

# The Structure of Jacaltec

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Classifier Deletion deletes an NP after the verb and the resulting sentence is ambiguous because of the impossibility of telling whether it is the subject or the object which is missing. See Chapter 5, Section 3.2. A Site Recoverability Constraint.

## 8. Complement Sentences

The subject of this chapter is the complement sentence in Jacalteco. In Section 1 the structure of each of the three types of complement sentence will be presented: complement sentence introduced by a complementizer (CS#1), comparable to the English *that*-clause; aspectless embedded clause (CS#2), comparable to the English gerund complementation; infinitival clause (CS#3), corresponding to the English infinitival complement. In Section 2 the discussion will turn to the functions that these complement sentences fulfill with respect to the main verb--sentential object, sentential subject, and sentential complement. In Section 3 special attention will be given to those main verbs which are idiomatic expressions composed of a verb and a body part. In Section 4 a phenomenon of Inversion will be presented in which the main verbs *hala* 'to say' and *ay -ala* 'to want' appear in an embedded form after their complement sentences.

### 1. TYPES OF COMPLEMENT SENTENCES

#### 1.0.

For each type of complement sentence, the following points will be considered--

- A) the internal structure of the clause including the complementizer, the aspect and case marking, and the verb suffixation;
- B) the semantic categories of verbs which take this type of complement sentence;
- C) the type of boundary the complement sentence has with respect to negation, Noun Classifier Deletion, and

placement of the particle an.

1.1. CS#1. Complement Sentence with Complementizer

1.1.1.

The first type of complement sentence is one introduced by a complementizer and followed by a full finite verb inflected for aspect and person:

- (1) x- $\emptyset$ -(y)-al naj chubil xc-ach y-il naj  
asp-A3-E3-say cl/he that asp-A2 E3-see cl/he  
'he said that he saw you'
- (2) x- $\emptyset$ -aw-abe tato ch-in to-j hecal  
asp-A3-E2-hear that asp-A1 go-fut tomorrow  
'you heard that I will go tomorrow'

1.1.2. Complementizers

There are two main complementizers, chubil and tato. chubil is an innovation of the Jacaltenango dialect and corresponds to a factive "that."<sup>1</sup> tato means either 'that' or 'if' and introduces an expected, supposed, or believed fact:<sup>2</sup>

- (3) ham walni tato ay mac chulu  
I thought that is who will come  
'I thought that somebody was coming'
- (4) xmunla naj tato chatohla naj  
works cl/he if you pay cl/him  
'he will work if you pay him'

The complementizer tato is a compound form. Each of its constituents ta and to can occur alone.<sup>3</sup> In some cases the use of ta alone excludes either chubil or tato or both of them:

- (5) chin xiw ta/\*tato/\*chubil chin ilot beti'  
I am afraid that I am seen here  
'I am afraid to be seen here'

- (6) xwabe ta/\*tato/\*chubil chulu  
I heard that will come  
naj hecal  
cl/he tomorrow  
'I heard that he will come tomorrow'
- (7) cochHe to/\*ta/\*tato/\*chubil chulu  
it seems that will come  
ha' #ab  
cl/the rain  
'it looks like it is going to rain'

Sometimes both complementizers are used together, in which case chubil always precedes tato as in:

- (8) xintxumiloj chubil tato hin kumal xal  
I suspected that that my criticism said  
heb ix  
pl cl/they  
'I suspected that they(women) were talking about me'
- (9) xabe ix chubil tato mach xchalaxoj-toj  
heard cl/she that that not is given-to go  
ix ilo' ki#  
cl/she to see fiesta  
'she heard that she will not be allowed to go and see the fiesta'

When there is a chain of complement sentences of type CS#1, the complementizers alternate, the first one being chubil:

- (10) xal naj chubil xal smam naj tet  
said cl/he that said his father cl to (him)  
tato spojbac'oj naj alcal chubil chulu  
that announced cl/the alcalde that will come  
naj presidente yi# hun-xa semana  
cl/the president in one-other week  
'he said that his father told him that the alcalde announced that the president will come in another week'

The succession of complementizers could also be: chubil....  
chubil tato....tato.

The complementizer is optional with some verbs of desire and in this case is more often absent than not:

- (11) sje hin c'ul (tato) chin munla beti'  
agrees my stomach (that) I work here  
'I agree to work here'
- (12) ay wala' (tato) chach wayi  
I would like (that) you sleep  
'I would like for you to sleep'
- (13) choche naj (ta) xmunla naj  
like cl/he , (that) works cl/he  
yiH smam  
with his father  
'he likes to work with his father'

A clause introduced by a complementizer behaves like an independent sentence with respect to case marking and aspect marking. Case marking follows the ergative type of case assignment--ergative for the subject of a transitive and absolutive for the subject of an intransitive and the object of a transitive. Aspect marking is as in finite main clauses and no aspect or tense constraint holds between main and subordinate verbs.

### 1.1.3. Verbs Taking CS#1<sup>4</sup>

Verbs taking complement sentences with complementizers can be categorized as verbs of communication, mentation, perception, knowledge, emotion, and desire. Appendix C provides a list of verbs for each category. Communication verbs are the only verbs to take CS#1 as their only complement sentence type. They take either chubil or tato, depending on the factivity of the statements and the speaker's attitude:<sup>5</sup>

- (14) xbinayi chubil xa-xmohyi ix malin  
was announced that already-married cl Mary  
'they announced that Mary had already married'

All other groups of verbs take either CS#1 or CS#2 as complement sentences:

- (15) xintxumiloj chubil tato hin kumal  
I suspected that that my criticism  
chal heb ix  
say pl cl/they  
'I suspected that they(women) were talking about me'
- (16) wohtaj tato ay tzet ch'alaxoj jet bay  
I know that is what is given to us where  
choH toj tu'  
we go that  
'I know that they will give us something where we are going'
- (17) xwabe chubil xto heb ya' kanwal  
I heard that went pl cl/they ask  
yiH ix juana  
for cl Jane  
'I heard that they(parents) went to ask for the hand of Jane'

If verbs of emotion and desire take a complementizer, they will take the complementizer tato only:

- (18) chin xiw tato chach ayc'ayoj swi'  
I am afraid that you fall down its top  
te' Hah  
cl/the house  
'I am afraid you will fall from the roof'



- (19) chim sje ha c'ul tato chof to  
 maybe want your stomach that we go  
 paxyal , yul ha' niman  
 for a walk in water big  
 'maybe you would like for us to go for a walk  
 by the river'

1.1.4. Boundaries of CS#1

The boundary of a complement sentence introduced by a complementizer is opaque--the rule of Noun Classifier Deletion does not operate across it (Chapter 5 Noun Classifier Deletion), neither does the placement of the first person particle an (Chapter 9 A Boundary Marker):

- (20) a. xal naj<sub>i</sub> chubil chuluj naj<sub>i</sub>  
 said cl/he that will come cl/he  
 'he said that he will come'  
 b. \*xal naj chubil chuluj ----  
 N Cl Deletion
- (21) a. xal hin mam an [chubil xcam  
 said my father 1p that died  
 no' cheh]  
 cl/the horse  
 'my father said that the horse died'  
 b. \*xal naj hin mam [chubil xcam no' cheh] an

Complement sentences of the CS#1 type may be negated:

- (22) xal naj chubil mach chuluj naj  
 said cl/he that NEG will come cl/he  
 'he said that he will not come'

1.2. CS#2: Aspectless Embedded Complement Sentence1.2.1. The Embedding Process

This type of complement sentence has no complementizer and its verb exhibits the following feature of embedding process:

- A) lack of aspect marker;  
 B) nominative/accusative type of case marking, which is to say that subjects of intransitive as well as of transitives are assigned the ergative case;  
 C) suffixation of -n(i) or future tense agreement on the transitive verbs.

