Yucatec Maya: A Fragment

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Background on YM

- ▶ VOS language (but often appears SVO due to focus constructions or topicalization)
- ▶ Considered to be a tenseless language
  - ▶ Shows temporality through aspect-mood (AM) markers
- ▶ Exhibits split ergativity

Set-A and Set-B

- Terms borrowed from the traditional Mayanist literature
- Used to show agreement marking
- Set-A shows agreement for subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs and possession
  - Has an element that comes before stem

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1ST PERSON	**in** (**w**)...	**in** (**w**)...-**o'on**
2ND PERSON	**a** (**w**)...	**a** (**w**)...-**e'ex**
3RD PERSON	**u** (**y**)...	**u** (**y**)...-**o'ob**

Set-A and Set-B

- ▶ Terms borrowed from the traditional Mayanist literature
- ▶ Used to show agreement marking
- ▶ Set-B shows agreement for subjects of various predicates as well as agreement for the object of verbs
  - ▶ Suffixes stem

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1ST PERSON	...-**en**	...-**o'on**
2ND PERSON	...-**ech**	...-**e'ex**
3RD PERSON	...-**Ø**	...-**o'ob**

Set-A and Set-B

(1) [In   wéetmeyaj]-o'ob (ti'o'ob)
    [A.1.SG coworker]-B.3.PL (they)
    'They are my co-workers'

(2) Koolnáal-en   (tèen).
    farmer-B.1.SG (I)
    'I am a farmer.'

Examples adapted from Armstrong (2009).

AM Markers

- ▶ Heads of VPs
- ▶ Used in non-copular sentences
- ▶ Can show temporal distance

(3) Ta'itak in   xok-ik-Ø   le   periyòodiko-o'.
    PROX A.1.SG read-INC-B.3.SG DEF newspaper-D2

'I /have/had/will have/ almost read the newspaper,'
'I /am/was/will be/ about to read the newspaper.'

Example from Bohnemeyer (2002).

AM Markers

- ▶ Heads of VPs
- ▶ Used in non-copular sentences
- ▶ Can show temporal distance
- ▶ Can also show modality

(4) Yaan in xok-ik-Ø le periyòodiko-o'.
    OBL A.1.SG read-INC-B.3.SG DEF newspaper-D2

    'I /have/had/will have/ to read the newspaper.'

Example from Bohnemeyer (2002).

AM marker	Status category triggered
perfective (PRV): *t-*	completive (CMP): e.g. *-aj-*
proximate (PROX): *ta'itak*	incompletive (INC): e.g. *-ik-*
predictive (PRED): *bíin*	subjunctive (SUBJ): e.g. *-Ø-*

(5) T-in   xok-**aj**-Ø   le   periyòodiko-o'.
     PRV-A.1.SG read-**CMP**-B.3.SG DEF newspaper-D2
     'I read the paper.'

(6) Ta'itak in   xok-**ik**-Ø   le   periyòodiko-o'.
     PROX A.1.SG read-**INC**-B.3.SG DEF newspaper-D2
     'I /have/had/will have/ almost read the paper.'

(7) Bíin in   xok-**Ø**-Ø   le
     PRED A.1.SG read-**SUBJ**-B.3.SG DEF
     periyòodiko-o'.
     newspaper-D2
     'I will/would read the paper.'

Examples from Bohnemeyer (2002).

Focus

(8) T=u jàant-aj-Ø òon Pèedróoj.
   PFV=A.3 eat-CMP-B.3.SG avocado Pedro
   'Pedro ate avocado.'

(9) òon t=u jàant-aj-Ø Pèedróoj.
   avocado PFV=A.3 eat-CMP-B.3.SG Pedro
   'Pedro ate an AVOCADO.'

Examples from Verhoeven and Skopeteas (2015).

Focus
Attempt 1

$$\textit{filler-gap-cxt} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{GAP} & \boxed{A} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{GAP} & \left\langle \boxed{1} \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{A} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$$

$$\textit{focus-cl, attempt 1} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{1} \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & - \end{bmatrix}, \cdots \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}$$

Relative Clause
Looks Like Focus

(10) le   máax jats'-ik-Ø   Juan-o'
   DEF who beat-INC-B.3 Juan-D2

   'that person who hits Juan'[1]
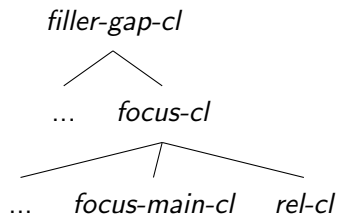
(11) T-in   wil-aj   le   máak j-sùut=o'.
   PRV-A1 see-CMP DEF man PRV-returned=D2

   'I saw the man who returned.'[2]

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[1]Example from Bricker 1978 (121).
[2]Example from Norcliffe (2009).

