

An unergative Voice morpheme: Yucatec Maya *-n*
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1. Introduction

- Intransitive verbs in Yucatec Maya (Bricker et. al. 1998; Lois & Vapnarsky 2003, 2006; Bohnemeyer 2004; Briceño Chel 2006; Lois 2011 and references therein)¹:

(1) ASPECT/MOOD MARKER – ROOT – **(SUFFIXES)** – STATUS – AGR

(2) a. J bin-Ø le xi'ipal-o'

PFV go-ITV.PFV DEF boy-DIST

'The boy left'

b. Bik jaw**I**-ak-ech

PROS lying.face.up-SUF-ITV.SBV-2s.ABS

'Careful not to fall on your back (end up lying face up)'

c. Sáam polok**ch**:ajak-o'ob

REC.PST fat-SUF-ITV.SBV-3p.ABS

'They got fat recently'

(3) a. J óok'ot**n**-aj-en

PFV dance-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS

'I danced'

b. In k'áat káa míis**n**-ak-ech

1s.ERG want that sweep-SUF-ITV.SBV-2s.ABS

'I want you to sweep up'

c. Úuch meyaj**n**-ak-o'ob

DIST.PST work-SUF-ITV.SBV-3p.ABS

'They worked a long time ago'

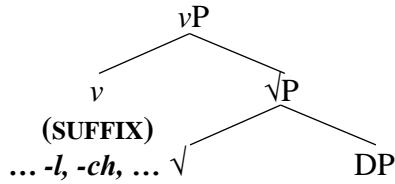
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¹Note: Yucatec Maya is one of a number of Mayan languages that exhibit split ergativity. The suffixes under investigation here only appear in aspects and moods in which the agreement morphemes exhibit ergative-absolutive alignment (see Bricker 1981; Lois & Vapnarsky 2003; Lois 2011; Coon 2013)

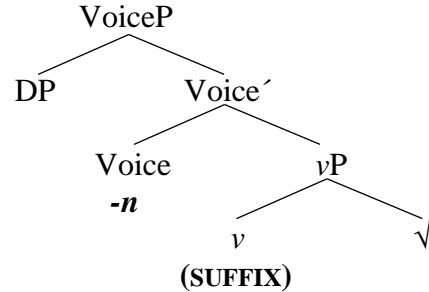
Main claims

- Structure of intransitive verbs and role of *-n* morpheme

(4) a. Unaccusatives (2)



b. Unergatives (3)



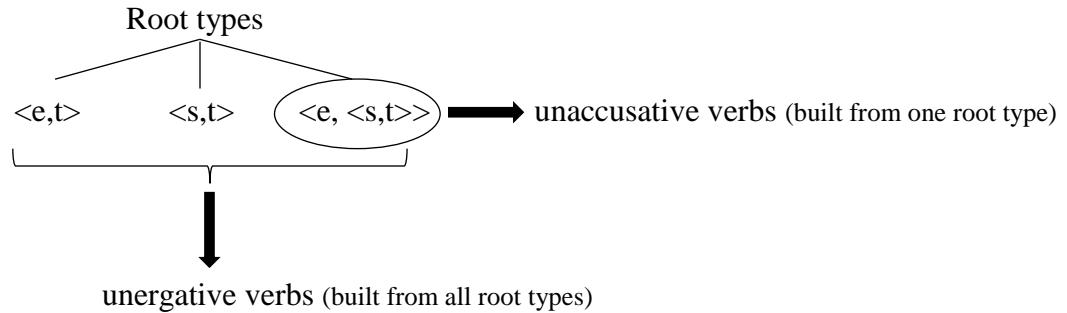
No Voice

Voice_{D} ↔ -n

Introduces an argument

No case feature

- Roots in intransitives (Levinson 2014; Coon 2017b)