Examples of this gerund complement sentence are:

- (23) x-∅-(y)-il ix hin ha-mak-ni  
 asp-A3 E3-see cl/she A1 E2-hit-suff  
 'she saw you hit me'
- (24) yilal ∅ cu-cuy-ni abxubal  
 necessary A3 E1pl-learn-suff Jacaltec  
 'it is absolutely necessary that we learn  
 Jacaltec'
- (25) x-∅-tzala naj haw-ul y-atut  
 asp-A3-rejoice cl/he E2-come E3-house  
 'he is happy that you came to his house'
- (26) pet x-∅-'ichi cu-tzotel  
 right away asp-A3-start E1pl-talk  
 boj ix  
 with cl/her  
 'we started talking with her right away'

Stative clauses may not appear in aspectless embedded complement sentences. They must always be introduced by a complementizer or a conjunction of subordination, even if the main verb otherwise requires an aspectless embedded complement sentence:

- (27) a. s-kan hin-c'ul ∅ w-il-a' naj  
 E3-want E1-stomach A3 E1-see-fut cl/him  
 'I would like to see him'

- b. \*s-kan hin-c'ul kalom hin  
E3-want E1-stomach rich A1  
'I would like to be rich'
- c. s-kan hin-c'ul tato kalom hin  
E3-want E3-stomach that rich A1  
'I would like to be rich'
- (28) a. ch-in xiw w-ahtoj swi' te' Hah  
asp-A1 afraid E2-climb its top cl/the house  
'I am afraid to climb on top of the house'
- b. \*ch-in xiw tx'oj y-e hin-c'ul  
asp-A1 afraid bad E3-is E1-stomach  
'I am afraid of getting sick'
- c. ch-in xiw tato tx'oj y-e hin-c'ul  
asp-A1 afraid that bad E3-is E1-stomach  
'I am afraid of getting sick'

Notice how the copula of manner -eyi does not allow for embedding of the clause either. See Chapter 1, Section 4. Copulas for a presentation of the semantics and syntax of this copula.

### 1.2.2. Future Tense Constraint

Some main verbs impose a tense constraint on the aspectless embedded transitive verbs. The suffix -n(i) does not appear on embedded verbs with a future suffix:

- (29) ch- $\emptyset$ -(y)-oche ix  $\emptyset$  s-watx'e-' s-ba  
asp-A3-E3-like cl/she A3 E3-make-fut E3-refl  
'she likes to arrange herself'
- (30) xc-in to  $\emptyset$  w-il-a' naj  
asp-A1 go A3 E1-see-fut cl/him  
'I went to see him'
- (31) tzet xc-ach bey  $\emptyset$  haw-u-b  
what asp-A2 go A3 E2-do-fut  
'what did you go do?'

Verbs requiring future tense agreement exhibit the further

requirement that the subject of the embedded verb be coreferential with either the subject or the object of the main verb. Some verbs of desire and all verbs of movement have a subject-to-subject coreferential relationship, as seen in (29), (30), and (31) above. Causative verbs have an object-to-subject coreferential relationship as shown in (32), (33), and (34) below:<sup>6</sup>

- (32) x- $\emptyset$ -(y)-iptze ix xo'  $\emptyset$  s-tx'ah-a'  
asp-A3 E3-force cl/she cl/her A3 E3-wash-fut  
xil kape s-ti' ha'  
clothes E3-mouth water  
'she forced her to wash the clothes by the river'
- (33) x- $\emptyset$ -s-chej naj ix  $\emptyset$  s-lah-a'  
asp-A3-E3-order cl/he cl/her A3 E3-finish-fut  
s-munil  
E3-work  
'he ordered her to finish her work'
- (34) ch-off s-chej naj  $\emptyset$  co-tz'is-a'  
asp-A1pl E3-order cl/he A3 E1pl-sweep-fut  
kalem  
garbage  
'he orders us to sweep the floor'

If the verb requiring the future agreement is itself embedded under another upper verb, the lowest embedded verb is marked for both -n(i) suffixation and future agreement. The presence of the -n(i) suffix triggers a switch to the intransitive future suffix -oj, as shown in example (35):<sup>7</sup>

- (35) mach ch- $\emptyset$ -u s-to naj hach y-il-n-oj  
not asp-A3-can E3-go cl/he A2 E3-see-suff-fut  
'he cannot go to see you'

### 1.2.3. Verbs Taking CS#2

A variety of verbs take the aspectless embedded type of

complement sentence. It is the only type of complementation for aspectual verbs:

- (36) sab ichi ha munlayi  
early start you work  
'you started to work early'
- (37) xc'atz'la ha potx'ni ha tx'i'  
almost did you kill your dog  
'you almost killed your dog'

It is also the only type of complementation for adjectival predicates:<sup>8</sup>

- (38) c'ul cu tiyoxli tet anma  
good we salute to people  
'it is good to greet people'
- (39) xiciltaj cu potxni anma  
forbidden we kill people  
'it is forbidden to kill people'
- (40) ya'taj cu txumni tzet chal naj  
difficult we understand what says cl/he  
'it is difficult to understand what he says'<sup>9</sup>

As shown in examples (38) to (40), general statements are expressed in the first person plural. Aspectless embedded clauses with an adjectival higher predicate are often found to take a demonstrative, particularly when the embedded verb is not the impersonal first person plural:

- (41) caw ya' hin belwi ti'  
very painful I walk this  
'it is painful for me to walk'  
'this walking is painful for me'
- (42) tx'oj ha bahwa ti'  
bad you insult this  
'it is bad for you to insult people'  
'this insulting of yours is bad'

The presence of the demonstrative provides an argument for postulating an NP node dominating the S node of the embedded clause, since demonstratives are one of the noun determiners.

