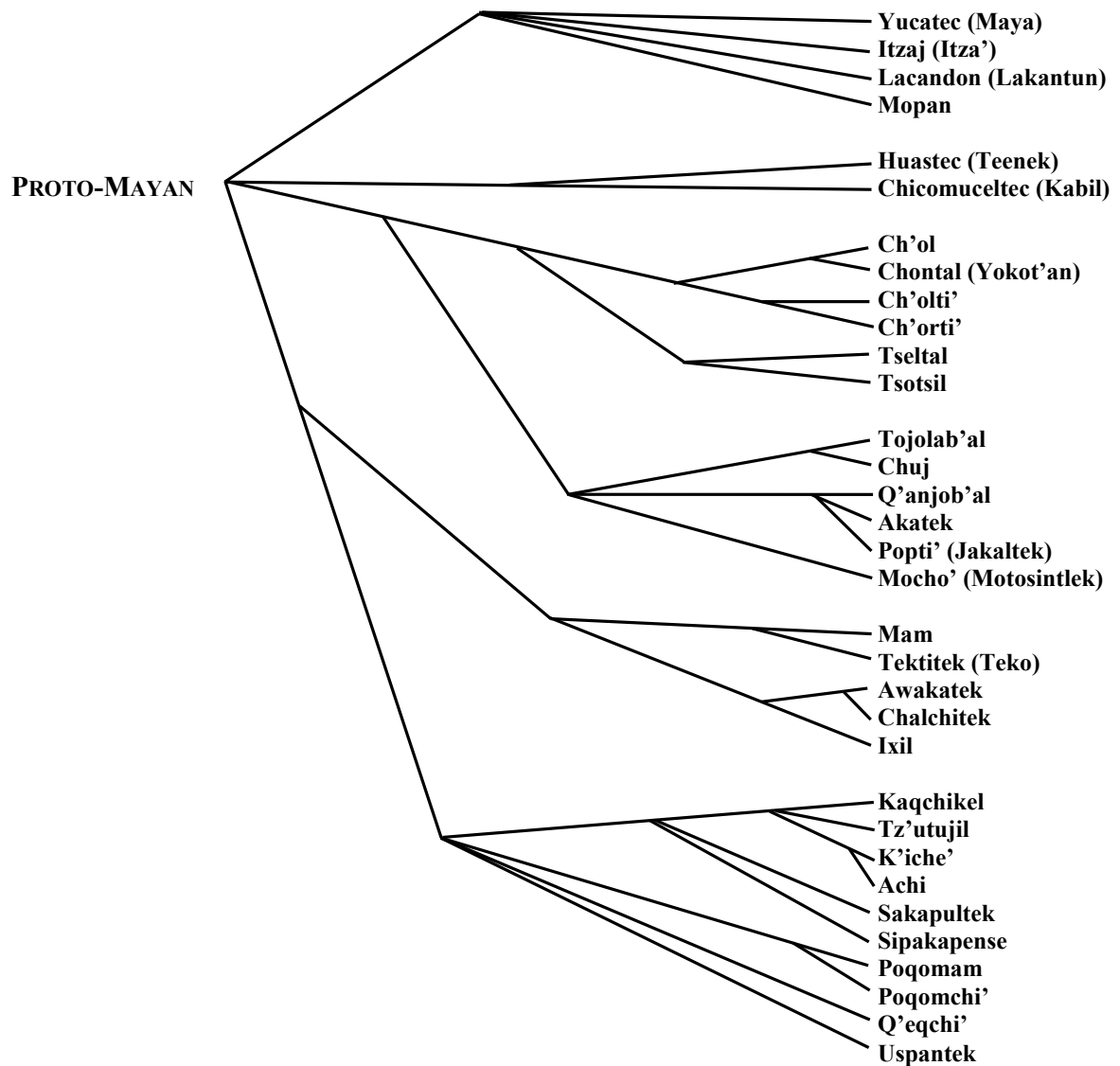
Outside of Guatemala, Mexico has the largest population of Mayan speakers in Mesoamerica. Based on census results reported in Law (2013) we can estimate that as of 2010 there were at least 2.5 million speakers of Mayan languages in Mexico, or just over 2% of the total population (the number of Mayan speakers in Belize is comparatively quite small, probably under 30,000 in total, and in Honduras there are only a handful of speakers of Ch'orti'; Lewis et al. 2015). These speakers are primarily concentrated in Southern Mexico and the Yucatán Peninsula, though Huastec is spoken further north in the San Luis Potosí and Veracruz regions of Central Mexico. As in Guatemala, bilingualism with Spanish is common, especially among younger generations, though many monolingual speakers exist as well.

2.2 Genetic classification

The Mayan family consists of about thirty languages, usually grouped into five or six major sub-groups. From top to bottom in the figure in (1), these branches are Yucatecan, Huastecan, Ch'olan–Tseltalan (a.k.a. Greater Tseltalan), Q'anjob'alan, Mamean, and K'ichean (Campbell and Kaufman 1985; England and Zavala 2013). The Ch'olan–Tseltalan and Q'anjob'alan branches together make up the Western Branch, while the Mamean and K'ichean branches make up the Eastern Branch. Most of these languages (about 21) are spoken in Guatemala. Some controversy over sub-family divisions exists, as discussed in Campbell and Kaufman 1985; Law 2014; Campbell to appear. In (1) we provide a reasonably well-accepted set of genetic subgroupings within the family. Genetic classification is particularly difficult in the case of Tojolab'al, which has been substantially shaped by areal contact between Mayan languages belonging to different sub-branches of the family (e.g. Law 2014).¹

¹It bears mentioning that even firmly-classified Mayan languages may show extensive traces of areal influence from more distantly-related Mayan languages. Uspantek and Sipakapense, for instance, are both K'ichean-branch languages that have been profoundly affected by contact with nearby Mamean languages (Campbell 1977, Barrett 1999, Law 2013, 2014; Campbell to appear).

