



12. While the ergative appears as a preposed element in all Mayan languages, the place of the absolutive varies from language to language. In Yucatec Maya the absolutive is always postposed; in Tzotzil it alternates between being preposed and postposed; in Mam it is preposed to inflected verbs and postposed to nominal predicates; and in Cakchiquel and Quiché it is always preposed. See Craig and Robertson (1971) and Robertson (1976).
13. The A > E Ordering Constraint is a language specific Constraint. It does not hold for other Mayan languages, as is discussed in "Pronominal Distribution in Mayan" by Craig and Robertson (1971).
14. See Chapter 1, Note 23 for a presentation of PP-incorporation.
15. It is not uncommon for so-called ergative languages to assign case marking on the basis of both the ergative system and the nominative/accusative system. In Walbiri, NP marking is on an ergative basis, while clitic marking is done on a nominative/accusative basis (Hale, 1973). Georgian has an ergative system in the perfect tense and nominative/accusative system in the others.

4. Pronominalization

In Jacaltec the Pronominalization rule is a deletion rule which leaves a pro-form of the noun behind. The discussion of this rule is divided into the following sections: 1. the modifier system of the language from which the pronoun forms are drawn; 2. the rule of Pronominalization under identity of reference and the rule of Pronominalization under identity of sense, to show that one deletion rule accounts for both pronominalizations; and 3. the properties of the trace-leaving deletion rule of Pronominalization.

1. THE MODIFIER SYSTEM

1.1. The Status of the Noun Classifier--on the Definiteness of the Noun

A noun is always accompanied by its noun classifier. This noun classifier is like a gender marker. It attributes the nouns to one of twenty-one semantic classes. Examples (1), (2), (3), and (4) offer a sample of those classifiers:¹

- (1) a. naj sonlom
 cl(man) marimba player
 'the marimba player'
- b. ix malin
 cl(woman) Mary
 'Mary'
- c. naj yabil
 cl(man) disease
 'the disease'

- d. ix x'ahaw
cl(woman) moon
'the moon'
- (2) a. ixim wah
cl(corn) tortilla
'the tortilla'
- b. te' hah
cl(wood) house
'the house'
- c. ch'en machet
cl(rock) machete
'the machete'
- d. tx'otx' xih
cl(earth) pot
'the pot'
- (3) a. no' txitam
cl(animal) pig
'the pig'
- b. no' mis
cl(animal) cat
'the cat'
- c. no' xapun
cl(animal) soap
'the soap'
- d. no' xaftab
cl(animal) sandal
'the sandal'
- (4) a. ∅ tx'umel
cl star
'the star'

- b. ∅ ijatz
cl load
'the load'

Examples (1a, b) illustrate two of the seven human categories and (1c, d) the phenomenon of anthropomorphism. Example (2) shows some of the inanimate categories. Example (3) shows how the animal category includes manufactured goods assigned to the semantic category of their primary substance. Example (4) contains two of the nouns which take a ∅ classifier. This is the case of all abstract words in the language and some concrete words (new loans or others).

The only instance in which a noun is not accompanied by a noun classifier occurs when a noun is not in a nominal function; for example, if it is a nominal predicate (5) or an incorporated object (6) and (7):

- (5) a. winaj hach
man you
'you are a man'
- b. *naj winaj hach
cl(man) man you
'you are a man'
- (6) a. chin to ilo' txitam
I go to feed pig
'I go to feed the pigs'
- b. *chin to ilo' no' txitam
I go to feed cl(animal) pig
'I go to feed the pigs'
- (7) a. poho' si' xwu
cutting wood I am
(cutting wood I am)

- b. *poho' te' si' xwu
 cutting cl(wood) wood I am
 (cutting wood I am)

The nucleus combination [noun classifier + noun] is intrinsically definite:

- (8) xcam no' cheh
 died cl(animal) horse
 'the horse died'

- (9) ha' ix catin xwatx'en
 cleft cl(woman) Catherine made

kap camixe
 cl(cloth) shirt

'it is Catherine who made the shirt'

- (10) xelkatoj naj elkom sunil ch'en
 stole away cl(man) robber all cl(rock)

melyu xincuba yul te' caxa
 money I kept in cl(wood) chest

'the robber stole all the money I was keeping in the chest'

This is not to say that the noun classifier is a definite article. The noun classifier in itself does not carry the mark of definiteness. The proof of this is that the noun classifier combines with the indefinite article hune 'a', as will be seen in the next section.