For both aspectual and adjectival predicates the gerund complement sentence is the only type of complementation possible. Main verbs of mentation, perception, emotion, and knowledge also take this aspectless complement sentence as well as the complement sentence with complementizer:

- (43) xwacoj yiH hin cul hin toyi  
I carry in my stomach I go  
'I thought that I would go'
- (44) xtac hin c'ul ha paxtoj an  
[meaning?] my stomach you return 1p  
'I am sad that you are going back'
- (45) xwabe yok ix  
I heard cries cl/she  
'I heard her cry'
- (46) wohtaj hin watx'en kap camiXe  
I know I make cl/the shirt  
'I know how to make shirts'

Three additional groups of verbs require future tense agreement (-(V)') in the aspectless embedded complement sentence. They are all the verbs of movement, some verbs of desire, and some causatives:

- (47) x'ec heb naj policia yala' tato  
passed pl cl/the police he say that  
ch'ah kalem yul caya  
come up garbage in street  
'the policemen went by to say that the garbage  
should be picked up from the street'

- (48) skan hin c'ul hin take' hune' pay  
wants my stomach I order one pie  
'I would like to order a pie'<sup>10</sup>
- (49) chin schej naj hin colo' ix  
me orders cl/he I help cl/her  
'he orders me to help her'

1.2.4. Boundaries of CS#2

The absence of an aspect marker on the embedded verb gives rise to a different type of boundary between a main verb and an embedded clause. The whole complex sentence constitutes a "flat structure" characterized by the impossibility of negating the complement sentence, the application of Noun Classifier Deletion across the boundary between main and embedded clause, and the placement of the sentence particle an over the boundary.

There is no negation of the complement sentence of gerund type. Verbal negation requires the presence of an aspect marker. Compare the possibility of negating the complement sentence introduced by a complementizer (50) with the impossibility of negating the aspectless embedded complement sentence (51):

- (50) a. \*wacoj yiH hin c'ul chubil chin toyi  
I carry in my stomach that I go  
'I am thinking of going'
- b. \*wacoj yiH hin c'ul chubil  
I carry in my stomach that  
mach chin toyi  
NEG I go  
'I am thinking of not going'
- (51) a. \*wacoj yiH hin c'ul hin toyi  
I carry in my stomach I go  
'I am thinking of going'

- b. \*wacoj yiH hin c'ul mach/mat hin toyi  
I carry in my stomach NEG I go  
'I am thinking of not going'

The negation word mat, used to negate stative verbs, is as ungrammatical as the finite verbal negation mach. If the main verb is one that may take either an aspectless embedded complement sentence or a complement sentence with complementizer, the latter is used when negation has to be expressed. Similarly, a complement sentence introduced by the complementizer tato is used when the complement sentence of an adjectival predicate is negated, although a complement sentence embedded under an adjectival predicate is always of the gerund type in affirmative statements:

- (52) a. c'ul juc'i  
good we drink  
'it is good to drink'
- b. \*c'ul mach/mat juc'i  
good NEG we drink  
'it is good not to drink'
- c. c'ul ta(to) mach choH uc'i  
good that NEG we drink  
'it is good that we do not drink'

Noun Classifier Deletion operates across the boundary of a gerund type complement sentence:

- (53) a. \*xil ix<sub>i</sub> yapni smi' ix<sub>i</sub>  
saw cl/she arrives her mother cl  
'she saw her mother arrive'
- b. xil ix yapni smi' ----  
saw cl/she arrives her mother N Cl Del  
'she<sub>i</sub> saw her<sub>i</sub> mother arrive'

- (54) a. \*yohtaj ixi swatx'en ixi kap camiXe  
 knows cl/she makes cl/she cl shirt  
 'she knows how to make shirts'
- b. yohtaj ix swatx'en ---- kap camiXe  
 knows cl/she makes N Cl Del cl shirt  
 'she knows how to make shirts'

If either the subject or the object of the main clause is co-referential with the subject of the embedded clause, the latter subject is first pronominalized and the pronoun classifier is then deleted. The result is that many gerund complement sentences lack surface structure subjects, the absence of which is not to be taken as the result of an Equi-NP Deletion rule. An Equi-NP Deletion rule deletes both the lexical noun and its corresponding case marking, while Noun Classifier Deletion, which is the rule operating in CS#2, does not delete the case marker on the embedded verb.

The first person sentence particle an similarly ignores the boundary of the gerund complement sentence:

- (55) xwil [yapni naj] an  
 I saw arrives cl/he 1p  
 'I saw him arrive'
- (56) yohtaj ix hin noh [swatx'en camiXe] an  
 knows cl my sibling makes shirt 1p  
 'my sister knows how to make shirts'

### 1.3. CS#3: Infinitival Complement Sentence

#### 1.3.1.

This type of complement sentence consists of an infinitive verb composed of a verb stem followed by the suffix -oj:

- (57) chin oc wayoj  
 I enter to sleep  
 'I am falling asleep'

- (58) Xwoche cañalwoj  
 I like to dance  
 'I like to dance'

The clause is a bare infinitive form without aspect or case marker. Infinitive clauses are derived by a rule of Equi-NP Deletion discussed in Chapter 11 Equi-NP Deletion.

The only other infinitive resulting from Equi-NP Deletion is found in the object incorporated construction illustrated in (59), (60), and (61):

- (59) chin to ilo' kiñ  
 I go to see fiesta  
 'I am going to see the fiesta'
- (60) xto naj alcal male'  
 went cl/the alcalde to measure  
tx'otx' samarcos  
 terrain San Marcos  
 'the alcalde went to measure some terrain in San Marcos'
- (61) loko' ixim Xwu txoñbal  
 to buy corn I do market  
 'buying corn is what I am doing in the market'

In this object incorporated construction, the verb is transitive and takes a vowel stem final o/a and the irrealis suffix of the transitive -'. It is immediately followed by a generic noun with no noun classifier. There is no form of transitive infinitival complement sentence in the language.<sup>11</sup>

#### 1.3.2. Verbs Taking CS#3

The verbs which take the infinitival complement sentence are the same verbs that require a future agreement in transitive aspectless embedded clauses, i.e., verbs of desire, verbs of movements, and causative verbs.<sup>12</sup>

#### 1.3.3. Boundaries of CS#3



The first person sentence particle an is placed after the infinitive, marking the boundary between main clause and infinitival clause as "transparent":

- (62) chin to [cañalwoj] an  
 I go to dance 1p  
 'I am going to dance'

#### 1.4. Summary

There are three types of complement sentences in Jacaltec. CS#1 is characterized by the presence of a complementizer and introduces a full finite sentence, as in the example:

- (63) x-Ø-(y)-al naj chubil x-Ø-ul ix  
 asp-A3-E3-say cl/he that asp-A3-came cl/she  
 'he said that she came'

CS#2 is an aspectless embedded clause characterized by a nominative/accusative type of case marking which assigns an ergative to all subjects, and by the suffixation of either the intransitive suffix -n(i) or the future irrealis suffix -v'/-b on transitive verbs:

- (64) x-Ø-(y)-il naj hin ha-mak-ni  
 asp-A3-E3-see cl/he A1 E2-hit-suff  
 'he saw you hit me'
- (65) x-Ø-(y)-il naj ha-munlayi  
 asp-A3-E3-see cl/he E2-work  
 'he saw you work'
- (66) ch-in to Ø w-il-a' naj  
 asp-A1 go A3 E1-see-fut cl/him  
 'I am going to see him'

CS#3 is an infinitival complement sentence composed of a simple infinitive. It is always an intransitive type of construction and corresponds to the transitive with future suffix of CS#2:

- (67) x-Ø-w-oche cañalw-oj  
 asp-A3-E1-like to dance-fut  
 'I like to dance'

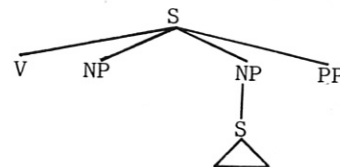
## 2. FUNCTIONS OF COMPLEMENT SENTENCES

### 2.0.

Complement sentences can fulfill different functions: they can be sentential objects (2.1.), sentential subjects (2.2.), or sentence complements (2.3.).

#### 2.1. Sentential Objects

The tree structure of a complex sentence with a sentential object is roughly:



All three types of complement sentence may function as the object of a main transitive verb. In examples (68), (69), and (70) the main verbs take an object NP in the (a) sentences and a sentential object in the (b) sentences--

#### (68) CS#1:

- a. xal naj skumal ix tet anma  
 said cl/he her criticism cl to people  
 'he said criticisms of her to people'
- b. xal naj tet anma chubil xil  
 said cl/he to people that saw  
naj ix  
 cl/he cl/her  
 'he said to people that he saw her'



## (69) CS#2:

a. xil naj ix  
 saw cl/he cl/her  
 'he saw her'

b. xil naj yayc'ay ix  
 saw cl/he falls down cl/she  
 'he saw her fall down'

## (70) CS#3:

a. xwoche naj  
 I like cl/him  
 'I like him'

b. xwoche cañalwoj  
 I like to dance  
 'I like to dance'

As shown in the example (68b), CS#1 is extraposed from the object position immediately after the subject to the right of the dative prepositional phrase. CS#1 undergoes Extraposition to the right of all prepositional phrases and adverbs alike:

(71) xal naj tet anma yul parce ewi  
 said cl/he to people in park yesterday  
chubil chim hulu naj presidente coñob  
 that may come cl/the president village  
 'the alcalde said to people yesterday in the  
 park that the president may come to the village'

Both complement sentences CS#1 and CS#2 may be derived  
 subjects of a main passive verb--<sup>13</sup>

## (72) CS#1:

xallaxi chubil xil naj ix  
 was said that saw cl/he cl/her  
 'it was said that he saw her'

## (73) CS#2:

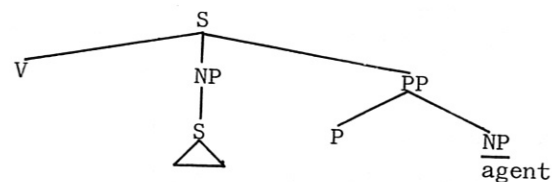
x'illax yayc'ay ix  
 was seen fall down cl/she  
 lit: it was seen that she fell down  
 'she was seen falling down'

## (74) CS#2:

x'abelax ha tzoteli  
 was heard you talk  
 'you were heard talking'

## 2.2. Sentential Subjects

Two types of predicates take sentential subject. They are the adjectival predicates and all the intransitive verbal predicates of idiomatic expressions composed of a verb and a prepositional phrase:



In such idiomatic constructions the agent of the sentence is the person expressed in the prepositional phrase.

Depending on the type of prepositional phrase they take, these idiomatic expressions can be divided into two groups. In the first group the agent is the possessor of the object of the preposition, and the verb is a verb of movement.

(75) a. tit yiñ -c'ul  
 come in stomach  
 'to remember'

b. ec'le yiñ -c'ul  
 pass by in stomach  
 'to cross one's mind'

- c. oc    yiŋ    -c'ul  
 enter    in    stomach  
 'to desire'

These idiomatic expressions are further discussed in Section 3 below.

In the second group the agent is the object of the preposition -u, previously discussed as the preposition of direct and indirect agent in Chapter 2, Section 3. Voices: Active and Passive. Of the five expressions listed below, three are recognizable as forms of the passive in -cha; one contains a movement verb; and the last one is a stative verb:

- (76) a. abcha    -u    'to come to hear, to learn'<sup>14</sup>  
 b. techa    -u    'to bear'  
 c. ijcha    -u    'to put up with'<sup>15</sup>  
 d. to nahul    -u    'to forget'  
 e. nan    -u    'to remember'

Like sentential objects, all the sentential subjects of type CS#1 and CS#2 undergo an obligatory rule of Extraposition which places them after the prepositional phrase. This rule accounts for the different surface structures [V NP PP] and [V PP CS], corresponding to the (a) and (c) sentences of examples (77), (78), and (79):<sup>16</sup>

- (77) a. xtit    naj    yiŋ    hin c'ul  
 came    cl/he    in    my stomach  
 'I remembered him'
- b. \*xtit    wuc'ni    aŋ    yiŋ    hin c'ul  
 came    I drink    medicine    in    my stomach  
 'I remembered to take my medicine'
- (78) a. xtecha    munil    wu  
 bears    work    by me  
 'I bear the work'

- b. \*mach    xtecha    hach wilni    wu  
 NEG    bears    you I see    by me  
 'I cannot stand to see you'
- c. mach    xtecha    wu    hach wilni  
 NEG    bear    by me    you I see  
 'I cannot stand to see you'
- (79) a. x'ec'le    ix    yiŋ    hin c'ul  
 she crossed    cl/she    in    my stomach  
 'she crossed my mind'
- b. \*x'ec'le    chubil    kiŋ    hecal  
 crossed    that    fiesta    tomorrow  
yiŋ    hin c'ul  
 in    my stomach  
 'it crossed my mind that it is fiesta tomorrow'
- c. x'ec'le    yiŋ    hin c'ul    chubil  
 crossed    in    my stomach    that  
kiŋ    hecal  
 fiesta    tomorrow  
 'it crossed my mind that it is fiesta tomorrow'

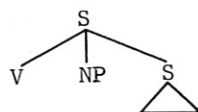
The infinitival CS#3 remains between the verb and the prepositional phrase, as subject NPs do:

- (80) a. mach    xtecha    munil    wu  
 NEG    bears    work    by me  
 'I cannot bear the work'
- b. mach    xtecha    munlahoj    wu  
 NEG    bears    to work    by me  
 'I cannot stand to work'

### 2.3. Sentence Complements

Sentence complements are those complement sentences which fulfill neither the subject nor the object function in the complex sentences.<sup>17</sup>

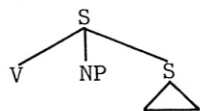
There are sentence complements of intransitive verbs:



This construction is found with verbs of movement and verbs of emotion:

- (81) chach xiw      hawahtoj    swi'      te'      mah  
 you are afraid    you climb    its top    cl/the    house  
 'you are afraid to climb on the roof'
- (82) xtz'a hin c'ul    sto    naj  
 burn    my stomach    goes    cl/he  
 'I am sad that he is going'
- (83) choH to    cu tx'aha'    xil kape    sti'  
 we go      we wash      clothes    its mouth  
 ha'    niman  
 water    big  
 'we go to wash the clothes by the river'

Sentence complements are also found in causative constructions with transitive main verbs:



Examples of this construction are:

- (84) xcach wiptze    ha maka'    ix  
 you I forced    you hit    cl/her  
 'I forced you to hit her'
- (85) steye    naj    ix    tzoteloj  
 obliged    cl/he    cl/her    to talk  
 'he obliged her to talk'

The presence in the main clause of an animate object which is coreferential with the subject of the complement sentence indicates that the complement sentence is not the object of

the causative verb but rather a sentence complement.

#### 2.4. Conclusions

Complement sentences in Jacaltec may be sentential subjects, sentential objects, or sentence complements. Sentential subjects and sentential objects of the CS#1 and CS#2 type undergo a rule of Extraposition which places them in sentence final position, after all prepositional phrases and adverbs.

### 3. IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS AND COMPLEMENT SENTENCES

#### 3.0.

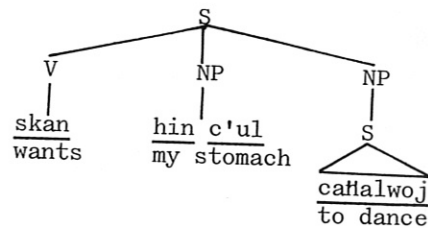
The idiomatic expressions considered in this section are composed of a verb and a body part. The possessor NP of the body part functions as the agent of the sentence. The discussion focuses on the particular status of the possessor NP with respect to person agreement, Equi-NP relation with lower subjects, and the focus operation.<sup>18</sup>

#### 3.1. Types of Idiomatic Expressions

The possessed NP may be in any of the three nominal functions—subject, object, or object of a preposition.

The expressions in which the possessed NP is the subject of a transitive verb take a sentential object. The construction may be roughly represented as:

(86) a.



- b. skan    hin c'ul    cattalwoj  
 wants    my stomach    to dance

'I would like to dance'

Another idiomatic expression of this construction is:

- (87) chal wanma ta mach chuluḡ  
 says my heart that not will come  
 naj tinaḡ  
 cl/he today

'I have the feeling that he will not come today'

A more complete list of these idiomatic expressions appears in Appendix C.

The expressions in which the possessed NP is the subject of an intransitive take a sentence complement:

- (88) a.
- 

- b. xtz'a hin c'ul sto naj  
 burns my stomach go cl/he  
 'I am sad that he is going'

An additional example is:

- (89) xcha swi' naj sway  
 allows his head cl he sleep  
 sunilbal tz'ayic  
 all day  
 'he would not mind sleeping all day long'

The expressions in which the possessed NP is the object of a preposition may belong to an intransitive or a transitive construction. The intransitive expressions are of the type presented earlier in Section 2.2. Sentential Subjects, with a verb of movement and a sentential subject:

- (90) a.
- 

- b. xtit yiḡ hin c'ul wuc'ni aff  
 came in my stomach I drink medicine  
 'I remembered to take my medicine'

Examples (91) and (92) represent two other idiomatic expressions identified as belonging to this construction:

- (91) x'ec'le yiḡ hin c'ul chubil  
 crossed in my stomach that  
 kiḡ hecal  
 fiesta tomorrow  
 'it crossed my mind that tomorrow is fiesta'

- (92) x'occaḡ ha lokni ha cheh  
 entered you buy your horse  
 yiḡ ha c'ul  
 in your stomach  
 'you decided to buy yourself a horse'

In expressions (90) and (91) the extraposition of the complement is obligatory; in (92) it is optional.

Transitive expressions take a sentential object. Their structure is roughly:

- (93) a.
-

- b. cha' naj tet yanma yilni sine  
 gives cl/he to his heart he see movie  
 'he delights in seeing movies'

Two other expressions of this type are:

- (94) xwacoj yif hin c'ul hin to  
 I carry in my stomach I go  
 munlahoj sab  
 to work early

'I decided to go to work early'

- (95) xata'we yul ha ti'  
 you answered in your mouth

ha watx'en hun tu'  
 you make one that

'you committed yourself to make that'

### 3.2. The Possessor NP of the Idiomatic Expression

#### 3.2.0.

The interesting fact about the possessive construction of the idiomatic expression is that the possessed noun agrees with the main verb as a third person constituent while the possessor NP alone controls the Equi-NP Deletion in the embedded clause or undergoes focus movement.

#### 3.2.1. Person Agreement

The whole possessed noun inflects with a third person marker on the verb:

- (96) a. x-Ø-tz'a hin-c'ul s-to naj  
 asp-A3-burn E1-stomach E3-go cl/he  
 'I am sad that he is going'

- b. \*xc-in tz'a hin-c'ul s-to naj  
 asp-A1 burn E1-stomach E3-go cl/he  
 'I am sad that he is going'

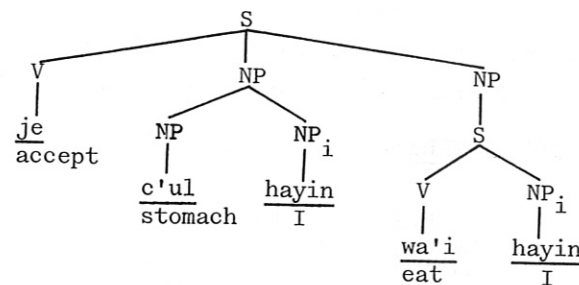
- (97) a. ch-Ø-(y)-al w-anma y-u hun-tu'  
 asp-A3-E3-say E1-heart E3-happen one-that  
 'I have a feeling that that will happen'

- b. \*x-Ø-w-al w-anma y-u hun-tu'  
 asp-A3-E1-say E1-heart E3-happen one-that  
 'I have a feeling that that will happen'

#### 3.2.2. Equi-NP Deletion

As seen in the previous section, an infinitival clause (CS#3) is derived by the application of the rule of Equi-NP Deletion which deletes the subject of the embedded clause under identity with the subject or the object of the main verb. However in constructions with idiomatic expressions, the identity under which Equi-NP Deletion operates holds between the possessor of the subject or the object upstairs and the subject downstairs. In example (98) it is the possessor NP of the main subject which by itself triggers the deletion of the embedded subject:

- (98) a.



