Yucatecan Control and Lexical Categories in SBCG

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Complement control

Definition
Complement control is a construction where the implicit subject of a given verb is determined by some other expression in the clause.

- ▶ Yucatec Maya has two complement control constructions: subjunctive control and incompletive control.

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Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○●○○○	○	○	○○	
○○○○○	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Complement control

Status marking

	TRANSITIVE	INTRANSITIVE
INC	. . . -*ik*	. . . -V*l*, -∅
SBJ	. . . -*ej*, . . . -∅	. . . -V*k*, . . . -*ak*
CPL	. . . -*aj*	. . . -*aj*, . . . -∅

Table: Status morphology

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00●00	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Complement control

Split ergativity

(1) Ts'o'ok [in   na'ak-s-ik-ech].
     TERM A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG

     "I finished lifting you up."

(2) Ts'o'ok [in   na'ak-al].
     TERM A1SG ascend-INC

     "I finished going up."

(3) Sàam [in   na'ak-s-∅-ech].
     REC A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG

     "I lifted you up a while ago."

(4) Sàam [na'ak-ak-en].
     REC ascend-SBJ-B1SG

     "I went up a while ago."   (AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○●○	○	○	○○	
○○○○○	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Complement control

Examples

(5) Ki'imak in w-óol in w-il-ik-ech.
    happy A1 ONGL-spirit A1 ONGL-see-INC-B2SG
    "I am happy to see you."

    (AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

(6) Ma' in k'áat in man-∅ le ba'al-o'ob-o'.
    NEG A1 wish A1 buy-SBJ DEF thing-PL-D2.
    "I don't want to buy those things."

    (Bohnemeyer, 2002)

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Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○○●	○	○	○○	
○○○○○	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Complement control

Copy control

(7) Pil-e'   u   k'àat u   y-il-ej.
    Felipe-D3 A3 wish A3 ONGL-see-SBJ.B3SG
    "Felipe wish to see him/her/it."

(8) *Pil-e'   u   k'àat in/a   w-il-ej.
    Felipe-D3 A3 wish A1/A2 ONGL-see-SBJ.B3SG
    intended: "Felipe wants me/you to see him/her/it."

(9) In   káat káa   meyaj-n-ak-ech.
    A1SG wish for/that work-ANTIPASS-SBJ-B2SG
    "I want you to work."

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
●0000	○○	000		
○	000			

Government

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Subjunctive controllees

Predicates taking subjunctive complements:

- *ka'ansik* "teach"
- *tuxtik* "send"
- *sajak* "fear"
- *kanik* "learn"
- *k'at* "want"
- *ojel* "know (how to)"

- motion verbs:
  - *bin* "go"
  - *jok'ok* "leave"
  - *okol* "enter"
  - *tàal* "come"

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	0	0	00	
0●000	00	000		
0	000			

Government

Government
Imperfective controllees

Predicates taking imperfective complements:

- *k'a'ajsik* "remind"
- *k'a'ajal* "remember"
- *tu'ubul* "forget"
- *chunsik* "begin"

- motion verbs:
    - *bin* "go"
    - *jok'ok* "leave"
    - *okol* "enter"
    - *tàal* "come"

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	○	○	○○	
○○●○○	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Government

Motion verbs semantics

(10) Juan-e' táan u bin u t'ox-ik chu'ujuk te' mejen
Juan-D3 PROG A3 go A3 see-INC candy to.DEF small
paal-o'ob-o'.
child-PL-D3

"Juan is going around passing out candy to children."

(11) Juan-e' táan u bin u t'ox-∅ chu'ujuk te' mejen
Juan-D3 PROG A3 go A3 see-SBJ candy to.DEF small
paal-o'ob-o'.
child-PL-D3

"Juan is going (in order) to pass out candy to children."

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	○	○	○○	
○○○●○	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

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The riddle

What we expect...