Focus and Relative Clauses
Attempt 2

$$
\text{filler-gap-cl}
$$

```
            filler-gap-cl
              /\
          ...    focus-cl
          /      /\
      ...   focus-main-cl   rel-cl
```

$$
\textit{focus-cl, attempt 2} \Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & + \\ \text{VAL} \langle \rangle & \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\
\text{HD-DTR} & \boxed{1}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\textit{focus-main-cl, attempt 2} \Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & + \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & - \end{bmatrix}, ... \right\rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\textit{rel-cl, attempt 2} \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \ \ \end{bmatrix}
$$

Agent focus
The AF alternation

When the agent is focused, an alternative verb form called the AF (agent focus) form may be used:

(12) Táan   in   xok-ik   le   perioyòodiko-o'
     PROG A.1.SG read-INC(B.3.SG) DEF newspaper-D2

    'I am/was/will be reading the paper.'

(13) Leti' jats'-ik-en
     it   beat-INC-B.1.SG

    'HE beats me.'

Examples from Bohnemeyer (2002).

Agent focus
The AF form

   (14) a. K-in   jant-ik-Ø   bu'ul.
              IMPF-A.1.SG eat-INC-B.3.SG beans
              'I eat beans.'

         b. *jant-ik-Ø   bu'ul
            eat-INC-B.3.SG beans
            intended: 'I eat beans.'

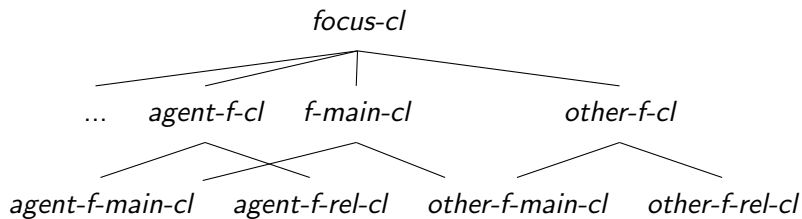Examples from Tonhauser (2003).

Agent focus
Agent-focus-rel-cl

The AF verb form also occurs in relative clauses:

(15) Le   chàan xibpàal   k-u   ts'uts'-ik-Ø
     DEF little male.child IMPF-A.3.SG kiss-INC-B.3.SG
     le   x-ko'olel-o'.
     DEF FEM-woman-D2
     'the little boy who is kissing the woman'

(16) Le   chàan xibpàal   ts'uts'-ik-Ø   le
     DEF little male.child kiss-INC-B.3.SG DEF
     x-ko'olel-o'.
     FEM-woman-D2
     'the little boy who is kissing the woman'
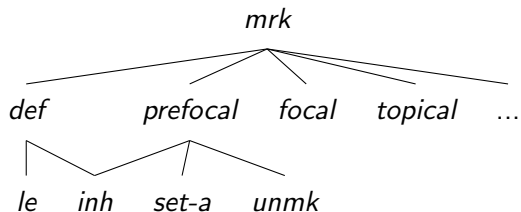

Examples from Norcliffe (2009).

Agent focus
Hierarchy of focus constructions

Agent focus
MRKG hierarchy

We use the MRKG feature to posit constraints on focus (e.g., preventing multiple focused elements):
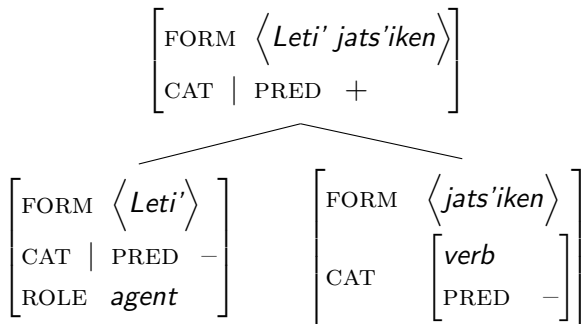
Agent focus
Final version

$$
\textit{focus-cl} \Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MRKG} & \textit{focal} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{1}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{VAL} & \langle\rangle \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\
\text{HD-DTR} & \boxed{1}\begin{bmatrix} \text{MRKG} & \textit{prefocal} \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\textit{agent-focus-cl} \Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle \text{X}, \begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{verb} \\ \text{STATUS} & \textit{sbj} \mid \textit{inc} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{MRKG} & \textit{unmk} \\
\text{GAP} & \left\langle \text{X}\begin{bmatrix} \text{ROLE} & \textit{agent} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \oplus \text{L}
\end{bmatrix} \right\rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Note: agent focus does not allow completive status marking.