- b. s-je hin-c'ul wa'oj  
 E3-accept E1-stomach to eat  
 'I want to eat'

#### 3.2.3. Focus

The fact that the agent of the sentence is the possessor NP is further revealed by the focus construction. The whole possessive construction cannot be moved to focus position



at the head of the sentence, as the ungrammaticality of examples \*(99) and \*(100) shows:

- (99) \*yiH hin c'ul xtit yalni naj hun tu'  
 in my stomach came say cl/he one that  
 'I remembered him saying that'
- (100) \*wanma ch'alni wi'ni premio  
 my heart says I win prize  
 'I have the premonition that I will win the prize'

Compare the ungrammatical sentences \*(99) and \*(100) with sentences (101) and (102) in which a non-idiomatic possessive construction is placed in focus:

- (101) yiH hin mam xmunla naj  
 in my father works cl/he  
 'he works with my father'
- (102) wuXtaj ch'alni chubil chuluj naj  
 my brother says that will come cl/he  
 'my brother says that he will come'

With idiomatic possessive constructions the possessor NP alone moves to the head of the sentence in focus position:

- (103) hayin xtit yiH hin c'ul yalni  
 I came in my stomach says  
 naj hun tu'  
 cl/he one that  
 'I remembered him saying that'
- (104) hayin chal wanma wi'ni premio  
 I says my heart I win prize  
 'I have the premonition that I will win the prize'

In examples (103) and (104) above the possessor NP is an independent pronoun, but it may also be a possessed noun itself:

- (105) a. scha swi' ha mam u'cu  
 allows his head your father to drink  
 'your father does not mind drinking'
- b. \*swi' ha mam xchani uc'uj  
 his head your father allows to drink  
 'your father does not mind drinking'
- c. ha mam scha swi' uc'uj  
 your father allows his head to drink  
 'your father does not mind drinking'

### 3.3. Conclusions

This section has considered idiomatic expressions composed of a verb and a possessed body part in order to point out the special status of the possessor NP: this NP behaves like the agent of the sentence, with respect to the rules of Equi-NP Deletion and Focus.

## 4. INVERSION

### 4.0.

The phenomenon of Inversion refers to a construction in which the main verb appears in an embedded form after its complement sentence, which has become the surface structure main clause. An example is given below:

- (106) a. xal naj jet an tato x'apni  
 said cl/he to us 1p that arrived  
 ya' cumi'  
 cl/the lady  
 'he told us that the lady had arrived'
- b. x'apni ya' cumi yalni naj jet an  
 arrived cl/the lady says cl/he to us 1p  
 'the lady arrived, he told us'



4.1. Conditions on Verbs

Under specific conditions three verbs may undergo Inversion: hala 'to say', ay -ala' 'to desire', and ham -alni 'to think'. The first verb--hala 'to say'--may be extraposed to the right only if its subject is a third person and if there is no relation of identity between main and embedded subjects:

(107) a. xawal tato xto naj  
you said that went cl/he  
'you said that he went'

b. \*xto naj hawalni  
went cl/he you say  
'he went, you said'

(108) a. xal naj<sub>i</sub> tato xto naj<sub>i</sub>  
said cl/he that went cl/he  
'he<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>i</sub> went'

b. \*xto naj yalni (naj<sub>i</sub>)  
went cl/he say cl/he  
(he<sub>i</sub> went, he<sub>i</sub> said)

(109) a. xal naj<sub>i</sub> tato xto naj<sub>j</sub>  
said cl/he that went cl/he  
'he<sub>i</sub> said that he<sub>j</sub> went'

b. xto naj<sub>i</sub> yalni naj<sub>j</sub>  
went cl/he say cl/he  
'he<sub>i</sub> went, he<sub>j</sub> said'

Sentence (109) is the only possible sentence with Inversion because the two noun classifiers are non-coreferential.

The second verb, ay -ala', is a verb of desire meaning 'to want'. It is a verbal expression compounded with the verb hala 'to say' and the copula of existence ay.<sup>19</sup> In the Inversion process the copula ay is lost and the meaning of the verb shifts to express a stronger desire:

(110) a. ay wala' chin toyi  
is I say I go  
'I would like to go'

b. chin to walni  
I go I say  
'I want to go'

For this second verb, ay -ala' 'to desire', Inversion operates under a condition of coreferentiality between the subjects which may be in any of the three persons:

(111) a. ay yala' naj chach to hecal  
is says cl/he you go tomorrow  
'he would like for you to go tomorrow'

b. \*chach to hecal yalni naj  
you go tomorrow say cl/he  
'he wants you to go'

In the third person, the identity of the subjects results in the deletion of the second classifier by the application of the rule of Noun Classifier Deletion:

(112) a. ay yala' naj \*xto naj  
is says cl/he goes cl/he  
'he would like to go'

b. \*xto naj<sub>i</sub> yalni naj<sub>i</sub>  
goes cl/he say cl/he  
'he wants to go'

c. \*xto naj yalni ----  
goes cl/he say N Cl Del  
'he wants to go'

The third verb to undergo Inversion--ham -alni 'to think'--is also a compound of hala 'to say'. ham is analyzable as the particle ha' of clefted constructions and the dubitative clitic particle mi. This verb does not require coreferentiality of the subjects and occurs in all three persons in

## Inversion:

- (113) a. ham walni chubil xto naj  
 maybe I say that went cl/he  
 'I think that he went'
- b. xmam to naj walni  
 maybe go cl/he I say  
 'he went, I think'

Inversion operates under different conditions for the three verbs:

- for hala 'to say' the subject must be in the third person and not coreferential;
- for ay -ala 'to desire' the subject may be in any of the three persons but it must be coreferential;
- for ham -alni the subject may be in any of the three persons and not be coreferential.

4.2. Conditions on Inversion

In the following paragraphs the phenomenon of Inversion will be characterized with respect to the rules of Negation, Passive, and Question, and the types of clauses involved.

4.2.1. Passive

Inversion may occur with the passive form of the verb. Since the passive verb form is intransitive, there is no suffixation of -n(i) on the verb after Inversion:

- (114) a. xalot/xallaxi tato toxa xcach paxojtoj  
 was said that already you came back  
 'they said that you had already come back'
- b. toxa xcach paxojtoj yalot/yallaxi  
 already you came back was said  
 'you had already come back, they said'

4.2.2. Negation

The verbs may not be extraposed when negated, since they

become aspectless embedded verbs in the Inversion process and since negation is not grammatical in aspectless clauses, as noted above in Section 1.2.4. Boundaries of CS#2:

- (115) a. mach xal naj chubil wet ye  
 not said cl/he that to me is  
 te' Hah  
 cl/the house  
 'he did not say that the house was mine'

- b. \*wet ye te' Hah mat yalnoj naj  
 to me is cl/the house NEG say cl/he  
 (the house is mine he did not say)

Sentence \*(115b) would also be ungrammatical with the verbal negation mach or without the irrealis suffix -oj:

The verb ay -ala 'to want' is never negated, even in its position of main verb:

- (116) \*mach wala' chin tz'oHi an  
 is not I say I sit 1p  
 'I don't want to sit down'

4.2.3. Question

Inversion is preferred when an NP is questioned out of the complement sentence. This results in having the question word immediately preceding the clause out of which it has been moved.

