

The syntax of quantification and focus in Chuj

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Abstract

This paper provides a novel description and syntactic analysis of different types of quantifiers in Chuj, an underdocumented Mayan language. We focus on a subset of expressions that quantify over entities, and that have been noted to appear obligatorily in sentence-initial position. We argue that three types of quantifiers should be distinguished: (i) *Predicative A-quantifiers*, which occur sentence-initially because Chuj is a predicate-initial language; (ii) *Focus D-quantifiers*, which occur sentence-initially because they are lexically specified for an [A'] feature; and (iii) *Basic D-quantifiers*, which, lacking an [A'] feature, have no effects on the syntactic position of their host arguments. We also sketch syntactic analyses of each type.

Contents

1	Introduction	2
2	Chuj clausal syntax and the left periphery	4
2.1	Chuj data and methodology	4
2.2	Basic clausal syntax and (non-)verbal predication	5
2.3	Topic and focus	6
3	Sentence-initial quantifiers: D-quantifiers vs A-quantifiers	10
3.1	Quantification and nonverbal predicate status	13
3.2	Quantification and DP status	15
3.3	Summary	17
4	A-quantifiers as nonverbal predicates	18
5	Analyzing two types of D-quantifiers	20
5.1	Basic D-quantifiers	21
5.2	Focus D-quantifiers	23
5.3	Summary	27
6	Conclusion	28
7	Appendix: Inventory of Chuj quantifiers	30

1 Introduction

Certain classes of linguistic expressions are characterized by distinctive syntactic distributions. Interrogative phrases are a canonical example: in a survey of content questions in 902 languages, [Dryer \(2013\)](#) finds that approximately a third of the world’s languages require interrogative phrases to appear at the left periphery. Other kinds of expressions that have been noted to trigger phrasal displacement include (i) focus sensitive items (see e.g., [Branan and Erlewine to appear](#)), (ii) certain kinds of definite expressions (e.g., Germanic languages: [Holmberg 1986](#); [Diesing and Jelinek 1995](#); Ch’ol: [Coon 2010](#), [Little 2020a, 2023](#)), and (iii) certain types of quantifiers (e.g., Hungarian: [Kiss 1991](#), [Szabolcsi 1997](#); Chamorro: [Chung 1998, 2008](#); Garifuna: [Barchas-Lichtenstein 2012](#); Mixtec: [Ostrove 2018](#)).

This paper adds to this literature by providing a novel description and analysis of quantificational expressions in Chuj (Mayan), with a focus on the syntactic position of the arguments that host them. As briefly noted in previous work ([Coon et al. 2021](#); [Alonso-Ovalle and Royer 2022](#)), as well as for the related language Q’anjob’al ([O’Flynn 2017](#)), a subset of Chuj quantificational expressions appear at the clause’s left periphery. For example, in (1) and (2), the bolded quantificational arguments are prohibited from appearing *after* the verb. Moreover, Chuj’s morphology indicates that the quantified agent in the (a) examples has undergone A’-extraction: Agent Focus (AF) morphology (*-an*) arises on the verb whenever a transitive subject is A’-extracted ([Buenrostro 2004, 2013, 2021](#); [Coon et al. 2014](#); [Royer 2023](#)).¹

- (1) a. ✓ **Tzijtum heb’ ix ix** ix-il-an winh winak.
many PL CLF woman PFV-see-AF CLF man
‘Many women saw the man.’
- b. *Ix-y-il winh winak **tzijtum heb’ ix ix**.
PFV-A3-see CLF man many PL CLF woman
- (2) a. ✓ **Masanil heb’ ix ix** ix-il-an winh winak.
all PL CLF woman PFV-see-AF CLF man
‘All of the women saw the man.’
- b. ?? Ix-y-il winh winak **masanil heb’ ix ix**.
PFV-A3-see CLF man all PL CLF woman

From a Mayan perspective, the unacceptability of quantified DPs in postverbal positions is unexpected. Mayan languages ([England 1991](#); [Aissen 1992](#); [Clemens and Coon 2018](#); [Little 2020b](#)), Chuj included, exhibit verb-initial word order in discourse neutral contexts (3):

- (3) Ix-y-il winh winak **heb’ ix ix**.
PFV-A3-see CLF man PL CLF woman
‘The women saw the man.’ (Basic word order: VOS)

¹Abbreviations: A: “Set A” (ergative/possessive); AF: agent focus; B: “Set B” (absolutive); CLF: noun classifier; C: complementizer; DEP: dependent clause marker; DIR: directional; HA: topic/focus marker; INDF: indefinite; IPFV: imperfective; IV: intransitive status suffix; M: masculine; NEG: negation; P: plural; PRON: pronoun; PROSP: prospective; Q: question; PFV: perfective; RN: relational noun; S: singular; TOP: topic; TV: transitive status suffix. Glosses in examples from other sources have been modified in some cases for consistency, and translations from Spanish to English are our own.

Against these empirical facts, this paper aims to answer the following questions about the nature of Chuj quantificational expressions, and their effects on the position of nominal arguments:

- Q1** Why must some quantifiers appear in a sentence-initial position?
- Q2** If any, what kind of movement operations are involved to derive the initial position of the quantifiers in sentences like (1-a) and (2-a)?
- Q3** How are sentence-initial quantifiers formally distinguished from other expressions, including other quantifiers, that do not have to occur in this position?

After providing relevant background on Chuj in section 2, the rest of the paper advances three main proposals, shedding light on all three questions above. In doing so, this article also contributes to the overall understanding of Chuj’s quantifier inventory, a topic that remains heavily understudied in Mayan linguistics as a whole (Henderson 2016).

In section 3, we first establish that despite their surface similarity, the sentences in (1) and (2) involve two different sub-classes of Chuj quantifiers. In particular, a number of syntactic diagnostics lead us to make the following empirical claims:

- (4) **Proposal 1** – “Sentence-initial quantifiers” form a heterogeneous class:
 - a. *Tzigtum* ‘many’ in (1) is an *A-quantifier*, specifically a nonverbal predicate.
 - b. *Masanil* ‘all’ in (2) is a *D-quantifier*, specifically a quantificational determiner.

In other words, despite the fact that sentences containing *tzigtum* and *masanil* look identical on the surface—as shown in (1) and (2)—we argue that they exhibit an entirely different syntax. Our use of “A-quantification” versus “D-quantification” is based on terminology used in previous work, including Partee 1995, Keenan and Paperno 2012 and Davis and Matthewson 2019. Specifically, we use “D-quantifiers” to refer to quantificational items that are syntactically contained within the extended nominal domain, and “A-quantifiers” to refer to those that fall outside the nominal domain (e.g., verbs, predicates, auxiliaries, adverbs). Importantly, both D- and A-quantifiers can semantically quantify over entities, the type of quantification we focus on here.

In section 4, we turn to a novel syntactic analysis of quantifiers like *tzigtum*, taking into account the observation from section 3 that this item belongs to a class of nonverbal predicates. Our analysis is based on Mateo Toledo’s (2012) and Coon’s (2014) approaches to nonverbal predication in other Mayan languages, as well as on Coon, Mateo Pedro, and Preminger’s (2014) and Coon, Baier, and Levin’s (2021) analysis of Mayan extraction and relativization. A simplified syntax for (1), paraphrased with English, is provided in (5). Quantifiers like *tzigtum* ‘many’ are nonverbal predicates that require a DP argument. When this argument is the head of a subject relative clause, as in (1), Agent Focus is triggered on the verb (Bielig 2015, Royer 2023):

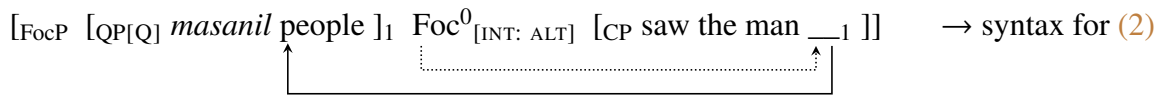
- (5) **Proposal 2: the syntax of *tzigtum* ‘many’ in Chuj**
[_{PredP} *tzigtum* [_{CP} [_{DP} the people]₁ that saw-AF the man ___₁]] → syntax for (1)
Literal translation: ‘The people that saw the man are many.’

In proposing a predicative analysis of this quantificational expression, our analysis diverges from a previous analysis of this same item in Kotek and Erlewine 2019, which identified *tzigtum* as part of

a DP. It also diverges from O’Flynn’s (2017) treatment of *xiwil* ‘many’ in Q’anjob’al, who likewise analyzes it as a D-quantifier. On the other hand, our analysis aligns with Mateo Toledo’s (2012) approach to *xiwil* in Q’anjob’al, who also treats it as a nonverbal predicate.

Section 5 then turns to a syntactic analysis of *masanil* ‘all’ in sentences like (2). We first show that the behaviour of quantifiers like *masanil* is distinct from that of other D-quantifiers in the language, which typically appear in regular postverbal argument positions. Building on previous work on related phenomena (Horvath 2007, Cable 2010, Hedding 2022, Branen and Erlewine to appear), we argue that the subset of D-quantifiers that show a strong preference for appearing in sentence-initial positions does so because these quantifiers are sensitive to focus alternatives. We implement this by adopting an analysis of *masanil* as lexically associated with an A’-feature, which we analyze as a general [Q] feature in the context of Cable 2010. As such, *masanil* DPs are eligible goals for the Q-probe on Foc in the left periphery, forcing movement to [Spec, FocP]:

(6) **Proposal 3: the syntax of *masanil* ‘all’ in Chuj**



As we will argue, only a select subset of D-quantifiers carry the [Q] feature, and as such, most D-quantifiers in the language do not have to appear in a sentence-initial position.

Finally, section 6 concludes with a discussion of important topics for future work.

2 Chuj clausal syntax and the left periphery

This section establishes some background on Chuj. We start in section 2.1 with basic information about the language of study in this work, San Mateo Ixtatán Chuj, and the methodology we employed in the collection of data. We then provide a brief description of Chuj clausal syntax in section 2.2, and of its left periphery in section 2.3.

2.1 Chuj data and methodology

The main language of study in this paper is Chuj, a language belonging to the Q’anjob’alan sub-branch of Mayan languages (Kaufman 1974, Law 2014).² Chuj currently has 70,000 to 80,000 speakers (Piedrasanta 2009; Buenrostro 2013), primarily located in the Department of Huehuetenango in Guatemala and in the State of Chiapas in Mexico, but also in diaspora communities across North America (Maxwell 1993, Hopkins 2021, Kaplan 2021). There are two principal dialects of Chuj: San Mateo Ixtatán and San Sebastián Coatán.