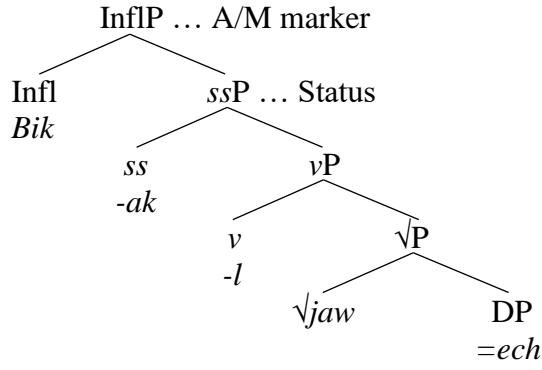


Roadmap

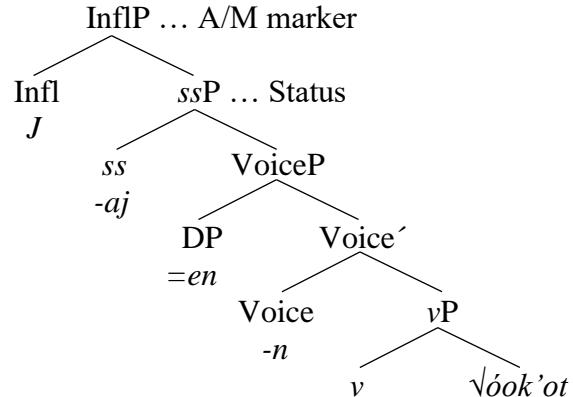
- §2 Discusses how to diagnose the unaccusative – unergative distinction in Yucatec Maya and gives motivation for treating *-n* as a general marker of unergativity
- §3 Gives a typology of unergative predicates based on root type
- §4 Addresses some curious behavior of a set of unergative stems

- Assumptions about clause structure in Yucatec Maya

(5) a. Bik jaw-l-ak=ech (ex. 2b)



b. J óok'ot-n-aj=en (ex. 3a)



- Status = stem-forming suffix whose form is determined by A/M marker, transitivity and root class
- Root moves to *ss* (Coon 2017a,b; Clemens & Coon to appear)
- DP = introduced by the root, formally licensed by Infl
- All non-3s arguments encliticize to *ss*; 3s singular arguments are null *pro* or full DPs that remain *in situ* (Coon 2013, 2017a,b)

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2. Diagnosing split intransitivity in Yucatec Maya

2.1 Basic observations

- Verbs with *-Ø*, *-l*, *-ch* suffixes

(6) No suffix (*v* = \emptyset): change of location, temporal stage, state (Bricker et. al. 1998: 344; Lois & Vapnarsky 2003: 182-185)

a. J bin-Ø le xi'ipal-o'

PFV go-ITV.PFV DEF boy-DIST

'The boy left'

b. Others: *éem* (descend), *na'ak* (ascend), *taal* (come), *k'uuch* (arrive), *u'ul* (arrive), *jóok'* (leave), *luk'* (leave), *k'áax* (fall, scatter), *lúub* (fall), *ok* (enter), *píuts'* (flee), *úuch* (happen), *jo'op* (begin), *ts'o'ok* (end), *ch'iij* (grow/age), *kíim* (die), *síij* (be born), *taj* (ripen), *jáan* (burst/break), *póok'* (become inflamed), *tij* (dry), *el* (burn), *aj* (wake up), *wen* (go to sleep), *je'el* (rest), *ka'an* (tire)

- (7) -l suffix: positionals – change of position, orientation, configuration (Bricker et. al. 1998: 352-354; Lois & Vapnarsky 2003: 192-209)

a. Bik jaw-[**I**-ak-ech

PROS lying.face.up-SUF-ITV.SBV-2s.ABS

‘Careful not to fall on your back (end up lying face up)’

b. Others: éets' (settle), chaw (dangling/hanging), chil (lying down), chin (bending over/leaning), ch'uy (suspended/hanging), jay (stretched out), jot (bending over to the ground), kop (coiled up), much' (piled up), nak (leaning against), nok (lying face down), p'ok (crouching/squatting), t'uch (perched), tsel (lying on side), ts'ap (stacked up), wa'al (standing up), xol (kneeling)

- (8) -ch suffix: change of state (Bricker et. al. 1998: 348-349; Lois & Vapnarksy 2003: 106-107)

a. Sáam polok-[**ch**]ajak-o'ob

REC.PST fat-SUF-ITV.SBV-3p.ABS

‘They have gotten fat’

b. Others: bek'ech (thin), chak (red), ch'óoch' (salty), nojoch (big), ma'alob (good), k'as (bad), paj (sour), ke'el (cold), mejen (small), sajak (scared), ayik'al (rich), sáas (clear), nuuk (big), k'oj'a'an (sick), uts (good)