(12) J   tàal-∅-en   [**in**   na'ak-s-**ik-ech**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG   A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG
      "I came (while) lifting you up."   (incompletive transitive)

(13) J   tàal-∅-en   [**in**   na'ak-**al**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG   A1SG ascend-INC
      "I came (while) ascending."   (incompletive intransitive)

(14) J   tàal-∅-en   [**in**   na'ak-s-∅-**ech**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG   A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG
      "I came to lift you up."   (subjunctive transitive)

(15) *J   tàal-∅-en   [na'ak-**ak-en**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG   ascend-SBJ-B1SG
      intended: "I came to ascend."   (subjunctive intransitive)

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	O	O	OO	
0000●	OO	OOO		
O	OOO			

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The riddle

... is not what we get

(12) J tàal-∅-en [**in** na'ak-s-**ik-ech**].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG
"I came (while) lifting you up." (incompletive transitive)

(13) J tàal-∅-en [**in** na'ak-**al**].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-INC
"I came (while) ascending." (incompletive intransitive)

(14) J tàal-∅-en [**in** na'ak-s-∅-**ech**].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG
"I came to lift you up." (subjunctive transitive)

(15′) J tàal-∅-en [na'ak-**al**].
PRV come-CPL-B1SG ascend-INC
"I came to ascend." (subjunctive intransitive) 🔶 BROWN

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	000		
●	000			

Bold claims

Spoiler alert

Ahead:

► a review of previous literature, specifically AnderBois and
  Armstrong (ms.),

► some arguments for, some arguments against, some ruminations
  over the nature of nouns and verbs,

► a sketch of an SBCG account,

► an alternative story of intransitive subjunctive control's origin,
  where the irregularity follows a well-trodden path to
  disambiguation.

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Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	●	○	○○	
○○○○○	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Previous accounts

Previous accounts I

▶ Coon (2013) argues that control in Ch'ol is nominal.

(16) Choñkol-∅ ja'al.
PROG-B3SG rain
"It is raining."
(lit. "Rain is happening.") Ch'ol, (A&A, ms.)

(17) *Tàan cháak.
PROG rain.
intended: "It is raining." Yucatec Maya, (A&A, ms.)

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	●	○	○○	
00000	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Previous accounts

Previous accounts II

- ▶ A&A argue that control in Yucatec Maya is verbal,
  - ▶ possible exception: subjunctive intransitive control.
- ▶ A&A's arguments for the nominal nature of subjunctive intransitive controllees:
  - ▶ morphological identity with nominalizations,
  - ▶ nominalizations tend to have a looser relation with they arguments.

Morphological identity I

Active (∅):

a. Yaan k'iin-e' le $\boxed{\text{áalkab-}\emptyset_{Intrans}^{Inc}}$ -o' jach toop-$\emptyset_{B3}$
    exists day-TOP DEF run-STATUS.NML-DISTAL really hard-B3sg

    'Sometimes, running is very difficult.'   **Nominal**

b. In k'áat $\boxed{\text{áalkab-}\emptyset_{Intrans}^{Inc}}$
    A1sg want run-STATUS.NML

(18)   'I want to run.'   **SSP**$_{Intrans}$

Property/positional (-tal):

a. Le $\boxed{\text{polok-tal}}$ -o' k-u taas-ik-$\emptyset_{B3}$ k'oja'an-il
    DEF fat-STATUS.NML-DISTAL IMP-A3 bring-SS-B3sg sick-REL

    'Becoming fat brings illness.'   **Nominal**

b. Sajak-en $\boxed{\text{polok-tal}}$
    afraid-B1sg fat-STATUS.NML

(19)   'I am afraid to get fat.'   **SSP**$_{Intrans}$

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	**Previous accounts**	○	○○	
○○○○○	●○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Morphological identity

Morphological identity II

Celerative (*paj-al*):

a. Le │t'i'it'-paj-al│-o'   jach talam-∅$_{B3}$
   DEF disperse-INCH-STATUS.NML-DISTAL really difficult-B3sg