1.2. Indefiniteness As the Marked Term

The language specifically marks indefiniteness.² In the absence of the indefinite marker, all nominal expressions are taken to be definite.

Indefiniteness is marked with the indefinite numerals. The numeral hune 'one' is used as the indefinite article and corresponds to the English 'a' and 'one':

- (11) a. xinlok hune' no' txitam
 I bought a/one cl(animal) pig
 'I bought a pig'

- b. swatx'e naj pel hune'
 made cl(man) Peter a/one
 te' xila
 cl(wood) chair
 'Peter made a chair'

- c. xwil hune' naj winaj
 I saw a/one cl(man) man
 'I saw a man'

Numerals other than one take one of the three numeral classifiers: -wat [+ human], -c'off [+ animal], -(e)b [- human, - animal] as in:³

- (12) a. xwil cawaŋ heb' no' winaj
 I saw two[+human] pl cl(man) man
 'I saw two men'

- b. xinlok cac'off no' txitam
 I bought two[+ animal] cl(animal) pig
 I bought two pigs'

- c. swatx'e naj pel cab
 made cl(man) Peter two[- human, - animal]
 te' xila
 cl(wood) chair
 'Peter made two chairs'

As observed earlier, the presence of the noun classifier in the indefinite NPs of (11) and (12) provides a proof that the noun classifier is not a simple definite article.

1.3. Possessive Article

The possessive marker is the ergative case marker with its prevocalic and preconsonantal allomorphs:

*INNO
 COL
 ANG*

- (13) a. xcam no' hin-txitam
died cl(animal) E1/my pig
'my pig died'
- b. chinsay ch'en w-ome
I look for cl(rock) E1/my-earrings
'I am looking for my earrings'

1.4. Demonstrative Modifier

In Jacalteco the demonstratives are postnominal modifiers in an adjectival function. They mark proximity with ti' 'this' and distance with tu' 'that':

- (14) a. mac ay yet no' txitam ti'
who is to her cl(animal) pig this
'whose pig is this?'⁴
- b. chawoche kap camixte tu'
you like cl(cloth) shirt that

1.5. Co-occurrence of the Modifiers of the Noun

The language allows several modifiers to co-occur with the noun. A noun can be accompanied by its noun classifier, a possessive article, and a demonstrative modifier:

- (15) a. caw bakich no' ha-txitam tu'
very fat cl(animal) E2/your-pig that
'that pig of yours is very fat'
- b. caw xwoche kap ha-cami
very I like cl(cloth) E2/your-shirt
tu' la'
that sentence particle
'I very much like that shirt of yours'

If the noun phrase is indefinite, the maximum combination is:

- (16) indef num + N Cl + NOUN
a. hune' no' txitam
a/one cl(animal) pig
'a pig'
- b. cac'oñ no' txitam
two(animal) cl(animal) pig
'two pigs'

If the noun phrase is definite, the maximum combination is either (17) or (18) depending on the numeral:⁵

- (17) num + N Cl + poss + NOUN + dem
hune' no' hin txitam tu'
one cl(animal) my pig that
'that one pig of mine'
- (18) N Cl + num + poss + NOUN + dem
no' cac'oñ hin txitam tu'
cl(animal) two(animal) my pig that
'those two pigs of mine'

The numeral 'one' always precedes the noun classifier, whether the noun is definite or indefinite. The other numerals will precede the noun if the noun phrase is indefinite (19a) but will follow it if the noun phrase is definite (19b):

- (19) a. cac'oñ no' txitam
two(animal) cl(animal) pig
'two pigs'
- b. no' cac'oñ txitam
cl(animal) two(animal) pig
'the two pigs'

1.6. Noun Classifier Drop

A rule of Noun Classifier Drop will optionally delete the noun classifier in the presence of any of the other modifiers, indefinite or definite. This rule accounts for the surface

structure alternations of examples (20), (21), and (22):

