Yucatec Maya: A Fragment

Justin Bai  Maksymilian Dabkowski  Kalinda Pride
Nicholas Tomlin

Department of Cognitive, Linguistic and Psychological Sciences
Brown University

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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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ST PERSON</td>
<td>in (w)...</td>
<td>in (w)...-o’on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ND PERSON</td>
<td>a (w)...</td>
<td>a (w)...-e’ex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3RD PERSON</td>
<td>u (y)...</td>
<td>u (y)...-o’ob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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

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<td>...-en</td>
<td>...-o’on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>...-ech</td>
<td>...-e’ex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3RD PERSON</strong></td>
<td>...-Ø</td>
<td>...-o’ob</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Set-A and Set-B

(1) [In weetmeyaj]-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.’

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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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AM marker</th>
<th>Status category triggered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>perfective (PRV): ( t )-</td>
<td>completive (CMP): e.g. (-aj-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>proximate (PROX): ( ta’itak )</td>
<td>incompletive (INC): e.g. (-ik-)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>predictive (PRED): ( bıın )</td>
<td>subjunctive (SUBJ): e.g. (-Ø-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


(6) Ta’itak in \textit{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) Bıın in \textit{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).
(8) T=u ëàànt-aj-Ø òon Pèedróoj.
PëFV=A.3 eat-CMP-B.3.SG avocado Pedro
‘Pedro ate avocado.’

(9) òon t=u ëàànt-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**

\[ \text{filler-gap-cxt} \Rightarrow \]

\[ \begin{bmatrix}
    \text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix}
        \text{GAP} & \mathbb{A}
    \end{bmatrix} \\
    \text{DTRS} & \langle 1, \begin{bmatrix}
        \text{GAP} & \langle 1 \rangle \oplus \mathbb{A} \rangle \rangle
\end{bmatrix} \]

\[ \text{focus-cl, attempt 1} \Rightarrow \]

\[ \begin{bmatrix}
    \text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix}
        \text{PRED} & +
    \end{bmatrix} \\
    \text{DTRS} & \langle 1 \begin{bmatrix}
        \text{PRED} & -
    \end{bmatrix}, \cdots \rangle \\
    \text{HEAD-DTR} & 1
\end{bmatrix} \]
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.’\(^2\)

\(^1\)Example from Bricker 1978 (121).
\(^2\)Example from Norcliffe (2009).
Focus and Relative Clauses

Attempt 2

\[ \text{filler-gap-cl} \]

\[ \text{... focus-cl} \]

\[ \text{... focus-main-cl rel-cl} \]

focus-cl, attempt 2 \(\Rightarrow\) \[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{DTRS} & \langle 1, \left[ \text{PRED} + \right] \rangle \\
\text{HD-DTR} & 1
\end{bmatrix}
\]

focus-main-cl, attempt 2 \(\Rightarrow\) \[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{MTR} & \left[ \text{PRED} + \right] \\
\text{DTRS} & \langle 1 \left[ \text{PRED} - \right], \ldots \rangle
\end{bmatrix}
\]

rel-cl, attempt 2 \(\Rightarrow\) \[
\begin{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix}
\]
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

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

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

\[ \text{focus-cl} \]

\[ \ldots \quad \text{agent-f-cl} \quad \text{f-main-cl} \quad \text{other-f-cl} \]

\[ \text{agent-f-main-cl} \quad \text{agent-f-rel-cl} \quad \text{other-f-main-cl} \quad \text{other-f-rel-cl} \]
We use the MRKG feature to posit constraints on focus (e.g., preventing multiple focused elements):
Agent focus

Final version

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{focus-cl} \Rightarrow & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{MRKG} & \text{focal} \\
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DTRS} & \begin{bmatrix}
1, & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{VAL} & \langle \rangle \\
\end{bmatrix} \\
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{HD-DTR} & \begin{bmatrix}
1 & \text{MRKG} & \text{prefocal} \\
\end{bmatrix}
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{agent-focus-cl} \Rightarrow & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{DTRS} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{verb} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{STATUS} & \text{sbj} & | & \text{inc} \\
\end{bmatrix} \\
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{MRKG} & \text{unmk} \\
\text{GAP} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{X[ROLE agent]} & \langle \rangle \\
\end{bmatrix} + \text{L}
\end{bmatrix}
\end{align*}
\]

Note: agent focus does not allow completive status marking.
Agent focus
Predicativity and *agent-focus-main-cl*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FORM} & \quad \langle \text{Leti' jats'iken} \rangle \\
\text{CAT} & \quad \text{PRED} + \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FORM} & \quad \langle \text{Leti'} \rangle \\
\text{CAT} & \quad \text{PRED} - \\
\text{ROLE} & \quad \text{agent} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{FORM} & \quad \langle \text{jats'iken} \rangle \\
\text{CAT} & \quad \text{verb} \\
\text{PRED} & \quad - \\
\end{align*}
\]
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 periyòdiko-o’. IMPV-A1 read-INC DEF newspaper-D2
‘I read the newspaper.’

(18) Wi’ij-en way-e’. hungry-B.1.SG here-D3
‘I’m starving here.’

He is not clearing the jungle.

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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) **Tín**  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

\[ a' > o' > e' > i' \]

\[ D1 > D4 \]

(22) Tak be’òora ma’ wèen-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’ kàa 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.’

Examples from Bohnemeyer (2016).
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

\[ \text{distal-q-cxt} \Rightarrow \]

\[
\begin{bmatrix}
\text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{ENQ-D} & F_{\text{MAX}}(1, 2, \ldots, n-1, n) \\
\text{DEQ-D} & m
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle \begin{bmatrix}
\text{ENQ-D} & 1 \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \text{none}
\end{bmatrix}, \ldots, \begin{bmatrix}
\text{ENQ-D} & n-1 \\
\text{DEQ-D} & \text{none}
\end{bmatrix}, \begin{bmatrix}
\text{ENQ-D} & n \\
\text{DEQ-D} & m
\end{bmatrix} \right\rangle
\end{bmatrix}
\]
Phrasal construct
An example syntactic tree

(25) Ma’ in w-øjel le naj-a’. 
NEG A.1 ONGL-knowledge DET house-D1
‘I don’t know this house.’
Restrictions on the Sentential node

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

(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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6Example from Bohnemeyer (2016).
Phrasal construct

```
phrasal-cxt

... headed-cxt distal-q-cxt

head-comp-cxt filler-gap-cxt clause

head-func-cxt focus-cl top-cl

...```

...
Towards an account of topical clauses

\[
\text{topical-cl} \Rightarrow \begin{cases}
\text{MTR} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{MRKG} & \text{topical} \\
\text{ENQ-D} & 1 \\
\text{DEQ-D} & 1
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{DTRS} & \left\langle 2 \begin{bmatrix}
\text{ENQ-D} & 3 \\
\text{DEQ-D} & F_{\text{max}}(e', 3)
\end{bmatrix}, 4 \right\rangle \\
\text{HD-DTR} & 4
\end{cases}
\]

\[
\begin{cases}
\text{CAT} & \begin{bmatrix}
\text{PRED} & +
\end{bmatrix} \\
\text{VAL} & \langle \rangle \\
\text{GAP} & \langle 2 \rangle \oplus L \\
\text{MRKG} & \text{mrk} \\
\text{ENQ-D} & 1 \\
\text{DEQ-D} & 1
\end{cases}
\]
For Further Reading I


For Further Reading II


For Further Reading III