- (117) a. ?mac xal naj chubil xmakni xo'  
 who said cl/he that hit cl/her  
 'who did he say hit her?'
- b. mac xmakni xo' yalni naj  
 who hit cl/her say cl/he  
 'who did he say hit her?'

- (118) a. ?tzet ay hawala' chalo'  
 what is you say you eat  
 'what do you want to eat?'

- b. tzet chalo' hawalni  
 what you eat you say  
 'what do you want to eat?'

Preference for the Inversion construction of sentences (117) and (118) is probably motivated by perceptual strategy since it is easier to decode a sentence in which no clause intervenes between the question word and the clause in which it originated.

#### 4.2.4. Complement Sentences

Inversion is possible only with complement sentences and not with subordinate clauses:

- (119) a. xal naj wet an bakin/mac boj/tzet  
 said cl/he to me 1p when/whom with/what

yuxin chuluj ix  
 for will come cl/she

'he told me when/with whom/for what she will be coming'

- b. \*bakin/mac boj/tzet yuxin chuluj  
 when/who with/what for will come

ix yalni naj wet an  
 cl/she say cl/he to me 1p

'he told me when/with whom/for what she will be coming'

#### 4.2.5. Sequential Coordination

When there are two complement sentences in sequential coordination with cat, Inversion places the verb after either the first or the second clause:

- (120) a. ay wala' chin to hecal cat  
 is I say I go tomorrow and then

hin can betu'  
 I stay there

'I would like to go tomorrow and stay there'

- b. chin to hecal walni cat  
 I go tomorrow I say and then

hin can betu'  
 I stay there

'I want to go tomorrow and stay there'

- c. chin to hecal cat hin can  
 I go tomorrow and then I stay

betu' walni  
 there I say

'I want to go tomorrow and stay there'

#### 4.2.6. Double Embedding

Inversion also becomes obligatory when the main verb is itself embedded under a verb requiring an aspectless embedded complement:

- (121) a. \*x'ichic'oj heb ya' yalni swa'  
 started pl cl/they they say they eat  
 'they began to want to eat'

- b. x'ichic'oj heb ya' swa' yalni  
 started pl cl/they they eat they say  
 'they began to want to eat'

#### 4.3. Summary<sup>20</sup>

In this section three verbs of Jacaltec were shown to undergo Inversion, a process by which a main verb comes to follow its complement sentence and takes on an aspectless embedded form. Although the verbs are homophonous in their inverted form, complementary distribution of the conditions under which Inversion may occur allows the correct interpretation of the sentences.

#### 5. CONCLUSIONS

This survey of the process of complementation in Jacaltec has established that there are three types of surface structure

complement sentences. They can function as a sentential subject, object or complement of a main verb.

CS#1 is a complement sentence with a complementizer and a finite verb. It behaves like an independent sentence with respect to case marking and negation.

CS#2 is an aspectless embedded clause inflected for subject and object according to a nominative/accusative type of case marking. While most transitive verbs take the suffix -n(i), one group of verbs requires a future form of the embedded transitive verbs without the suffix -n(i).

CS#3 is an infinitival construction limited to intransitive verbs. Furthermore only verbs which are the intransitive counterparts of the transitive future forms of CS#2 appear in the infinitival construction.

A section was devoted to idiomatic expressions functioning as main verbs of aspectless embedded complement sentences to show how the possessor NP of those expressions behaves as the agent of the sentence with respect to the rules of Equi-NP Deletion and Focus. A phenomenon of Inversion is which a main verb appears embedded after its sentential object was presented in the last section.

This central chapter on complementation is closely related to several other chapters of this book:

- A) for a discussion of the two types of case marking rules--ergative type and nominative/accusative type--refer back to Chapter 3 Case Marking;
- B) for a discussion of the two types of complex sentences--"flat" structures characterized by "transparent" boundaries and "disjunctive" structures characterized "opaque" boundaries--see Chapter 5 Noun Classifier Deletion and Chapter 9 A Boundary Marker;

- C) for a discussion of specific constructions involving CS#2 see Chapter 10 A Promotion Rule, Chapter 12 Manner Adverbial Sentences and Chapter 13 Causative Constructions;
- D) for a more complete discussion of CS#3 see Chapter 11 Equi-NP Deletion.

## NOTES

1. The word chubil is not used in other parts of the Jacalteco linguistic area except in its meaning of the indefinite question word 'how, how much' as in:
  - (a) chubil yiH te' oH  
how much in cl/the avocado  
'how much for the avocados?'
  - (b) chubil ye yiH coHob  
how is in town  
'how are things in town?'
2. The choice between chubil and tato depends on the attitude or belief of the speaker. When thinking about this, one has to keep in mind that Jacalteco is an unwritten language and that information is passed around through oral channels as public announcements, hearsay or gossip. In reported speech the credibility of the source of information in the opinion of the speaker reporting statements of others is of utmost importance. The use of chubil denotes a high degree of credibility or certainty, and the use of tato introduces a notion of disbelief or reservation about a hearsay. Compare the use of the two complementizers in the pair of sentences below:



- (a) xal naj tato chuluj  
said cl/he that will come  
naj presidente  
cl/the president  
'he said that the president is going to come'
- (b) xal naj alcal chubil chuluj  
said cl/the alcalde that will come  
naj presidente  
cl/the president  
'the alcalde said that the president is going to come'

In sentence (a) the source of information--an anonymous naj 'he'--is taken to be an unreliable source of information. Why should 'he' know better than others? In sentence (b) the source of information is felt to be a reliable one, since the alcalde is a man of authority and he should be the person most knowledgeable about such matters as official visits.

Two additional examples of the use of the complementizers follow:

- (c) spujbacoj ya' alcal xol anma  
made public cl/the alcalde among people  
yih bando chubil chuluj naj  
by announcement that will come cl/the  
ilom-kalem yih hunxa semana  
watcher-garbage in another week  
'the alcalde made it known by announcement to the people that the public health officer will come next week'

- (d) spujbacoj naj manel tet heb naj  
made public cl Manuel to pl cl/the  
sajchom ay beti' tato chacoj ix maria  
players is here that put on cl Maria  
hune' comedor yih kih candelaria  
a restaurant in fiesta Candelaria  
'Manuel announced to the players from here that Maria was going to set up a restaurant at the fiesta Candelaria'

In example (c) the alcalde is recognized as a person of trust and knowledge and the primary source of information, and therefore a person to be believed. Sentence (d) on the other hand offers information which is not to be taken for certain. This sentence refers to a real-life situation in which Manuel, in fact, is the husband of María. While she is known in town for her independence, Manuel tends to be known as a talker. Who really knows whether María will set up a stand at the fiesta?

