This chapter is a presentation of the most important kinds of complex sentences in Tzutujil. Complex sentences are sentences that are comprised of two or more other sentences or clauses. They may be either conjoined sentences (10.1) or sentences with embedded clauses (10.2). Conjoined sentences are comprised of a series of two or more sentences that are syntactically linked together (with or without a conjunction). Complex sentences are sentences that contain one or more subordinate clauses embedded within them.

10.1 CONJOINED SENTENCES

Conjoined sentences may be formed by linking two or more conjunct sentences together with one of the conjunctions presented in section 7.1.1. These conjunctions occur at the beginning of the conjunct sentence that they conjoin to some other sentence. If a series of sentences are conjoined by the same conjunction, then the conjunction may be omitted before all but the last or next to last conjunct sentence. The conjunction may also occur before all of the conjuncts, except the first.

Conjoined sentences may also be formed by simply concatenating the conjunct sentences (without a conjunction). A string of completely independent (i.e. unconjoined) sentences differs intonationally from a series of conjunct sentences without conjunctions. In a string of independent sentences the intonation falls markedly at the end of each sentence, whereas in the case of a series of concatenated conjunct sentences, the intonation falls markedly only at the end of the last conjunct.
In some cases, the individual conjunct sentences of a larger con­
joined sentence are syntactically coordinate with each other; that is,
none of the conjuncts are dependent on any of the other conjuncts
(10.1.1). In other cases one or more conjuncts may be dependent on one
of the other conjuncts (10.1.2). Nevertheless, in all conjoined
sentences, the internal structure of each of the conjuncts is that of a
syntactically complete sentence, whether or not the individual conjunct
is coordinate or dependent. The dependency relation of a dependent
conjunct is not indicated by its internal structure, but rather by the
conjunction linking it to another sentence, or in one case by its
semantics (see 10.1.2.1).

It should be noted that in section 7.1.1, one example conjoined
sentence is given for each of the conjuctions. In the present section
not all of the conjuctions are exemplified again.

10.1.1 Conjoined Sentences with Coordinate Conjuncts

Conjoined sentences in which the individual conjuncts are coordinate
may simply be concatenated without conjunctions as in (1)-(4). In con­
joined sentences of this type with one or more concatenated conjuncts,
the adverb choqojaa7 ~ chaqajaa7 'also, too' commonly (although by no
means always) occurs at the beginning or at the end of any of the
conjuncts except the first (e.g. (4)).

(1) Ja karmiita nkeewiq chi utz,
the their-brotherhood-house B3-A3p-adorn well
nkeeloq' koz't'ij, B3-A3p-buy flower
nkikaanooj naq qas nkeeb'an chee,
B3-A3-look-for what really B3-A3p-do to-it
'Their brotherhood house they adorn well, they buy
flowers, (and) they look for what they can really do to it.'

(2) Nkeeb'an tantyaar cheqe ju'jum nimaq kwartz
B3-A3p-do measure-out only one-each big-plr handspl
raqan, nkicha'upiij, nkeekoj tz dni b'atz'ib'al,
its-length B3-A3p-cut B3-A3p-use with spindle
They measure out only one big handspan length (of cotton fibers) each, they cut them, they use them with a spindle, a spindle they use, (and then) they begin to make thread.

The take mud (and) throw it on the fish, (and then) the fish go down to the bottom of the water, (and) turn on their sides.

The man and the woman have the right to marriage; also each of them have their own work.

Sentences may also be conjoined with the following coordinating conjunctions: k'in 'and', i ~ ii 'and', pro 'but', o ~ oo 'or', o wi 'or, neither, nor', nixta k'a...ta 'nor even, neither', k'a ja7 k'a 'thus, therefore, and then', k'a ja7 k'aari7 'and then; afterwards, later', k'a jaa ri7 'and then', k'a toq k'aari7 'and then' (see 7.1.1 for example sentences of each of these conjunctions and see (5)-(7) below).
'The parents of them (newlyweds) instruct them, and they help them, but there is no way that they should stick themselves in between them.'

(6) Nb'e San Antôonyo, nb'e K'oqol Keej, nb'e Xelaju7, B3-go San Antonio B3-go Masatenango B3-go Quetzaltenango oo nb'e Chi Maq'an Ya7, or B3-go Totonicapan 'He goes to San Antonio, he goes to Masatenango, he goes to Quetzaltenango, or he goes to Totonicapan.'

(7) Toq xwinaqîr to jule7 b'atz' chîína, when B3-appeared hither some thread Chinese k'a toq k'aari7 xkeek'ax to jutz'ilîit; then B3-A3p-changed hither a-little k'a ja k'aari7 xkeetun chik rwach ja b'atz'. and then B3-A3p-united emph kinds the thread 'When some Chinese thread appeared here, then they changed it (huipil) a little, and then they put together (a number of) kinds of thread.'

It should be noted here also that major constituents within a single sentence or clause may be conjoined with the following conjunctions: k'îin 'and', i(i) 'and', and o(o) 'or', as well as with the adverb choojaa7 'also, too'. (N.B.: the other coordinating conjunctions listed above have not been recorded conjoining constituents within a single sentence or clause.) Major constituents within a single sentence or clause may also be conjoined by simple concatenation. For example, in (8), k'îin conjoins verbs and in (10), it conjoins nouns. In (10), the names of the holidays are simply concatenated without conjunctions; and in (12), nouns, verbs, as well as clauses are conjoined without conjunctions.

(8) Jar iixoq njosq'iij k'in nuumes pa rouchooch. the woman B3-A3-cleans and B3-A3-sweeps in her-house 'The woman cleans and sweeps in her house.'
(9) Xin píspra rxiín ja nmaq'iij konojeel ja martoma7ii7 of eve of the fiesta all the stewards choqojaa7 ja jwees nkeeya7 ju7jun kuku7 maatz'. also the judge B3-A3p-put one-each jug atol 'On the eve of the fiesta all of the stewards, also the judge, place one jug each of atol (= thick corn drink).'

(10) Ja maatz' neekitija7 ja prinsipsali117, alkaala the atol B3-go-A3p-drink the principals mayor k'ín jwees ja toq neemojl sásanto ja pa taq and judge when B3p-are-united saints the in pir nmaq'iij jani7 nmaq'ij San Jwaan, Kiq'itij Sásanto, holiday like festival San Juan their-day saint Byéernes Sásanto, Alanb'Al.

'On the eve of the fiesta all of the stewards, also the judge, place one jug each of atol (= thick corn drink).'

(11) Jaal ri7 ja kijqa7n oo kisaamaaj ja nkeeb'an. this the their-charge or their-work that B3-A3p-do 'This is their charge or their work that they do.'

(12) Nixkeeb'an jodeer nixkitz'ilaj na, B2p-A3p-do fuck-over B2p-A3p-injure nec neekiq'axaj na keej wajkax cheewij, B3p-A3p-pass nec horse cow on-your-backs

'They'll fuck over and injure you all, (and) they'll pass horses and cows over your backs.'

The verb of a coordinate conjunct may be omitted, or gapped, if it is a repetition of a verb in a preceding conjunct, and if the Subjects of the verbs are different (e.g. (13b)-(16b). In a transitive coordinate conjunct, if the patient is (lexically) identical with the patient in a preceding conjunct, then it must be omitted as well, if the verb is gapped. In other words, the gapping of a transitive verb is precluded unless its patient is also omitted if the patient is identical with the
patient in the preceding conjunct (see ungrammatical (15c)). Similarly with verbs of motion and direction, and locations: a verb of motion and direction may not be gapped unless the location in the clause is omitted as well, if the location is identical with the location in the preceding conjunct (see ungrammatical (13c)).

\[(13)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Aa Xwaan xb'e Armiita, youth Juan went Guatemala-City} \\
& \text{choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y xb'e Armiita, also Miss Maria went Guatemala-City} \\
& \text{Juan went to Guatemala City, and also Maria went to Guatemala City.'}
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{Aa Xwaan xb'e Armiita, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y.} \\
& \text{Juan went to Guatemala City, and Maria did too.'}
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{c. } & \text{*Aa Xwaan xb'e Armiita, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y Armiita.} \\
& \text{*Juan went to Guatemala City, and Maria to Guatemala City.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(14)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Jar Aa Xwaan xb'e Armiita, the youth Juan went Guatemala-City} \\
& \text{ja k'aa Ta Mari7y xb'e Chi Maq'an Ya7, the contrast Miss Maria went Totonicapan} \\
& \text{Juan went to Guatemala City, but Maria went to Totonicapan.'}
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{Jar Aa Xwaan xb'e Armiita, ja k'aa Ta Mari7y} \\
& \text{Chi Maq'an Ya7, Juan went to Guatemala City, but Maria to Totonicapan.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(15)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a. } & \text{Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, youth Juan B3-A3-ate his-tortilla also} \\
& \text{choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y xuutij rxiin, Miss Maria B3-A3-ate hers} \\
& \text{Juan ate his tortillas and Maria also ate hers.'}
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b. } & \text{Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y.} \\
& \text{Juan ate his tortillas and Maria did too.'}
\end{align*}
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{c. } & \text{*Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, choqojaa7 Ta Mari7y rxiin.} \\
& \text{*Juan ate his tortillas and Maria hers.'}
\end{align*}
\]
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(16) a. Jar Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, the youth Juan B3-A3-ate his-tortilla ja k'aas Ta Mari7y xuutij kanlanway. the contrast Miss María B3-A3-ate bread 'Juan ate his tortillas but María ate bread.'

b. Jar Aa Xwaan xuutij rwaay, ja k'aas Ta Mari7y kanlanway. 'Juan ate his tortillas but María bread.'