All of the data we present in this paper come from the San Mateo Ixtatán dialect, under two principle sources. First, some of the data come from original fieldwork conducted by two of the authors, Cristina Buenrostro and Justin Royer, using a theoretically-driven fieldwork methodology (Matthewson 2004, Bower 2008, Tonhauser and Matthewson 2016, Bochnak and Matthewson 2020). Second, other data come from segments of Mateo Pedro and Coon’s (2018) collection of

²For additional information about Chuj, including grammars, see Hopkins 1967, 2021, Maxwell 1982, García Pablo and Domingo Pascual 2007, Buenrostro 2013, and Royer et al. 2022.

Chuj narratives, available on the *Archive of the Indigenous Languages of Latin America* (AILLA; ailla.utexas.org). Examples taken from texts are indicated with “txt”.

2.2 Basic clausal syntax and (non-)verbal predication

Like other Mayan languages (England 2001; Coon 2016a; Aissen et al. 2017), Chuj is an ergative-absolutive, head-marking language, and exhibits predicate-initial word order in discourse neutral contexts. An example showing these properties is provided below:

- (7) Ix-s-man [Obj jun te' onh] [Subj ix Malin].
 PFV-A3-buy INDF CLF avocado CLF Malin
 ‘Malin bought an avocado.’

We follow Mayanist tradition in referring to ergative morphemes as “Set A” (which also track possessors in the nominal domain), and absolutive morphemes as “Set B”. Notice that Set B is not represented in (7), because third person Set B (singular and plural) has no overt phonological manifestation; examples with overt Set B are provided below:

- (8) a. Ix-**onh**-a-yam-a'.
 PFV-B 1P-A2S-grab-TV
 ‘You grabbed us.’ (Set B indexing the transitive object)
- b. Ix-**onh**-way-i.
 PFV-B 1P-sleep-IV
 ‘We slept.’ (Set B indexing the intransitive subject)

Note that both verb stems in (8) bear “status suffixes” (-a' and -i in the above examples), which indicate information about transitivity and mood in Mayan languages (Coon 2016a, Aissen et al. 2017). As apparent in (7), some status suffixes disappear in certain environments; these only appear when they are at the right edge of intonational phrases or when their absence would lead to illicit consonant clusters (Royer 2022b).

Nonverbal predicates (NVP), which contrast with verbal predicates in systematically lacking tense-aspect morphology (Grinevald and Peake 2012; Coon 2016b), also appear at the beginning of the sentence. This is the case regardless of whether the predicate is nominal (9-a), adjectival (9-b), stative (9-c), or existential (9-d). Chuj does not have an overt copula.

- (9) Nonverbal predication in Chuj
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>a. Sonum ix.
 marimbista she
 ‘She is a marimbista.’</p> <p>b. Te-junk’olal ix.
 very-happy she
 ‘She is very happy.’</p> | <p>c. Pitz-an ix.
 wake.up-STAT she
 ‘She is awake.’</p> <p>d. Ay jun ix t’atik.
 EXT one woman here
 ‘There’s a woman here.’</p> |
|--|---|

2.3 Topic and focus

While Chuj exhibits predicate-initial word order in discourse neutral contexts, preverbal arguments are very common. As has been widely noted for many languages of the Mayan family (see e.g., Aissen 1992, 2017b, 2023; Coon 2016a), the left periphery is generally used to signal information structural statuses of the elements of the clause. In Chuj, there are two main types of preverbal arguments: foci and topics. We discuss both in turn below.

Topics in Chuj show the following properties: (i) occurrence at the left periphery, (ii) obligatory coindexation with a postverbal resumptive classifier pronoun (as is the case in other Q’anjob’alan languages; see e.g., Craig 1977, Datz 1980, Aissen 2000), and (iii) the presence of a significant prosodic break immediately after the topic (indicated in examples with a comma; see Royer 2022b on the prosody of topics in Chuj). An example of subject and object topics is provided below:

- (10) a. Ha **ix Axul**₁, ix-in-y-il **ix**₁.
 PV CLF Axul, PFV-B1S-A3-see she
 ‘As for Axul, she saw me.’ (subject topic)
- b. Ha **ix Axul**₁, ix-w-anht-ej **ix**₁.
 PV CLF Axul, PFV-A1S-cure-DTV her
 ‘As for Axul, I cured her.’ (object topic)

As further shown in (10), topics must occur with the marker *ha*, which we follow Bielig (2015) in glossing “PV” for ‘preverbal DP marker’.³ We use this term because foci, which we turn to now, also require this morpheme.

While foci also appear at the left periphery with *ha*, two morphosyntactic facts make it possible to distinguish them from topics. First, unlike topics, foci never trigger resumption. This is shown for both subject and object foci in (11). Second, focused transitive subjects, as in (11-a), require a special verb form called “Agent Focus” (see e.g., Coon et al. 2014; Aissen 2017a, 2017b). While such verbs always take two semantic arguments, they are syntactically intransitive. In particular, they (i) lack Set A (ergative) agreement, (ii) show Agent Focus voice morphology on the verb stem (-*an*), and (iii) appear with an intransitive status suffix (11-a) (visible only when the verb is final in the intonational phrase; Royer 2022b):

- (11) a. Ha **ix Axul** ix-in-il-**an-i**.
 PV CLF Axul PFV-B1S-see-AF-IV
 ‘It’s Axul who saw me.’ (agent focus; no Set A, -*an* suffix)
- b. Ha **ix Axul** ix-w-anht-ej.
 PV CLF Axul, PFV-A1S-cure-DTV
 ‘It’s Axul who I cured.’ (object focus)

In discussing foci, it is important to distinguish between cases of ‘contrastive focus’ versus ‘new information focus’. As has been observed for a range of other Mayan languages (see e.g., Aissen 2017b and citations therein), contrastively focused arguments *must* appear at the left periphery. In other words, they cannot be focused *in situ*. As shown below, Chuj is no exception. Contrastively focused DPs cannot felicitously be interpreted in their *in situ* postverbal position:

³Note that the “preverbal marker” *ha* is never possible on postverbal arguments in Chuj.

- (12) **Context:** The speaker is shown a picture in which Xun has an apple, Xapin has a banana, and Kixtup has nothing.
- a. ζ To-m [Foc ha waj Xapin] yet'-nak te' manzan, yel?
 COMP-DUB PV CLF Xapin with-STAT CLF apple right
 'It's *Xapin* that has the apple, right?'
- b. Ma'ay, [Foc **ha waj Xun**] yet'-nak te'.
 no, PV CLF Xun with-STAT CLF.PRON
 'No *Xun* has it.'
- c. # Ma'ay, yet'nak te' [Foc waj Xun].
- (13) **Context:** You think I saw Lukax. But in reality, I didn't see Lukax, I saw Kixtup.
- a. Manhoklaj waj Lukax ix-w-il-a'.
 NEG.FOC CLF Lukax PFV-A I S-see-TV
 'It wasn't Lukax that I saw.'
- b. [Foc **Ha waj Kixtup**] ix-w-il-a'.
 PV CLF Kixtup PFV-A I S-see-TV
 'It was Kixtup that I saw.'
- c. # Ixwil [Foc waj Kixtup].

While DP arguments must appear preverbally, there is more flexibility with regards to the position of non-arguments. PPs, for example, can be interpreted with contrastive focus when occurring postverbally:

- (14) **Context:** You thought that Telex will be moving to B'ulej, but she'll actually be moving to Yalamb'ojoch.
- Ol-b'at kan ix Telex [Foc **t'a Yalamb'ojoch**], manhoklaj t'a B'ulej.
 PROSP-go DIR.stay CLF Telex PREP Yalamb'ojoch NEG.FOC PREP B'ulej
 'Telex will be moving *to Yalamb'ojoch*, not to B'ulej.'

The same is also true of possessor DPs in possessive phrases:

- (15) **Context:** You seem to be under the impression Malin's daughter will be getting married, but that's wrong, because Xuwan's daughter is the one getting married.
- Ol-nupnaj ix y-une' [Foc **ix Xuwan**], manhoklaj ix y-une' ix
 PROSP-marry CLF A3-daughter CLF Xuwan not CLF A3-daughter CLF
 Malin.
 Malin
 'Xuwan's daughter is getting married, not Malin's daughter.'

Previous work on focus in Mayan distinguishes contrastive foci from new information foci, as they commonly show different syntactic profiles. In particular, this work shows that, contrary to arguments with contrastive foci, *in situ* arguments can be interpreted (to varying degrees) with new information focus. Some languages, such as Tsotsil (Aissen 2017b), freely allow *in situ* arguments to have new information focus; others, such as K'iche' (Velleman 2014) and Yucatec Maya (Verhoeven and Skopeteas 2015), allow all types of arguments to have new information

focus *in situ*, except external arguments, which must be in the same preverbal focus position as contrastively-focused expressions.

Interestingly, Chuj seems to show a third possibility: as far the morphosyntax is concerned, all types of foci are treated equally. This is shown in the following question-answer pairs, a canonical diagnostic for new information focus. For both external (16) and internal (17) arguments, we see that new information foci must appear pre-verbally:

- (16) a. ζ Mach ix-man-an anh paj'ich?
 what PFV-buy-AF CLF tomato
 'Who bought the tomatoes?'
 b. ✓ [Foc **Ha waj Xun**] (ix-man-an anh).
 PV CLF Xun PFV-buy-AF them
 'Xun bought them.'
 c. # (Ix-s-man anh) [Foc **waj Xun**].
 PFV-A3-buy them CLF Xun
- (17) a. ζ Tas ix-s-man waj Xun?
 what PFV-A3-buy CLF Xun
 'What did Xun buy?'
 b. ✓ [Foc **Ha anh paj'ich**] (ix-s-man winh).
 PV CLF tomato PFV-A3-buy CLF.PRON
 '(He bought) tomatoes.'
 c. # (Ix-s-man winh) [Foc **anh paj'ich**].
 PFV-A3-buy CLF.PRON CLF tomato

Note that the parentheses in (16-b) and (17-b) indicate optionality. In other words, even when providing a fragment answer, speakers require the use of *ha*, a marker which essentially signals occurrence at the left periphery. This suggests that new information focus in Chuj, at least for arguments, must always be expressed by means of a focus construction.