- (20) a. xwil hune' no' txitam amak
I saw a cl pig patio
'I saw a pig in the patio'
- b. xwil hune' ---- txitam amak
I saw INDEF Cl Drop pig patio
'I saw a pig in the patio'
- (21) a. xcam no' hin cheh
died cl my horse
'my horse died'
- b. xcam ---- hin cheh
died Cl Drop POSS horse
'my horse died'
- (22) a. mac xwatx'en kap camiʔe ti'
who made cl shirt this
'who made this shirt?'
- b. mac xwatx'en ---- camiʔe ti'
who made Cl Drop shirt DEM
'who made this shirt?'

The rule of Noun Classifier Drop may be formulated as follows:

(23) Noun Classifier Drop

In the presence of other determiners, the noun classifier of a full NP may be dropped.

1.7. Jacaltec Noun Modifiers--Conclusions

The most important point to be retained from this sketchy discussion of the modifier system of the Jacaltec language is that nouns are always accompanied by a noun classifier, like a gender marker, and that this nucleus of the NP [NOUN CLASSIFIER + NOUN] is intrinsically definite. The noun classifier is not a definite article since it was shown to accompany the noun even in the presence of the indefinite marker.

Indefiniteness is marked by indefinite numerals, in particular by the numeral hune' 'one' which functions as the indefinite article.

A second point is that while the language allows the co-occurrence of several or all of the modifiers of the noun, an optional rule of Noun Classifier Drop can delete noun classifiers when the noun is accompanied by any of the modifiers, indefinite or definite.

2. PRONOMINALIZATION

2.0.

Both Pronominalization under identity of reference (2.1.) and Pronominalization under identity of sense (2.2.) will be considered in order to show that they consist of the same deletion rule. The symmetrical application of the Noun Classifier Drop rule will be considered in Section 2.3.

2.1. Pronominalization Under Identity of Reference

In the discourse environment of two coreferential NPs (referred to as the "controller" NP and "target" NP), the "target" NP is reduced to the mere classifier by deletion of the noun:

- (24) xul naj pel -- xal naj ---- wetan
came cl Peter said cl DELETION to me
chubil xcanoj naj ---- hun-xa
that will stay cl DELETION one-other
semana yul coʔob
week in town
'Peter came. He said that he was going to stay another week in town'

Of all the identical constituents, it is the noun classifier alone which is left behind as a pronoun. Adjectives and demonstrative articles are deleted together with the noun:

- (25) xinlok hune' no' txitam bakich tu' yit
 I bought a cl pig fat that for
 kiH yaj xcam no' ewi
 fiesta but died cl/it yesterday
 'I had bought that fat pig for the fiesta but it
 died yesterday'

When the coreferential NPs take a \emptyset (zero) classifier, the deletion rule applies the same way and no substitute pro-form is used:

- (26) ilc'anab hun-kahan \emptyset tx'umel tu' la'
 look a-few cl star that particle
 -- chawila \emptyset
 you see cl/them
 'look at those stars! Do you see them?'

The pronominalized NP can be a subject (25), an object (26), an object of preposition (27), or a possessor NP (28):

- (27) as ilwal yit naj pel cat hawalni tet
 go to see to cl Peter and you say to
naj ta mach chu hin to
 cl/him that not is possible I go
 sc'ataH naj tinaH
 at cl/his now
 'go to see Peter and tell him that I cannot go to
 his house today'
- (28) xal naj pel ta chuluj smam
 said cl Peter that will come his father
naj hecal
 cl(his) tomorrow
 'Peter said that his father will come tomorrow'

The rule of Pronominalization under identity of reference therefore says:

- (29) Pronominalization
 Delete the noun and all other identical

constituents, leaving the noun classifier as pro-form.⁶

2.2. Pronominalization Under Identity of Sense

2.2.0.

Two NPs are identical in sense when they contain identical nuclei [noun classifier + noun] that are not coreferential. The identical nouns are always accompanied by at least one non-identical modifier. The rule of Pronominalization is the same as in (29) above: all identical constituents--both noun and modifiers--are deleted, except the noun classifiers.