(1)



It should be noted that three languages included in (1)—Achi, Akatek, and Chalchitek—are sometimes characterized as dialects of K'iche', Q'anjob'al, and Awakatek respectively, rather than as independent languages. See [Kaufman \(1976\)](#); [England \(2003\)](#); [Richards \(2003\)](#); [Law \(2013\)](#); [Campbell \(to appear\)](#) for additional details.

2.3 Language health

The health of Mayan languages varies quite widely. There are currently at least 7 Mayan languages with over 400,000 speakers each (K'iche', Q'eqchi', Kaqchikel, Mam, Tseltal, Tsotsil, and Yucatec), but also at least 6 languages with fewer than 5000 speakers each (Sakapultek, Uspantek, Tektitek, Mocho', Itzaj, and

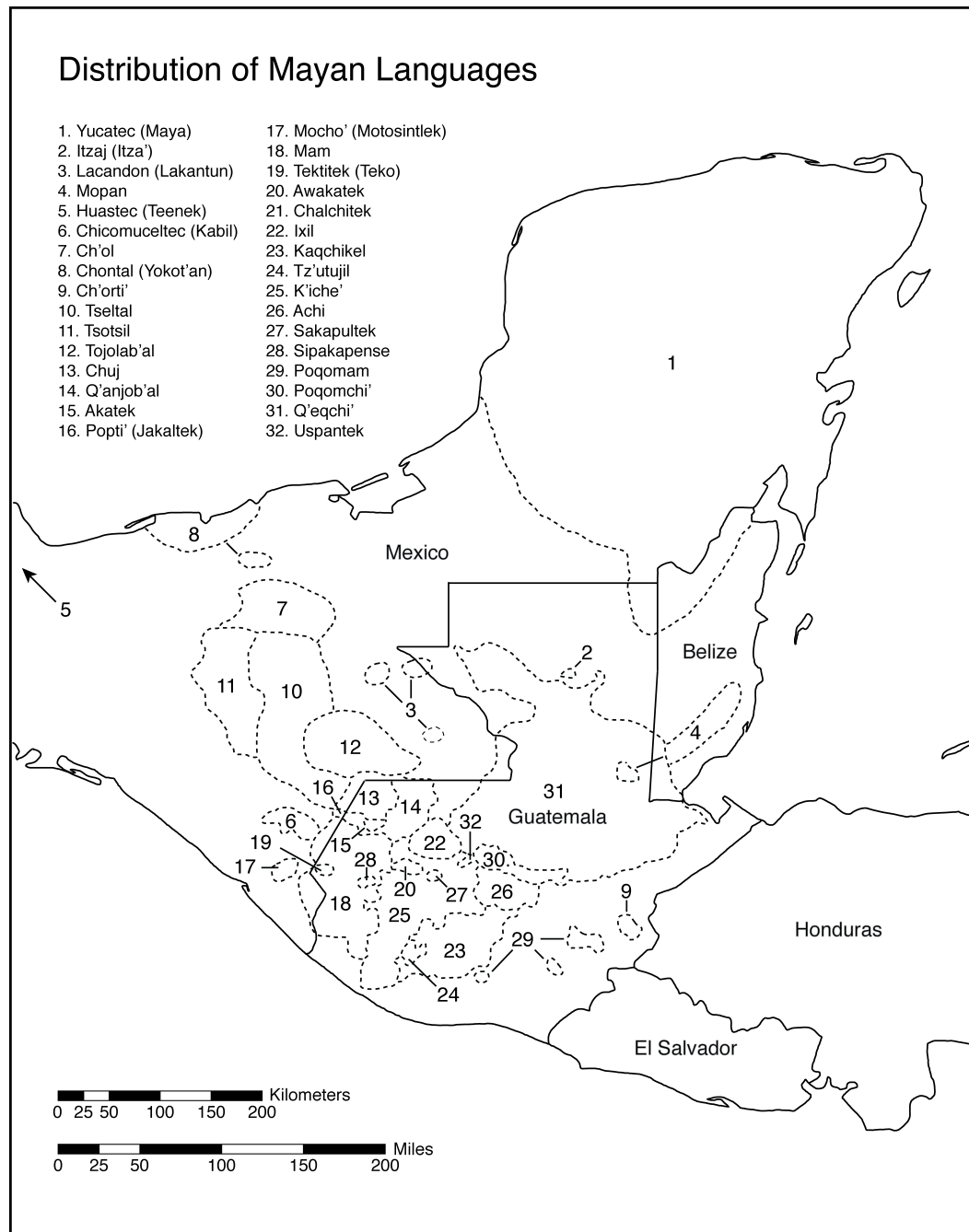


Figure 2: Distribution of Mayan languages. Based on Map 4 in [Law 2014](#); used with permission.