As with contrastive foci, new information foci can sometimes remain *in situ*, specifically when the focused element is not a main argument of the verb. Again, this is the case for PPs (18) and possessors (19). In the case of possessors, displacement of the possessor triggers pied-piping of the entire possessive phrase (19-c).

- (18) a. ζ B'ajt'il ix-b'at kan waj Xun?
 where PFV-go DIR.stay CLF Xun
 'Where did Xun move?'
 b. ✓ (Ix-b'at kan winh) [Foc **t'a Yalamb'ojoch**].
 PFV-go DIR.stay CLF.PRON PREP Yalamb'ojoch
 '(He moved) to Yalamb'ojoch.'
 c. ✓ [Foc **T'a Yalamb'ojoch**] ix-b'at kan winh.
 PREP Yalamb'ojoch PFV-go DIR.stay CLF.PRON

- (19) a. ζ Mach y-une' ix ix-h-il chi'?
 what A3-child CLF.PRON PFV-A2S-see DEIX
 'Whose daughter did you see?' (Lit: 'Whose daughter is that who you saw.')
- b. ✓ (Ix-w-il [DP ix y-une'] [Foc **ix Xuwan**]].
 PFV-A1S-see PFV A3-child CLF Xuwan
 '(I saw) Xuwan's (daughter).'
- c. ✓ [DP Ha ix y-une' [Foc **ix Xuwan**]] ix-w-il-a'.
 FOC CLF A3-child CLF Xuwan PFV-A2S-see-TV

It is also worth noting that *ix Xuwan*, without *ha*, can serve as a fragment answer to the question in (19), offering further support that the possessor does not need to be moved.

In sum, the distribution of focused DPs in Chuj—regardless of whether the focus is interpreted as contrastive or new information—can be summarized as follows:

- (20) Focused XPs, contrastive and new information alike...
- must be in the left peripheral focus position when DP arguments of the verb;
 - can be in their *in situ* postverbal position otherwise.⁴

Finally, it is important to note that the Chuj focus position also hosts *wh*-expressions in interrogative clauses (21-a), nominal expressions modified by the focus-sensitive item *nhej* 'only' (21-b), and the head of relative clauses (21-c). As in other languages, *wh*-expressions must be in focus position in order to trigger interrogative meaning, even in echo questions (see also [AnderBois 2017](#) and [Caponigro et al. 2021](#) on other Mayan languages).⁵

- (21) a. [Foc **Mach**] ix-ach-chel-an-i?
 who PFV-B2S-hug-AF-IV
 'Who hugged you?' (wh-question)
- b. [Foc **Ha-nhej** waj Xun] ix-in-il-an-i.
 PV-only CLF Xun PFV-B1S-see-AF-IV
 'Only Xun saw me.' (only)
- c. W-ojtak [Foc **ix ix** [ix-ach-chel-an-i]].
 A1S-know the woman PFV-B2S-hug-AF-IV
 'I know the woman who hugged you.' (relative clause)

Turning now briefly to the relative syntactic positions of topics and foci, we note that their order is not free. As shown below, topics are always ordered before foci ([Bielig 2015](#)).

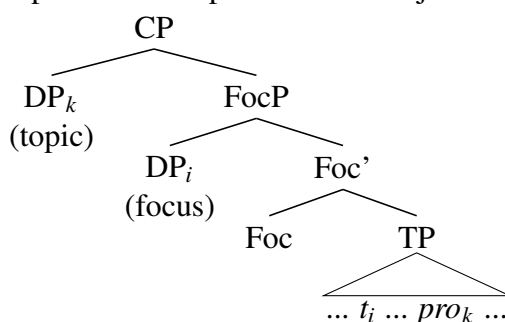
⁴Assuming the *wh*-words are a type of 'new information' focus, we note here that these expressions do not abide by this generalization. That is, all *wh*-items, be them main arguments or adjuncts, must appear in focus position.

⁵[Kotek and Erlewine \(2019\)](#) report that echo question interpretations are possible when *wh*-items remain *in situ*. We have not been successful in corroborating this fact with the speakers we have consulted. The availability of *in situ* echo questions is also surprising from a Mayan perspective, given that *in situ wh*-questions are widely described as unavailable across the family (see e.g., [Aissen 1996](#); [Curiel Ramírez del Prado 2017](#); [AnderBois and Chan Dzul 2021](#); [Can Pixabaj 2021](#); [Coon et al. 2021](#); [Vázquez Álvarez and Coon 2021](#); [Mateo Toledo 2021](#); [Polian and Aissen 2021](#)).

- (22) Topics are strictly ordered before foci
- a. [Top **Ha ix Malin**]₁, [Foc **ha waj Xun**] ix-il-an ix₁.
 PV CLF Malin PV CLF Xun PFV-see-AF she
 ‘As for Malin, it was Xun who saw her.’
- b. *[Foc **Ha waj Xun**] [Top ha ix Malin]₁, ix-il-an ix₁.
 PV CLF Xun PV CLF Malin PFV-see-AF she

Building on [Aissen \(1992\)](#) and [Bielig \(2015\)](#), and based on the data seen above, we adopt the extended syntax in (23). Specifically, we assume that topics are base-generated in a peripheral position to the left.⁶ Foci, on the other hand, are A'-extracted into the focus position (see [Coon et al. 2014, 2021](#) and [Aissen 2017b](#) on this analysis of Mayan focus):

- (23) Topic and focus positions in Chuj



3 Sentence-initial quantifiers: D-quantifiers vs A-quantifiers

We now turn to the main topic of this paper: the fact that a subset of Chuj quantificational items seem, at least on the surface, to require their host argument to appear at the clause’s left periphery.⁷

Recall the first two examples from the introduction, repeated below for convenience.

⁶Topics can in fact also appear to the right; see e.g., [Maxwell 1987](#); [Royer 2022b](#). Since right topics will not play a role in this paper, we will not discuss them here.

⁷Note that the expression *masanil* has different uses, and we only focus on one of these uses here. Other uses include ones in which *masanil* appears as a ‘floated quantifier’, typically in any of the positions occupied by low adverbs in the language (see [Royer 2023](#)):

- (i) Ix-s-b’o’ [ixim wa’il] {**masanil**} [waj Xun] {**masanil**}.
 PFV-A3-buy CLF tortilla all CLF Xun all
 ‘Xun made all the tortillas.’

Moreover, *masanil* can also be used in a special construction in which the quantifier appears as a possessed nominal (see [Little 2018, 2022](#) and [Henderson 2021](#) on this construction in Ch’ol and Kaqchikel, respectively). We follow [Little \(2022\)](#) on an equivalent construction in Ch’ol in assuming that the quantifier in this case is the head noun of an adjoined possessive phrase, whose possessor is a null pronoun coindexed with one of the main arguments of the verb:

- (ii) Ix-s-b’o’ [ixim wa’il]₁ waj Xun, [PossP s-**masanil** pro₁].
 PFV-A3-make CLF tortilla CLF Xun GEN3-all PRON
 Literally: ‘Xun made the tortillas, all of them.’

Crucially, in both cases, *masanil* can appear postverbally. Therefore, it is only in its prenominal uses, such as in (25), that the quantifier triggers displacement. We leave an investigation of other uses of quantifiers for future work.

- (24) a. ✓ **Tzijtum heb' ix ix** ix-il-an winh winak.
 many PL CLF woman PFV-see-AF CLF man
 'Many women saw the man.'
- b. * Ix-y-il winh winak **tzijtum heb' ix ix**.
 PFV-A3-see CLF man many PL CLF woman
- (25) a. ✓ **Masanil heb' ix ix** ix-il-an winh winak.
 all PL CLF woman PFV-see-AF CLF man
 'All of the women saw the man.'
- b. ?? Ix-y-il winh winak **masanil heb' ix ix**.
 PFV-A3-see CLF man all PL CLF woman

Again, the fact that the quantificational expressions cannot appear postverbal position is unexpected. As seen in the previous section, Chuj is a verb-initial language. Moreover, notice the presence of the Agent Focus morpheme *-an* on the verb in both (24) and (25). Keeping to our analysis of the Chuj focus construction in section 2, this means that the agent DP—i.e., the one being quantified over—must have been A'-extracted. What, then, explains the fact that these expressions must be sentence-initial?

It is important to mention at this point that while the utterance in (24-b) is consistently judged as unacceptable by our collaborators, this is not clearly the case for the sentence in (25-b). We have chosen to mark the utterance in (25-b) as “strongly degraded” for the following reasons. First, speakers do not themselves offer postverbal arguments modified by *masanil*, even when discourse neutrality is controlled for. Second, when prompted with sentences like (25-b), speakers vary considerably in their judgements. When asked to judge the acceptability of a sentence like (25-b) on a scale of 1 to 5 (1=clearly unacceptable, 5=perfectly acceptable), most judge the utterance as a “2” or “3”. However, depending on the speaker, judgements have varied from “1” to “5”. We have also not been able to identify contexts that would make the use of postverbal *masanil* more pragmatically acceptable. The judgements are therefore much weaker than with *tzijtum*, which consistently receives of a judgement of “1” when appearing postverbally (as in (24-b) above).⁸

Corpus findings also support the idea that *masanil* is strongly preferred sentence-initially. The results in (26) were extracted from a collection of 17 narratives from different speakers of the San Mateo Ixtatán dialect of Chuj (Mateo Pedro and Coon 2018). As the table shows, when *masanil*

⁸Kotek and Erlewine (2019) present one example, from elicitation, suggesting that *tzijtum* can appear immediately following a verb. We cite this examples as ungrammatical here:

- (i) * Ix-w-il tzijtum mach heb' winh unin ix-ul ek'-i.
 PFV-A1S-see many who PL CLF child PFV-come DIR.pass-IV
 'I saw the many boys who came.' (noted as grammatical in Kotek and Erlewine 2019: 93)

This sentence, as noted, is consistently judged unacceptable by all of our collaborators. We believe there may have been a confound in judgements with the following construction, where *tzijtum* is part of an embedded CP. In such cases, however, *tzijtum* is still at the left of the embedded verb.

- (ii) Ix-w-il-a' [CP to tzijtum mach heb' winh unin ix-ul ek'-i].
 PFV-A1S-see-TV COMP many who PL CLF child PFV-go DIR.pass-IV
 'I saw that many boys came.'

modifies a DP subject or object, it is consistently in a preverbal position. When modifying oblique arguments, on the other hand, both preverbal and postverbal positions are attested. As we will see, this will be an important point of difference between *masanil* ‘all’ and *tzijtum* ‘many’, since the two behave differently with regards to oblique arguments.

