

# 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	<b>in (w)...</b>	<b>in (w)....o'on</b>
2ND PERSON	<b>a (w)...</b>	<b>a (w)....e'ex</b>
3RD PERSON	<b>u (y)...</b>	<b>u (y)....o'ob</b>

## 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	...-∅	...-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.'

# 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.'

# 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.'

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

- (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.'



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

# Focus

## Attempt 1

$$\text{filler-gap-cxt} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[ \text{GAP} \quad \boxed{A} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[ \text{GAP} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1} \right\rangle \oplus \boxed{A} \right] \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{focus-cl, attempt 1} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[ \text{PRED} \quad + \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[ \text{PRED} \quad - \right], \dots \right\rangle \\ \text{HEAD-DTR} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right]$$

# 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'<sup>1</sup>

(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.'<sup>2</sup>

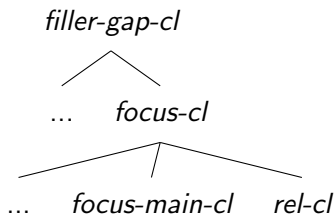
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<sup>1</sup>Example from Bricker 1978 (121).

<sup>2</sup>Example from Norcliffe (2009).

# Focus and Relative Clauses

## Attempt 2



$$\text{focus-cl, attempt 2} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{DTRS} \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad + \\ \text{VAL} \langle \rangle \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \boxed{1} \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{focus-main-cl, attempt 2} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad + \end{array} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \left\langle \boxed{1} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{PRED} \quad - \end{array} \right], \dots \right\rangle \end{array} \right]$$

$$\text{rel-cl, attempt 2} \Rightarrow \left[ \quad \right]$$

# 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.'

# 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.'

# Agent focus

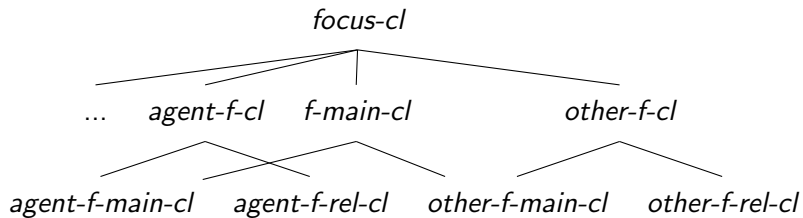
## *Agent-focus-rel-cl*

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'

# Agent focus

## Hierarchy of focus constructions

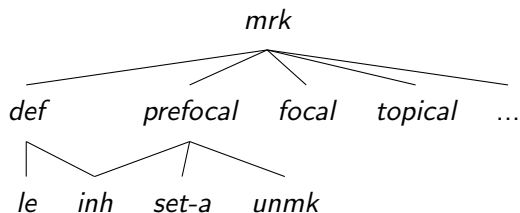




# Agent focus

## MRKG hierarchy

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



# Agent focus

Final version

$$\text{focus-cl} \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \quad \left[ \text{MRKG} \quad \text{focal} \right] \\ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle \boxed{1}, \left[ \text{VAL} \quad \langle \rangle \right] \right\rangle \\ \text{HD-DTR} \quad \boxed{1} \left[ \text{MRKG} \quad \text{prefocal} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

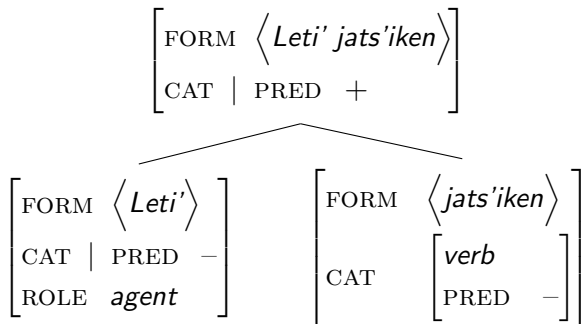
$$\text{agent-focus-cl} \Rightarrow \left[ \text{DTRS} \quad \left\langle X, \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT} \quad \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{STATUS} \quad \text{sbj} \mid \text{inc} \end{array} \right] \\ \text{MRKG} \quad \text{unmk} \\ \text{GAP} \quad \left\langle X \left[ \text{ROLE} \quad \text{agent} \right] \right\rangle \oplus L \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

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Note: agent focus does not allow completive status marking.

# Agent focus

Predicativity and *agent-focus-main-cl*



## 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): inaccessible 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 newspaper.'<sup>3</sup>
- (18) Wi'ij-en way-**e'**.  
hungry-B.1.SG here-D3  
'I'm starving here.'<sup>4</sup>
- (19) **Ma'** táan u lúub-s-ik k'áax-**i'**.  
NEG PROG A3 fall-CAUS-INC jungle-D4.  
He is not clearing the jungle.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Example from Bohnemeyer (2002).

<sup>4</sup>Example from Vivas Camara (1988).

<sup>5</sup>Example from Bohnemeyer (2002).

## Clause-finality

- (20) **Je'el** hun-p'ít 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.'

