How many 'antipassives' are there? A typology of antipassive-like constructions in Kaqchikel

I. Introduction¹

- **1.1** <u>Proposal</u>: All of the agent-preserving detransitive constructions sharing -o/-u/-on/-un marking in Kaqchikel are more similar than typically discussed, and form a functional continuum by recombining the same basic elements.
 - -A similar type of argument has been made recently in Aissen (2011), which claims that agent focus clauses in K'ichee' are closer to incorporative constructions in terms of their architecture than they are to transitive clauses.
 - -While Kaqchikel differs in significant ways from K'ichee', it can be said that functionally there are 5 different 'antipassive-like' constructions in Kaqchikel.
- 1.2 General typology of agent-preserving detransitive constructions in Mayan:
 - -Discussed in Smith-Stark 1978, Dayley 1981, Aissen 1992, 1999, Stiebels 2006, and typically involves a 3-way division:
 - 1. 'Absolutive' antipassive
 - -May have an optional oblique patient
- (1) Max-Ø tek'-waj no chej (y-in no tx'i')
 PST²-3SG.ABS kick-AP CL horse 3SG-at CL dog
 'The horse kicked (at the dog)' (Mateo-Toledo 2008:74, Q'anjob'al)
 - 2. Incorporative antipassive

-Patient is indefinite, inanimate, unmodified and non-specific

Y-et ch'-ø-uqte-wi no heb', ab'-i.
3SG.ERG-when PRS-3SG.ABS-chase-INC.AP animal they hear.IMP-IV
'[That is how they order things] when they hunt, you see' (Mateo-Toledo 2008:72, Q'anjob'al)

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² Glossing conventions: 1=1st person, 2=2nd person, 3=3rd person, ABS=absolutive, AF=agent focus, AGT=agentive, AP=antipassive, CAUS=causative, CL=noun classifier, DET=determiner, DETR=agentive detransitive suffix, DM=discourse marker, ERG=ergative, F=formal, FOC=focus marker, HORT=hortative, IMP=imperative, INC=incorporative, IRR=irrealis, IV=intransitive verb marker, NEG=negation, NOM=nominalizer, OBL=oblique, PL=plural, POS=possessive, PRS=incompletive, PST=completive, REFL=reflexive/reciprocal, SG=singular, TV=transitive verb marker, WH=wh word.

- 3. Agent focus (formerly 'focus/agentive antipassive')
 - -Not considered an antipassive
 - -Morphologically intransitive but syntactically transitive
 - -Depending on the language, verbal agreement may be with the agent or the patient
- (3) Le achi x-in-il-**ow** in

 DET man PST-1SG.ABS-see-**AF** 1SG

 'The man saw me' (Davies and Sam Colop 1990:525, K'ichee')
 - *While this classification scheme may work for some members of the family, it is insufficient to adequately describe the differences amongst the agent-preserving detransitive constructions in Kaqchikel.

1.3 Preliminary notes on suffix morphology

- -Mayan languages have different sets of some morphemes for roots vs. stems. With respect to antipassives, the form of the suffix in some cases is characteristic of a certain construction type.
- 1. Derived transitives do not show any variation based on construction type, as in Kaqchikel they always take -n for any agent-preserving detransitive construction.

Derived transitive:

(4a) N-Ø-u-k'ay-ij ri tra's ri ixöq PRS-3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-sell-TV DET peach DET woman 'The woman is selling the peaches'

Patientless detransitive:

(4b) N-Ø-k'ay-in ri ixöq PRS-3SG.ABS-sell-**DETR** DET woman 'The woman is selling'

Agent focus:

- (4c) Ja ri ixöq n-Ø-k'ay-in ri tra's FOC DET woman PRS-3SG.ABS-sell-DETR DET peach 'It is the woman who is selling peaches'
 - 2. Root transitives in Kaqchikel may take either -o/-u or -on/-un suffixes (the vowel is /o/u unless the root vowel is /u/), depending on the construction.