Lacandon) (Richards 2003; Law 2013). Two languages, Itzaj and Mocho', have fewer than 100 remaining speakers and are quite clearly moribund (Hofling 2000; Palosaari 2011). Ch'olti' and Chicomuceltec are now extinct, fairly recently in the latter case (Campbell and Canger 1978, Law 2014).

While the health of some Mayan languages appears to be secure, at least for the near future, a pattern of gradual language shift toward Spanish can be observed even in language communities with large numbers of speakers (see e.g. Heinze 2004; Espantay Serech 2006; French 2010 and references there for Kaqchikel, and England 2002, 2003; Richards 2003; Barrett 2008 for Guatemalan Mayan languages more generally). Literacy rates in Mayan languages are generally quite low (Richards 2003), though literacy has improved somewhat with the increased availability of Mayan language education and Mayan language publications (see England 2003; Brody 2004 and the contributions to Fischer and Brown 1996b for details). Still, as with overall language health, the presence and effectiveness of these materials and publications varies greatly. Historically, education for Maya people has been motivated by the goal of assimilation into the Spanish speaking mainstream (King 1994; Fischer and Brown 1996a). Only recently (1987 for Guatemala and 2010 for Mexico) have official alphabets been developed for the sole purpose of written production in Mayan languages (Brody 2004; Cruz Gómez 2010).

2.4 Language names

Throughout this volume we adopt the naming conventions recommended for Mayan languages by the *Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala* (ALMG, the state institution responsible for supporting Mayan languages in Guatemala) and by the *Instituto Nacional de Lenguas Indígenas* (INALI, the state institution responsible for supporting indigenous languages in Mexico) (see also Mateo-Toledo 2003).² Some widely-known alternative language names are given in parentheses in (1). This list of alternative names is not exhaustive: to give just two examples, a common autonym for Uspantek is *Tz'unun Kaab'* 'sweet hummingbird', and *Lak Ty'añ* 'our (inclusive) speech' is used by Ch'ol speakers to refer to their language. However *Uspantek* and *Ch'ol*, respectively, are the officially recognized names for these language, and the ones used in most publications.

A few words on the spelling of Mayan language names: alongside now-standard spellings such as

²These recommendations can be found at the ALMG website (<http://www.almg.org.gt/index.php/comunidades/>) and in INALI (2009) (available online at http://www.inali.gob.mx/pdf/CLIN_completo.pdf). We diverge from the recommendations of INALI in using *Yucatec* rather than *Maya*, and in using *Mocho'* rather than *Qato'k*. We also omit the accent mark on *Lacandón*.

K'iche', one also encounters antiquated Hispanicized spellings like *Quiché*; these spellings are no longer in use, and should be avoided (see again [Mateo-Toledo 2003](#)). There are also some common spelling variants involving the interchange of *c*~*k* (e.g. *Yucatec*~*Yukatek*), *ts*~*tz* (e.g. *Tsotsil*~*Tzotzil*), vowel length (e.g. *K'iche'*~*K'ichee'*), accent marks (e.g. *Mocho'*~*Mochó*), and the presence or absence of a final *-o* in names that end in *klc* (e.g. *Uspantek*~*Uspanteko*; these vowels correspond to inflectional gender suffixes in Spanish). A few points of variation are limited to individual languages or sub-families (e.g. *Huastec*~*Wastek*, *Ch'ol(an)*~*Chol(an)*); the latter is a point of variation among different Ch'ol dialects). Again, we recommend using the names in (1), allowing for the fact that authors may differ as to whether they employ an *o*-final form for languages like *Uspanteko*, *Tektiteko*, *Yucateco*, etc.

3 Reference grammars and other resources

The three overview articles in this volume draw on a wealth of existing work on Mayan languages, which make up the most well-documented of Mesoamerican language families. Formal work on these languages began in the 1970s, and more recently, Mayan linguistics has benefited immensely from the many contributions of native-speaker linguists. [England and Zavala \(2013\)](#) compile a comprehensive and recent annotated bibliography, to which we refer the reader for further information. Our attention here is focused on grammatical characteristics of the contemporary languages; [Law \(2013, 2014\)](#) and [Campbell \(to appear\)](#) provide a thorough overview of Mayan historical linguistics.

3.1 Anthologies

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw an explosion of work on Mayan linguistics, including [McClaran \(1976\)](#), [England \(1978\)](#), as well as issues of the short-lived *Journal of Mayan Linguistics* (three volumes from 1979–1981). [England and Elliott \(1990\)](#) is an important collection of descriptive and analytical articles from the tail-end of this period. More recent compilations include the proceedings of a special session on Mayan linguistics at the annual meeting of SSILA ([Avelino 2011](#)), as well as proceedings of the first two meetings of *Form and Analysis in Mayan Linguistics* (FAMLi; [Shklovsky et al. 2011](#); [Clemens et al. 2012](#)). A forthcoming volume, edited by Judith Aissen, Nora England, and Roberto Zavala, will contain articles on many topics in Mayan grammar as well as sketches of representative languages in the family ([Aissen et al. forthcoming](#)).

3.2 OKMA and CIESAS

Among the world's endangered and minority languages, Mayan languages are remarkable in the amount and range of scholarship produced by native-speaker linguists. As documented in greater detail in [England \(2007\)](#), Maya-speaking linguists began to emerge in the early 1970s in as part of the *Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín* (PLFM) in Guatemala, and then as part of OKMA (*Oxla'juuj Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib'*) in the late 1980s, under the leadership of Terrence Kaufman and Nora England. Since its inception in 1991, the Mexican *Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social* (CIESAS) has graduated nearly 100 MA students from its Indoamerican Linguistics program. The program is designed specifically for native speakers of languages of Mesoamerica and roughly one quarter of the students have been speakers of Mayan languages.