Note that in conjuncts with gapped verbs, usually either the adverb choqojaa7 occurs, or the Subject is preceded by the contrasting/topic-shifting particle k'aa(~) (see 7.1.7.3). Choqojaa7 occurs when everything but the Subject is identical with that in the preceding conjunct. K'aa(~) occurs when some constituent besides the Subject is different from the same constituent in the preceding conjunct (e.g. in (14b) the locations are different, and (16b) the patients are different).

It is also noteworthy that verbs may be gapped even if they are not identical with the verb in the preceding clause, as long as they are semantically included within the scope of the verb of the preceding clause. For example, in (17b) the verb muruul 'to eat crunchy things' is gapped since it falls within the scope of tijooj 'to eat (in general)' even though, normally tijooj would not be used with awux 'toasted broad beans'.

(17) a. Jar Aa Xwaan xuutij way, the youth Juan B3-A3-ate tortilla ja k'aas Ta Mari7y xuumur the contrast Miss María B3-A3-ate-crunchies awux. toasted-broad-bean 'Juan ate tortillas, but María ate toasted broad beans.'

b. Jar Aa Xwaan xuutij way, ja k'aaas Ta Mari7y awux. 'Juan ate tortillas, but María toasted broad beans.'
10.1.2 Conjoined Sentences With Dependent Conjuncts

In this subsection I discuss conjoined sentences that have dependent conjuncts such as time adverbial clauses (10.1.2.1), causal adverbial clauses (10.1.2.2), and conditionals (10.1.2.3), as well as a few others (10.1.2.4).

10.1.2.1 Time Adverbial Clauses

There are two types of time adverbial clauses. The first type is essentially like the English 'when' clause. It is normally introduced with the conjunction toq 'when', which is often preceded by the definite article ja, and is often followed by the particle k'a 'well, then' (i.e. toq ~ ja toq ~ toq k'a ~ ja toq k'a 'when'). Occasionally, this type of time adverbial clause is also introduced with the combination of particles ja wi k'a 'when' (< ja 'the', wi 'if', k'a 'well, then'). Toq (or ja wi k'a) clauses may precede or follow the sentence to which they are conjoined.

(18) Toq noks q'ojoom pan arm'iita, neeq'ab'ari.
    when B3-begin marimba in brotherhood-house B3p-get-drunk
    'When the marimba begins in the brotherhood house, they get drunk.'

(19) Ja toq nh'e puju7, nuuk'am al ti rwaay.
    when B3-go to-mountain B3-A3-carry out little his-food
    'When he goes to the mountains, he takes a little food.'

(20) Toq k'a nk'ototaj kaan ja jul, neepit
    when B3-be-dug-comp staying the hole B3p-come
    to take the deceased
    'When the hole (grave) is finished being dug, they come to take the deceased.'

(21) Qas kikl7kooj ja toq neekijl kajkaj
    very their-happiness when B3p-A3p-get four-each
    plr basket
    'They are very happy when they get four baskets each.'
With the second type of time adverbial clause there is no overt syntactic marking indicating that clauses of this type are conjoined to and dependent on some other sentence. That is, there is no conjunction such as toq that conjoins them; rather, they are conjoined by simple concatenation to some other sentence. Structurally, time adverbial clauses of this type are identical with concatenated coordinate sentences, but semantically they are adverbial clauses, and they are always translated as such into Spanish. They are most commonly translated into Spanish as 'al + infinitive' constructions comparable to English 'on + present participle' constructions; however, they are also not uncommonly translated as simple 'when' (cuando) clauses. This type of time adverbial clause may precede or follow the clause to which it is conjoined.

(23) Choqojaxa7 nkuk'asaj ne7el pa prosesyoon.
    also B3-A3p-take B3p-exit to procession
    'Also they take it on going out to a procession (when they go to a procession).'

(24) Kongána q'ab'arik nb'ajni k'o q'ojoon.
    tremendous drinking is-done exist marimba
    'Tremendous drinking is done on there being a marimba (when there is a marimba).'

(25) Retjeleen rajsaroomb ni'be,
    B3-A3-has-put-on-shoulder his-hoe B3-go
    choqoja7 retjeleen nmeloj to.
    also B3-A3-has-put-on-shoulder B3-return back
    'Having put his hoe on his shoulder he leaves, also having put it on his shoulder he comes back.'
10.1.2.2 Causal Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses indicating the cause of, or reason for, something are conjoined to other sentences with the following conjunctions: piki 'because', kómo 'since', che7ewi7 'because of the preceding', rmaal arí7 ~ rmaal k'aari7 'because of that (the preceding)'. Clauses introduced with piki and kómo may precede or follow the sentences to which they are conjoined, but those introduced with che7ewi7 and rmaal arí7/rmaal k'aari7 only follow them.

(26) Xalasataj kumaal, k'a toq k'aari7
B3-was-taken-out-comp by-them then
nkeewis nojeel ja k'exoof.
B3-A3p-clean all the cotton
'When they (seeds) are finished being taken out by them, they clean all the cotton.'

(27) Piki ja rb'iin kaan anij qatziij
because that B3-A3-has-said staying always true
wi7 keewaari7 rb'anoon ja tinaasnit.
front so/thus B3-A3-has-done the town
'Because that which he had said was true, the town has done it so (i.e. thus it has happened to the town).'

(28) Anij ma k'o ta tzqaq arí7 ja cheqe ta
always not exist irreal clothes that which just irreal
xtikitz'ıila7 piki k'aayeej miltaj
B3-A3p-would-waste because difficult B3-is-obtained
wi7 jun sentawo, rmaal arí7 looq' nkeena7.
emph a cent because-of that sacred B3-A3p-feel
'There never were (any of) those clothes which they would just waste because it was difficult to obtain a cent, because of that they esteemed them (clothes).'

(29) Kómo jar oojer ma k'o ta 'boláada'
since the before not exist irreal volada
k'o k'a jule7 'kásara' ja nb'ajni.
extist then some cámara that B3-is-made
'Since before there were no 'voladas',
there were 'câmaras' that were made.'
[N.B.: 'volada' and 'câma' are types of fireworks.]

(30) Ja kumatz xinxuuti7 che7wi7 xinkammsaj.
the snake Bl-A3-bit because-of-that B3-A1-killed
'The snake bit me, because of that I killed it.'

10.1.2.3 Conditionals

Conditionals are introduced with the conjunction wi 'if', which is
often preceded by the definite article ja. Usually conditional clauses
precede the (conclusion) sentences they are conjoined to:

(31) Wi k'o npaq nimb'e.
if exist my-money Bl-go
'If I have money, I'll go.'

(32) Ja wi k'o lugaar chike jar liixoii7
the if exist time to-them the women
neeboekichapa7 ch'uu7 pa ya7.
B3p-go-Alp-caught fish in water
'If there is time for the women (i.e. if they have
time), they go catch fish in the water.'

Conditional clauses may also occur as indirect yes/no questions
much like 'If/whether' clauses in English:

(33) Inin ma xintz'et ta wi xlaq'aaj.
I not B3-Al-saw irreal if B3-A3-stole
'I didn't see if/whether he stole it.'

(34) Xrak'axaj chwe ja wi ixix nikkowini nixpeeti1.
B3-A3-asked to-me the if you-all B2p-can B2p-come
'He asked me if/whether you all can come.'

Counter-to-fact conditionals are usually introduced with wi plus the
irreals adverb taxa (see 7.2.1), and the verb in the conclusion clause
is optionally followed by the irreals enclitic ta. However, in coun-
ter-to-fact conditionals, wi may be optionally omitted.
(35) (Wi) taxa k'o mpaq nin'b'e (ta).
  irreal exist my-money B1-go irreal
  'If I had money, I would go.'

(36) (Wi) taxa ninrojb'eej ntz'ub'aj (ta) ruuchii7
  irreal B1-A3-love B3-Al-kiss irreal her-mouth
  Ta Mari'yu.
  Miss María
  'If she loved me, I would kiss María.'

10.1.2.4 Some Other Dependent Conunects

Manner adverbial clauses indicating similarity are introduced with
jan'i7 (~ kan'i7) 'like, as'. These clauses may precede or follow the
sentences they are conjoined to.

(37) Jan'i7 xab'i7 chwe kaari7 xinb'an chee ja d'iiso7m.
    as B3-A2-told to-me thus B3-Al-did to-it the sewing
    'As you told me (to do it), thus I did the sewing.'

(38) Neekiq'aataaj ja ch'uu7, neeb'eekimina7 to
    B3p-A3p-trap the fish B3p-go-A3p-push hither
    jan'i7 nkeeb'an winaq wkaamiik.
    as B3p-A3p-do people now
    'They used to trap the fish and push them in, like
     people do now.'

Concessive clauses are introduced with maamaan or maaski, both
meaning 'even though, nevertheless, although, nonetheless'. These
clauses have only been recorded preceding the sentences they are
conjoined to.