   'Dispersing is very difficult.' (e.g. a graduating group of students)   **Nominal**

b. Táan k   óot-ik   │t'i'it'-paj-al│
   PROG A1pl intend-TV.INCMPL disperse-INCH-STATUS.NML

(20) 'We intend to break up.'   **SSP**$_{Intrans}$

Change-of-state (*-Vl*):

a. tumen ts'o'ok a   took-ik-en   ti' le   │kíim-il│-o',   bey xan
   because TERM   A2 wrest-TV.INCMPL-B1sg PREP DEF die-STATUS.NML-DISTAL as   also

   ti' le   │lúub-ul│-o'
   PREP DEF fall-STATUS.NML-DISTAL

   'Because you have wrested me from death, from falling as well.'   **Nominal**

b. Sajak-en   │lúub-ul│
   afraid-B1sg fall-STATUS.NML

(21) 'I am afraid to fall.'   **SSP**$_{Intrans}$

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	○	○	○○	
○○○○○	●●	○○○		
○	○○○			

Morphological identity

Morphological identity III

Verbal noun/antipassive (*VV*):

a. Le chuuy -o'   jum p'éel método tu'ux k-u   nuup-bes-a'al   ka'a
   DEF sew.STATUS.NML-DEF one CL   method where IMP-A3 pair-CAUS-PASSIVE two

   p'éel wa u   je   nok'-o'ob . . .
   CL   or A3 other cloth-PL

   'Sewing is a method where two or more cloths are joined   . . .'   **Nominal**

b. In   k'áat chuuy
   A1sg want sew.STATUS.NML

(22)   'I want to sew.'   **SSP**$_{Intrans}$

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

Morphological identity

Counterarguments I

► Presented nominalizations are all characterized by definite morphology, the determiner *le* and the deictic clitic *o'*.

► While not necessary, nominalization tend to gravitate to definitive morphology.

(23) ?Uts-∅   xook-∅.
      good-B3GS study-INC/NML
      'It's good to study.' / 'Studying is good.'

(24) Uts-∅   xook-∅-o'.
      good-B3GS study-INC/NML-D2 (AnderBois, 2017)
      'It's good to study.' / 'Studying is good.'

(AnderBois, 2017)

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○●	000		
○	000			

Morphological identity

Counterarguments II

(25) In k'áat meyaj-∅.
A1 wish work-INC
"I want to work."

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

▶ The same definite morphology is ungrammatical in subjunctive intransitive control.

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	000		
○	●○○			

Argument relations

Argument relations

- Set-A and set-B morphology, as witnessed on verbs, are elements of verbal inflection morphology, and they need not apply on nominalizations.
- Nouns tend to have a looser relation with their arguments.

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Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	○○○		
○	○●○			

Argument relations

Set-A and set-B

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

Set-A morphology

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1ST	*...-en*	*...-o'on*
2ND	*...-ech*	*...-e'ex*
3RD	*...-∅*	*...-oob*

Set-B morphology

▶ Identical on nouns and verbs; the overlap is complete. Difficult to dismiss.

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	○	○	○○	
○○○○○	○○	○○○		
○	○○●			

Argument relations

Counterarguments I

▶ Verbs inflected for status either require or forbid it; contrary to
   expectations, so do nouns.   (Lehmann, 2002)

INALIENABLE

(26) in tàataj
      A1 father
      "my father"

(27) *in sujuy
      A1 virgin
      intended: "my virgin"

(28) in k'àan
      A1 hammock
      "my hammock"

ALIENABLE

(29) *tataj
      father
      intended: "father"

(30) sujuy
      virgin
      "virgin"

(31) k'áan
      hammock
      "hammock"

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	○○○		
○	○○●			

Argument relations

Counterarguments II

▶ Can we even tell the difference between nouns and verbs reliably?