The overview articles that follow have relied heavily on these works, but the benefits of scholarship by native speakers reaches far beyond linguistic documentation and analysis. As England notes:

“It is striking that in addition to producing excellent basic documentation and advanced linguistic analyses of their languages they have also sought ways to apply linguistics to education and language policy. For Mayas, linguistics and such applications are not separate endeavors, but rather part of a common goal of maintaining and increasing their political and cultural space in society” ([England 2007](#), 1).

Maya-speaking linguists have gone on to make contributions to language policy and pedagogy, as well as to PhD programs in linguistics locally and abroad.

3.3 Reference Grammars

The table in (2) is an incomplete compilation of resources on the grammars of contemporary Mayan languages. These include full reference grammars, pedagogical grammars, and—for languages which do not have a full grammar—some works with relatively comprehensive grammatical sketches. We include these here without detailed commentary, though see [England and Zavala 2013](#) for an annotated bibliography, as well as references cited throughout the three chapters to follow.

(2) REFERENCE GRAMMARS AND GRAMMATICAL SKETCHES

Yucatecan	Yucatec	Blair (1964); Blair and Vermont Salas (1965); Straight (1976); Bricker et al. (1998)
	Itzaj	Hofling (2000); Schumann Galv��z (1971, 2000); Zocal Chayax et al. (2001)
	Lacandon	Bruce (1968); Bergqvist (2008)
	Mopan	Comunidad Ling��stica Mopan (2001); Hofling (2011)
Huastecan	Huastec	Edmonson (1988); Constable (1989)
Ch’olan–Tseltalan	Ch’ol	Schumann (1973); Attinasi (1973); Warkentin and Scott (1980); V��zquez ��lvarez (2011)
	Chontal	Knowles (1984); P��rez Gonz��lez (1985)
	Ch’orti’	P��rez Mart��nez (1994)
	Tseltal	Polian (2006, 2013)
	Tsotsil	Sarles (1966); Haviland (1981); Aissen (1987)
Q’anjob’alan	Tojolab’al	Furbee-Losee (1976); Curiel Ram��rez del Prado (2007)
	Chuj	Hopkins (1967); Domingo Pascual (2007); Buenrostro (2013)
	Q’anjob’al	Raymundo Gonz��lez et al. (2000); Comunidad Ling��stica Q’anjob’al (2005)
	Akatek	Zavala (1992)
	Popti’	Day (1973); Craig (1977); Comunidad Ling��stica Jakalteka (2001)
	Mocho’	Palosaari (2011)
Mamean	Mam	England (1983); P��rez Vail and Jim��nez (1997); P��rez et al. (2000); Rojas Ramirez et al. (2002)
	Tektitek	P��rez Vail (2007)
	Awakatek	Comunidad Ling��stica Awakateka (2001); Delgado Rojas and Mateo Toledo (2006)
	Ixil	Ayres (1991); Poma et al. (1996)
K’ichean	Kaqchikel	Garc��a Matzar and Rodr��guez Guaj��n (1997); Garc��a Matzar et al. (1999); Majzul et al. (2000); Brown et al. (2006)
	Tz’utujil	Dayley (1985); Garc��a Ixmat�� (1997)
	K’iche’	Mondloch (1981); Larsen (1988); L��pez Ixc��y (1997); Par Sap��n and Can Pixabaj (2000)
	Achi	Antonio Lopez and Sis Iboy (1998)
	Sakapultek	DuBois (1981); Comunidad Ling��stica Sakapulteka (2001); M�� Is��m (2007)
	Sipakapense	Barrett (1999); Comunidad Ling��stica Sipakapense (2005)
	Poqomam	Smith-Stark (1983); Santos Nicol��s and Benito P��rez (1998)
	Poqomchi’	Malchic Nicol��s et al. (2000)
	Q’eqchi’	Tzul and Cacao (2002); Caz Cho (2007)
	Uspantek	Can Pixabaj (2007)

4 A note on transcription

4.1 Mayan orthographies

In the modern era Mayan languages have been written in a range of different orthographic systems, both standardized and *ad hoc* (see England 1996; Kaufman 2003 for some historical discussion). (These systems are all based on the Latin alphabet; for an introduction to Mayan hieroglyphics see Coe and Van Stone 2005.) In this volume we follow the orthographic norms developed for Mayan languages by ALMG and INALI. In collaboration with local linguistic communities ALMG has proposed standard orthographies for all 22 officially-recognized Mayan languages in Guatemala. INALI has developed standard orthographies for 8 Mayan languages spoken in Mexico: Yucatec, Ch’ol, Tseltal, Tsotsil, Tojolab’al, Mocho’, Mam, and Tektitek (all except Yucatec are spoken in the Mexican state of Chiapas; see <http://www.inali.gob.mx/es/difusion/publicaciones.html>).³ To the best of our knowledge there are no official orthographies for Itzaj, Lacandon, Mopan, Chontal, Huastec, or the extinct Chicomuceltec and Ch’olti’. For these languages we have generally followed the orthographic conventions used by the authors of the primary source materials we draw on.