(26) Position of *masanil* within corpora of San Mateo Ixtatán Chuj

Position of <i>masanil</i>	Preverbal	Postverbal
Subject	22	0
Object	25	0
Oblique	8	18
Right side topic, subject	N/A	1

We are now ready to tackle the question of why *tzijtum* ‘many’ and *masanil* ‘all’ must appear sentence-initially. Given the Chuj background in section 2, we can entertain at least two analytical possibilities. On one hand, it could be that (24) and (25) contain *A-quantifiers*, specifically expressed via nonverbal predication. Quantification expressed via nonverbal predication is common across the world’s languages, especially for Indigenous languages of North America (see e.g., Davis and Matthewson 2019 and references therein). Under such a theory, the sentence-initiality of the quantifier would fall out immediately from the fact that Chuj is a predicate-initial language. The presence of Agent Focus morphology on the verb stem would result from agent relativization:

(27) The A-quantifier option:

[_{PreDP} QUANT [_{CP} [_{DP} the people]₁ that saw-AF the man ___₁]]
 Literal translation: ‘The people that saw the man are many.’

The second option would be one in which the quantifier is a *D-quantifier*, and thus part of a DP. Under this account, such a DP would, for some reason or other, have to be in focus position. The behaviour of the quantifier in this case would be reminiscent of the behaviour of *wh*-items, which also trigger phrasal displacement:

(28) The D-quantifier option:

[_{CP} [_{DP} QUANT of the people]₁ Foc⁰ [_{CP} saw the man ___₁]]

In the rest of this section, we argue that despite their superficial similarities, the quantifiers in (24) and (25) do not in fact belong to a homogeneous class. Based on several syntactic diagnostics, we argue that both options in (27) and (28) are needed, but for different quantificational expressions. Our main proposal is the following:

(29) **Proposal**

While *tzijtum* ‘many’ is an A-quantifier (27), *masanil* is a D-quantifier (28).

The discussion is structured around the predictions made by each analytical possibility, starting with predictions of predicative status in §3.1, and turning to those of DP status in §3.2.

3.1 Quantification and nonverbal predicate status

Analysis 1 in (27) predicts that the quantifier should behave as a nonverbal predicate. Therefore, a first diagnostic to consider is whether the respective quantificational expressions *can* serve as the main predicate of a simple predicative clause in Chuj. Having proposed that only *tzijtum*, but not *masanil*, is a nonverbal predicate, we make the following prediction:

- (30) If *tzijtum* ‘many’ is a predicate, it should behave as a NVP.
If *masanil* ‘all’ is a D-quantifier, it should behave as a DP, not as a NVP.

Here, we discuss three diagnostics to identify nonverbal predication in Chuj. We show that in each case, *tzijtum* checks these diagnostics, whereas *masanil* does not.

A first diagnostic to consider is the ability to appear as the main predicate of a simple NVP clause. Recall from section 2 that Chuj does not have an overt copula, meaning that NVPs can combine with a DP to form a complete sentence. Two examples, with nominal (31-a) and adjectival (31-b) predicates, are repeated below for illustration:

- (31) a. **Sonum** ix.
marimbista she
‘She is a marimbista.’
b. **Te-junk’olal** ix.
very-happy she
‘She is very happy.’

Now, if *tzijtum* is a NVP, it should also be able to co-occur alone with a DP to form a complete sentence. As shown in (32), *tzijtum* can be used as such. In both occurrences of in (32), the quantifier combines alone with a nominal expression to yield an utterance that literally translates as ‘they were many’.

- (32) a. *¿Tzijtum* heb’ ix, tz-y-al chi’, ha ix-he-yamanoch chi’?
many PL CLF IPFV-A3-say DEIX, when PFV-A2P-begin DEIX
‘So, there were many of them (women), let’s say, when y’all started?’
b. Hi, *tzijtum* heb’ ix.
yes, many PL CLF.PRON
‘Yes, there were many of them.’ (Lit: ‘Yes, they were many.’) (txt, CD300715)

The quantificational expression *masanil*, on the other hand, cannot be used alone with a DP to form a truth-conditional sentence. Indeed, the string of words in (33-a) cannot be used to express something along the lines of ‘all of them are here’. Our collaborators converge on the intuition that (33-a) is somehow ‘incomplete’. We assume this is because (33-a) is not a full sentence. Indeed, to form a full sentence, an existential predicate must be used separately (33-b).

- (33) a. **masanil** heb’ ix t’atik.
all PL CLF.PRON here
‘all of them here’ (not a full sentence)

- b. **Masanil** heb' ix ay-ek' t'atik.
 all PL CLF.PRON EXT-DIR.pass here
 'All of them are here.'

A second sentence type to consider are possessive sentences. As in other Mayan languages (Coon 2016a), possessive existential constructions in Chuj (the equivalent of possessive 'have' in English) are derived by combining an existential predicate with a possessed nominal, as shown in (34) (see also Freeze 1992 on this strategy more generally).

- (34) **Ay** heb' winh h-uninal.
 EXT PL CLF A1S-son
 'You have sons.' (Lit: 'There are your sons')

Now, consider the data in (35). The quantifier *tzijtum* can replace the existential predicate to establish the possessive 'have' relation. This again suggests that it itself can be a NVP.

- (35) **Tzijtum** heb' winh h-uninal.
 many PL CLF A2S-child
 'You have many sons.' (Lit: 'Your sons are many'). (txt, CM300715)

On the other hand, while the string of words with *masanil* in (36-a) is not in and of itself ungrammatical, it does not form a complete sentence. Something is missing: our consultants consistently translate this string of words as 'all of your sons'. To express a possessive 'have' relation, an existential predicate is required (36-b):

- (36) a. **masanil** heb' winh h-uninal.
 all PL CLF A2S-son
 'all of your sons' (not a full sentence)
- b. **Masanil** heb' winh h-uninal ay-ek' h-et'ok.
 all PL CLF A2S-son EXT-DIR.pass A2S-with
 'You have all of your sons with you.'

Finally, there is a third, Chuj-specific, prediction of a predicational analysis of quantifiers to be considered. Mayan languages of the Q'anjob'alán sub-branch feature complex secondary predication constructions (see e.g., Mateo Toledo 2012). Such constructions involve complex clauses, which combine a secondary nonverbal predicate with an aspectless clause. An example from Q'anjob'al, a language closely-related to Chuj, is provided below:

- (37) [_{PREP} **Tz'ayil**] [_{VP} s-tz'aq-on ix Malin xim patej].
 burnt A3-hand.make-DEP CLF Malin CLF tortillas
 'Mary makes burnt tortillas.' (Lit: 'Mary makes the tortillas burnt')
 (Q'anjob'al, Mateo Toledo 2012: 152)

Chuj also makes extensive use of such constructions. In (38-a), we see that the adjective *junk'olal* 'content' can be used as a secondary predicate. The same kind of template can also be used with *tzijtum* 'many' (38-b), as expected if *tzijtum* is a NVP:

- (38) a. [_{PREP} **Junk’olal**] [_{VP} y-ek’ heb’ paxyalwum t’atik].
 content A3-pass PL visitor here
 ‘The visitors come happy here.’
- b. [_{PREP} **Tzijtum**] [_{VP} y-ek’ heb’ paxyalwum t’atik].
 many A3-pass PL visitor here
 Lit: ‘The visitors come many here.’

The quantifier *masanil*, on the other hand, cannot serve as the NVP of secondary predicate constructions. The following string of words is simply ungrammatical in Chuj (no context can make the sentence acceptable):

- (39) * **masanil** y-ek’ heb’ paxyalwum t’atik.
 all A3-pass PL visitor here
 Intended: ‘All visitors pass by here.’

In sum, while *tzijtum* checks all diagnostics for predicathood, *masanil* fails them all. This supports the idea that while *tzijtum* is a NVP, and therefore an A-quantifier, and moreover that *masanil* is not. We now turn to diagnostics of DP status, showing that *masanil*, but not *tzijtum*, shows all signs of being part of a DP, further supporting our proposal in (29).

3.2 Quantification and DP status

Here, we discuss evidence in support of “DP status” in Chuj, showing that while *masanil* is syntactically part of the DP that it quantifies over, *tzijtum* is clearly external to it. We discuss three predictions: (i) the (in)ability to appear within the complement of a preposition, (ii) the (in)ability to appear as part of the possessor of a possessive DP, and (iii) the (in)ability to be a topic.

One way to identify DP status in Chuj is to check whether an expression can serve as the complement of a preposition. Prepositions in Chuj can only select for nominal expressions (DPs or NPs), and not for verbal and nonverbal predicates. If *tzijtum* is consistently a NVP, we therefore predict that it should not be able to appear within the complement of a preposition. On the other hand, if *masanil* is a D-quantifier, it should be able to appear in this position. This prediction is borne out. Let us first consider an example with *masanil*:

- (40) a. ✓ [_{PP} T’a **masanil** chonhab’] ix-in-xit’ ek’-i.
 PREP all town PFV-B 1S-go pass-IV
 ‘I went to every town.’
- b. ✓ Ix-in-xit’ ek’ [_{PP} t’a **masanil** chonhab’].
 PFV-B 1S-go pass PREP all town
 ‘I went to every town.’

The above examples show that *masanil* can appear within the complement of the preposition *t’a*. Moreover, notice that the PP can be either preverbal or postverbal, a fact that aligns with the corpus findings we report in (26) above. This optionality will be relevant when sketching a syntactic analysis of *masanil* in section 5.

Turning now to *tzijtum*, we find that this quantifier cannot appear within the complement of a

preposition, regardless of the position of the PP in the clause.

- (41) * T'a **tzijtum** chonhab' ix-in-xit' ek'-i.
 PREP many town PFV-B 1 S-go pass-IV
 Intended: 'I went to many towns.'

To convey the intended meaning, a construction containing a relative pronoun must instead be used. Crucially, this relative pronoun can only be used in cases where an oblique DP is being relativized. This suggests that the nominal expression *chonhab'* has been relativized in (42), yielding a literal meaning along the lines of 'the villages where we went are many'.

- (42) **Tzijtum** chonhab' **b'aj** ix-onh-xit'-ek'-i.
 many village PREP.REL PFV-A 1 P-go-DIR.pass-IV
 'We went to many villages.'