- **Verbs with -n suffix**

- (9) a. J óok'ot-[**n**]-aj-en Polysyllabic roots
PFV dance-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS
‘I danced’

b. Others: áalkab (run), sakal (weave), meyaj (work), oxo'om (shell/shuck corn), pak'ach (make tortillas), jáayab (yawn), ichkúil (bath), je'esin (sneeze), k'íilkab (sweat), tuk'ub (hiccup), wayak' (dream), xuuxub (whistle), ch'éeneb (keep watch), awat (yell), ba'atel (fight)

- (10) a. In k'áat káa míis-[**n**]-ak-ech Monosyllabic roots
1s.ERG want that sweep-SUF-ITV.SBV-2s.ABS
‘I want you to sweep up’

b. Others: síit' (jump), kéeb (burp), nóok' (snore), che'ej (laugh/smile), ch'e'ej (make noise), si' (cut firewood), báab (swim), juuk' (move while sitting on one's buttocks – babies), ni'ik' (wiggle), ts'iib (write), xóob (whistle)

2.2 Morphological difference 1: causativization with -s or -kVns/kVnt

- Roots that appear in intransitives like (6) – (8) causativize

(11) Causativization with -s: most roots in (6) above

- a. J kíim-Ø le kaan-o'
PFV die-ITV.PFV DEF snake-DIST
‘The snake died’
- b. T-u kíin-[s]aj le kaan-o'
PFV-3s.ERG die-SUF-TV.PFV DEF snake-DIST
‘He killed the snake’

(12) Causativization with -kVns/kVnt: most roots in (7) and (8) above

- a. In k’áat káa wa’ a(l)-[l]ak-ech
1s.ERG want that stand-SUF-ITV.SBV-2s.ABS
‘I want you to stand up’
- b. T-in wa’al-[kuns]-aj-ech
PFV-1s.ERG stand-SUF-TV.PFV DEF-2s.ABS
‘I stood you up (put you in a standing position)’

- Roots that appear in intransitives like (9) – (10) do not generally causativize

(13) Intended causativization with -s

- a. J meyaj-[n]aj-ech
PFV work-SUF-ITV.PFV-2s.ABS
‘You worked’
- b. *T-in meyaj-[s]aj-ech
PFV-1s.ERG work-SUF-PFV-2s.ABS
Intended: ‘I made you work’

(14) Intended causativation with -kVns/kVnt

- a. J che’ej-[n]aj-en
PFV laugh-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS
‘I laughed’
- b. *T-a che’ej-[kuns]-aj-en
PFV-2s.ERG laugh-SUF-TV.PFV-1s.ABS
Intended: ‘You made me laugh’

2.3 Morphological difference 2: transitivization with -t

- None of the roots in (6) – (8) can transitive with $-t$

- (15) a. J *jook'-Ø-en*
PFV leave-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS
‘I left’
b. *T-in *jóok'* **t**-aj le naj-o’
PFV-2s.ERG leave-SUF-TV.PFV DEF house-DIST
Intended: I left the house

- Most of the roots in (9) – (10) can transitive with *-t*

- (16) a. In k'áat káa míis **n**-ak-ech
 1s.ERG want that sweep-SUF-ITV.SBV-2s.ABS
 'I want you to sweep up'

b. In k'áat káa a míis **t**Ø le naj-o'
 1s.ERG want that 2s.ERG sweep-SUF-TV.SBV DEF house-DIST
 'I want you to sweep the house'

2.4 Scope of láaj

- The universal quantifier *láaj* (all) appears immediately before the root and takes scope over the internal argument of transitive verbs (Lois & Vapnarsky 2003: 69-70)

- (17) a. T-u láaj k'ey-aj-o'ob
 PFV-3s.ERG all scold-TV.PFV-3p.ABS
 ‘He scolded all of them’

b. T-in láaj jaan-t-aj
 PFV-1s.ERG all eat-SUF-TV.PFV
 ‘I ate it all’

- *láaj* is only acceptable with intransitive verbs that are not marked with *-n*

- (18) a. i'ijnal-e' laaj kíim-Ø-o'ob (Lois & Vapnarsky 2003: 69)
 seed corn-TOP all die-ITV.PFV-3p.ABS
 'The seed corns, they all died'
 b. *Láaj kéeb[n]aj-o'ob
 All burp-SUF-ITV.PFV-3p.ABS
 Intended: 'They all burped'