2.2.1. Indefinite and Definite Pro-forms

If the NPs are indefinite, they are both composed of an indefinite numeral, a noun classifier, and a noun. The different numerals are kept together with the noun classifier after the deletion of the noun:

- (30) cawaH heb naj winaj xul ewi
 two(human) pl cl man came yesterday
 wohtaj an wal hach xin oxwaH heb
 I know 1p but you then three(human) pl
naj hawohtaj
 cl you know
 'I know two of the men who came yesterday, but you
 know three of them'

Both NPs can also be definite in which case the deletion affects only the noun, leaving the classifier together with the non-identical modifiers:

- (31) caw xwoche kap camixe ti' yaj ka'
 very I like cl shirt this but more
 chawoche kap tu'
 you like cl that
 'I like this shirt very much but you like that
 one best'

- (32) ay wala' chinloko hune' tx'al sintae
 is I want I buy one cl ribbon
 yax ti' boj ca-c'itan-xa tx'al
 green this with two-piece-other cl
 kan tu' la'
 yellow that particle
 'I would like to buy this green ribbon with
 those two yellow ones'

2.2.2. Possessive Pronouns

The possessive marker cannot stand alone after the deletion of the noun. The ergative case marker needs to be attached to a morpheme. The preposition -et will fulfill the role of morphemic support.⁷ The derivation of the pronominalization of a non-coreferential NP containing a possessive marker is roughly as follows:

- (33) a. full NP
 no' E3-txitam ix
 cl(animal) POSS-noun cl(woman)
 'her pig'
- b. Pronominalization
 no' E3-DEL ix
- c. Possessive Support
 no' E3-et ix
- d. spelled out, with the prevocalic E3
 no' yet ix
 'hers'

Other examples of non-coreferential possessive pronominalization are given in (34) and (35):

- (34) lañan-to hin sayni no' hin txitam yaj
 prog-still I look for cl my pig but
 hach xawil no' hawet amak
 you you saw cl yours patio
 'I am still looking for my pig; but you, you saw
 yours in the patio'
- (35) kap hin chañ yax sat xwa'a'coj yiñ
 cl my skirt green on I will wear in
 kiñ wal hach kap hawet caj sat
 fiesta but you cl yours red on
 'it is my green skirt that I will wear for the
 fiesta, and you, your red one'

2.2.3. Noun Classifier Drop

When Pronominalization operates under identity of sense, a modifier always accompanies the noun classifier and the condition for the application of the rule of Noun Classifier Drop is met. If the rule applies, it obeys a constraint on symmetry and must apply simultaneously to the full controller NP and the pronominalized target NP:⁸

- (36) cac'itan (te') lahanxex xinloko wal hach
 two pieces (cl) orange I bought but you
 xin oxeb (te')
 then three (cl)
 'I bought two oranges, and you three'
- (37) xwil hune' (no') txitam amak yoc hun-xa
 I saw a (cl) pig patio plus one-other
 (no') yul caya
 (cl) in street
 'I saw a pig in the patio and another one in the
 street'

- (38) c'ulch'an jilni (kap) schaŋ ix yaj
 pretty we see (cl) her skirt cl but
 ka' c'ulch'an-to (kap) hawet
 more pretty-yet (cl) yours
 'her skirt is pretty (looking) but yours is
 prettier yet'

After Noun Classifier Drop has applied the only pro-form of the NP is a numeral in (36) and (37), and a possessive pronoun in (38).

Not all non-identical modifiers of the noun may be left as the only pro-form in surface structure. While numerals and possessives may stand as independent pronominal forms, the post-nominal demonstratives may not:

- (39) a. *tzet tu'
 what that
 'what is that?'
- b. tzet hun-tu'
 what one/a-that
 'what is that?'

Hence Noun Classifier Drop does not apply when the only non-identical modifier left with a classifier is a demonstrative:⁹

- (40) a. caw xwoche kap camixe ti' yaj ka'
 very I like cl shirt this but more
 chawoche kap tu'
 you like cl that
 'I like this shirt very much, but you like that
 one better'
- b. *caw xwoche ---- camixe ti' yaj ka'
 Cl Drop
 chawoche ---- tu'
 Cl Drop

2.2.4. Conclusion: One Rule of Pronominalization

In both instances of Pronominalization considered in the above

sections, the constituents of the target NP which are identical with constituents of the controller NP are deleted, except for the noun classifier. Under identity of reference, the classifier remains alone as pro-form; under identity of sense the classifier pro-form is accompanied by the non-identical modifier. A non-identical possessive marker just receives a morphemic support -et.