Again, these data follow if *tzijtum* is a NVP. Here, its sole argument is simply a relativized oblique argument. While *masanil* can appear in a similar string of words, it again does not convey a complete sentence (43-a). To form a complete sentence with this string of words, as in (43-b), a predicate is needed. (Note that the predicate is in final position, because the *masanil* constituent is focused here).

- (43) a. **masanil** chonhab' **b'aj** ix-onh-xit'-ek'-i.
 all village PREP.REL PFV-A 1 P-go-DIR.pass-IV
 'all of the villages where we went' (incomplete sentence)
- b. j**Masanil** chonhab' **b'aj** ix-onh-xit'-ek'-i **te'-wach'!**
 all village PREP.REL PFV-A 1 P-go-DIR.pass-IV very-good
 'All of the villages where we went were great!'

A second way to identify DP status in Chuj is to test whether the relevant expression can be found within the possessor of a possessive phrase, which is restricted to DPs (and not verbs/NVPs). Given our proposal, we predict here that only *masanil* should be possible within a DP possessor, and not *tzijtum*. As shown below, this prediction is borne out for *masanil*. (Again, notice that when inside a possessor, the argument containing *masanil* can remain in its *in situ* postverbal position).

- (44) ✓ W-ojtak [heb' y-et'b'eyum [_{POSS} **masanil** heb' ix ix]].
 PFV-A 1 S-see PL A3-partner all PL CLF woman
 'I know all of the women's partners.'

The prediction is also borne out for *tzijtum*, which cannot appear within the possessor of a possessive phrase (45-a). Instead, to convey the intended meaning, *tzijtum* must appear sentence-initially (45-b). Here, it appears to select for a relativized possessive DP; the literal translation being 'the women that are such that I know their partner are many':

- (45) a. * W-ojtak [heb' y-et'b'eyum [_{POSS} **tzijtum** heb' ix ix]].
 PFV-A 1 S-see PL A3-partner many PL CLF woman
 Intended: 'I know many women's partners.'

- b. **Tzijtum** heb' ix ix w-ojtak heb' y-et'b'eyum.
 many PL CLF woman A3-know PL A3-partner
 'I know many women's partners.'

A third and final way to identify whether a quantifier is internal or external to the extended nominal domain is to test whether it can appear as a topic. Indeed, as far we know, only DPs may serve as topics in Chuj. Therefore, if (29) is on the right track, only *masanil* should be able to occur as a topic. Again, this prediction is borne out. As shown in (46), *masanil* can felicitously occur as part of a DP that occupies a topic position.

- (46) ✓ [TOP **Masanil** heb' ix unin]₁, ix-y-awt-ej ch'anh Popol Wuj [**heb' ix**]₁.
 all PL CLF child PFV-A3-read-DTV CLF Popol Wuj PL they
 ≈ 'As for all the girls, they read the Popol Wuj.'

The example in (46) shows most of the properties of topichood in Chuj discussed in section 2: (i) the topic appears at the left, (ii) it is immediately followed by a considerable prosodic break (indicated with a comma here), and (iii) it is coindexed with a postverbal resumptive pronoun *heb' ix* 'they'. The only relevant exception is that there is no preverbal marker *ha*. While we come back to this fact in section 5 below, we assume that *masanil* is indeed part of a topicalized DP in (46).

The quantifier *tzijtum*, on the other hand, is not possible as a topic. This is shown in (47-a). To convey the intended meaning of (47-a), the quantifier must occur after the topicalized DP, as in (47-b). In this example, the resumptive pronoun is in the position of a relativized DP; i.e., the sentence literally translates as 'As for the girls₁, those₁ who read the Popol Wuj were many'.

- (47) a. * [TOP **Tzijtum** heb' ix unin] ixyawtej ch'anh Popol Wuj heb' ix.
 many PL CLF child read CLF Popol Wuj PL CLF.PRON
 'As for many of the girls, they read the Popol Wuj.'
- b. ✓ [TOP Ha heb' ix unin]₁ **tzijtum** [heb' ix]₁ ixyawtej ch'anh Popol Wuj.
 PV PL CLF child many PL they read CLF Popol Wuj
 ≈ 'As for the girls, many of them ready the Popol Wuj.'

Again, the above data follow from the predicative analysis of *tzijtum*: if the quantifier is a NVP, it is expected that (i) it should not be able to be topicalized with the DP it quantifies over and (ii) it should be able to itself serve as the main predicate of a sentence in which a DP is topicalized, as is the case in (47-b).

3.3 Summary

This paper started by showing a surface similarity between the quantifiers *tzijtum* 'many' and *masanil* 'all', insofar as both tend to be found in sentence-initial positions, at least when the main arguments of the verb are being quantified over. In this section, we have shown that this similarity is only apparent: while *tzijtum* is an A-quantifier instantiated as a nonverbal predicate, *masanil* is a D-quantifier. The diagnostics we used to draw this distinction are summarized below:

(48) **Testing for NVP vs DP status**

Testing	Diagnostic	<i>Tziktum</i>	<i>Masanil</i>
NVP status	Predicational cop. clause	✓	✗
	Predicate in possessive ‘have’ construction	✓	✗
	Secondary predicate	✓	✗
DP status	Can be part of the complement of a preposition	✗	✓
	Can be part of the possessor of a DP	✗	✓
	Can be part of a topicalized DP	✗	✓

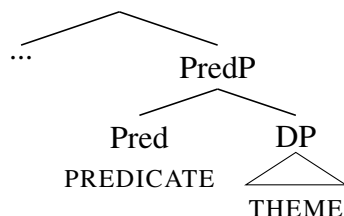
Having established that there are two types of “sentence-initial” quantifiers in Chuj, the next sections sketch and motivate syntactic analyses of each. As we will show, both types of quantifiers require an understanding of the left periphery, since either relativization, focus movement, or topicalization is required to derive their distribution. Section 4 starts with an analysis of A-quantifiers. Section 5 then turns to an analysis of D-quantifiers.

Furthermore, the next sections will make two additional empirical contributions. First, we will show that neither *tziktum* nor *masanil* are unique in their category, by identifying additional quantifiers of each type. Second, section 5 will identify a second category of D-quantifier, which contrary to *masanil*, is perfectly acceptable in postverbal position.

4 A-quantifiers as nonverbal predicates

This section sketches an analysis of A-quantifiers as nonverbal predicate (NVPs) in Chuj. We also provide an inventory of NVP quantifiers we have been able to identify.

While the verbal domain in Mayan has been thoroughly studied, there are relatively few analyses of nonverbal predication (though see [Mateo Toledo 2012](#), [Coon 2014](#), and [Armstrong 2017](#)). Here, we adopt [Coon’s \(2014\)](#) analysis of NVPs in a closely related language, Ch’ol. [Coon](#) builds on parallel data in Austronesian languages to propose that the subjects of NVPs in Ch’ol are always instantiated as *internal arguments* (building on [Sabbagh 2011](#)), rather than external arguments (contra analyses of English-type predication in work such as [Bowers 1993](#) and [Baker 2003](#)). This proposal is schematized below, with only the relevant syntactic pieces shown:

(49) The syntax of NVPs in Mayan; building [Coon 2014](#)

While we refer readers to [Coon 2014](#) for extensive argumentation, we note here that the subjects of NVPs behave syntactically like internal arguments, rather than external arguments. In Ch’ol, sub-extraction out of possessive DPs is possible when the possessive DP is an unaccusative subject or transitive object, but not when it is a transitive subject (see also [Little 2020a](#)):

- (50) Ch'ol, examples from Coon 2014: (10a), (10b), (11a)
- a. ✓ Maxki₁ [TP tyi chäm-i [DP i-wakax ___₁]]?
 who PFV die-IV A3-cow
 ‘Whose cow died?’
 - b. ✓ Maxki₁ [TP tyi aw-il-ä [DP i-chich ___₁]]?
 who PFV A2-see-TV A3-sister
 ‘Whose older sister did you see?’
 - c. *Maxki₁ [TP tyi i-jats'-ä-yety [DP i-chich ___₁]]?
 who PFV A3-hit-TV-B2 A3-sister
 ‘Whose older sister hit you?’

Coon shows that the subjects of *NVPs* pattern with the unaccusative subjects and transitive objects of the verbal predicates in (50)—and therefore internal arguments. This supports the view that they occupy the internal argument (THEME) position, as in (49).

- (51) Ch'ol, examples from Coon 2014: (12)
- a. ✓ Maxki₁ [PredP chañ [DP i-wakax ___₁]]?
 who tall A3-sister
 ‘Whose older sister is tall?’
 - b. ✓ Maxki₁ [PredP maystraj [DP i-wakax ___₁]]?
 who teacher A3-sister
 ‘Whose older sister is a teacher?’

Extending this syntax for NVPs to Chuj, we now sketch an analysis of A-quantifiers. A syntax for a basic NVP clause with *tzijtum* is provided below. Here, *tzijtum* is instantiated as a NVP which takes the pronoun *heb' ix* ‘they (feminine)’ as its internal argument.

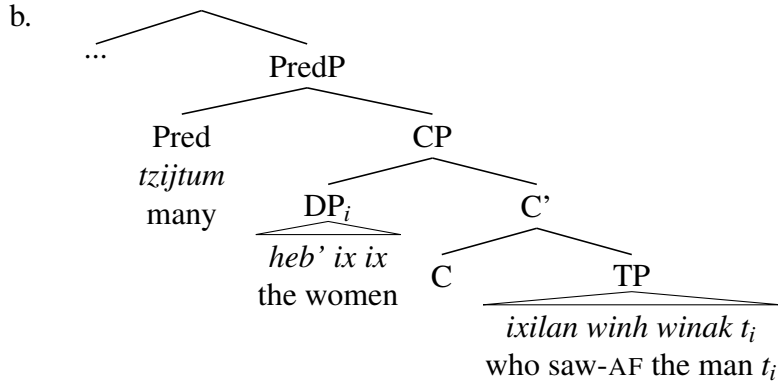
- (52) a. **Tzijtum** [_{SUBJ} heb' ix].
 many PL they
 ‘They are many.’
- b.
-
- ```

graph TD
 Root["..."] --- PredP["PredP"]
 PredP --- Pred["Pred"]
 PredP --- DP["DP"]
 Pred --- Tzijtum["tzijtum"]
 Tzijtum --- many["many"]
 DP --- HebIx["heb' ix"]
 HebIx --- TheWomen["the women"]

```

As for sentence (1), repeated below, which drew our attention at the beginning of this paper, we propose that the subject of the NVP in this case is a relativized agent. Recall from section 2 that relativization of transitive subjects in Chuj gives rise to Agent Focus morphology on the verb stem. This analysis therefore derives the obligatory use of an Agent Focus construction whenever a quantifier like *tzijtum* quantifies over the agent:

- (53) a. **Tzijtum heb' ix ix ix-il-an winh winak.**  
       many   PL   CLF woman PFV-see-AF CLF man  
       ‘Many women saw the man.’