(32) Tàan in páan-ik-∅.
PROG A1SG dig.out-INC-B3SG
"I am digging out (holes)."
"My digging is ongoing." (Bohnemeyer, 2002)

(33) Uts-∅ t-in t'aan in ts'u'uts'-ik-∅ chamal.
good-B3SG IN-A1SG speech A1SG smoke-INC-B3SG cigarette

"I like smoking cigarettes."

lit. "Smoking cigarettes is good in my speech," "to smoke cigarettes is good in my speech." ? (Armstrong, 2009)

▶ Yes, we can, but should we? No need to postulate nominalization.

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Exposition	Previous accounts	**Formalism**	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	○	●	○○	
○○○○○	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

The riddle, revisited

The riddle

... is not what we get

(12) J   tàal-∅-en   [**in**   na'ak-s-**ik-ech**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-INC-B2SG
      "I came (while) lifting you up."   (incompletive transitive)

(13) J   tàal-∅-en   [**in**   na'ak-**al**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-INC
      "I came (while) ascending."   (incompletive intransitive)

(14) J   tàal-∅-en   [**in**   na'ak-s-∅-**ech**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG A1SG ascend-CAUS-SBJ-B2SG
      "I came to lift you up."   (subjunctive transitive)

(15′) J   tàal-∅-en   [na'ak-**al**].
      PRV come-CPL-B1SG ascend-INC
      "I came to ascend."   (subjunctive intransitive)

Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	●○○		
○	○○○			

Formalism

Set-A syntax I

▶ Intransitive subjunctives cross-reference their only argument with set-B; importantly: no set-A.

	INCOMPLETIVE	SUBJUNCTIVE
TRANSITIVE	✓	✓
INTRANSITIVE	✓	✗

Table: Set-A?

▶ Possibly control demands set-A:

$$control\text{-}lexeme \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \ldots \ /\text{VP}\left[\text{AGR-A} \quad agr\text{-}cat\right]\right\rangle \right]\right]$$

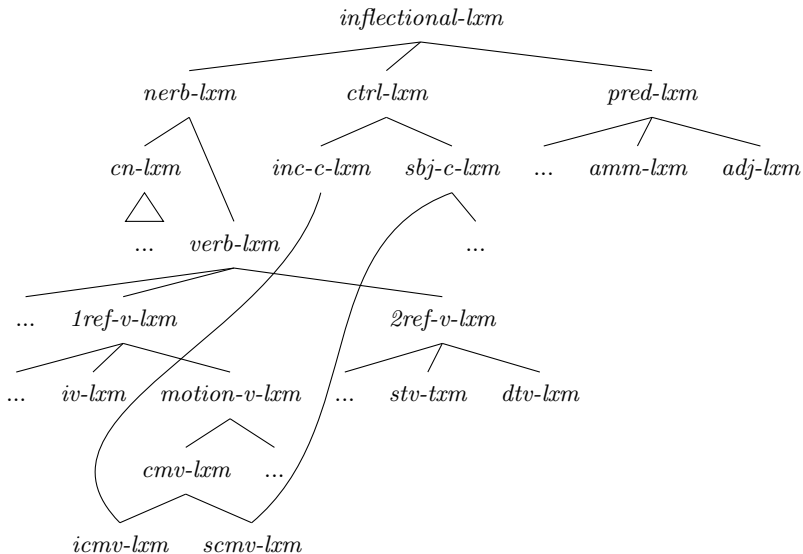| Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	●○○		
○	○○○			

Formalism

Set-A syntax II

(15′) J   tàal-∅-en   [na'ak-al].
       PRV come-CPL-B1SG ascend-INC

   "I came to ascend."
   #"I came (for somebody else) to ascend."

(34) In   k'áat xook-∅.
      A1SG wish study-INC

   "I want to study."
   #"I want studying."
   #"I want studying to occur."