Root transitive:

(5a) N-Ø-u-ch'äj ri jay ri achin PRS-3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-clean DET house DET man 'The man cleans the house'

Patientless detransitive:

(5b) N-Ø-ch'aj-**on** ri achin PRS-3SG.ABS-clean-**DETR** DET man 'The man is cleaning/cleans (habitually)'

Agent focus:

- (5c) Ja ri achin n-Ø-ch'aj-o ri jay FOC DET man PRS-3SG.ABS-clean-DETR DET house 'It is the man who is cleaning the house'
 - -For this reason, all examples reported in the following sections are root transitives, and discussions of morphology refer only to those environments where there is a contrast.
- *However, there is evidence that **-o/-u** is disappearing and/or becoming inconsistent in some dialects of Kagchikel.
- -Small study in 2014, with 27 participants from 9 different dialects: San Juan Comalapa, Tecpán, Santa María de Jesús, Santiago Sacatepéquez, Sololá, Patzicía, and Patzún (2 excluded here, representing 2 dialects, San Andres Itzapa and Poaquil).
 - -17 items, using different focus contexts (relativization, wh questions, focus particle), and both AF and oblique constructions. Only root transitives were used. Derived transitives -*n* only) were interspersed as control items.
 - -Consultants were given two sentences identical except for the presence/absence of final /n/ on the detransitive verb suffix, and were prompted to choose which sentence they thought was better.
 - -The rates at which people preferred *-on* with root transitives in focus contexts are given in Figure 1, sorted by dialect. If the contrast between *-o* and *-on* was maintained, all percentages would be zero.

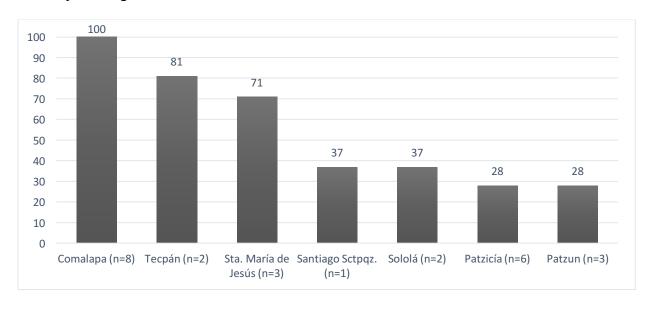


Figure 1: Percent preference for *-on* with root transitives in focus contexts

Findings:

- 1. In those Kaqchikel towns surveyed, -o is not being used as consistently as expected.
- 2. In Tecpán and Santa María, -on is preferred more frequently in focus constructions than -o.
- 3. o has been lost entirely in Comalapa, such that all root transitives always take -on/-un.
- 4. Age is a significant factor in -o vs. -on reported preference (β : -3.94 \pm 1.11, p <0.001), where younger speakers are more likely to prefer -on in focus constructions.
- 5. Neither the type of construction (AF vs. agentive detransitive + oblique) nor the focus environment (relative clause, wh question, or focus particle) were significantly correlated with -o vs. -on preference for these data.

2. Towards a typology of antipassive-like structures in Kaqchikel

2.1 A note on the data

- -Data reported here come primarily from 8 speakers between the ages of 42 and 80, two speakers from each of 4 dialects: Santa María de Jesús, San Juan Comalapa, Patzicía and Patzún.
- -Elicitation data was complemented by text analysis, both narrative and conversational. Any patterns observed were also cross-referenced with colonial texts (Maxwell and Hill 2006).

2.2 Types of antipassive-like structures in Kaqchikel

1. Agent focus

- -There is a lot of recent work on the distribution of AF in Kaqchikel (e.g. Clemens 2013; Erlewine 2013, 2014; Preminger 2014; Henderson and Coon 2015; Heaton et al. In press).
- -Marked by -o/-u for root transitives
- -Only appears in (some) subject extraction contexts
- -Only construction which permits agreement solely with the patient
- -Patient argument is frequently omitted, although the verb remains bivalent

Transitive:

(6a) Y-i-ru-tz'ët ri ala'
PRS-1SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-watch DET boy
'The boy is watching me'

Detransitive + oblique patient:

(6b) Achike n-Ø-tz'et-o w-ichin WH PRS-3SG.ABS-watch-DETR 1SG-OBL 'Who is watching me?'

Agent focus:

(6c) Achike y-i-tz'et-o
WH PRS-1SG.ABS-watch-DETR
'Who is watching me?'