(39) Pro jaa ri7 jar oojeer; maaski teeexeel
    but that the before even-though female-member-
    juun, toq nok q'ojoom pa armiita
    of-brotherhood one when B3-begin marimba in brotherhood-house
    neeq'ab'ari.
    B3p-get-drunk
'But that was before; even though one was a female member of the brotherhood, when the marimba started in the brotherhood house, they got drunk.'

(40) Maanaan xtipeeti jar Aa La7, majun nuub'an. even-though B3-might-come the youth Pedro nothing B3-A3-do
'Even though Pedro might come, he won't do anything.'

Clauses indicating result(s) are introduced with the preposition and complementizer chi 'at, to; that'. In result clauses, chi is usually followed by utz 'good' and may be preceded by the definite article ja (i.e. chi ~ chi utz ~ ja chi ~ ja chi utz all used to mean 'so that').

(41) Ja sakramaento rxin ja k'ulub'ik neeto7o the sacrament of the marriage B3p-help-foc rmaal jar uutziil rxin Dyoos, ja chi utz k'a by the goodness of God so that then nkojb'ej ki17 nojel kik'asleemaal, B3-A3p-love each-other all their-life ja chi utz k'a nkeek'ut ja utz laj taq naquun so that then B3-A3p-show the good very plr thing chi keewach ja kalk'waal, chi utz k'a to their-face the their-children so that then neekwetzauq choqojaa7 nkeeya7 taq kitzyaq, B3p-A3p-feed also B3-A3-give plr their-clothes 'It's the sacrament of marriage that helps them by the goodness of God so that then they love each other all their children, so that then they teach very good things to their children, so that then they feed them and also give them clothes.'

(42) Dyoos xya7o chee k'in Jaa7 xcha7owi God B3-give-foc to-him and He B3-chose-foc ja chi nuojb'eej k'in nkeeto7 ki17 so that B3-A3-love and B3-A3p-help each-other k'in nkuk'aj ki17 k'in ja chi utz k'a and B3-A3p-take each-other and so that then pa ki7koteemaal seek'eje7 wi17 chee ka17i. in peace B3p-live front in two
'God is the one who gave her to him and He is the one who chose her so that he loves her and they help each other and take each other and so that then in peace they live, the two of them'

10.2 COMPLEX SENTENCES WITH EMBEDDED CLAUSES

In this section the most important kinds of clauses embedded within other larger (matrix) sentences are presented, namely: relative clauses (10.2.1), purpose clauses (10.2.2), clefts (10.2.3), and complement clauses (10.2.4). Embedded clauses may either contain fully inflected finite verbs, or infinitives or verbal nouns, depending on the particular construction involved. One important feature that usually distinguishes complex sentences with embedded clauses is that either the embedded clause is not a complete sentence in itself, or the matrix sentence into which the clause is embedded is not a complete sentence without the embedded clause. In the latter case, the embedded clause fills the syntactic role of a major constituent (e.g. a noun phrase) in the matrix sentence.

10.2.1 Relative Clauses

Generally speaking, relative clauses are distinguished structurally by the fact that they are 'missing' a noun or noun phrase that is referentially identical to a noun in the matrix sentence (except in the case of 'headless' relative clauses; see below). The noun in the matrix sentence is the head of the relative clause. In Tzutujil, relative clauses usually immediately follow their head nouns, and they are normally introduced with the relativizer or relative pronoun ja(r) 'who, what, which, that' (see sections 3.2, 7.1.3). However, relative clauses may be shifted to the end of the matrix sentence if no other noun in the matrix sentence intervenes between the head noun and the shifted relative clause (e.g. (64c) and (67) with shifted relative clauses). And, the relativizer ja(r) may optionally be omitted except: (1) in headless relative clauses, (2) in shifted relative clauses, and (3) when the 'missing' noun in the relative clause is (would be) an object of a preposition.
Any noun in a matrix sentence may be the head of a relative clause, and sentences in which relative clauses are embedded have no extraordinary grammatical properties (except the existence of the relative clause itself). Relative clauses, on the other hand, aside from lacking a particular noun constituent, may have special grammatical features depending on the semantic-syntactic role that the relativized (i.e. 'missing') noun plays in the relative clause. These special features are discussed in the following paragraphs.

There is no special grammatical marking in a relative clause in which the relativized noun is a subject of an intransitive verb or a stative predicate, a patient of a transitive verb, or a possessor of a noun. The relativized noun is simply missing from the relative clause. It should be noted, however, that the relativized noun is still referenced in the relative clause with normal person marking on the verb, predicate, or possessed noun, as the case may be. Examples of relative clauses with relativized subjects occur in (43)-(45), with relativized patients in (46)-(48), and with relativized possessors in (49)-(50).

(43) Jar aachi (ja) wk'eje7 chila7 xkami7.
    the man who B3-lived there B3-died
    'The man who lived there died.'
(44) Jo7 pan ald'eeyas (ja) k'o kaala7 chuuch'i7
    let's-go to village that be there on-edge-of
    its-leg water (= river)
    'Let's go to the village that is there on the edge of
the river.'
(45) Cheqe chlk neeketsuz7 ja winaq ja neesaaq
    just emph B3p-A3p-look-at the people who B3p-work
    ja neewa7 chwach ja uuleep,
    who B3p-eat on-face-of the land
    'They'll just look at the people who work and who eat
on the face of the land,'
(46) a. Jar aachi (ja) xsaach'ey xb'ei.
    the man who B3-A2-hit B3-went
    'The man who you hit took off.'
b. Jar aachi (ja) xuuch'ey Aa Keel xb'e.
   the man who B3-A3-hit youth Miguel B3-went
   'The man who Miguel hit took off.'
(47) Jar aachi xkamsaaj ja tz'ii7 ja xkib'atataaj
   the man B3-A3-killed the dog that B3-A3p-chased
   ak'aalaaj.
   children
   'The man killed the dog that (the) children chased.'
(48) Ja toq nb'e pujyu7 nuuk'am el ti rwaay
   when B3-go to-mountain B3-A3-carry out little his-food
   ja nuutij pa nk'ajq'ilij, cheqojaa7 nuuk'am
   which B3-A3-eat at midday also B3-A3-carry
   el jun tzuji ruuyaa7 ja nuutij.
   out a gourd his-water which B3-A3-consume
   'When he goes to the mountains he takes a little food
   which he eats at midday; also he takes a gourd of water
   which he drinks.'
(49) Xqaatz'at jar aachi ja xk'ajtii roochooch.
   B3-Alp-saw the man who(se) B3-burned his-house
   'We saw the man whose house burned down.'
(50) Ee k'iy ja winaq ja anij ma k'o ta
   B3p many the people who(se) always not exist irreal
   jun k'aam kuuleep, ma k'o ta juztiit ti
   a cord their-land not exist irreal a-little little
   kixooraal.
   their-housesite
   'The people are many who never have a cord of land and
   don't have even a little housesite.'
   [literally: 'The people are many whose cord of land
   never exists and whose little housesite doesn't exist.' ]

There is a restriction on the relativization of patients: a patient
cannot be relativized if it is the possessor of the agent of an active
transitive verb in the relative clause (see ungrammatical (51b)). In
this situation a passive verb is used instead (e.g. (51a)).
(51) a. Xqaak'am eel jar aak'aal ja xch'ejy
   B3-Alp-carry away the child who B3-was-hit
   rumal rtata7.
   by his-father
   'We took away the child who was beaten by his father.'

   b. *(Xqaak'am eel jar aak'aal ja rtata7 xuuch'ey.
   *'We took away the child whose father hit him.'

   When the agent of a transitive verb in a relative clause is relativized, the verb usually must be in the focus antipassive voice (e.g. (52)-(56a); see section 9.6.2 on the focus antipassive). Rarely, in texts, relativized agents are encountered where the verb in the relative clause is active rather than in the focus antipassive (e.g. (56b)). The circumstances in which active transitive verbs are permitted with relativized agents instead of focus antipassive verbs are not known.

(52) a. Jar aachi ja xatch'eyowi xb'e.
   the man who B2-hit-foc B3-went
   'The man who hit you took off.'

   b. Jar aachi ja xch'eyo Aa Keel xb'e.
   the man who B3-hit-foc youth Miguel B3-went
   'The man who hit Miguel took off.'

(53) Jar aachi xkamsaaj ja tz'17 ja xeeb'ataataani
   the man B3-A3-killed the dog that B3p-chased-foc
   jar aak'aala7.
   the children
   'The man killed the dog that chased the children.'

(54) Jaa ri7 xeeto7owi ja winaq, jar tiindijena,
   that B3p-helped-foc the people the Indian
   pa keeq'a7 ja mosaiti7 ja xeeb'amo jodeer qaxfin.
   from their-hand the Ladinos who B3p-did-foc fuck-over of-us
   'That is the one who helped the people, the Indians, from the hands of the Ladinos who fucked over us.'
(55) Jar iixoq ja xb'i7na chwe chi nib'e
the woman who B3-told-foc to-me to B1-go
xpi rayeewaal.
B3-came her-anger
'The woman who told me to go got angry.'
[literally: 'The anger of the woman who told me to go came.']

(56) a. Ja tijooneel ja xintijon chee sik'in
the teacher who B1-taught-foc to call
rwach wuuj najt k'o wi7 chee waa1.e7.
face-of paper (= read) far live front to here

b. Ja tijooneel ja xintitijoj chee sik'in
the teacher who B1-A3-taught to call
rwach wuuj najt k'o wi7 chee waa1.e7.
face-of paper far live front to here
'The teacher who taught me to read lives far from here.'

