

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/ 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.

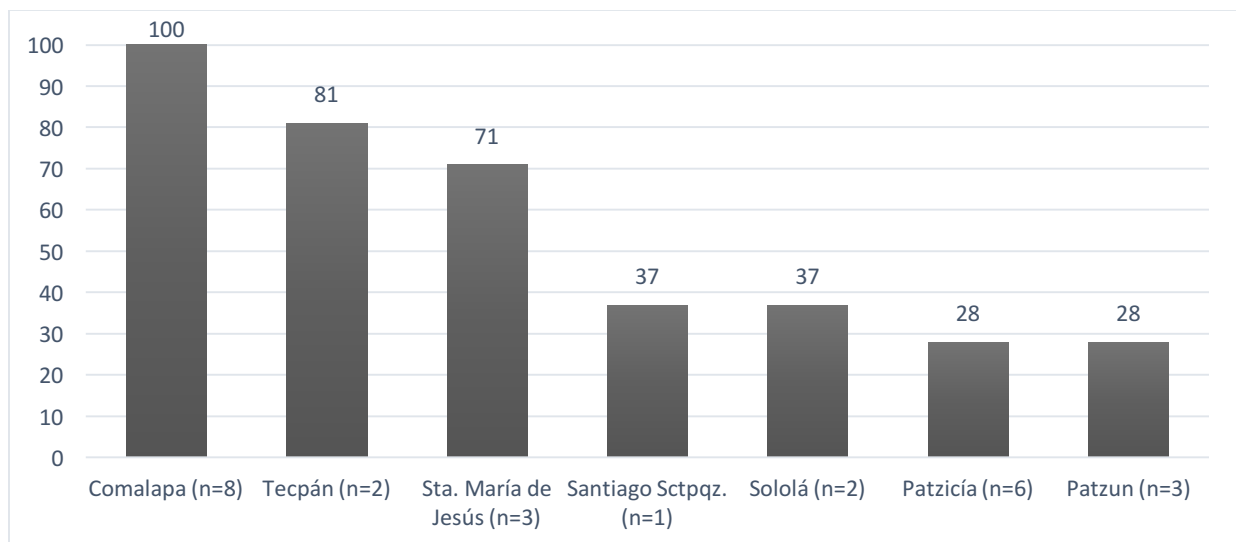
*However, there is evidence that -o/-u is disappearing and/or becoming inconsistent in some dialects of Kaqchikel.

-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.



- (7) Agent focus with no overt patient: [talking about a cherry vendor in the market:]
 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

- (8a) Patientless, no focus:
 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'

- (8b) Patientless, focus:
 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'
- **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!’

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 chik 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-ik Kaq-jay...
 pierce-DETR-NOM red-house
 'When they met atop the hill, Oronik 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 <i>-on/-un</i>	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).

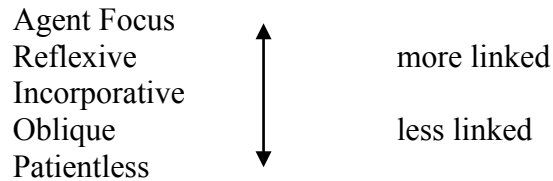
3.2 Features and classification

	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-reference	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO

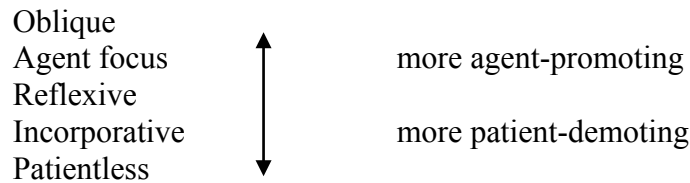
Figure 3: Distinguishing features of different agent-preserving detransitive constructions in Kaqchikel

-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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