Noun Classifier Drop may apply to the output of Pronominalization provided one of the non-identical modifiers is either a numeral or a possessive and can stand alone as pro-form in surface structure. Demonstratives were seen not to have the capacity to be pro-forms by themselves. When Noun Classifier Drop applies, it obeys a constraint on symmetry and deletes the classifier in both target and controller NPs.

3. PROPERTIES OF THE PRONOMINALIZATION RULE¹⁰

3.0. Jacaltec Pronominalization is a trace-leaving rule. The pro-form of the NP left behind is a noun classifier sometimes accompanied by modifiers. The properties of the rule of Pronominalization considered in this section concern the domain of application of the rule (3.1.), the directionality of the rule (3.2.), the tolerance of the language to the ambiguity produced by the rule (3.3.), and a discourse constraint on the rule (3.4.).

3.1. Domain of Application

3.1.1. Intrasentential

The rule of Pronominalization (Pron Del) applies intrasententially to a possessor NP or an object of preposition, neither of which undergoes reflexivization. The intermediate pronominalized stage of the derivation in *(41b) and *(42b) is followed by the application of a rule of Noun Classifier Deletion (Cl Del) which deletes pronoun classifiers. This rule

is discussed in Chapter 5 Noun Classifier Deletion and yields (41c) and (42c):

- (41) a. *xacoj naj pel schamarro naj pel
 put on cl Peter his blanket cl Peter
 yibaŋ naj pel
 on cl Peter
- b. *xacoj naj pel schamarro naj ----
 Pron Del
 yibaŋ naj ----
 Pron Del
- c. xacoj naj pel schamarro ----
 N Cl Del
 yibaŋ ----
 N Cl Del
 'Peter put his blanket over himself'
- (42) a. *ka' chach yoche naj pel sataj
 more you he likes cl Peter than
 naj pel
 cl Peter
- b. *ka' chach yoche naj pel sataj naj ----
 Pron Del
- c. ka' chach yoche naj pel sataj ----
 N Cl Del
 'Peter likes you more than himself'

The only NPs to undergo Reflexivization in Jacaltec are object NPs:

- (43) a. *xil naj pel naj pel
 saw cl Peter cl Peter
 (Peter saw Peter)
- b. xil sba naj pel
 saw himself cl Peter
 'Peter saw himself'

3.1.2. Across Boundaries

Pronominalization applies across sentence boundaries in discourse:

- (44) xul naj pel ewi -- xitoj naj
 came cl Peter yesterday brought cl/he
 ixim ixim -- xwil naj yet may
 cl/the corn I saw cl/him when morning
 'Peter came yesterday. He brought the corn. I saw him this morning'

It also applies across clause boundaries into complement sentences (45) and into adverbial clauses (46):

- (45) xal naj pel chubil chuluj
 said cl Peter that will come
 naj hecal
 cl/he tomorrow
 'Peter said that he will come tomorrow'
- (46) x'ok ix ix haxca xtx'aot ix
 cried cl/the woman because was bit cl/she
 yu metx tx'i'
 by cl/the dog
 'the woman cried because she had been bit by the dog'

As is characteristic of a trace-leaving rule, it operates freely; it may skip over clauses and operate into islands:

- (47) xal naj pel chubil yohtaj ix malin
 said cl Peter that knows cl Mary
 tato mach smelyu naj
 that not exist his money cl
 'Peter said that Mary knows that he does not have any money'

- (48) xal naj pel chubil yohtaj ix malin
 said cl Peter that knows cl Mary
 tato ay hin gana hin mohyi boj naj
 that is my desire I marry with cl/him
 'Peter said that Mary knows that I would like to
 marry him'

Pronominalization is a distant rule operating over variables;
 this behavior is a characteristic of trace-leaving rules and
 conforms to the predictions of Hankamer (1971).