There are two prominent differences between the standard orthographies employed in Guatemala and those used in Mexico. First, the affricates / \widehat{ts} $\widehat{ts}^?$ / are written as ⟨tz tz’⟩ in Guatemala, but as ⟨ts ts’⟩ in Mexico. Second, the glottalized /b/ is always written as ⟨b’⟩ for Guatemalan Mayan languages, but most Mexican orthographies omit the apostrophe ⟨b⟩, reflecting phonetic differences in the realization of this segment across languages (see Bennett this volume).

In writing this volume it has often been necessary to re-transcribe data from earlier sources so that it conforms to these modern orthographic standards. One frequent substitution was the replacement of ⟨7⟩ with standard ⟨’⟩ for the glottal stop (IPA /ʔ/), which is also no longer represented in word-initial position (see Kaufman 2003 for discussion). Other substitutions included replacing ⟨ñ⟩ with standard ⟨nh⟩ (IPA /ɲ/) and ⟨ʌ⟩ with standard ⟨ä⟩ (IPA /ə/ or /i/, depending on the language).

³The orthographic norms developed by INALI for Tektitek refer to that language as *Kakchikel*. This nomenclature reflects an unfortunate historical misunderstanding rather than any special affinity with the Mayan language *Kaqchikel* spoken in Guatemala (Kaufman 1969).

4.2 Abbreviations used in glosses

The abbreviations used in glosses throughout the articles in this volume are provided in (3) below. In most cases, we follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with some Mayan-family specific additions and exceptions. Notably, we follow Mayan tradition in using the labels “Set A” (ergative/possessive) and “Set B” (absolutive) for the two series of person markers found across the family (Ch’orti’ also has a third, known as “Set C”). Though more opaque to non-specialists, these labels avoid committing to any particular analysis, for example about whether a verb form has been nominalized and contains a possessor or a true verbal subject; this becomes especially useful in cases of split ergativity (Coon, this volume).

We make frequent use of the abbreviations -ITV, -TV, and DTV for “intransitive verb”, “transitive verb”, and “derived transitive verb” status suffixes, respectively. We depart from Leipzig Glossing Rules in using -NML rather than -NMLZ for nominal suffixes, as the nominal suffixes in question are not always category changing (i.e. not nominal-izers). Some other glossing conventions—for example, whether null morphemes are represented—are discussed as they arise in this volume.

(3) GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

1, 2, 3	1 ST , 2 ND , 3 RD person	EXH	exhortative	OPT	optative
A	set A (ERGATIVE, GENITIVE)	EXT	existential	PASS	passive
ACAUS	anticausative	EVID	evidential	PLRC	pluractional
AF	Agent Focus	FOC	focus	PRF	perfect
AFF	affectionate	IMP	imperative	PFV	perfective
ANTIP	antipassive	IMM	immediate	POS	positional suffix
APPL	applicative	IPFV	imperfective	POT	potential
ASP	aspect	INCH	inchoative	PL	plural
ATT	attenuator	INC	incompletive	PREP	preposition
B	set B (ABSOLUTIVE)	INCL	inclusive	PROG	progressive
CAUS	causative	INDF	indefinite	PRON	pronoun
CL	clitic	IDF	ideophone	PROSP	prospective
CLF	classifier	INF	infinitive	PRES	present
COMP	complementizer	INS	instrumental	Q	question particle
COMPL	completive	INTS	intensifier	REL	relative clause suffix

DEIC	deictic	IRR	irrealis	REM	remote
DEM	demonstrative	ITV	intransitive verb suffix	REP	reportative
DEP	dependent clause	LOC	locative	RN	relational noun
DET	determiner	NEG	negation	SG	singular
DIR	directional	NML	nominal	SUF	suffix
DTV	derived transitive	NUM	numeral	TERM	terminative
ENCL	enclitic	NT	neutral aspect	TOP	topic
EP	epenthesis	OBL	oblique	TV	transitive verb suffix
EXCL	exclusive				

5 A disclaimer

Finally, it is important to recognize what we have not been able to do in these three articles. First, as the titles suggest, we do not cover all subfields of linguistics. In particular, the large sociolinguistic and historical linguistic literature on Mayan languages is not addressed in any detail. This is perhaps not ideal given that much is known about the historical development of Mayan languages, as well as the sociolinguistic contexts in which they have been spoken, both pre-colonially as part of the Mesoamerican cultural area and post-colonially where the influence of European languages like Spanish and English has become dominant. For references and overviews see [Law 2013, 2014](#); [Campbell to appear](#).

Perhaps more controversially, even within those subfields we have addressed, we have not been able to fully represent all theoretical perspectives on the data presented. Instead, we have taken a broadly generative stance. This is primarily due to the backgrounds of the authors and is not meant to suggest that this is the only way to successfully analyze the grammars of Mayan languages. That said, none of the articles are particularly theoretical. Instead, we have tried to front the empirical phenomena themselves, and so non-generative works have been cited for raw data and empirical generalizations.

Finally, while the articles are meant to address the family as a whole, not all Mayan languages have been equally represented. This is partially due to authors' backgrounds—none of the authors have done original research in more than two of the sub-groups of Mayan languages. More than that, though, the literature on Mayan languages is itself uneven. For instance, there has been much more research done on the semantics

of Yucatec than any other Mayan language, and so our semantics article almost certainly has a bias toward that language. With that caveat in mind, we have at least tried to balance our articles with respect to their coverage of the major sub-groups of Mayan languages.