Since this analysis relies on relativization, it predicts that whenever *tzijtum* quantifies over a transitive subject, an Agent Focus construction will be required (Coon et al. 2014; Coon et al. 2021). As illustrated below, this is indeed the case: a regular transitive verb without Agent Focus morphology cannot be used as an alternative to (53-a).

- (54) **X** **Tzijtum** **heb' ix ix** ix-y-il winh winak.  
 many PL CLF woman PFV-A3-see CLF man  
 If the intended meaning is: ‘Many women saw the man.’  
 Could otherwise mean: ‘The man saw many women.’

This concludes our analysis of A-quantifiers as NVPs in Chuj. Importantly, we have been able to answer some of the questions which we set out to answer at the beginning of this paper. One question was why the relevant quantifier needed to appear in a sentence-initial position. The answer to this question straightforward: *tzijtum* is generally sentence-initial, because Chuj is a predicate-initial language. Another question was what kinds of movement operations are involved in the derivation of sentence containing quantifiers like *tzijtum*. Here, we argued that more complex sentences with *tzijtum*, such as the one in (1)/(53-a), involve a process of relativization. This also explains why Agent Focus morphology is required whenever *tzijtum* quantifies over a transitive subject. As we will see in the next section, this is crucially different from sentences with *masanil*, which *do not* necessarily trigger the Agent Focus construction.

Before moving on to the next section, however, we note that a list of quantifiers which we have identified as being in the same category as *tzijtum* is provided in the Appendix. Interestingly, all of these quantifiers belong the semantic class of “judgement-value quantifiers” (Keenan and Paperno 2012). While we do not provide explicit examples with each, any of these quantifiers (except the “mass” quantifiers, which require a mass noun) could be inserted instead of *tzijtum* in the previous examples.

## 5 Analyzing two types of D-quantifiers

In this section, we turn to an analysis of Chuj quantifiers of the *masanil* type, the second class of quantifier that generally appears in a sentence-initial position in Chuj (2). In section 3.2 we established that *masanil* is a D-quantifier, occurring in the extended projection of DP. This finding leads to the question of why DPs containing *masanil* occur in a sentence-initial position when they are main arguments of the verb.

However, we first establish a crucial empirical fact, namely that not all D-quantifiers in the language are subject to this requirement. That is, section 5.1 first provides a description of a third type of Chuj quantifier: D-quantifiers that do not have any effect on the syntactic position of their host argument, which we will call “Basic D-quantifiers”. We then turn in section 5.2 to an analysis of quantifiers like *masanil* ‘all’, which we call “Focus D-quantifiers”, arguing that these are differentiated from the basic ones insofar as they introduce a focus A'-feature, generally targeted by a probe on Foc<sup>0</sup>.

## 5.1 Basic D-quantifiers

While *masanil* generally prefers its host argument to appear at the left periphery, not all D-quantifiers in Chuj show such a requirement. Consider, for instance, the different uses of *jantak* in (55). As indicated in translations, *jantak* can mean ‘many’ or ‘all’, depending on the context:<sup>9</sup>

- (55) a. Ix-in-y-il [Subj **jantak** heb' anima' ].  
 PFV-B1S-A3-see JANTAK PL person  
 ‘Many/all people saw me.’
- b. Ix-ko-mol-an [Obj **jantak** heb' ix ch'okch'ok chonhab'il ].  
 PFV-A1P-gather-CON JANTAK PL CLF different towns  
 ‘And so we gathered all of them women from different towns.’ (txt, CD300715)
- c. Ix-och wyolasyonh t'a kib'anh [Obj yoj **jantak** heb' winh solda'o ].  
 PFV-enter violations PREP upon.us by JANTAK PL CLF soldiers  
 ‘Violations were brought upon us by many soldiers.’ (txt, CD300715)

As shown above, *jantak* can be postverbal when modifying the subject (55-a), object (55-b), or a DP contained within an oblique phrase (55-c). This is strikingly different from quantifiers like *masanil* ‘all’, which generally force DP arguments to appear at the left periphery.

A unifying property of Basic D-quantifiers in Chuj is that their arguments may serve as the sole, postverbal argument of a NVP. Minimal pairs with *pitzan* ‘awake’ are provided below:

- (56) Basic D-quantifiers in Chuj
- a. Pitz-an [ **jun** winh unin ].  
 wake.up-STAT INDF CLF.MASC child  
 ‘A child is awake.’
- b. Pitz-an [ **tzun** winh unin ].  
 wake.up-STAT INDF.DIM CLF.MASC child  
 ‘A (loveable) child is awake.’

<sup>9</sup>Note that *jantak* can also mean ‘how many’, when used as an interrogative word. In such cases, the interrogative word must appear preverbally. We leave an analysis of interrogative quantifiers for the future, noting some avenues for future work in the conclusion section (§6).

We also note here that *jantak* is not the only quantifier to have double “existential/universal” interpretations in Chuj. The quantifier *junjun* can mean ‘some’ or ‘each’, depending on the context (see Royer 2022a). Similar facts are reported for other Mayan languages, such as Kaqchikel (Henderson 2014).

- c. Pitz-an [ **juntzanh** heb' winh unin ].  
wake.up-STAT INDF.PL PL CLF.MASC child  
'Some children are awake.'
- d. Pitz-an [ **junjun** heb' winh unin ].  
wake.up-STAT INDF.PL PL CLF.MASC child  
'Each child/some children is/are awake.'
- e. Pitz-an [ **jantak** heb' winh unin ].  
wake.up-STAT many PL CLF.MASC child  
'Many/every child(ren) are/is awake.'
- f. Pitz-an [ **jay-wanh** heb' winh unin ].  
wake.up-STAT few-NUM.CLF PL CLF.MASC child  
'Few guitarists are standing here.'

This, of course, is not an environment in which a NVP quantifier, such *tzijtum*, may be found (57). That is, since *tzijtum* is itself a NVP, it cannot co-occur with *ptizan* 'awake':

- (57) \* Pitz-an **tzijtum** heb' winh unin.  
wake.up-STAT many PL CLF.MASC child  
Intended: 'Many guitarists are awake.'

As for the quantifier *masanil*, it is again preferred in prepredicate position:

- (58) a. ✓ [ **Masanil** heb' winh unin ] pitz-an.  
all PL CLF.MASC child wake.up-STAT  
'All of the children are standing here.'
- b. ?? Pitz-an [ **masanil** heb' winh unin ].  
wake.up-STAT all PL CLF.MASC child  
'All of the children are standing here.'

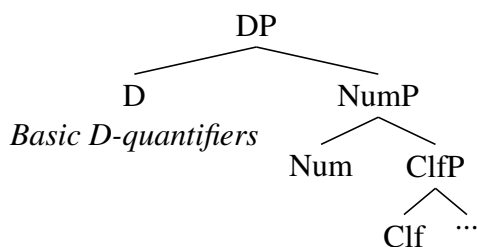
Finally, we note that arguments with Basic D-quantifiers pattern with those without quantifiers in being able to serve as foci or topics. In such cases, they show the same morphology generally found on focused and topicalized nominal expressions, discussed in section 2.3. We highlight here the *presence* of the preverbal marker *ha*, crucially *absent* from sentences in which *masanil* DPs are preverbal. (We return to this point shortly in the next subsection).

- (59) a. [<sub>Foc</sub> \*(Ha) **jantak** heb' anima' ] ix-chel-an waj Xun.  
PV many PL person PFV-hug-AF CLF Xun  
'It was many people who hugged Xun.'
- b. [<sub>Top</sub> \*(Ha)=xo **jantak** heb' winh w-et'b'eyum ], ay **heb' winh** hin-ch'ox  
PV=ADV many PL CLF A1S-friend EXT PL CLF A1S-show  
y-il-a'.  
A1S-see-TV  
'As for many of my friends, I taught them.' (txt, CM300715)

For completeness, we extend the analysis of indefinite quantifiers in Royer 2022a to all quantifiers in (56), which proposes that the indefinite quantifiers *jun* and *juntzanh* in Chuj are D heads:



(60) Syntax of Basic D-quantifiers



Having established that Chuj possesses D-quantifiers that do not exhibit any constraints on appearing at the left periphery, we now turn to an analysis of *masanil* DPs.

## 5.2 Focus D-quantifiers

In section 3.1, we presented several empirical arguments to demonstrate that *masanil* ‘all’, contrary to other quantifiers like *tzijtum* ‘many’, is a D-quantifier: a quantifier that arises internal to the extended nominal domain. Crucially, however, *masanil* sometimes requires the expressions it quantifies over to appear at the left periphery. In section 5.1, we then showed that Chuj possesses D-quantifiers that do not exhibit this requirement. Here, we sketch an analysis of *masanil* DPs, which accounts for this point of variation among D-quantifiers.

Recall the main distributional conditions on *masanil* ‘all’:

- (61) The quantifier *masanil*...
- must be at the left periphery whenever it quantifies over a DP argument of the verb;
  - can be in the postverbal position otherwise.

The facts in (61) should be reminiscent of the distribution of foci in Chuj, whose distributional conditions are repeated below from (20):

- (62) Focused DPs, contrastive and new information alike...
- must be in the left peripheral focus position when arguments of the verb;
  - can be in their *in situ* postverbal position otherwise.

We therefore propose that *masanil*, at least when used as a D-quantifier (see footnote 6 above), is a focus-sensitive item. Building on previous work (see e.g., Cable 2010, Coon et al. 2021, Hedding 2022, and Branam and Erlewine to appear for different formalizations of this particular feature), we tie this to a feature in the syntax of the DP hosting the quantifier, which we refer to as “[Q]” here after Cable’s (2010) approach to question particles:

- (63) Proposal about *masanil* (based on Hedding 2022)  
*Masanil* is a “Focus D-quantifier”: it carries the feature [Q], and as such, generally enters into Agree with a null left-peripheral A’-probe on Foc<sup>0</sup>.