3.2. Directionality

The rule of Pronominalization in Jacaltec is unidirectional.
 It applies only from left to right. No pronominalized NP is
 ever found in a subordinate clause preceding a main clause.
 A pronoun form never precedes its controller NP:

- (49) a. ix ix xwatx'en ixim bitx txtoñ
 cl/the girl made cl/the tamale sold
 ixim yiñ howeb sentavo
 cl/them for five cents
 'the girl who made the tamales sold them for
 five cents'
- b. *ix xwatx'en ixim txtoñ ixim bitx
 cl/them cl/the tamale
 yiñ howeb sentavo
 'the girl who made them sold the tamales for
 five cents'
- (50) a. lahwi yalni naj xuwani hun ti' xtz'ubliayoj
 after said cl John one this spat down
 naj sat tx'otx'
 cl/he on floor
 'after he said this, John spat on the floor'

- b. *lahwi yalni naj hun ti' xtz'ubliayoj
 cl/he
 naj xuwani sat tx'otx'
 cl John
 'after he said this, John spat on the floor'
- (51) a. c'ajam icham-xa ya' manel
 although old-already cl Manuel
 xto-ec'-pax ya' munil
 still-walks-also cl/he work
 'although Manuel is already old, he still walks
 to work'
- b. *c'ajam ichamxa ya' xtoec'pax ya' manel
 cl/he cl Manuel
 munil
 'although he is already old, Manuel still walks
 to work'
- (52) a. masanto x'apni naj cap yatut
 not until arrived cl Gabriel his home
 xwa' naj
 ate cl/he
 'not until Gabriel made it home did he eat'
- b. *masanto x'apni naj yatut xwa'
 cl/he
 naj cap
 cl Gabriel
 'not until he made it home did Gabriel eat'

3.3. Tolerance to Ambiguity

Jacaltec tolerates ambiguity which results from the impossi-
 bility of identifying the controller of a deletion.¹¹ Since
 Pronominalization operates over great distances, it is pos-
 sible that NPs which could be interpreted as controllers of
 the Pronominalization deletion intervene between the antec-
 edent NP and the pronominalized NP. This creates ambiguity as:

- (53) xal naj pel chubil yohtaj naj Xuwan
 said cl Peter that knows cl John
 tato xcam smam naj
 that died his father cl
 'Peter_i said that John_j knows that his_{i,j}
 father died'

Many potential cases of ambiguity of this type are eliminated by the rule of Noun Classifier Deletion which deletes all co-referential pronoun classifiers within certain boundaries. Examples (54) and (55) show how the application of this rule avoids ambiguous sentences:

- (54) xal naj pel chubil xil naj Xuwan
 said cl Peter that saw cl John
 smam naj
 his father cl
 'Peter_i said that John_i saw his_j father'
- (55) xal naj pel chubil xil naj Xuwan
 smam _____
 N Cl Del
 'Peter said that John_j saw his_j father'

The rule of Noun Classifier Deletion is the topic of the next chapter.

3.4. A Discourse Constraint

Pronominalization in Jacaltec obeys the discourse constraints discussed by Kuno (1972). Pronominalization does not apply to an NP in focus position which carries with it new, unpredictable information:

- (56) a. mac ka' chawoche naj pel ix
 who more you like cl(man) Peter cl(woman)
 malin mato ya' cap --
 Mary or cl(older person) Gabriel
 naj pel /*naj
 cl Peter cl/him
 'who do you like best? Peter, Mary or Gabriel?
 --Peter!/(him!)

In spite of the fact that the classifier carries enough information in this case to distinguish among the different persons mentioned in the question, the classifier alone cannot be used as the pronominal form of the NP in the answer.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The noun classifier of the intrinsically definite nucleus combination [NOUN CLASSIFIER + NOUN] provides the basic pronoun form of the language.

Pronominalization is the result of a single deletion rule which deletes the noun and all the identical modifiers under both identity of reference and identity of sense.¹² The rule operates from left to right across clause boundaries, and ambiguity of controller is tolerated.