When the objects of locative prepositions such as pa(7) 'in, to, from' or ch(4) 'at, to; (see 7.1.2 and 8.12) are relativized, not only is the object of the preposition missing from the relative clause but also the preposition itself. Verbs in locative relative clauses are followed by the fronting particle wi7 (see 7.1.7.2). The relative clause is either introduced with ja(r) optionally followed by b'aarkii7 (~ b'as(r) ~ b'aaski?7) 'where' (e.g. (57)-(59)), or ja(r) may be omitted, in which case b'aarkii7 or one of its variants, is obligatory (e.g. (60)).

(57) Xq 'ipitaj ja ch'akat ja (b'aaski7) xts'ube7
B3-got-broken the chair that where B3-sat
wi7 nuuchaaq'.
front my-lit tie-brother
'The chair in which (where) my little brother sat broke.'

(58) Xuj rb' iij waawe7 chike juun ka7i7 winaq pa
B3-come-A3-told here to one two people in
tinaamit ja (b'saar) nujk'aje7 wi7.
town that where B3-come-live front
'He came here to tell it to a couple of people in town
in which (where) he came to live.'
(59) Nkeeb'an pa ruuchii7 ja (b'aar)
B3-A3p-made in its-mouth (= opening) that where
ne7ok wi7 ja ch'uu7.
B3p-enter front the fish
'They made an opening into which (where) the fish enter.'

(60) Nb'e Chi Maq'an Ya7 b'aar neek'ayin wi7.
B3-go Totonicapan where B3-go-sell front
'He goes to Totonicapan where he goes to sell.'

Normally, when the possessor-objects of relational nouns (see 5.2.1
and 8.1.2) are relativized, the relational noun remains in the relative
clause in its usual syntactic position, but the possessor-object is
missing under identity with the head noun in the matrix sentence (e.g.
(61)-(64a)). However, when the relational noun is -uuk'iin 'with', it
may be omitted, and the fronting particle wi7 must occur after the verb
in the relative clause (e.g. (64b); N.B. (64c) is an example of a
relative clause shifted to the end of the sentence).

(61) K'o k'a jule7 k'ama ya7 (*ja) kib'aaliin
exist then some twine bag B3-A3p-have-stuffed
jule7 jo7q chi paan.
some cornhusk in side-of-it
'There were then some twine bags that they had stuffed
some cornhusks into.'

(62) K'o jun ya7l jo7q b'aaliin (*ja) nkeeya7
exist a bag cornhusk stuffed B3-A3p-put
jun tz'uum chwach.
a leather on-face-of-it
'There was a bag stuffed with cornhusks that they put
a (piece of) leather on.'

(63) Nyak ja ch'ajt ja mwar tz'i7 chuxee7.
B3-Al-lift the bed that B3-sleep dog under-it
'I'll lift the bed that the dog is sleeping under.'

(64) a. Jar sachi ja xinb'e ruuk'iin k'o chila7.
the man who B1-went with-him be there
'The man who I went with is there.'
b. Jar aachi ja xinb'e wi7 k'o chila 7.
the man who BI-went front be there
'The man who I went with is there.'

c. Jar aachi k'o chila 7 ja xinb'e ruuk'ìin.
the man be there who BI-went with-him
'The man is there that I went with.'

When instrumental nouns are relativized, the transitive verb in the relative clause is in the instrumental voice (see 9.6.3), and therefore no instrumental relational noun occurs in the relative clause (e.g. (65)-(68). No examples have been recorded of instruments relativized in the manner that other possessor-objects of relational nouns are relativized, as described in the previous paragraph. (N.B.: in (67) the relative clause has been shifted to the end of the sentence; (68) is an example of a headless relative clause.)

(65) Inin xintz'at jar aachi ja xchoyowi ja chee7
I B3-AI-saw the man who B3-cut-foc the tree
(ja) xb'anb'ej rtz'alaam.
which B3-A3-made-with his-boards
'I saw the man who cut the tree with which he made his boards.'

(66) Nkeeya7 chik jun chi7 rwach ch:ina
B3-A3p-put already a fiber kind-of Chinese
k'in b'at'ìn b'at'z' ja nkib'anb'eej chik
with handspun thread which B3-A3p-made-with emph
ja tsyaq.
the clothes
'They already put a fiber of a kind of Chinese (thread)
with handspun thread with which they made the clothes.'

(67) Nb'ij chee naq kotz'i7j nkeekoj
B3-A3-tell to-him what flower B3-A3p-use
ja nkikotz'i7jab'ej ja koocchooch.
which B3-A3p-adorn-with the their-house
'He tells him what flowers to use to adorn their house
with.' [literally: 'He tells him what flowers they (can)
use with which they (can) adorn their house.']
(68) Pro k'in poqonaal kich'akoon wi7
but with suffering B3-A3p-have-earned front
ja kib'am'een piki meesmmaji.
which B3-A3p-have-made-with because B3p-work
'But with suffering they have earned that with which
they have built it (house) because they work.'

In sentence (68), there is an example of a headless relative clause.
Headless relative clauses are not uncommon in texts. They are introduced
either with the normal relativizer ja(~) (e.g. (68)-(71), or with the
interrogative naq 'what, who, which, that' (e.g. (72)). Headless
relative clauses are especially common in (pseudo-) cleft sentences (see
10.2.3 on clefting).

(69) Ma xinch'ij ta ja xuub'an jar As Teeko chwe.
not B3-A1-stand irreal that B3-A3-did the youth Diego to-me
'I couldn't stand that which Diego did to me.'

(70) Nawaajo7 chi nb'ij chaawe ja xb'ij chwe?
B3-A2-want that B3-A1-tell to-you that B3-A3-told to-me
'Do you want me to tell you that which he told me?'

(71) Ja rb'iin kaan ma ya?oj tzijj ta.
that B3-A3-has-said remain not lie irreal
'That which he has said is not a lie.'

(72) Ja wkaamiik utz majuu chik ya?,
the today good none emph liquor
majuun chik naq ntiijji.
none emph what B3-is-consumed
'Today it's good that there isn't any liquor, that
there isn't (anything) which is consumed.'

There is an interesting fact about relative clauses following the
subjects of the stative positional adjective k'ooll (~ k'o) 'exist,
there is/are; be located; have', when it is used to predicate the exis­
tence of something. The normal relativizer ja(~) may never be used to
introduce such relative clauses; rather, they simply follow the head noun
(i.e. subject of k'ooll) without a relativizing particle (e.g. (61)-(62),
However, ja(r) may be used to introduce relative clauses after subjects of k'ooli when their existence is not being predicated, for example in predications of possession (e.g. (75)).

(73) K'o jun masaat (*ja) xinkamsaj.
n exist  a  deer   B3-Al-killed
'There's a deer that I killed.'

(74) Ma k'o ta jun wiñaq (*ja) cheqe ta xtik'xeje7e.
not exist  irreal  a  person  just  irreal  B3-would-be
'There wasn't any person who would just be (and not do anything).'

(75) K'o jule7 keeche7 (ja) nkeekoj.
n exist some  their-wood  that  B3-A3p-use
'They have some wood that they use.'

10.2.2 Purpose Adverbial Clauses

Purpose adverbial clauses are infinitive clauses containing verbal nouns instead of fully inflected finite verbs (see section 5.3.1 for affixes forming verbal nouns, and section 4.1.5 on infinitives). Structurally, purpose clauses are always lacking a Subject (i.e. subject of IV or agent of TV), which is obligatorily omitted under identity with the Subject of the main clause in which they are embedded. Purpose clauses are introduced with either of the two prepositions: pa(~) 'in, on, to, from, in order to' and ch(:!) 'at, to, in order to' (see sections 7.1.2 and 7.1.3).

Pa(~) introduces intransitive purpose clauses (e.g. (76)-(81)). These intransitive purpose clauses include not only clauses with infinitives of basically intransitive verbs (e.g. (76)-(77)), but also those with detransitivized absolutive infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. (78)-(79)), and those with detransitivized passive infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. (80)-(81)). Purpose clauses with absolutive infinitives of transitive verbs may never contain a patient. It should be carefully noted that in purpose clauses introduced with pa(~) containing passive infinitives, the subject of the passive verb (omitted under identity with the Subject of the main clause) is always interpreted
as the semantic patient of the verb, as one might expect. However, this situation contrasts with purpose clauses introduced with \textit{ch(i)} containing passive infinitives (see the discussion on \textit{ch(i)} purpose clauses below).

(76) \textit{Ja wwaayii b'amaq pa wraan.}  
the my-wife B3-hass-gone to sleep  
'My wife has gone to go to sleep.'

(77) \textit{Xin Domingo xoqpit pa atiineem pa chooy.}  
of Sunday B1p-came to bathe in lake  
'On Sunday we came to bathe in the lake.'

(78) \textit{Inin chaaq'a7 xinpit pa ya7aaneen.}  
I at-night B1-came to water  
'I came to water at night.'

(79) \textit{Jar Aa P'elis xb'e pa k'ayiineem pa taq'saj.}  
the youth Felix B3-went to sell on coast  
'Felix went to sell on the coast.'

(80) \textit{Xatb'e pa ch'ejyik.}  
B2-went to be-hit  
'You went to be hit.'