- Agent focus with no overt patient: [talking about a cherry vendor in the market:]
- (7) Wakamin cha k'o jun ixöq **n-Ø-al-k'am-o** r-ik'in cha now DM be one woman **PRS-3SG.ABS-come-bring-DETR** 3SG-with DM 'Now there's a woman who brings [cherries] with her'

2. Patientless antipassive

- -Most common by far; (almost) all transitive verbs participate
- -Equivalent to the 'patientless' antipassive in some languages
- -Semantically monovalent—patient is typically not implied or recoverable -Some lexical exceptions, e.g. -qumun 'drink (alcohol)'
- -Marked with -(o/u)n for all root types
- -Can occur in both focus and non-focus environments

Patientless, no focus:

(8a) Xe ka'i' mul, oxi' mul **y-e-wux-un** chupam jun semana cha only two time three time **PRS-3PL.ABS-harvest-DETR** inside one week DM 'they only harvest two or three times a week'

Patientless, focus:

(8b) Achike r-oma xaxe ri Chacon **n-Ø-ch'ak-on**?

WH 3SG-because only DET Chacon **PRS-3SG.ABS-win-DETR**'Why does only Chacon win?'

3. Oblique construction

- -Verb agrees with the agent, patient expressed in an oblique phrase
- -Marked with -o/-u for root transitives
- -Unlike in K'ichee', Kaqchikel speakers reject VoblS/ VSobl antipassive structures
- (9a) K'ichee': (Mondloch 1981:175)

X-Ø-ul-tzuku-n-a rii achih chee lah PST-3SG.ABS-look.for-DETR-IV DET man OBL 2SG(F) 'The man came to look for you'

(9b) Kaqchikel: (VSObl)

*X-Ø-q'et-en ri ixöq r-ichin ri ak'wal PST-3SG.ABS-hug-DETR DET woman **3SG-OBL** DET child *'The woman hugged the child'

\rightarrow SVObl:

(9c) Ri ixöq x-Ø-q'et-en r-ichin ri ak'wal DET woman PST-3SG.ABS-hug-DETR 3SG-OBL DET child 'The woman hugged the child'

-The oblique construction is permitted in all focus environments, and rejected in non-focus contexts. It therefore has the same distribution as AF, with respect to the following contexts:

Permitted in:

- -Subject relative clauses
- -Subject WH questions
- -Subject focus
- -Indefinite subject (jun)
- -Non-specific subject (k'o)
- -Negative subject (majun)

Rejected in:

- -Post-verbal subject clauses
- -'When' clauses
- -With a negated verb
- -Subject is a continuing topic

Oblique is ungrammatical when the subject is a continuing topic:

(10) K'o jun ixöq aj-kem n-Ø-u-b'an jun ru-po't. be one woman AGT-weave PRS-3SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-made one 3SG.POS-blouse

Q'ij q'ij *n-Ø-kem-o r-ichin ri po't day day PRS-3SG.ABS-weave-DETR 3SG-OBL DET blouse 'There's a weaver who is making herself a blouse. Every day she weaves(*DETR) the blouse'.

- -The fact that this construction patterns syntactically with AF and not the patientless construction, but also lacks the agreement properties of AF, means that it should be treated as distinct from both.
- -Why might it be that the oblique construction has ceased to be a more canonical, general-use antipassive? One possibility is that this is the result of the grammaticalization of the agent-foregrounding function, which already caused it to overlap with AF in feeding the syntactic pivot.
- -What is influencing the choice of AF vs. the oblique construction needs further study. From Heaton et al. (In press), there was a 2:3 oblique to AF ratio, and the oblique construction was more common when the patient was animate. However, they only looked at 3rd person patients.

Textual example with a non-3rd person patient:

(11) Man ja ta ri kab' x-Ø-ti'-o w-ichin!

NEG FOC IRR DET bee PST-3SG.ABS-sting-DETR 1SG-OBL

'it wasn't the bee that bit me!'

4. Incorporative construction

- -o/-u -marked intransitive construction followed by a non-oblique canonical, unmodified patient
- -Can only agree with the agent
- -Can appear in both focus and non-focus contexts
- -Does not require an adverb like in K'iche', and, in fact, the adverb is dispreferred.

K'iche' incorporative construction (Mondloch 1981:250):

(12) Ch'u'j k-at-b'iin-isa-n ch'iich' wrecklessly PRS-2SG.ABS-travel-CAUS-DETR car 'You car-drive wrecklessly' (Mondloch 1981:250)

<u>Kaqchikel non-adverbial, VOS incorporative construction</u> (García Matzar and Rodríguez Guaján (1997:381), confirmed by consultants):

(13) Y-e-tik-o ixim ri achi-a' PRS-3PL.ABS-plant-DETR corn DET man-PL 'The men plant corn'

-Contrary to Ajsivinac and Henderson (2011), only found evidence of the ability of indefinite, nonspecific, and inanimate patients to incorporate.