A surface rule of Noun Classifier Drop may delete the noun classifier in both a full NP and a pronoun form in the presence of other modifiers of the noun. The application of Noun Classifier Drop to a pronoun form is marked by two constraints. The rule may not apply if the only modifier left behind is a demonstrative which cannot stand alone as an independent noun form. Also, it must apply symmetrically to both controller and target NP.

NOTES

1. The noun classifiers are:

comam	male deity
comi'	female deity
ya'	respected non-deity, male or female
unin	infant
ho'	non-respected, non-infant, male kin
xo'	non-respected, non-infant, female kin
naj	non-respected, non-child, male non-kin
ix	non-respected, non-child, female non-kin
metx	dog
no'	animal
ixim	corn
tx'al	thread
tx'añ	fiber rope
kap	cloth
te'	plant
ha'	water
ch'en	stone
tx'otx'	dirt
ka'	fire
atz'am	salt

See Day (1973, a) for the original presentation of all the Jacalteco noun classifiers; Day (1973, b) and Breitborde (1973 a, b) for a semantic and sociolinguistic analysis of the noun classifiers for persons.

2. The indefinite is also the marked term in other languages, as in Turkish.
3. The numeral classifiers appear only in the plural and co-occur with one of the two plural morphemes heb [+ human]/hej [- human]. See Note 1 Chapter 3 Case Marking. The numeral hune' 'one' may be analyzed as composed of the numeral hun 'one' (found in expressions like hun k'ahan 'a few' hun ti' 'this') and a numeral classifier -e' which remains the same for all nouns.

4. The possessive form yet is discussed in 2.2.2. Possessive Pronouns.
5. The indefinite article/numeral hune' 'a/one' differs from the other numerals on two counts: As seen in Note 1 Chapter 3 Case Marking hune' takes a distinct numeral classifier; and as seen here, it does not appear in the same position as the other numerals in definite NPs.
6. Notice how this Pronominalization rule constitutes an instance of a rule of deletion applying to a non-constituent.
7. The same morpheme -et is also the dative preposition, as in w-et 'to me'. However, the dative -et is accompanied by a t- augment in the second and third person. Compare -et as dative in (a) and (b) and -et as possessive in (c) and (d):
- (a) x- \emptyset -(y)-al ix t-aw-et
asp-A3-E3-say cl/he aug^t-E2-to
'he said to you'
- (b) x- \emptyset -(y)-al ix t-(y)-et naj
asp-A3-E3-say cl/she aug^t-E3-to cl/him
'she said to him'
- (c) haw-et hun tu'
E2-to one that
'is it yours?'
- (d) mac ay y-et hun tu'
who is E3-to one that
'whose is that?'
8. This is an area of variation among speakers. Some informants have a strictly symmetrical rule of Noun Classifier Drop while others do not.

9. The general constraint is that a demonstrative cannot be left as the only surface structure pro-form. Another manifestation of the constraint is that Pronominalization under identity of sense yields ungrammatical sentences when the only modifier accompanying an inaudible classifier is a demonstrative:

(a) caw c'ulch'an jilni hune' Ø
 very pretty we see one cl
 tx'umel ti' yaj ka' c'ulch'an
 star this but more pretty
 jilni hune' tu'
 we see one that
 'this one star is pretty but that one is
 prettier'

(b) *caw c'ulch'an jilni Ø tx'umel
 very pretty we see cl star
 ti' yaj ka' c'ulch'an jilni
 this but more pretty we see
 Ø tu'
 cl that

10. This section is based on Hankamer's discussion of the properties of deletion rules (1971).
11. The constraint on the recoverability of the controller NP is a very weak one. It is weaker than the no-ambiguity constraint on the recoverability of the site of deletion. See Hankamer's "Unacceptable Ambiguity" (1973a) and the discussion on ambiguity in Chapter 5 Noun Classifier Deletion.
12. Postal (1970) made a similar proposal for the analysis of Pronominalization in English, with the addition of late rewriting rules to account for the surface structure pronoun forms. In Jacaltec, however, no rewriting

rules need to be postulated. This is also true of certain cases of pronominalization in Romance Languages such as French (a.b) and Spanish (c) in which definite articles and pronouns are the same:

- (a) la chanson : je la chante
 (b) le livre : je le lis
 (c) la carta : la escribo