References

- Aissen, Judith. 1987. *Tzotzil clause structure*. Reidel: Dordrecht.
- Aissen, Judith, Nora C. England, and Roberto Zavala Maldonado, ed. forthcoming. *The Mayan languages*. Routledge.
- Antonio Lopez, Manuel, and Juliana Sis Iboy. 1998. *Gramática del idioma Achi*. Antigua, Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín, 2nd edition.
- Attinasi, John. 1973. Lak T'an: a grammar of the Chol (Mayan) word. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Avelino, Heriberto, ed. 2011. *New perspectives in Mayan linguistics*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ayres, Glenn. 1991. *La gramática Ixil*. Guatemala: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica.
- Barrett, Edward R. 1999. A grammar of Sipakapense Maya. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas Austin, Austin, TX.
- Barrett, Rusty. 2008. Linguistic differentiation and Mayan language revitalization in Guatemala. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12:275–305.
- Bergqvist, Jan Henrik. 2008. Temporal reference in Lakandon Maya: Speaker- and event-perspectives. Doctoral Dissertation, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, London.
- Blair, Robert. 1964. Yucatec Maya noun and verb morpho-syntax. Doctoral Dissertation, Indiana University.
- Blair, Robert, and Refugio Vermont Salas. 1965. *Spoken (Yucatec) Maya*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Anthropology.
- Bricker, Victoria, Eleuterio Po'ot Yah, and Ofelia Dzul de Po'ot. 1998. *A dictionary of the Maya language: as spoken in Hocabá, Yucatán*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Brody, Michal. 2004. The fixed word, the moving tongue: Variation in written Yucatec Maya and the meandering evolution toward unified norms. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas Austin, Austin, TX.

- Brown, R. McKenna, Judith M. Maxwell, and Walter E. Little. 2006. *La üt̃ awäch? introduction to Kaqchikel Maya language*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bruce, Roberto. 1968. *Gramática del lacandón*. Mexico, D.F.: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- Buenrostro, Cristina. 2013. *La voz en Chuj de San Mateo Ixtatán*. Doctoral Dissertation, El Colegio de México, Mexico City.
- Campbell, Lyle. 1977. *Quichean linguistic prehistory*, volume 81 of *University of California Publications in Linguistics*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Campbell, Lyle. to appear. Mayan history and comparison. In *The Mayan languages*, ed. Judith Aissen, Nora England, and Roberto Zavala Maldonado. London: Routledge.
- Campbell, Lyle, and Una Canger. 1978. Chicomuceltec's last throes. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 44:228–230.
- Campbell, Lyle, and Terrence Kaufman. 1985. Mayan linguistics: Where are we now? *Annual Review of Anthropology* 14:187–198.
- Can Pixabaj, Telma Angelina. 2007. *Jkemiik yoloj li Uspanteko: Gramática Uspanteka*. Guatemala: Oxlajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib'.
- Caz Cho, Sergio. 2007. *Xtz'ilb'al rix li aatinak sa' Q'eqchi': informe de variación dialectal en Q'eqchi'*. Antigua, Guatemala: Oxlajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib' (OKMA).
- Clemens, Lauren Eby, Robert Henderson, and Pedro Mateo Pedro, ed. 2012. *Proceedings of FAMLi 2: Formal Approaches to Mayan Linguistics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, volume 74.
- Coe, Michael, and Mark Van Stone. 2005. *Reading the maya glyphs*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Comunidad Lingüística Awakateka. 2001. *Xtxoolb'iliil qayool: gramática descriptiva Awakateka*. Guatemala City: Academia de lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.
- Comunidad Lingüística Jakalteka. 2001. *Stxolb'anil ab'xub'al Popti': gramática descriptiva Jakalteka (Popti')*. Guatemala City: Academia de lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.
- Comunidad Lingüística Mopan. 2001. *Tojkinb'eeb' t'an Mopan: gramática descriptiva Mopan*. Guatemala City: Academia de lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.
- Comunidad Lingüística Q'anjob'al. 2005. *Yaq'b'anil stxolilal ti' Q'anjob'al: Gramática descriptiva Q'anjob'al*. Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.

- Comunidad Lingüística Sakapulteka. 2001. *Rikemiik li tujaal tzij: gramática descriptiva Sakapulteka*. Guatemala City: Academia de lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.
- Comunidad Lingüística Sipakapense. 2005. *Gramática descriptiva del idioma Sipakapense*. Guatemala City: Academia de lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.
- Constable, Peter G. 1989. Basic clause structure in Veracruz Huastec. Master's thesis, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks.
- Craig, Colette Grinevald. 1977. *The structure of Jacaltepec*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Cruz Gómez, Sandra Rocio. 2010. Normalizacion de sistemas de escritura: Tseltal, tsotsil, chol y tojolabal. In *Proceedings of FAMLi 1: Formal Approaches to Mayan Linguistics*, ed. Kirill Shklovsky, Pedro Mateo Pedro, and Jessica Coon. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, volume 63.
- Curiel Ramírez del Prado, Alejandro. 2007. Estructura de la información, enclíticos y configuración sintáctica en tojol'ab'al. Master's thesis, Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS).
- Day, Christopher. 1973. *The Jacaltepec language*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.
- Dayley, Jon. 1985. *Tzutujil grammar*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Delgado Rojas, Edna Patricia, and Eladio Mateo Toledo. 2006. *Gramática descriptiva Awakateka*. Guatemala City: Cholsamaj.
- Domingo Pascual, Pascual Martín. 2007. *Stz'olalil stz'ib'chaj ti' Chuj / Gramática normativa Chuj*. Academia de Lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.
- DuBois, John W. 1981. The Sacapultec language. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- Edmonson, Barbara Wedemeyer. 1988. A descriptive grammar of Huastec (Potosino dialect). Doctoral Dissertation, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.
- England, Nora. 1983. *A grammar of Mam, a Mayan language*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- England, Nora. 1996. The role of language standardization in revitalization. In *Maya cultural activism in Guatemala*, ed. Edward Fischer and R. McKenna Brown, 178–194. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- England, Nora. 2002. Maya linguists, linguistics, and the politics of identity. In *Texas Linguistic Forum 45*, ed. Inger Mey, Ginger Pizer, Hsi-Yao Su, and Susan Szmania, 33–45. Austin, TX: Department of Linguistics and the Center for Cognitive Science, The University of Texas at Austin.
- England, Nora. 2007. The influence of Mayan-speaking linguists on the state of Mayan linguistics. In