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

Exposition	Previous accounts	**Formalism**	Explanation	Summary
○○○○○	○	○	○○	
○○○○○	○○	○●○		
○	○○○			

Formalism

inflectional-lxm

nerb-lxm *ctrl-lxm* *pred-lxm*

cn-lxm *inc-c-lxm* *sbj-c-lxm* ... *amm-lxm* *adj-lxm*

... *verb-lxm* ...

... *1ref-v-lxm* *2ref-v-lxm*

... *iv-lxm* *motion-v-lxm* ... *stv-lxm* *dtv-lxm*

cmv-lxm ...

icmv-lxm *scmv-lxm*

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Exposition	Previous accounts	**Formalism**	Explanation	Summary
00000	0	0	00	
00000	00	000●		
0	000			

Formalism

Formalism I

► Incompletive controllees work just as expected.

$$incompletive\text{-}control\text{-}lexeme \Rightarrow \left[\text{SYN} \quad \left[\text{AGR-ST} \quad \left\langle \ldots \left[\text{STATUS} \quad inc \right] \right\rangle \right] \right]$$
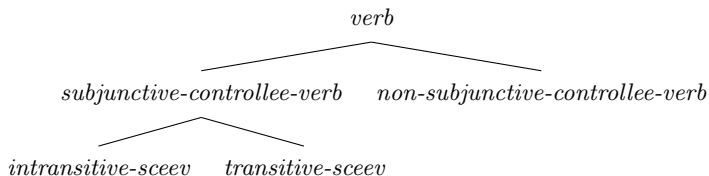
► But subjunctive controllees misbehave.

Figure: *verb* hierarchy

Exposition	Previous accounts	**Formalism**	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	○○	
00000	○○	000●		
○	000			

Formalism

Formalism II

$$transitive\text{-}subjunctive\text{-}controllee\text{-}verb \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SET-A} & + \\ \text{AGR-B} & agr\text{-}cat \\ \text{STATUS} & sbj \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

$$intransitive\text{-}subjunctive\text{-}controllee\text{-}verb \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{SET-A} & 0 \\ \text{AGR-B} & none \\ \text{STATUS} & inc \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

▶ An example maximal node...

$$control\text{-}motion\text{-}verb\text{-}lexeme \Rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} \text{SYN} & \begin{bmatrix} \text{ARG-ST} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGR-B} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix} \text{AGR-A} & \boxed{1} \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}$$

▶ ... and a lexical entry: $\begin{bmatrix} cmv\text{-}lxm \\ \text{form} & \left\langle \text{tàal} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix}$

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Exposition	Previous accounts	Formalism	Explanation	Summary
00000	○	○	●○	
00000	○○	○○○		
○	○○○			

Explanation

Why not just have the set-A morpheme?

(34) In   k'áat in xook-∅.
      A1SG wish A1 study-INC
      "I want to study."

(AnderBois and Armstrong, ms.)

► Set-A missing in agent focus constructions:

(35) Leti' jats'-ik-en.
      he   beat-INC-B1SG
      "It is he who beats me."   (Bohnemeyer, 2002)

► Unlike in non-agent focus constructions:

(36) Leti' k-in   jats'-ik-∅.
      he   IMPV-A1 beat-INC-B3SG
      "It is he whom I beat."   (Bohnemeyer, 2002)

A wild speculation

- Agent focus has been described as a disambiguating mechanism
- Subjunctive control shares with agent focus the purging of set-A morphology in non-head daughters.
- Subjunctive control disambiguates.
- A formal characteristic possibly paving the way for other functionally similar ones?

Summary

- The paradigm-defying **intransitive subjunctive control** construction presents us with a riddle.
- A **nominalization account** does not give us satisfying answers.
- The phenomenon can be easily accounted for in **SBCG**.
- The answer to intransitive subjunctive control's nature might lie in **disambiguation**.

For further reading

Scott AnderBois and Grant Armstrong. *On a transitivity-based split in Yucatec Maya control.* Brown University and University of Wisconsin, ms.

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