## Clitic preponderance I

**a' > o' > e' > i'**

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D1 > D4

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

D3 > D4

- (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

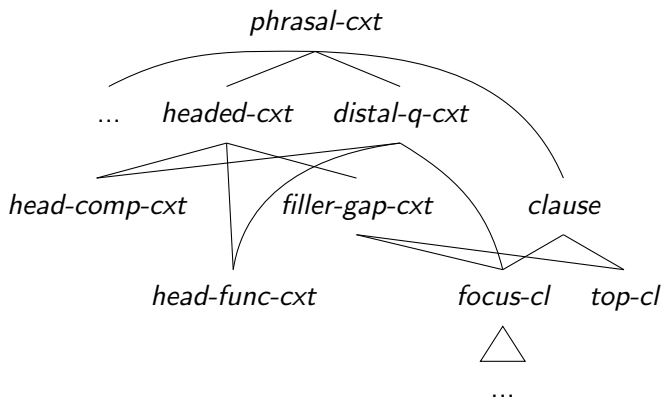
- (24) tuméen don Ignacio Bravo j      tàal u jets'-kun-t  
because don Ignacio Bravo PRV come A.3 quiet-CAUS-APP(B.3.SG)  
**le** màaya-s-o'ob **way** túun      ba'atejil-o'ob-a'.  
DEF Maya-PL-PL here PROG:A3 fight-PL-D1  
'... because don Ignacio Bravo came to pacify the Mayas who were fighting here.'

# Distal queue construction

*distal-q-cxt*  $\Rightarrow$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad F_{\text{MAX}}(\boxed{1}, \boxed{2}, \dots, \boxed{n-1}, \boxed{n}) \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \boxed{m} \end{array} \right] \right. \\ \left. \left\langle \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \text{none} \end{array} \right], \dots, \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad \boxed{n-1} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \text{none} \end{array} \right], \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D} \quad \boxed{n} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \quad \boxed{m} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

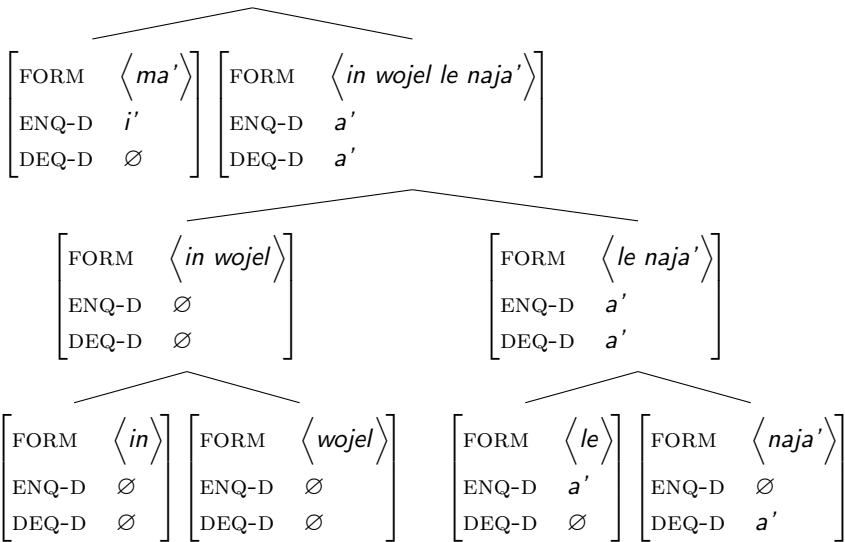
# Phrasal construct



## 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.'

FORM	$\langle ma' \text{ in } \textit{wojel le naja'} \rangle$
ENQ-D	$a'$
DEQ-D	$a'$



## Restrictions on the Sentential node

$$S = \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{SYN} \\ \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{CAT} \\ \text{VAL} \\ \text{GAP} \\ \text{ENQ-D} \\ \text{DEQ-D} \end{array} \right] \left[ \begin{array}{c} \left[ \begin{array}{cc} \text{PRED} & + \\ \text{SET-A} & + \end{array} \right] \\ \langle \rangle \\ \langle \rangle \\ \boxed{1} \\ \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \end{array} \right]$$

# Topicalization

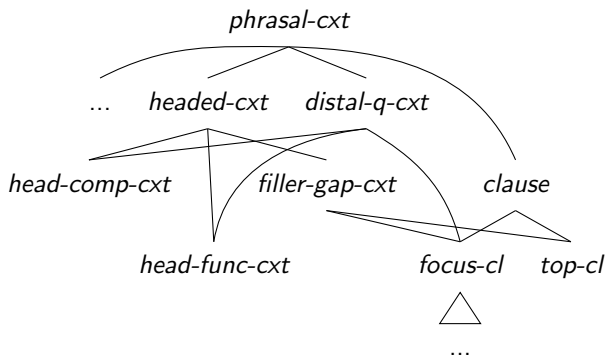
- ▶ Topicalization: a distal clitic in the middle of a sentence.

- (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.'<sup>6</sup>
- (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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<sup>6</sup>Example from Bohnemeyer (2016).

# Phrasal construct





# Towards an account of topical clauses

*topical-cl*  $\Rightarrow$

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MTR} \\ \text{DTRS} \\ \text{HD-DTR} \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{MRKG } \textit{topical} \\ \text{ENQ-D } \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \left\langle \boxed{2} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{ENQ-D } \boxed{3} \\ \text{DEQ-D } F_{\max}(e', \boxed{3}) \end{array} \right] \right\rangle, \boxed{4} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \text{CAT } \left[ \text{PRED } + \right] \\ \text{VAL } \langle \rangle \\ \text{GAP } \langle \boxed{2} \rangle \oplus L \\ \text{MRKG } \textit{mrk} \\ \text{ENQ-D } \boxed{1} \\ \text{DEQ-D } \boxed{1} \end{array} \right] \right\rangle \right]$$

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