- Endangered languages*, ed. Peter K. Austin and Andrew Simpson, volume Sonderheft 14 of *Linguistische Berichte*. Berlin: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- England, Nora C., ed. 1978. *Papers in Mayan linguistics*. University of Missouri Miscellaneous Publications in Anthropology No. 6 and Studies in Mayan Linguistics No. 2. Columbia: Department of Anthropology, University of Missouri.
- England, Nora C. 2003. Mayan language revival and revitalization: Linguists and linguistic ideologies. *American Anthropologist* 105:733–743.
- England, Nora C., and Stephen R. Elliott, ed. 1990. *Lecturas sobre la lingüística maya*. Antigua, Guatemala: Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica.
- England, Nora C., and Roberto Zavala. 2013. Mayan languages. In *Oxford bibliographies in linguistics*, ed. Mark Aronoff. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Espantzay Serech, Ixchel Carmelina. 2006. Procesos de adquisición del Kaqchikel: un caso de estudio. Master's thesis, Universidad Rafael Landívar. Licenciatura.
- Fischer, Edward, and R. McKenna Brown. 1996a. Introduction: Maya cultural activism in Guatemala. In *Maya cultural activism in Guatemala*, ed. Edward Fischer and R. McKenna Brown, 1–18. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- Fischer, Edward, and R. McKenna Brown, ed. 1996b. *Maya cultural activism in Guatemala*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.
- French, Brigitte. 2010. *Maya ethnolinguistic identity: Violence, cultural rights, and modernity in highland Guatemala*. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press.
- Furbee-Losee, Louanna. 1976. *The correct language: Tojolabal*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- García Ixmatá, Pablo. 1997. *Rukeemiik ja Tz'utujiil chii': Gramática Tz'utujiil*. Guatemala City: Cholsamaj and OKMA.
- García Matzar, Pedro Oscar, and José Obispo Rodríguez Guaján. 1997. *Rukemik ri Kaqchikel chi', gramática Kaqchikel*. Guatemala City: Cholsamaj and OKMA.
- García Matzar, Pedro Oscar, Valerio Toj Cotzajay, and Domingo Coc Tuiz. 1999. *Gramática del idioma Kaqchikel*. Antigua, Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín.
- Haviland, John Beard. 1981. *Sk'op sotz'leb: El Tzotzil de San Lorenzo Zinacantán*. UNAM.
- Heinze, Ivonne. 2004. Kaqchikel and Spanish language contact: The case of bilingual Mayan children. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Kansas.

- Hofling, Charles. 2011. *Mopan Maya-Spanish-English dictionary*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Hofling, Charles A. 2000. *Itzaj Maya grammar*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Hopkins, Nicholas. 1967. The Chuj language. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- INALI. 2009. Catálogo de las lenguas indígenas nacionales: variantes lingüísticas de México con sus autodenominaciones y referencias geoestadísticas. Available online at http://www.inali.gob.mx/pdf/CLIN_completo.pdf/.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 1969. Teco: A new Mayan language. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 35:154–174.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 1976. Archaeological and linguistic correlations in Mayaland and associated areas of Meso-America. *World Archaeology* 8:101–118.
- Kaufman, Terrence. 2003. A preliminary Mayan etymological dictionary. Ms., Foundation for the Advancement of Mesoamerican Studies. Available online at <http://www.famsi.org/reports/01051/>.
- King, Linda. 1994. *Roots of identity: Language and literacy in Mexico*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Knowles, Susan. 1984. A descriptive grammar of Chontal Maya (San Carlos dialect). Doctoral Dissertation, Tulane University.
- Larsen, Thomas W. 1988. Manifestations of ergativity in Quiché grammar. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley, CA.
- Law, Danny. 2013. Mayan historical linguistics in a new age. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 7:141–156.
- Law, Danny. 2014. *Language contact, inherited similarity and social difference: The story of linguistic interaction in the Maya lowlands*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig, ed. 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world, eighteenth edition*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International, online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com> edition.
- López Ixcoy, Candelaria Dominga. 1997. *Ri ukemiik ri K'ichee' chii': Gramatica K'ichee'*. Guatemala City: Cholsamaj and OKMA.
- Majzul, Filiberto Patal, Pedro Oscar García Matzar, and Carmelina Espantzay Serech. 2000. *Rujunamaxik ri Kaqchikel chi': variación dialectal en Kaqchikel*. Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Malchic Nicolás, Manuel, Romelia Mó Isem, and Augusto Tul Rax. 2000. *Rub'iral ruk'ihhaal wach poqom q'orb'al: variación dialectal en Poqom*. Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala: Cholsamaj.