Semantically, the proposal that a quantifier like *masanil* should be associated with a focus-sensitive feature has precedent. Brisson (2003), for instance, analyzes *all* in English as an item that requires all relevant individuals in the domain of quantification to be considered, and therefore introduces *domain alternatives*. Were the semantics of *masanil* identical to *all*, we would

expect it to have both collective and distributive readings. Crucially, *masanil* DPs can lead to such interpretations:

- (64) **Masanil** heb' winh b'owum pat ix-b'o'-an jun pat.  
 all PL CLF builder house PFV-build-AF INDF house  
 'All of the house-builders built a house.'
- a. **Context 1:** There are nine construction workers. There is one house. The nine builder built that house together. (64) = ✓
- b. **Context 2:** There are nine construction workers. There are nine houses. The nine builders built a different house. (64) = ✓

Another precedent to the claim that universal quantifiers can introduce alternatives is Zeijlstra 2017, which building on the analysis of PPIs in Chierchia 2013, argues that some universals introduce alternatives. Zeijlstra specifically argues that universal quantifiers introduce alternatives when they are positive polarity items that *must take wide-scope over negative operators*. Our preliminary data suggest that *masanil* must also take scope over negation. The data in (65) are from elicitation. (66) was taken from a text, in which the preceding dialogue makes it clear that there is nothing that the speaker can buy (and hence the universal takes wide scope over negation):

- (65) **Masanil** heb' icham maj-ja-laj y-il k'inh.  
 all PL elder NEG.PFV-come-NEG A3-see party  
 ≈ 'All of the elders didn't come to the party.'
- a. **Context 1:** About 9 out of 12 elders went to the party. (65) = ✗
- b. **Context 2:** None of the elders went to the party. (65) = ✓
- (66) **Masanil** tas manh ko-tzal-laj ko-man-an-i.  
 all thing NEG A1P-can-NEG A1P-buy-AF-IV  
 'We can't buy anything.'<sup>10</sup> (txt, CJ220715)

On the morphosyntactic side, recall that *masanil* is different from other D-quantifiers insofar as it does not combine with the "preverbal marker" *ha*.<sup>11</sup> Our corpora confirm this fact: we have not found a single sentence in which *ha* and *masanil* co-occur.

- (67) (\*Ha) **Masanil** heb' ix-awt-an ch'anh libro.  
 PV all PL PFV-read-AF CLF book  
 'All of them read the book.'

We hypothesize that the particle *ha* occupies the highest position in the extended nominal domain, which, following Cable (2010), we label as "QP". This idea, schematized in (68), builds on previous work that proposes that A'-movement always results from movement of a phrase containing a particle (see e.g., Cable 2010; Hedding 2022; Branan and Erlewine to appear). This particle could be a *wh*-particle (Cable 2010), or a specific focus-sensitive particle like *ha* (cf. Branan and Erlewine to appear), but we assume that it could also be lexicalized as part of specific focus-

<sup>10</sup>The word *tas* can mean 'what' or 'thing'. Here, we gloss it as 'thing' given that it co-occurs with a quantifier (see Royer 2021 for discussion of this ambiguity).

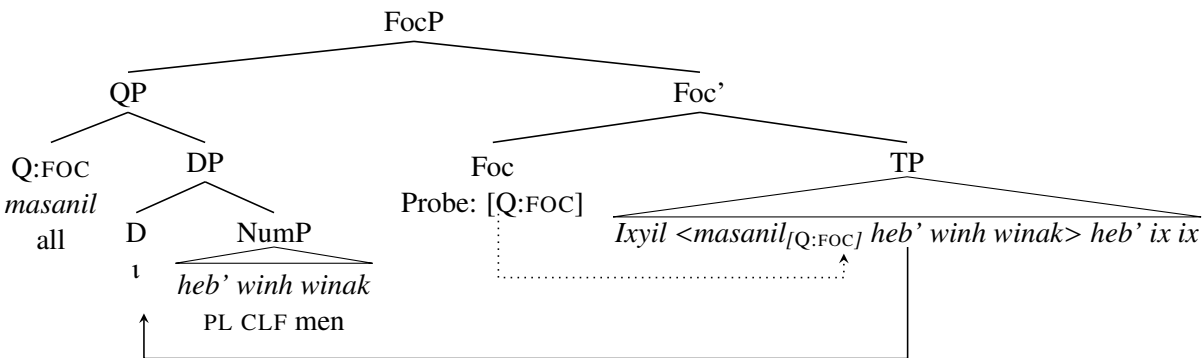
<sup>11</sup>One exception to this is when the focused DP is a *wh*-word in an interrogative sentence (which must be in focus position; see (21-a) above, as well as Royer 2021).

sensitive expressions, such as a *wh*-words or quantificational expressions (Hedding 2022; Branan and Erlewine to appear). In other words, we suggest that *masanil*, as an alternative-sensitive item, occupies the same syntactic position as the particle *ha* (69), explaining why the two do not co-occur. This is schematized below. (Building on the analysis of maximal definites in Royer 2022a, we assume that the head of DP in this case is the operator ι ‘iota’).



Turning to an analysis of Focus D-quantifiers inside clauses, we propose that these consistently enter into Agree with a Q:FOC-probe on Foc<sup>0</sup>, by virtue of carrying a [Q:FOC] feature.<sup>12</sup>

(70) Syntax of *masanil* in full clauses



In short, then, *masanil* as a Focused D-quantifier bears an inherent A'-feature, modeled as the Q-feature of Cable (2010), which requires it to move to the left periphery of clauses in Chuj.

With our analysis of Focus D-quantifiers sketched above, we conclude this section by highlighting three final points about the distribution of *masanil* DPs and their implications for our syntactic analysis. A first point to be addressed is the availability of Focus D-quantifiers to occur in topic position. That is, we saw in section 3.2 that *masanil* DPs can be used as topics in Chuj. Assuming, as proposed in section 2.3, that topics are base-generated in a high peripheral position, we suggest that *masanil* has a non-focused counterpart which occurs in such contexts but still bears a non-focus Q feature. One simple argument for this conclusion is the observation that the particle *ha* is also used to introduce topics; this particle now can be seen as a general-purpose Q head. In discussing this possibility of Q features in topicalization structures, Cable (2010, p. 232-3) notes that such Q features would necessarily lack the alternative-sensitive semantics otherwise associated with Q heads. One way to make sense of the finding that *ha* (and *masanil*) can occur in both topic and focus position would be to analyze them as only morphologically specified to realize [Q]

<sup>12</sup>Coon et al. (2021) propose that probes on Foc<sup>0</sup> (or C<sup>0</sup>) are composite probes in Mayan: they are relativized to search for (i) an A'-feature, either [FOC], [REL] or [WH], and (ii) a [D] feature. We assume the same here, except that the relevant feature is [Q], not [A'].

features in Chuj; while moved focus phrases possess FOC or ALT in the syntax, the topic phrases clearly do not. Nevertheless, the vocabulary items associated with *ha* and Focus D-quantifiers such as *masanil* are compatible with different subtypes of Q, as they realize only the Q feature itself.

Second, something must be said about those cases in which a Focus D-quantifier does not have to move to the focus position. That is, we saw in section 3.2 that when *masanil* DPs arise in oblique or possessor position, they can remain *in situ*. We suggest that in such cases, the relevant DPs are simply unavailable to the A'-probe. For possessors, for instance, this seems to be mostly the case in the language: sub-extraction out of DPs is highly constrained in Chuj, at least when it comes to the left-peripheral focus position (this is contrary to other Mayan languages, such as Ch'ol; see also discussion in Royer 2023):<sup>13</sup>

- (71) \* ¿Mach ix-h-il [ ix y-une' [ <mach> ]]?  
 who PFV-A2S-see CLF A3-child who  
 Intended: 'Whose daughter did you see?' (see (19-a) above for how this can be said)

This restriction can be explained by simply positing that the possessive DP is a phase, and thus that the possessor cannot be extracted from out of it.

For PPs, we could again allude to the fact that PPs are phases, and therefore a QP cannot be targeted by Foc<sup>0</sup>. Alternatively, it could be that PPs are simply not targetable by the Probe on Foc<sup>0</sup>. For instance, Coon et al. (2021) propose that the focus A'-probe in Mayan is relativized to probe specifically for DPs (which would translate here as "QPs"). In other words, PPs could therefore simply not be of the right syntactic category to be targeted by the probe in (70). The fact that they *can* optionally appear to the left of the predicate would then have to be derived without resorting to movement to the specifier of Foc<sup>0</sup>. This is independently argued by Royer (2023) for Chuj to account for patterns of syntactic binding in Chuj: arguments coindexed with main arguments of the verb that are contained within oblique phrases do not reconstruct for binding (see Royer 2023: section 3.4).

A final case to consider is what happens when two foci co-occur within the same sentence. This is particularly relevant, as it has been claimed that multiple foci are not possible within a same sentence across several Mayan languages, a fact which correlates with the unavailability of multiple *wh*-questions (Aissen 1996; Curiel Ramírez del Prado 2017; AnderBois and Chan Dzul 2021; Can Pixabaj 2021; Coon et al. 2021; Vázquez Álvarez and Coon 2021; Mateo Toledo 2021; Polian and Aissen 2021; Royer 2021). Chuj also bans multiple *wh*-questions:

- (72) a. # **Mach** ix-man-an **tas(i)**?  
 who PFV-buy-AF what  
 Intended: 'Who bought what?'  
 Could mean: Who bought something(s)?  
 b. \* **Mach tas** ix-man-an-i?  
 who what PFV-buy-AF-IV  
 c. \* **Tas mach** ix-man-an-i?  
 what who PFV-buy-AF-IV

<sup>13</sup>Sub-extraction of possessive DPs is sometimes possible when forming relative clauses. The sentence in (45-b) above is one example.

If *masanil* DPs in argument position must generally move to the specifier of Foc<sup>0</sup>, we might expect ineffability to arise when they co-occur with *wh*-items. This expectation is not clearly borne out, however. Speakers vary in whether they are willing to accept the following kind of sentence:

- (73) % Tas ix-s-man **masanil** heb' unin?  
 what PFV-A3-buy all PL child  
 'What did all the children buy?'

Nevertheless, all speakers we have consulted indicate a preference for the following type of construction to express the intended meaning in (73). In fact, when prompted to translate this target sentence, this is the construction that is generally given.