Agent focus
Predicativity and *agent-focus-main-cl*

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{Leti' jats'iken} \right\rangle \\
\text{CAT} \mid \text{PRED} & +
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{Leti'} \right\rangle \\
\text{CAT} \mid \text{PRED} & - \\
\text{ROLE} & \textit{agent}
\end{bmatrix}
\qquad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{jats'iken} \right\rangle \\
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \textit{verb} \\ \text{PRED} & - \end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Deictic clitics

- ▶ Deictic clitics (D) orient the speaker deictically toward the content of the sentence.
- ▶ Attach to the end of a clause.
- ▶ The Highlander Principle: There can be only one!
- ▶ Their occurrence is licensed by the presence of a clitic-triggering constituent.
- ▶ The morphemes are: **a', o', e', i'**

Semantics of deictic clitics

- **a'** (D1): accessible to the speaker, this
- **o'** (D2): unaccessible to the speaker, that, the
- **e'** (D3): specific lexical items (e.g. *way* "here") and topics
- **i'** (D4): mainly negation, but also e.g. *ti'* "there"

Basic examples

(17) K-in   xok-ik   **le**   periyòodiko-**o'**.
      IMPV-A1   read-INC   DEF   newspaper-D2

   'I read the newapaper.' [3]

(18) Wi'ij-en   **way-e'**.
      hungry-B.1.SG   here-D3

   'I'm starving here.'[4]

(19) **Ma'** táan   u   lúub-s-ik   k'áax-**i'**.
      NEG PROG   A3   fall-CAUS-INC   jungle-D4.

   He is not clearing the jungle.[5]

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[3] Example from Bohnemeyer (2002).

[4] Example from Vivas Camara (1988).

[5] Example from Bohnemeyer (2002).

Clause-finality

(20) **Je'el** hun-p'íit ts'àak-**a'**!
PRSV one-bit cure.ATP-D1!
'Here's some medicine!'

(21) Tíin k'al-ik **le** naj y-etel u
PROG:A1SG lock-INC DEF house ONGL-with A3
yabej-il-**a'**.
key-REL-D1
'I am locking this house with the key.'

Examples from Bohnemeyer (2016).

Clitic preponderance I

<div align="center">

a' > o' > e' > i'

</div>

<div align="center">

D1 > D4

</div>

(22) Tak **be'òora ma'** wèen-ek-en-**a'**.
      even now   NEG sleep-SUBJ-B.1.SG-D1
      'Until now I have not slept.'

<div align="center">

D3 > D4

</div>

(23) Le **ma'** k'uch-uk-en-**e'**   káa j
      DEF NEG arrive-SBJ-B.1.SG-D3 CON PRV
      jóok'   leti'.
      exit.B.1.SG (s)he
      'When I had not yet arrived, she left.'
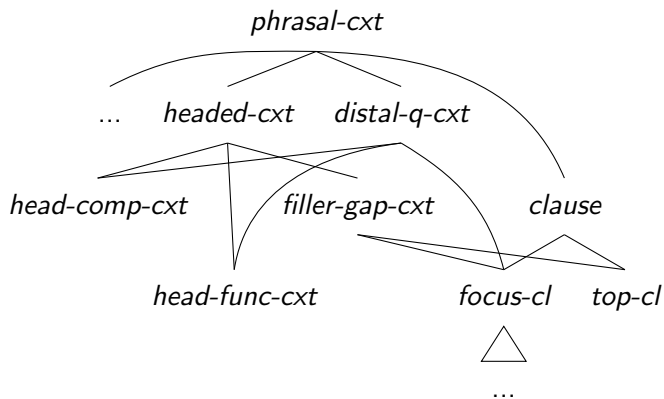

Clitic preponderance II

D1 > D2

(24) tuméen don Ignacio Bravo j   tàal u   jets'-kun-t
because don Ignacio Bravo PRV come A.3 quiet-CAUS-APP(B.3.SG)
le   màaya-s-o'ob **way** túun   ba'atejil-o'ob-a'.
DEF Maya-PL-PL here PROG:A3 fight-PL-D1

'. . . because don Ignacio Bravo came to pacify the Mayas who were fighting here.'

Example from Bohnemeyer (2016).