(81) \textit{Xeeb'e pa kamsaxik.}  
B3p-went to be-killed  
'They went to be killed.'

\textit{Pa(n)} also introduces transitive purpose clauses with \textbf{active} infinitives of transitive verbs (e.g. (82)-(85)). These clauses may contain an overt patient noun phrase, but it may never be definite or referentially specific.
(82) Ja nata7 b'enaq pa tikoj chij.
the my-father B3-has-gone to plant cotton
" " " " chupuj q'aaq'.
put-out fire
" " " " komsan nasaat.
kill deer
" " " " k'ayin ixil.
sell corn
'My father has gone to plant cotton (put out (the) fire, kill deer, sell corn).'

(83) Xb'e waana7 pa loq'ojoq'aa7 pa k'ayib'al.
B3-went my-sister to buy charcoal in market
'My sister went to buy charcoal in the market.'

(84) Ixin ximpi pa kanon b'ooxoom pa
1 B3-came from look-for cilantro in
k'acheelaaj.
woods
'I came back from looking for cilantro in the woods.'

(85) Ja nuinaaq ee b'enaq pa ch'akooj.
the my-people B3p have-gone to earn
'My people have gone to earn (something/money).'

Ch(i) introduces transitive purposes clauses only.² They are of two types. The first type is like transitive purpose clauses introduced with pa(n). They contain active infinitives and patients that may never be definite or referentially specific. E.g.

(86) Ja nata7 b'enaq chi loq'ojoq'aq'ooom.
the my-father B3-has-gone to buy medicine
'My father has gone to buy medicine.'

(87) Junaab'iir xinwichb'ilalaaq Aa Lu7 chi b'anoj jaay.
last-year B3-A1-accompanied youth Pedro to make house
'Last year I accompanied Pedro to build houses (in making houses).'
The second type of transitive purpose clause introduced with ch() contains a passive infinitive of a transitive verb. The passive infinitive is inflected with an ergative possessive prefix referencing the patient, which may be definite or indefinite. The purpose clause itself contains no overt agent noun phrase, but the agent is always understood to be the subject of the verb in the main clause. In other words, despite the fact that the infinitive in the purpose clause is morphologically passive, the purpose clause in combination with the main clause has an overall active interpretation. (N.B.: the r- of the third person singular ergative possessive prefix is always deleted after ch(); see rule 12, section 1.6.1)

(89) a. Xinpit ch atz'ejtiik.
    Bl-came to your-being-seen
    'I came to see you.'

b. Xinpit chi tz'ejtiik nuutee7.
    Bl-came to (her)being-seen my-mother
    'I came to see my mother.'

(90) a. Xe7el chi qach'ejyiik.
    B3p-arrived to our-being-hit
    'They arrived to hit us.'

b. Xe7el chi ch'ejyiik ja nnimaal.
    B3p-arrived to (his)being-hit the my-older-brother
    'They arrived to hit my older brother.'

(91) Ja nnimaal b'enaq chi poroxiik
    the my-older-brother B3-has-gone to (its)being-burned
    ja patz'am.
    the cornstalk
    'My older brother has gone to burn the cornstalks.'

(92) Qas at nééyoo chi b'ajniik.
    really B2 stupid to (its)being-done
    'You are really stupid to do it.'
(93) B'enaq chi k'oxaxik rsaamaaj ruuk'iin
B3-has-gone to (its)being-asked-about his-work with
Aa Lu7.
youth Peter
'He has gone to ask about his work with Peter.'

It should be noted that purpose clauses may be fronted like other prepositional phrases, and when they are, the verb in the main clause must be followed by the fronting particle wi7.

(94) Xa pa ya7aaneem b'enaq wi7 ja Tan Ch07r.
just to water B3-has-gone front the Miss Melchora
'Just to water Melchora has gone.'
(95) Pa chupuj b'i7aaj xinpi wi7.
to erase name B1-came front
'in order to erase a name (of a deceased in the courthouse) I came.'

10.2.3 Clefts and Other Focus Clauses

This subsection is a brief sketch of the syntactic processes that bring major constituents of a sentence into contrastive focus by essentially making predicates of them. In general, the other constituents of the sentence not in contrastive focus occur in a clause following the contrastive constituents (although subjects and agents may be fronted (9.3) before contrasted constituents). These sentences are much like 'it's X that...' sentences in English where 'X' is the contrasted constituent in focus, and the 'that' clause contains the constituents not in focus (e.g. 'it's John that I saw' or 'it's today that we are going'). It should be noted that in English the subject of the predicate containing the contrasted constituent is the dummy 'it'; whereas in Tzutujil there is no dummy subject since the third person absolute marker is null anyway. In Tzutujil major constituents like direct and oblique noun phrases, adverbs, and even full clauses may be contrasted by making predicates of them. As far as is known, the verb or predicate phrase itself is the only major constituent that cannot be contrasted in
this way. In most cases, contrasted constituents that have been made predicates are introduced either with ja(r) (see note 1), or with one of the clause-initial demonstratives beginning in ja(a) (see sections 3.5 and 7.1.6), but with certain contrasted constituents other more specialized means are employed.

When noun phrases (direct or oblique) are contrasted by making predicates of them, the clause in which they occur is usually called a cleft, and the following clause containing the constituents not contrasted usually resembles a relative clause, in certain cases introduced with ja(r) in its relativizer function. However, in Tzutujil, the details of cleft constructions differ somewhat depending on the syntactic-semantic roles of the clefted noun phrases.

When agents and instruments are clefted the transitive verb in the following clause must be in a special voice: clefted agents require the focus antipassive voice (e.g. (96)-(97)), and clefted instruments require the instrumental voice (e.g. (98)-(99)). (N.B.: these two voices are discussed in detail in sections 9.6.2 and 9.6.3, respectively, and many more examples are provided therein.) As far as is known, the relativizer particle ja(r) is not used to introduce the clauses following clefted agents or instruments.

(96) Oojeer ixoqii7 neeb'ananwi neechapo ch'uu7.  
before women B3p-do-foc B3p-catch-foc fish
'B Before it was women who did it, who caught fish.'

(97) a. Ja ch'oooy xtiowj ja këeso.  
the rat B3-ate-foc the cheese
'It was the rat that ate the cheese.'

b. Ma jaa7 ta ja ch'oooy xtiowj ja këeso.  
not it irreal the rat B3-ate-foc the cheese
'It wasn't the rat that ate the cheese.'

(98) Machat xinrchoyb'eej jar Aa Xwaan. 
machete B1-A3-cut-with the youth Juan
'It's a machete that Juan cut me with.'
(99) Jaa7 eskopēeta xk'aq'b'eej ja chikop.
he shotgun B3-A3-shot-with the animal
'It was a shotgun that he shot the animal with.'

The clefting of subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates, and patients of transitive verbs, is accomplished in several ways. First, when they are definite, clefted subjects and patients may be indicated with a preceding demonstrative. In this case, the clause following the clefted subject or patient is usually not introduced with the relativizer ja(t) (e.g. (100)-(103)), and the verb of the clause is often followed by the (given information) demonstrative particle ri7 cross-referencing the clefted subject or patient (e.g. (102)).

(100) Je7ee7 k'aswar17 b'anol b'eeey xe7uul1.
these builder road B3p-arrived
'It's these road builders that arrived.'

(101) Ma ja ta wa7 jaay xk'aajti.
not it irreal this house B3-burned
'It's not this house that burned down.'

(102) Jaa k'asaw7 ntsyaq xinloq' ri7 (inin).
this my-clothes B3-Al-bought this I
'It's these clothes that I bought.'

(103) Ma ja ta la7 nwaaj07 (inin).
not it irreal that B3-Al-want I
'It's not that that I want.'

Second, when they are definite or indefinite, clefted subjects and patients may be designated by ja(t), used in its clefting function, and they are followed by what is essentially a relative clause, usually but not always introduced with ja(t) (e.g. (104)-(109)). Note that the clefted subject in (106) is a headless relative clause.

(104) Jar iinin jar 1n k'o waswe7.
cleft I who B3 be here
'It's me who's here.'
(105) Jar oojer k'ulub'ik ja b'anoon kaan.
cleft old marriage that done staying
'It was the old marriage (ceremony) that was/had been done.'

(106) Jar ee k'ulan pa q'atb'al tziiij, ja wi ma
B3p married in courthouse cleft (?) if not
ee k'ulan ta pan iigîeesya, ja cheqe
B3p married irreal in church cleft just
kik'amoon pon ki17, ma ee
B3-A3p-have-taken humbly each-other not B3p
have-appeared irreal in-front-of God
'It's they who are married in the courthouse, (it's)
if they are not married in the church, it's they who
have just taken each other that have not appeared
before God.'

(107) Ha ja ta ja ayay ja nqajo7
not cleft irreal the house that B3-A1p-want
nqak'sayij, ja jun chenooj chik.
B3-A1p-sell cleft a cultivated-land other
'It's not the house that we want to sell, it's
another (piece of) cultivated land.'

(108) Ja kisaamaaj jar oojer taq winaq
cleft their-work the old-time plr people
ja nkeeb'an waswe7.
that B3-A3p-do here
'It's the work of the old-time people that they used to
do here.'