- (74) **Tas** ix-s-man heb' unin, s-**masanil**?  
 what PFV-A3buy PL child A3-all  
 'What did the children buy, all of them?'

As noted in footnote 6 above, we follow Little (2022) in assuming that the quantifier in this case is nominalized, and adjoined as a possessive phrase whose possessor is a null pronoun coindexed with one of the main arguments of the verb:

- (75) made [ **the tortillas** ]<sub>1</sub> Xun, [<sub>POSSP</sub> **all** of *them*<sub>1</sub> ].

If these uses of *masanil* are in fact of category N, as they can be possessed, then they are either inaccessible to the Q-probe on Foc or they lack a Q feature all together, and may instead simply have an exhaustifying lexical meaning such as 'entirety, totality.'

As for the speakers for whom non-fronted uses of *masanil* in (73) are acceptable, we have already seen evidence from their ability to occur in topic sentences that some uses of *masanil* do not seem to require the presence of a FOC-specified Q head. If such non-focused Q-variants of *masanil* are generally available when it occurs as a topic, then we can assume that speakers may generally resort to these non-focus variants of *masanil* when they occur in argument positions. In fact, this claim can help make sense of one of the original observations made with respect to *masanil*, which is that their non-fronted variants, as in (2), are not fully ungrammatical but degraded. Perhaps this is due to speakers ability to accept the non-focused variant of *masanil*, albeit reluctantly, in argument positions.

### 5.3 Summary

This section identified and provided an analysis of two types of D-quantifiers in Chuj: Basic D-quantifiers, which have no effect on the syntactic distribution of nominal arguments, and Focus D-quantifiers, which require arguments to appear in a preverbal position. We proposed that while D-quantifiers that show no left-peripheral restriction are instantiated in the head of DP, D-quantifiers instantiate the head of QP: a phrase usually containing focus sensitive particle that enters into Agree with focus operators at the periphery of the CP domain.

While we only focused on *masanil* DPs here, we note that one other quantifier is like *masanil* in being a Focus D-quantifier. This expression is built from the lexical item *yalnhej* and any *wh*-expression except *tas yuj* 'why'. *Yalnhej+wh* quantifiers are discussed at length in Kotek and Erlewine 2019 and Alonso-Ovalle and Royer 2022. This quantifier is used as a modal indefinite,

conveying speaker indifference or ignorance. As discussed in [Alonso-Ovalle and Royer 2022](#), arguments modified by *yalnhej+wh* quantifiers are strongly preferred in preverbal position:

- (76) a. **Yalnhej tas** ol-in-man-a'.  
 YALNHEJ what PROSP-A1S-buy-TV  
 'I'll buy anything.'
- b. ?? Ol-in-man **yalnhej tas**.  
 PROSP-A1S-buy YALNHEJ what

*Yalnhej-wh* quantifiers check all of the same syntactic diagnostics as *masanil*: (i) they can co-occur with prepositions, (ii) they can serve as the possessors of DPs, and (iii) they can be topicalized. Critically, they also do not co-occur with *ha*. Being modal indefinites, it is unsurprising that *yalnhej*-DPs should be associated with a domain alternative feature: based on an in-depth semantic analysis of these quantifiers, [Alonso-Ovalle and Royer \(2022\)](#) specifically argue that they evoke alternatives (see also e.g., [Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002](#); [Alonso-Ovalle and Menéndez-Benito 2018](#) on analyses of similar modal indefinites).

## 6 Conclusion

This paper has identified, described, and analyzed different classes of quantificational expressions in Chuj, an understudied Mayan language. In doing so, we have provided answers to the main questions posed at the beginning of the paper, which were:

- Q1** Why must some quantifiers appear in a sentence-initial position, but not others?
- Q2** If any, what kind of movement operations are involved to derive the initial position of the quantifiers in sentences like (1-a) and (2-a)?
- Q3** How are these quantifiers formally distinguished from other expressions that do not have to be sentence-initial?

Starting with **Q1**, we argued that despite initial appearances, the Chuj quantifiers that appear in sentence-initial position are not part of a homogeneous class. On the one hand, some quantifiers, such as *tzigtum* 'many', are "A-quantifiers", syntactically manifested as nonverbal predicates. Since Chuj is predicate-initial language, it immediately followed that such quantifiers should generally be found in sentence-initial positions. On the other hand, we argued that other quantifiers, such as *masanil*, were "Focus D-quantifiers": D-quantifiers that carry a focus [Q] feature ([Cable 2010](#)), and as such are generally targeted by a left peripheral A'-Probe. An important empirical finding in the case of Focus D-quantifiers, was that their distribution paralleled that of focused expressions in general: only main arguments must be displaced to the focus position.

This brings us to **Q2**, which is again relevant to both A-quantifiers and Focus D-quantifiers. In particular, while Focus D-quantifiers are targeted for A'-movement whenever they form a part of one of the main arguments of the predicate, the derivation of sentences with NVP A-quantifiers also often required a step of A'-movement. That is, to explain sentences like (1), we argued that NVPs often select for relativized arguments. Being internally-headed relative clauses ([Coon et al. 2014](#), [Coon et al. 2021](#)), such sentences involve A'-movement of a relativized DP. More generally,



the identification of a large class of A-quantifiers in Chuj reminds similar observations in other Indigenous languages of the Americas (see e.g., [Davis and Matthewson 2019](#) on references therein). As for Focus D-quantifiers, this type of quantifier adds to the growing body of work that has shown that certain kinds of quantifiers can, much like *wh*-phrases in more widely-studied languages, trigger consistent phrasal movement of certain arguments (see e.g., [Kiss 1991](#), [Szabolcsi 1997](#), [Chung 1998, 2008](#), [Barchas-Lichtenstein 2012](#), [Ostrove 2018](#)).

Finally, with regards to **Q3**, we argued that Focus D-quantifiers should be formally distinguished from other DPs that do not have to appear in sentence-initial position. As we showed in section 5, this includes a large class of D-quantifiers, which are most often found in *in situ* postverbal positions. Building on [Cable \(2010\)](#), [Hedding \(2022\)](#), and [Branan and Erlewine \(to appear\)](#), we proposed that the main difference among these kinds of D-quantifiers amounted to the presence or absence of the focus feature [Q], which only Focus D-quantifiers bear. This allowed to identify a third class of Chuj quantifier, thereby contributing to the current limited understanding of quantification in Mayan ([Henderson 2016](#)).

While there remains much potential for future work, we end this paper by highlighting two pressing issues. First, while we have mostly ignored *wh*-words—which also have quantificational force and appear in sentence-initial position—these have been treated like DP arguments in previous work on Chuj (see e.g., [Kotek and Erlewine 2019](#), [Royer 2021](#); and [Coon et al. 2021](#) on Mayan more generally). As such, they could receive an analysis similar to the one proposed for *masanil* DPs. In fact, the analysis on which we based our account of Focus D-quantifiers ([Cable 2010](#)) was originally designed to account for the behaviour of *wh*-words in questions. However, it is important to highlight that *wh*-quantifiers seem to exhibit a hybrid behaviour, at least with regards to the diagnostics we established in section 3. For instance, *wh*-words can serve as the main predicate of NVP clauses (77-a). At the same time, they can also occur in oblique phrases (77-b) (with pied-piping with inversion; see [Aissen 1996](#)), a construction that is not available for non-interrogative A-quantifiers. Future work should therefore address this hybrid behaviour.

- (77) a.  $\zeta$ **Mach** ix?  
           who CLF.PRON  
           ‘Who is she?’  
       b.  $\zeta$ <sub>[Obl]</sub> **Mach** yet’ ] ix-ach-xit’ ek’-i?  
           who with PFV-B2S-go DIR.pass-IV  
           ‘With whom did you go?’

A second pressing issue regards the pragmatics and semantics of Chuj focus and quantifiers, which we also mostly ignored in this paper. With regards to pragmatics, we showed in section 2.3 that Chuj differs from other Mayan languages in treating contrastive and new information foci alike (see e.g., [Aissen 2017b](#) on other Mayan languages). On the semantics side, there are also important topics to be addressed. For example, our syntactic analysis of quantifiers like *tzijtum* as NVPs might be taken to predict that these should only have “cardinal” interpretations, as opposed to “proportional” interpretations (see e.g., discussion in [Partee 1991](#), [Keenan and Paperno 2012](#), [Davis and Matthewson 2019](#)). While we leave a discussion of these data for future work, we note here that upon preliminary investigation, this prediction does not seem to be borne out: while being NVPs syntactically, A-quantifiers in Chuj seem to be compatible with both intersective and proportional interpretations.



## 7 Appendix: Inventory of Chuj quantifiers

(78) Inventory of quantifiers over entities in San Mateo Ixtatán Chuj

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### D-quantifiers showing the behaviour of regular arguments

|                  |                                                       |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>jun</i>       | ‘one’ / singular indefinite determiner                |
| <i>juntzanh</i>  | ‘some’ / plural indefinite determiner                 |
| <i>junjun</i>    | ‘some/each’                                           |
| <i>tzun</i>      | ‘one’ (affective/diminutive)                          |
| <i>jantak</i>    | ‘many/all’                                            |
| <i>jab’</i>      | ‘little amount of’ (for mass nouns only)              |
| <i>jay-#.CLF</i> | ‘few’ (for count nouns only)                          |
| <i>#-#.CLF</i>   | all numerals (only Mayan based numerals with NUM.CLF) |

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### Focus D-quantifiers (showing a preverbal preference)

|                     |                                             |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>masanil</i>      | ‘all’                                       |
| <i>yalnhej</i> DPs  | free choice indefinite                      |
| interrogative words | all <i>wh</i> -words when used in questions |

---

### Predicative quantifiers

|                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>tzijtum</i>          | ‘many’                      |
| <i>pim</i>              | ‘many’ (also means ‘thick’) |
| <i>jantaknhej</i>       | ‘many’                      |
| <i>ma(nh)jantak(ok)</i> | ‘many’                      |
| <i>niwan</i>            | ‘many’ (also means ‘big’)   |
| <i>wal</i>              | ‘many’                      |
| <i>kenan</i>            | ‘few’ (count nouns)         |
| <i>kennhej</i>          | ‘few’ (count nouns)         |
| <i>jay-#.CLF-nhej</i>   | ‘few’ (count nouns)         |
| <i>jab’tzin</i>         | ‘few’ (mass nouns)          |
| <i>chabtzin</i>         | ‘few’ (mass nouns)          |

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