- Mateo-Toledo, B'alam Eladio. 2003. The use of languages' names: The Mayan case. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 69:151–153.
- McClaran, Marlys, ed. 1976. *Mayan Linguistics Volume One*. Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center.
- Mó Isém, Romelia. 2007. *Rikemiik li tujaal tzij: gramática Sakapulteka*. Antigua, Guatemala: Oxlajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib' (OKMA).
- Mondloch, James. 1981. Voice in Quiche-Maya. Doctoral Dissertation, SUNY Albany.
- Palosaari, Naomi. 2011. Topics in Mocho' phonology and morphology. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Utah.
- Par Sapón, María Beatriz, and Telma Angelina Can Pixabaj. 2000. *Ujunamaxiik ri K'ichee' Ch'ab'al: variación dialectal en K'ichee'*. Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Pérez, Eduardo (B'aayil), Zoila Blanca Luz Garcia Jiménez, and Odilio (Ajb'ee) Jiménez. 2000. *Tz'ixpub'ente tiib' qyool: variación dialectal en Mam*. Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Pérez González, Benjamín. 1985. *El chontal de Tucta*. Villahermosa: Gobierno del Estado de Tabasco.
- Pérez Martínez, Vitalino. 1994. *Gramática del idioma Ch'orti'*. Antigua, Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín.
- Pérez Vail, Eduardo, and Odilio Jiménez. 1997. *Ttxoolil qyool Mam - gramática Mam*. Cholsamaj.
- Pérez Vail, José Reginaldo. 2007. *Xtxolil yool b'a'aj: gramática Tektiteka*. Antigua, Guatemala: Oxlajuuj Keej Maya' Ajtz'iib' (OKMA).
- Polian, Gilles. 2006. *éléments de grammaire du tseltal, une langue maya du Mexique*. L'Harmattan.
- Polian, Gilles. 2013. *Gramática del tseltal de Oxchuc*. Publicaciones de la Casa Chata. México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social.
- Poma, Maximiliano, Tabita J.T. de la Cruz, Manuel Caba Caba, Maria Marcos Brito, Domingo Solis Marcos, and Nicolas Cedillo. 1996. *Gramática del idioma Ixil*. Antigua, Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín.
- Raymundo González, Sonia, Adan Francisco Pascual, Pedro Mateo Pedro, , and Eladio Mateo Toledo. 2000. *Sk'exkixhtaquil yallay koq'anej: variación dialectal en Q'anjob'al*. Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala: Cholsamaj.
- Richards, Michael. 2003. *Atlas lingüístico de Guatemala*. Instituto de Lingüístico y Educación de la Universidad Rafael Landívar.

- Rojas Ramirez, Maximiliano, Hilario Ramirez Lopez, and Eva Ramirez Jimenez. 2002. *Gramática del idioma Mam*. Antigua, Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín.
- Santos Nicolás, José Francisco, and Waykan José Gonzalo Benito Pérez. 1998. *Rukorb'aal poqom q'orb'al: Gramática Poqom (Poqomam)*. Guatemala City: Cholsamaj.
- Sarles, Harvey. 1966. A descriptive grammar of the Tzotzil language as spoken in San Bartolomé de los Llanos, Chiapas, México. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Schumann, Otto Gálvez. 1973. *La lengua Chol de Tila (Chiapas)*. México: UNAM.
- Schumann Galvéz, Otto. 1971. *Descripción estructural del Maya Itzá del Petén, Guatemala C.A.*. Mexico City: Centro de Estudios Mayas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Schumann Galvéz, Otto. 2000. *Introducción al Maya Itzá*. Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Shklovsky, Kirill, Pedro Mateo Pedro, and Jessica Coon, ed. 2011. *Proceedings of FAMLi: Formal Approaches to Mayan Linguistics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, volume 63.
- Smith-Stark, Thomas. 1983. Jilotepequeño Pocomam phonology and morphology. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Straight, Henry Stephen. 1976. *The acquisition of Maya phonology: Variation in Yucatec child language*. New York: Garland.
- Tzul, Julio Alberto, and Alfonso Tzimaj Cacao. 2002. *Gramática del idioma Q'eqchi': xtululal aatin*. Antigua, Guatemala: Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín.
- Vázquez Álvarez, Juan J. 2011. A grammar of Chol, a Mayan language. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Texas Austin, Austin, TX.
- Warkentin, Viola, and Ruby Scott. 1980. *Gramática Ch'ol*. México: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Witschey, Walter R. T., and Clifford T. Brown. 2015. The electronic atlas of ancient Maya sites [electronic database]. URL <http://mayagis.smv.org/>, accessed 15 May 2015.
- Zavala, Roberto. 1992. *El Kanjobal de San Miguel Acatán*. México: UNAM.
- Zocal Chayax, Aj'Otoniel, IxBerta Huez Chan, IxTomasa Chan Tesucún, AjMarlen Cohuoj Chayax, Aj'Alfonso Tesucún, Aj'Edgar Canté Cohuoj, and IxPetrona Vitzil. 2001. *Alb'äl xokna'at t'an: gramática descriptiva Itza'*. Guatemala City: Academia de lenguas Mayas de Guatemala.