(109) Ja qalk'waal (ja) xrojb'eej chik ja xten.
cleft our-son that B3-A3-loved already the girl
'It's our son that the girl already loved (i.e. has
already begun to love).'</p>

Finally, if clefted patients are indefinite they may occur alone as
predicates followed by a relative clause introduced by ja(~).
Objects of prepositions may not be clefted alone, but whole prepositional phrases may be clefted by placing \textit{ja(r)} in front of them at the beginning of the sentence; e.g.

(110) Masaat ja xinkamsaj iiwiir.
\textit{deer that B3-Al-killed yesterday} 
'It was a deer that I killed yesterday.'

(111) Ja pa taq nmaq'iiij nkeeya7 keewaay
cleft in plr festivals B3-A3p-give their-food
ja martooma7ii7 k'in jwees.
the stewards and judge
'It's in festivals that they give food to the stewards and judge.'

(112) Ja pa taq píinka oonjeer sníj lawalo7.
cleft in plr plantation before always dangerous
'It was on the plantations that before it was always dan, rous.'

Note that when prepositional phrases are simply fronted (but not clefted) the fronting particle \textit{wi7} must occur after the following verb (see 9.3). But since clefted prepositional phrases are not in the same clause as the following verb, \textit{wi7} does not occur.

Relational noun phrases are not commonly clefted; usually, when they are contrastive they are simply fronted with the particle \textit{wi7} (see 9.3). In the few cases that have been recorded where relational noun phrases are clefted (and not simply fronted), they begin the cleft clause alone, and the following clause is usually introduced with \textit{ja(r)}.

(113) Rx'in jaa7 (ja) jun kotoon xinloq' pa k'ayib'al.
\textit{for-her she that a huipil B3-Al-bought in market} 
'It's for her that I bought a huipil in the market.'

(114) Kumaal je7ee7 (ja) ma xoqwa7 ta.
because-of them that not Bp-ate irreal 
'It's because of them that we didn't eat.'
It is of interest that relational noun phrases in -\textit{Vxin} 'of, for' cannot be fronted with \textit{wi7}, and those in -\textit{umaal} 'by, because of' are fronted with \textit{wi7} only rarely. On the other hand, these two relational nouns are the ones clefted more than any others.

No clear cases have been recorded where possessor-objects of relational nouns are clefted alone without the relational nouns. The cases that have been recorded that might be instances of clefting are indistinguishable from simple fronting (see 9.3). Thus, for example, the fronted possessor-objects of relational nouns in (116) and (117) may actually be clefts marked with \textit{ja(r)}.

However, \textit{ja(r)} in these sentences may be functioning as the definite article and not as a cleft marker. And since \textit{ja(r)} in its relativizer function does not occur after the fronted possessor-object, it is not certain that they are in separate cleft clauses.

A number of cases have been recorded of so called 'pseudo-clefts' where the clause normally following a clefted noun phrase is fronted and occurs as its grammatical subject. These subject clauses are identical with headless relative clauses introduced with \textit{ja(r)}. 
(118) Pro ja qas xkeeb'an jar iixoqi7 oojeer but that really B3-A3p-made the women before xa ryon b'atz'in h'atz'. just alone handspun thread 'But that which the women really made before was just handspun thread alone.'

(119) Ja nkeekoj ja koraal q'sayis. that B3-A3p-use the corral weed 'That which they used for the corral was weeds.'

When adverbs are put into contrastive focus by making them predicates, they are always preceded by ja(r); the clause following them is unmarked.

(120) Jar oojeer k'o kustumbre ja nkeeb'an cleft before exist ritual that B3-A3p-do ja winaq pa taq mnaq'ii7. the people in plr festival 'It was before that there were rituals which the people did in festivals.'

(121) Rmaal ar17, ja kaamik xa chwach because-of that cleft today only on-face-of qajon taq uleep noqtikomij wi7. rented plr land B3p-cultivate front 'Because of the preceding, it's today that only on rented lands we cultivate.'

In section 7.1.1 it was mentioned that a number of conjunctions are often optionally preceded by ja(r). It seems likely that in those cases where ja(r) occurs, the whole conjunct is itself a cleft. Compare the following examples (and (106)).

(122) (Ja) wi ma xtipi ta ja7, cleft (?) if not B3-will-come irreal he nb'e Aa Lu7. B3-go youth Pedro 'If he won't come, Pedro'll go.'
(Ja) toq nkojbej kii7,  
cleft (?) when B3-A3p-love each-other  
nkuk'aj kii7 chee kawal7  
B3-A3p-take each-other in two  
'(It's) when they love each other, they take each other.'

10.2.4 Complement Clauses

10.2.4.1 Internal Structure of Complement Clauses

This subsection is an informal presentation of the most important kinds of complement clauses in Tzutujil. In terms of their internal structure, Tzutujil complement clauses are of four different types: (1) simple finite complements, (2) finite complements introduced with a complementizer, (3) simple infinitive complements, and (4) infinitive complements introduced with a complementizer. Each of these four types of complement clauses is illustrated below in (124)-(133). The complement clauses are enclosed in brackets. The complementizer particles used in introducing complement clauses are ch(i) 'that, to' and ja(E.) 'for...to, to, that' (see section 7.1.3 and note 3).

I. Simple Finite Complement Clauses

(124) a. Nraajo7 [nwari].  
B3-A3-want B3-sleep  
'He wants to sleep.'

b. Xraajo7 [xinruuch'ey].  
B3-A3-wanted B1-A3-hit  
'He wanted to hit me.'

c. Xinwaajo7 [xinwari].  
B3-Al-wanted B1-slept  
'I wanted to sleep.'

d. Nwaajo7 [chinheyy].  
B3-Al-want B3-Al-hit  
'I want to hit him.'
(125) a. Najjini [ninwa7i].
   B3-is-in-progress BI-eat
   'I am eating.' [literally: 'It's in progress that I eat. ']

b. Najjini [nakamsaaj ja ts'17].
   B3-is-in-progress B3-A2-kill the dog
   'You are killing the dog.' [literally: 'It's in progress that you kill the dog. ']

c. Jar Aa Xwaan najjini [nuub'an roochooch].
   the youth Juan B3-is-in-progress B3-A3-make his-house
   'Juan is making his house.' [more literally: 'It's in progress that Juan makes his house. ']

II. Finite Complement Clauses with a Complementizer

(126) a. Xinb'ij chaawe [chi nqaajo7 serweesa].
   B3-A1-told to-you that B3-Alp-want beer
   'I told you that we want beer.'

b. Jar lixoq xb'ij chwe [chi ninb'e].
   the woman B3-A3-told to-me that BI-go
   'The woman told me to go.'

c. Jar lixoq xb'ij chwe [chi xkalaq'aj
   the woman B3-A3-told to-me that B3-A3p-stole rpaq].
   her-money
   'The woman told me that they stole her money.'

(127) a. Xraajo7 [chi nwari].
   B3-A3-want that B3-sleep
   'He wants her/him to sleep.'

b. Xraajo7 [chi xinruuch'ey].
   B3-A3-wanted that B1-A3-hit
   'He wanted her/him to hit me.'

c. Xnwaaaj7 [chi xwari].
   B3-A1-wanted that B3-slept
   'I wanted him to sleep.'
d. Nwaajo7 [chi naach'ey].
B3-A1-want that B3-A2-hit
'I want you to hit him.'

(128) a. Utz [ja ma tipit Aa Xwaan].
good that/or not B3-come youth Juan
'It's good for Juan not to come/that Juan
is not coming.'

b. Itzeel [ja natmajkuuni].
evil for B2-sin
'It's evil for you to sin.'

III. Simple Infinitive Complement Clauses

(129) a. Xqaamaj [wa7iim].
B3-Alp-began to-eat
'We began to eat.'

b. Xqaamaj [choyoj chee7].
B3-Alp-began to-cut tree
'We began to cut trees.'

c. Xqaamaj [rchojiyik (ja chee7)].
B3-Alp-began its-being-cut the tree
'We began to cut it (the tree).'

d. Xqaamaj [kich'ejiyik].
B3-Alp-began their-being-hit
'We began to hit them.'

(130) a. [Tz'ijb'aaneem] nqaab'an.
to-write B3-Alp-do
'We are writing.' [literally: 'We do writing.]

b. [Choyoj chee7] nqaab'an.
to-cut tree B3-Alp-do
'We are cutting trees.' [literally:
'We do cutting of trees.']
IV. Infinitive Complement Clauses with a Complementizer

(131)  a. Nintajin [chi b'ijneem].
Bl-be-in-act-of to to-walk
'I am walking.' [more literally: 'I am in the act of walking. ']

b. Noqtajin [chi b'anoj way].
Blp-be-in-act-of to to-make tortilla
'We are making tortillas.' [more literally: 'We are in the act of making tortillas. ']

c. Noqtajin [chi b'ajniik ja way].
Blp-be-in-act-of to (its)being-made the tortilla
'We are making the tortilla.' [more literally: 'We are in the act of making the tortilla. ']

d. Nintajin [ch atz'ijtiik].
Bl-be-in-act-of to your-being-seen
'I am looking at you.' [more literally: 'I am in the act of seeing you. ']

(132)  a. Xinok [chi waraam].
Bl-began to to-sleep
'I began to sleep.'

b. Xoqok [chi tijoj tii7ij].
Blp-began to to-eat meat
'We began to eat meat.'

c. Xoqok [chi tii7iijk (ja tii7iij)].
Blp-began to (its)being-eaten the meat
'We began to eat it (the meat). ' 

d. Xinok [ch atz'ejtiik].
Bl-began to your-being-seen
'I began to see you.' 