Distal queue construction

distal-q-cxt $\Rightarrow$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ENQ-D} & \text{F}_{\text{MAX}}\big(\boxed{1},\ \boxed{2},\ \dots\ \boxed{n-1},\ \boxed{n}\big) \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \boxed{m} \end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & none \end{bmatrix},\ \dots\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{n-1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & none \end{bmatrix},\ \begin{bmatrix} \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{n} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \boxed{m} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Phrasal construct

An example syntactic tree

(25) Ma' in w-ojel   le   naj-a'.
      NEG A.1 ONGL-knowledge DET house-D1
      'I don't know this house.'

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{ma' in wojel le naja'} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \textit{a'} \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \textit{a'}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{ma'} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \textit{i'} \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \varnothing
\end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{in wojel le naja'} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \textit{a'} \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \textit{a'}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{in wojel} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \varnothing \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \varnothing
\end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{le naja'} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \textit{a'} \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \textit{a'}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{in} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \varnothing \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \varnothing
\end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{wojel} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \varnothing \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \varnothing
\end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{le} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \textit{a'} \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \varnothing
\end{bmatrix}
\quad
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{FORM} & \left\langle \textit{naja'} \right\rangle \\
\text{ENQ-D} & \varnothing \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \textit{a'}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Restrictions on the Sentential node

$$
S = \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & + \\ \text{SET-A} & + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{VAL} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{GAP} & \langle \rangle \\ \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
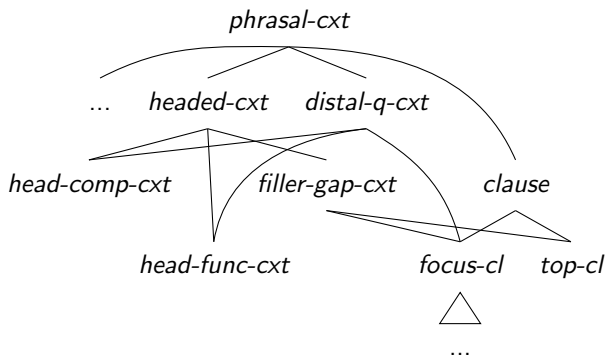$$

Topicalization

- ▶ Topicalization: a distal clitic in the middle of a sentence.

(23) Le **ma'** k'uch-uk-en-**e'** káa j jóok' leti'.
DEF NEG arrive-SBJ-B.1.SG-D3 CON PRV exit.B.1.SG (s)he

'When I had not yet arrived, she left.'[6]

(26) Le ts'akyaj-**o'** u k'aba'-**e'** Pedro-Ø.
DET doctor-D2 A.3.SG name-D3 Pedro-B.3.SG

'As for that doctor, as for his name, it is Pedro.'
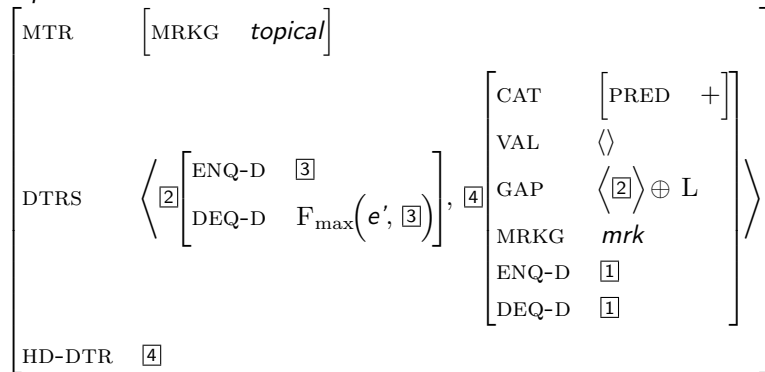(or: 'The doctor's name is Pedro.')

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[6]Example from Bohnemeyer (2016).

Phrasal construct

Towards an account of topical clauses

$$
\textit{topical-cl} \Rightarrow
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{MRKG} & \textit{topical} \end{bmatrix} \\[2ex]
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle \boxed{2}\begin{bmatrix} \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{3} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \text{F}_{\max}\!\left(e',\, \boxed{3}\right) \end{bmatrix},\ \boxed{4}\begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{PRED} & + \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{VAL} & \langle\rangle \\ \text{GAP} & \left\langle \boxed{2} \right\rangle \oplus \text{L} \\ \text{MRKG} & \textit{mrk} \\ \text{ENQ-D} & \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\[2ex]
\text{HD-DTR} & \boxed{4}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

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