5. Reflexive/reciprocal construction

- -Traditionally type of incorporation; however it occurs with a complementary set of verbs, since the patients are almost always animate.
- -o/-u -marked intransitive construction followed by a reflexive patient
- -Alternates with the more typical morphologically transitive construction followed by a reflexive patient.
- -This same type of construction appears in K'ichee', Chuj, Tz'utujil, Q'anjob'al, and Mam, although there is variation in whether it can (or must) appear in focus constructions.
 - -Unlike in K'ichee', the detransitive reciprocal in Kaqchikel appears in both focus and non-focus contexts.
 - -As in Tz'utujil and Chuj (cf. Hou 2013), focusing a simple reflexive does not require morphological detransitivization.
 - -In fact, this construction is lost or falling out of use in some dialects (e.g. Santa María de Jesús)

Reflexive detransitive in focus (colonial Kaq.):

(14a) Oj nab'ey x-oj-wiq-**o q-i'**1PL first PST-1PL.ABS-adorn-**DETR 1PL-REFL**'First we adorned ourselves'

Reflexive detransitive outside of focus (colonial Kaq.):

(14b) Xa qa-wiq-a' q-i'
just 1PL.ERG.HORT-adorn-TV 1PL-REFL
'Just let us adorn ourselves'

Reflexive detransitive outside of focus (modern Kaq.):

(14c) Achi'el y-e-xari-n k-i', y-e-k'ama-n k-i' like PRS-3PL.ABS-court-DETR 3PL-REFL PRS-3PL.ABS-date-DETR 3PL-REFL 'Like they were courting or dating each other'

*Why the reflexive/reciprocal detransitive should be considered its own construction, separate from the incorporative construction:

- 1. There is no restriction on the animacy of the patient.
- 2. The patient is necessarily definite and specific.
- 3. Its use is not limited to a special adverbial construction (as in K'ichee').
- 4. There can be intervening elements between the verb and the patient.
- (15) Öq **x-e-k'ul-u** chïk k'a **k-i**' ch(i) (r)u-wi' juyu' when **PST-3PL.ABS-meet-DETR** again DM **3PL-REFL** to 3SG-top hill

Or-on-ïk Kaq-jay...
pierce-DETR-NOM red-house
'When they met step the bill. Orac

'When they met atop the hill, Oronïk Kaqjay' (Maxwell and Hill 2006:75)

3. Creating a typology

3.1 Return to the morphology

-As discussed in section 1.3 above, the conventional description of the distribution of -o vs. -on for root transitives is roughly that -o is used in AF/focus, while -on is used for the antipassive. However, at least for Kaqchikel, focus is not the distinguishing factor, nor the presence of a non-oblique patient.

Root transitives take -on/-un	Root transitives take <i>-o/-u</i>		
Patientless	Agent focus		
	Oblique		
	Incorporative		
	Reflexive		

Figure 2: Form of the suffix for Kaqchikel detransitive constructions with root transitives

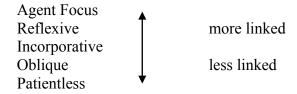
-The only feature that the constructions on the right share is the presence of some sort of patient. The better generalization is therefore that -o marks expression or recoverability of the patient (semantic bivalency).

3.2 Features and classification

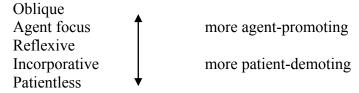
	Patientless	Oblique	Incorporative	Agent focus	Reflexive
Implied/expressed patient	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES
Restricted patient	N/A	NO	YES	NO	NO
Focus only	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
Patient-only cross-	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO

Figure 3: Distinguishing features of different agent-preserving detransitive constructions in Kaqchikel

- -There are two ways to look at this classification:
- 1. In terms of patient status (how 'real' it is, and how grammatically linked it is to the verb complex)



2. In terms of information structure:



3.3 Summary

- -There are arguably 5 functionally distinct antipassive-like constructions in Kaqchikel, each distinguished by at least one morphosyntactic feature.
 - -While this is a large number, none really conform to a strict definition of 'antipassive'.
- -Agent focus is not so different from the associated constructions with some sort of internal argument, or from the more traditionally antipassive-like constructions, particularly the oblique construction which operates exclusively in the domain of focus.
- -Kaqchikel is an excellent example of a language exploiting existing resources to cover a wide variety of functions.

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