(133)  a. Xqaamaj [ja wa7iim].
B3-Alp-began the eating
'We began the eating.'

b. Xqaamaj [ja choyoj chee7].
B3-Alp-began the cutting tree
'We began the cutting of trees.'

c. *Xqaamaj ja roxyo7ij ja chee7.
The type of complement clause that is used in a given sentence is determined by the particular verb (or predicate word) of the main clause. Usually, a given verb takes only one type of complement clause, but some verbs take more than one type. For example, the intransitive verb ajiin- 'for an activity to be in progress' (e.g. (125)) only takes simple finite complement clauses without a complementizer, whereas the intransitive verb tajiin- 'for one to be in the act of doing something' (e.g. (131)) only takes infinitive complements with the complementizer chi. The transitive verb b'i7xik 'to say, tell' (e.g. (126)) only takes finite complements with chi, whereas the transitive verb ajo7xik 'to want, like, need' takes finite complements without a complementizer when its Subject is the same as that of the complement clause (e.g. (124)), but it takes finite complements introduced with chi when its Subject is different from that of the complement clause (e.g. (127)).

Simple finite complement clauses (as in (124)-(125)) have no structural parallels in languages like Spanish and English, but they are used in situations where infinitive and/or 'that' clauses would be used in these languages. Finite complement clauses introduced with chi (e.g. (126)-(127)) are essentially like 'that' clauses in English; those introduced with ja(~) (e.g. (128)) are usually more like 'for...to' clauses in English in that they often are not factive, although some are essentially like 'that' clauses (e.g. (128a)).

In general, Tzutujil infinitives correspond to English infinitives in 'to' as well as to gerunds in '-ing' (see section 4.1.5). Thus, both kinds of infinitive complement clauses (i.e. those with and those without an introductory complementizer) are used essentially like infinitive and/or gerund clauses in English (e.g. (129)-(133)). Infinitive complement clauses always lack an overt Subject noun phrase. However, semantically the Subject of the infinitive clause is always interpreted as being identical with a noun phrase in the main clause. In the vast majority of cases the Subject of the complement clause is omitted under identity with the Subject of the main clause, but in the case of a few (main) verbs, it is omitted under identity with a noun phrase other than the Subject, such as the patient of the main clause. In other words, in transformational terms, infinitive clauses always undergo EQUI-NP Deletion, usually Subject-controlled EQUI, but also object (= patient)-controlled EQUI.
There is an important point that should be noted about transitive infinitive complement clauses. Active infinitives of transitive verbs are used with overt patient noun phrases only when the patients are indefinite or referentially nonspecific (e.g. (129b)-(132b)). Whenever the patients are definite or referentially specific, passive infinitives must be used. These passive infinitives are inflected for patient with an ergative possessive prefix (e.g. (129c,d)-(132c,d)). Note, however, that the r- of the third person singular ergative prefix is always deleted after chi.

10.2.4.2 The Grammatical Roles of Complement Clauses

Complement clauses in Tzutujil fulfill a number of syntactic-semantic roles in the main clauses in which they are embedded. They may function as sentential subjects, sentential patients or objects, sentential oblique noun phrases, and as sentential complements. Each of these functions is discussed in turn in the next few paragraphs.

As far as is known, complements functioning as subjects of intransitive verbs and stative predicates are always finite clauses. Some of them are simple finite clauses, others are introduced with chi, while still others are introduced with ja(r). For example, the auxiliary intransitive verb ajijn- 'for an activity to be in progress' (e.g. (125)) always takes simple finite subject complements, and so do the stative predicates jani7 waan 'surely seem' (< jani7 'like' + waan 'surely') and jani7 taqaan 'seem' (< jani7 + taqaan 'wonder'; e.g. (134)). Stative predicates such as qatsii7 'be true, certain' and jiiik 'be right, correct, just, straight' take finite subject complements introduced with chi (e.g. (135)), while utz 'be good', ma utz ta 'be not good, bad', and itzeel 'be ugly, evil, bad' take finite subject complements introduced with ja(r) (e.g. (128), (136)). The stative predicate rajwaxiik 'be necessary' takes finite subject complements that in the incompletive may or may not be introduced with chi (e.g. (137a)), but chi is obligatory in the completive (e.g. (137b)).
(134) Jani7 taqan [xb'e Aa Xwaan].
seem B3-went youth Juan
'It seems that Juan left.'

(135) a. Anij qatziij wi7 [chi ma in b'ayoom taj],
always certain front that not B1 rich irreal
'That I am not rich is certain.'
b. Anij jiik [chi saamaaj nkeeb'an].
always right that work B3-A3p-do
'That they do work is right.'

(136) Ma uts ta [ja npt Aa Xwaan].
not good irreal for B3-come youth Juan
'For Juan to come is not good.'

(137) a. Rajwaxiik [(chi) ninb'e].
necessary that B1-go
'That I go is necessary.'
b. Rajwaxiik [chi xinb'e].
necessary that B1-want
'That I went was necessary.'

The vast majority of complement clauses encountered in Tzutujil function as patient (= object) complements. There are dozens of transitive verbs that take patient complements. Structurally speaking, patient complements may be of any one of the four types outlined in 10.2.4.1, depending on the particular transitive verb in question.

Some transitive verbs that take simple finite patient complements are:

aaj- 'want, need; be about to'; e.g. (138)
ajo7xik 'to want, need, like, love'; e.g. (124)
ch'ijooj 'to (be able to with)stand'; e.g. (139)
koch'ooj 'to (be able to with)stand'
ojb'exik 'to want, love'
ojtaq 'know (how to)'; e.g. (141)
rayixik 'to desire, expect'
rayib'exik 'to desire a little bit'; e.g. (140)
Simple finite patient complements are usually used with these verbs when the Subject of the patient complement is the same as that of the main verb. E.g.

(138) a. La nawaaj [natb'e]?  
Q B3-A2-want B2-go  
'Do you want to go?'  
b. Taq xtraaj [xtikami].  
maybe B3-A3-be-about-to B3-die  
'Maybe he is about to die.'

(139) Ma xinch'iij ta [xintejleej jar ijq7n].  
not B3-A1-stand irreal B3-A1-lifted the load  
'I couldn't stand to lift the load.'

(140) Inin xinrayib'eew [xinb'e pa mmaq'ii].  
I B3-A1-desired B1-went to fiesta  
'I desired to go to the fiesta a little bit.'

(141) Wojtaq [nwuk'aj ch'iij].  
B3-A1-know-how B3-A1-take car  
'I know how to drive a car.'

When the Subject of the patient complement is different from the Subject of main verbs such as aaj-, ajoxik, ojtaq, rayib'exik, etc., then these verbs usually take finite patient complements introduced with chi. Compare (124) with (127) and (141) with (142).

(142) Wojtaq [chi jar Aa Xwaan nruk'aj ch'iij].  
B3-A1-know that the youth Juan B3-A3-take car  
'I know that Juan drives a car.'

However, at least in some cases, even when the Subject of the patient complement clause is different from that of the main verb, chi can be omitted if the irrealis particle ta follows the complement verb (cp. (127d) with (143)).

(143) Nwaajo7 [nasch'ey ta].  
B3-A1-want B3-A2-hit irreal  
'I want you to hit him.'
Verbs of perception such as tz'atooj ~ tz'etooj 'to see, look at', ak'axaxik 'to hear; ask', and na700j 'to feel, perceive', normally take simple finite patient complements when the complement clause precedes them, but when the complement clause follows them it is introduced with chi. E.g.

(144) a. [Jaa7 xatch'eyowi] xintz'at.
    he  B2-hit-foc  B3-Al-saw
    'I saw that he was the one who hit you.'

Transitive verbs such as:

b'i7xik 'to say, tell'; e.g. (126)
ch'ob'ooj 'to think, believe'; e.g. (145)
kjooj 'to believe firmly; use'
nimaxik 'to obey; believe'

only take finite patient complements introduced with chi:

(145) a. Ja Ta Marily nuuch'ob' [chi jar Aa Xwaan
    the Miss María  B3-A3-think that the youth Juan
    xuuch'ey  Aa  Teeko].
    B3-A3-hit youth Diego
    'María thinks that Juan hit Diego.'

b. Ja Ta Marily nuuch'ob; [chi naj07x
    the Miss María  B3-A3-think that B3-is-loved
    rmaal jar Aa Xwaan].
    by  the youth Juan
    'María thinks that she is loved by Juan.'

c. Inin nch'ob'oon [chi nixkowiini nixpeeti].
    I  B3-Al-have-thought that B2p-can  B2p-come
    'I had thought that you all would be able to come.'
Infinitive patient complements may either be simple infinitive clauses without a complementizer, or they may optionally be preceded by ja(r) if the infinitive is intransitive, or if it is an active infinitive of a transitive verb (cp. (129) with (133) and (147)). But ja(r) is not used before passive infinitives of transitive verbs. Some transitive verbs that normally take infinitive patient complements are listed below. All but the last two of these verbs function essentially as auxiliary verbs.

majooj 'to begin, start'; e.g. (129), (133)
majoon 'be doing'; e.g. (146)
   [this form is the perfect of majooj but functions as a progressive aspect auxiliary]
k'isooj 'to stop, finish; spend'
kaajb'a7xik 'to stop'; e.g. (147)
b'anooj 'to do, make'; e.g. (130)
   [when used with a patient infinitive complement this verb functions as a progressive aspect auxiliary]
k'utuuj 'to show (how to)'; e.g. (148)
ojtaqixik 'to learn (how to)'

In infinitive patient complements with all of the verbs above except k'utuuj, the omitted Subject of the infinitive clause is interpreted as or understood to be the same as that of the main verb (e.g. (129), (130), (133), (146), (147)). With k'utuuj, the omitted Subject of infinitive patient complements is understood to be the same as the possessor-object of the relational noun chwach 'at/to one's face, in front of' (e.g. (148)).