The use of a different complementizer also enhances the contrast between the affirmative tone of sentence (e) below and the somewhat reserved statement of (f):

- (e) xinta'wecoj wibaH chubil hayin ay  
I recognized on me that I is  
hin mul yih hun tu'  
my fault in one that  
'I recognized that I was the one to blame for that'
- (f) sta'wecoj naj yibaH tato ha' naj  
recognizes cl/he on him that cleft cl/he  
yet ay ya'ni ch'en melyu  
is necessary he gives cl/the money  
'he does recognize that he has to pay the money'  
(leaving open the possibility that he may not pay)

The nuances in the use of the two complementizers are subtle enough that it is difficult to contrast them through direct elicitation. But it is certain that the complementizers are not neutrally interchangeable in a good number of situations and that they carry some of the elocutionary force of the language.

3. to may be used alone as a conjunction:

(a) mataj naj xinmaka to hawuɣtaj  
not is cl/he I hit conj your brother  
'it is not him that I hit but (rather) your brother'

It also may be combined with other conjunctions:

(b) ya' yoj naj yuxin-to  
painful his foot cl for then-conj  
ch'ok naj  
cries cl/he  
'his foot hurts, that's why he is crying'

(c) c'ajam-to caw chew cat  
in spite-conj very cold and then  
hawaɣnipaxoj  
you bathe also  
'in spite of the cold you still bathe'

4. There is one instance of noun complementation with CS#1. It is with the word kumal 'news, criticism':

(a) kumal xitij naj wet chubil  
news brought cl/he to me that  
ch'apnoj hin mi'  
will arrive my mother  
'he brought me the news that my mother would arrive'

5. Refer again to Note 2 for a discussion of the semantics of the complementizers.

6. For some speakers iptze 'to force' and chej 'to order' do not exhibit the tense constraint and transitive verbs embedded under them take the suffix -n(i) instead of the future suffix:

(a) xc-ach w-iptze hin haw-echma-ni  
asp-A2 E1-force A1 E2-wait-suff  
'I forced you to wait for me'

(b) ch-in s-chej naj hach hin-col-ni  
asp-A1 E3-order cl/he A2 E1-help-suff  
'he orders me to help you'

Even if the transitive embedded verbs do not take the future suffix, the intransitive ones appear in infinitival form. There is also a concessive verb with no coreferentiality of NPs but a future tense constraint:

(c) x-∅-in-cha ∅ s-watx'-e' ix ita  
asp-A3-E1-allow A3 E3-make-fut cl/she food  
'I let her prepare the food'

(d) x-∅-s-cha ix ∅ y-uc'-u'  
asp-A3 E3-allow cl/she A3 E3-drink-fut  
ni'an unin sunil lech  
little child all milk  
'she let the child drink all the milk'

7. The -n(i) suffix may also appear as a mark of sequential coordination in the context of the completive aspect. In the presence of the coordinating -n(i) suffix, the future marker becomes that of intransitive verbs, -oj. Notice the future forms sub in example (a) and sunuj in example (b):

(a) x'oc' heb ix sub munlabal  
enter pl cl/they wash dishes  
'they(women) started doing the dishes'



- (b) yet xul heb ix x'oc' heb  
 when arrived pl cl/they enter pl  
 ix sunuj munlabal  
 cl/they wash dishes  
 'when they(women) arrived, they started doing  
 the dishes'

8. All of these adjectives may be used (or have to be used) with the copula -e(yi) when the subject is a noun:

- (a) yilal y-e munil ti'  
 urgent E3-is work this  
 'this job is urgent'

- (b) xiciltaj y-e ix  
 forbidden E3-is cl/she  
 'she is "untouchable"' (used to refer to a  
 pregnant woman)

See Chapter 1, Section 4. Copula for a classification of adjectives. The copula disappears when the subject is a sentential NP:

- (c) tzalalal j-eyi  
 happy E1pl-are  
 'we are happy'
- (d) \*tzalalal y-eyi/j-eyi Ø cu-yamba-n  
 happy E3-is/E1pl-are A3 E1pl-gather-suff  
 cu-ba  
 E1pl-refl  
 'it is fun to get together'
- (e) tzalalal Ø cu-yamba-n cu-ba  
 happy A3 E1pl-gather-suff E1pl-refl  
 'it is fun to get together'

The ungrammaticality of \*(d) shows that the copula may not co-occur with the sentential subject, whether the case marker is a third person inflecting for the whole

sentential subject or whether it is a first person plural inflecting for the subject of the embedded clause.

9. There is no equivalent of the English Tough Movement in Jacalteco adjectival predicates. This means that there is no equivalent for sentences (a') and (b'):
- (a) it is hard to convince Mary  
 (a') Mary is hard to convince  
 (b) it is easy to please John  
 (b') John is easy to please
10. This is probably the most recent borrowing in the language. The word was borrowed from the kitchens of the American mission. Nowadays one may order a pay 'pie' from one of the ex-cooks of the mission!
11. The only transitive infinitive found in the language is not the result of the application of Equi-NP Deletion. It is the bare infinitive of collapsed causative constructions which has lost any grammatical relation to its subject and its object. See Chapter 13 Causative Constructions for a discussion of the collapsing operation.
12. Some verbs of desire and some causatives have intransitive infinitival clauses but do not take the future suffix in the transitive aspectless embedded clauses. Refer again to Note 6 for examples.
13. This is an area of variation in the language. For some speakers, a CS#2 cannot become the subject of a passive verb.

14. This verb contains the verb stem ab- meaning 'to sense, to hear, to smell'.
15. This derived verb is based on the root ij- 'to carry', cf. ijatatz 'load'.
16. The rule of Extraposition is optional for the expression oc yih -c'ul 'to desire' (literally: to enter one's stomach). This construction has not yet reached the rigid status of an idiom.
17. Rosenbaum (1967) talks of verbal complements. However, considering the absence of a VP node in Jacaltec and the verb initial word order of the sentence, complement sentences which do not fulfill a subject or object function are referred to as sentence complements.
18. -c'ule 'stomach' is considered to be the center of affective life and corresponds to 'heart' in English. -anma 'soul' is a borrowing from Spanish religious vocabulary and refers to the center of intellectual life, which Jacaltecs place in the heart. The other two words used in idiomatic expressions of this type are -wi' 'head' and ti' 'mouth'.
19. The verb hala' is in a future form, marked by the final -v'. This future suffix marks it as embedded under the copula ay.
20. The constraints on the operation of Inversion in Jacaltec are reminiscent of the ones marking the operation of a similar process in English--

(a) Complement sentence:

he said that she went/she went he said

(b) Subordinate clause:

he told us where she went/\*where she went he told us

(c) Negation:

he did not tell us that he saw her this morning/\*he saw her this morning he did not tell us

(d) Impersonal:

they say that she's disappeared/she's disappeared they say