When b'anooj takes patient complements with infinitives, it functions as an auxiliary verb indicating progressive aspect (e.g. (130)). In these constructions the patient infinitive complement precedes the finite form of b'anooj. However, b'anooj is also used with Spanish infinitives that may precede or follow b'anooj (e.g. (149)). Constructions in which b'anooj takes a Spanish infinitive are the primary way in which Spanish verbs are productively introduced into Tzutujil. In these constructions,
the patient of a transitive Spanish infinitive is inflected on b'anooj with an absolutive person marker. Therefore, although b'anooj-plus-Spanish infinitive constructions are similar to b'anooj patient complements, they seem to be more like loosely knit verb compounds. An alternate analysis of these constructions might be that Spanish infinitives always undergo object (= patient) raising. But this analysis seems unlikely since patient raising is otherwise unattested in Tzutujil.

(146) a. Nmajoon [b'ijneem].
   B3-Al-have-begun to-walk
   'I am walking.'

   b. Nmajoon [tzakoj tii7iij].
   B3-Al-have-begun to-cook meat
   'I am cooking meat.'

   c. Nmajoon [kich'ejyiik].
   B3-Al-have-begun their-being-hit
   'I am hitting them.'

(147) a. Xinkajb'a7 [(ja) b'ijneem].
   B3-Al-stopped the to-walk
   'I stopped (the) walking.'

   b. Xinkajb'a7 [(ja) kamsan k'aq].
   'I stopped (the) killing (of) fleas.'

   c. Xinkajb'a7 [(*ja) kikamsaxiik ja k'aq].
   B3-Al-stopped their-being-killed the flea
   'I stopped killing the fleas.'

(148) a. Jar ajtiij nuuk'ut [(ja) sik'in rwach
   the teacher B3-A3-show the to-call face-of
   wuuj] chi nwach,
   paper (= read) to my-face
   'The teacher is showing me how to read.'

   b. Jar ajtiij nuuk'ut [(ja) tz'ijbaaneem
   the teacher B3-A3-showed the to-write
   chi nwach.
   to my-face
   'The teacher showed me how to write.'
Verbs such as ajo7xik 'to want', ch'ijooj 'to withstand', ojtag 'know', ojbe'exik 'to want', rayib'exik 'to desire a little bit', etc., which normally take simple finite patient complements when the Subject of the complement is the same as that of the main verb, may also take simple infinitive patient complements when the Subjects are the same (cp. (150) with (124). However, infinitive patient complements with these verbs are not common.

One transitive verb, tijoxik 'to teach', has been recorded that takes an oblique infinitive complement introduced with the relational noun chée 'to, with'; e.g.

Note that the Subject of the oblique infinitive clause in chée is understood to be the same as the patient of the main verb tijoxik.

The intransitive auxiliary verb kowineem 'to be able to, can' takes simple finite sentential complements (e.g. (152a,b)). Kowineem also
takes infinitive sentential complements, but these are used only rarely (e.g. (152c,d)). The Subjects of both of these kinds of sentential complements are always identical with that of kowiineem.

(152) a. Noqkowiini [noqtz'ijb'aani].
   B1p-can B1p-write
   'We can write.'

b. Noqkowiini [nqasik'ij rwach wuuj].
   B1p-can B3-Alp-call face-of paper (= read)
   'We can read.'

c. Noqkowiini (ja) [tz'ijb'aneem].
   B1p-can the to-write
   'We can write.'

d. Noqkowiini [sik'in rwach wuuj].
   B1p-can to-call face-of paper (= read)
   'We can read.'

There are a number of verbs and stative predicates that take sentential complements introduced with chi. For example, the two intransitive auxiliary verbs

\textit{tajiin- 'for one to be in the act of'}, progressive aspect
\textit{ookeem 'to begin, start; enter'}

both take infinitive sentential complements introduced with chi. The omitted Subjects of these infinitive clauses are always understood to be the same as those of the main verbs (e.g. (131) and (132).

The transitive verb \textit{peyoxik 'to ask someone to help do something'} also takes infinitive sentential complements in chi. The omitted Subject of these clauses is always understood to be the same as the patient of \textit{peyoxik}; e.g.

(153) Ja nata7 xinrpeeyooj iiwir
   the my-father B1-A3-asked-help yesterday
   [chi b'anoj roochooch].
   to to-make his-house
   'My father asked me yesterday to help build his house.'
The following are some predicates that take finite sentential complements introduced with chi.

na70j rii7iil 'to be anxious (about)'; e.g. (154)
   < na70oj 'to feel', rii7iil 'oneself'
k'o q'ab'aaj 'to have the right (to)'; e.g. (155)
   < k'o 'exist'; q'ab'aaj 'hand; right'

ya7tal chriij 'to be obligated to, be deserving of'; e.g. (156)
   < ya7tal 'already given', chriij 'on/to/in back of; about'

With na70j rii7iil the complementizer chi is not used when the Subject of the complement clause is the same as that of the main verb (e.g. (154b)).

(154) a. Ja Ta Mari7y cheqe nuuna7 rii7
     the Miss Maria only B3-A3-feel herself
     [chi nb'e Aa Xwaan].
     that B3-go youth Juan
     'Maria is anxious about Juan going.'

     b. Cheqe nuuna7 rii7 [nb'e].
     only B3-A3-feel herself B3-go
     'She is anxious about going.'

(155) K'o keeq'a7 [chi neekcecha7 ja kik'uuulaaj].
     exist their-hand that B3p-A3p-choose the their-mate
     'They have the right to choose their own mates.'

(156) Ja tati7xeelaa7 ya7tal chi kiij
     the parents given-already on their-back
     [chi neekipixaa7b'eej ja kalk'waal].
     that B3p-A3p-educate the their-children
     'The parents are obligated to educate their children.'

10.2.4.3 Auxiliary Verbs

Many of the verbs and stative predicates mentioned in the preceding subsection that take complement clauses function much like auxiliary verbs. These auxiliary-like verbs are listed below with the type of complement(s) that they each take.
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**Auxiliary Verbs**

ajjin- IV 'for an activity to be in progress', progressive aspect
  - simple finite subject complement

tajiin- IV 'for one to be in the act of', progressive aspect
  - chi infinitive sentential complement

oxooin IV 'to begin, start; enter'
  - chi infinitive sentential complement

kowiineem IV 'to be able to, can'
  - simple finite sentential complement,
  - or rarely: (ja) infinitive sentential complement

rajwaxik Stative Predicate 'it's necessary'
  - (chi) finite subject complement

majooj\textsubscript{1} RTV 'to begin, start'
  - (ja) infinitive patient complement

majoon Perfect RTV 'for one to be in the act of',
  - progressive aspect
  - (ja) infinitive patient complement

majooj\textsubscript{2} RTV 'for it to be possible that; may'
  - simple finite patient complement

k'isooj RTV 'to stop, finish; spend'
  - (ja) infinitive patient complement

kajb'a7xik DTJ 'to stop'
  - (ja) infinitive patient complement

b'anooj RTV 'to do, make', progressive aspect
  - (ja) infinitive patient complement (fronted)

aaj- DTJ 'want, need, be about to'
  - simple finite patient complement (same Subject);
  - chi finite patient complement (different Subject)

ajo7xik DTJ 'to want, need, love'
  - simple finite patient complement (same Subject),
  - or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);
  - chi finite patient complement (different Subject)

ojb'exik DTJ 'to want, love'
  - simple finite patient complement (same Subject),
  - or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);
  - chi finite patient complement (different Subject)
rayixik DTJ 'to desire, expect'
  simple finite patient complement (same Subject),
  or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);
  chi finite patient complement (different Subject)
rayib'exik DTJ 'to desire a little'
  simple finite patient complement (same Subject);
  or rarely: infinitive patient complement (same Subject);
  chi finite patient complement (different Subject)
Notes to Chapter 10

1. It should be remembered that the particle jas(ε) has several different functions in Tzutujil; it functions as (1) the definite article (see 7.1.7.1), (2) the relative pronoun or relativizer (see 3.2, 7.1.3, and 10.2.1), (3) a complementizer (see 7.1.3 and 10.2.4), and (4) a clefting particle (see 10.2.3).

2. Infinitive purpose clauses introduced with ch(i) should be distinguished from finite resultative clauses also introduced with ch(i); the latter are discussed in 10.1.2.4.

3. Ch(i) is also a preposition meaning 'at, to, with'; see 7.1.2.

4. Actually, these 'sentential complements' in chi could just as well be called 'oblique complements' introduced with the preposition chi, since chi is a preposition as well as a complementizer.