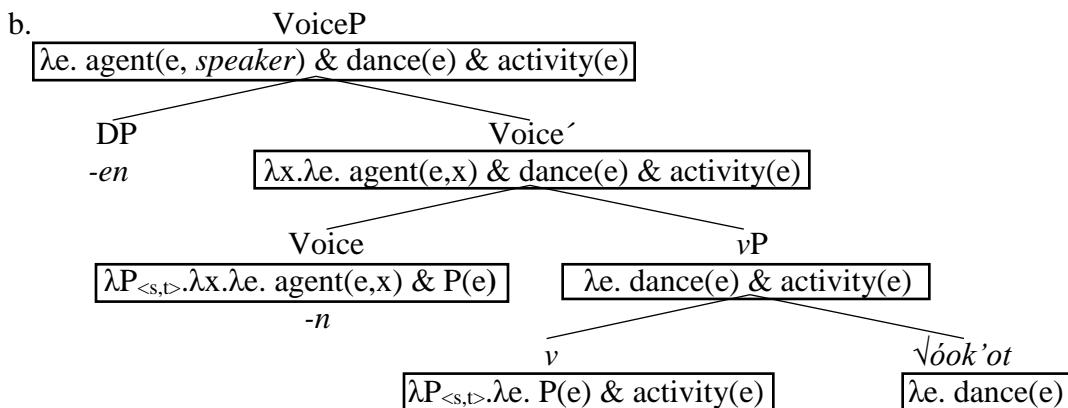
2.5 Summary

	Unaccusatives	Unergatives
Morpho-semantic correspondences	<p>\emptyset – change of location, temporal stage, state</p> <p>l – change of position, configuration</p> <p>ch – change of state</p>	All marked with n Describe a variety of activities, manner of motion, substance emission
Transitivization	Causativization with $-s$ or $-kVns/t$	Transitivization with $-t$
Interaction with <i>láaj</i>	<i>Láaj</i> takes scope over argument	<i>Láaj</i> does not take scope over argument

3. A typology of unergative verb stems from different root classes

- Claim thus far: unergative verb stems are built from event-denoting roots of type $\langle s, t \rangle$

- (19) a. J óok'ot **n**aj-en
 PFV dance-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS
 'I danced'



- c. Others: *áalkab* (run), *sakal* (weave), *meyaj* (work), *oxo'om* (shell/shuck corn), *pak'ach* (make tortillas), *jáayab* (yawn), *ichkfíl* (bath), *je'esin* (sneeze), *k'il kab* (sweat), *tuk'ub* (hiccup), *wayak'* (dream), *xuuxub* (whistle), *ch'éeneb* (keep watch), *awat* (yell), *ba'atel* (fight), *úun* (rock/sway), *siit'* (jump), *kéeb* (burp), *nóok'* (snore), *che'ej* (laugh/smile), *ch'e'ej* (make noise), *si'* (cut firewood), *báab* (swim), *juuk'* (move while sitting on one's buttocks – babies), *ni'ik'* (wiggle), *ts'iib* (write), *xóob* (whistle)

3.1 Antipassives: <e, <s,t>> Roots with existential closure

- A class of intransitives marked with *-n* have implicit objects and sometimes a special form that indicates its presence

(20) Long low tone root vowel (alternates with a short vowel in transitives)

a. J xook-[**n**]aj-en jo'oljeak Transitive = *xok* (short vowel)

PFV read-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS yesterday

'I read yesterday'

b. Most transitive roots show this alternation: 'hit' = *jats*' (tr.) – *jaats*' (antip.); 'grind (corn)' = *juch*' (tr.) – *juuch*' (antip.); 'sing' = *k'ay* (tr.) – *k'aay* (antip.); 'speak' = *t'an* (tr.) – *t'aan* (antip.)

(21) -*Vl* suffix

a. Sáam koon-[**ol-n**]ak-ech?

REC.PST sell-SUF-SUF-ITV.SBV-2s.ABS

'Did you finish selling a while ago?'

b. Others: *uk'-ul* (drink/eat breakfast), *pak'-al* (plant), *jan-al* (eat)

(22) -*aj* suffix

a. (J) bi-[**s-aj-n**]aj-ij

(Lois & Vapnarsky 2003: 61)

PFV go-SUF-SUF-SUF-ITV.PFV-3s.ABS

'She brought (something)'

b. Others: all causativized unaccusatives with *-s*, *il-aj* (see, antip.), *a'al-aj* (say, antip.), *u'uy-aj* (hear, antip.)

(23) Identical to transitives (usually long high tone or rearticulated root vowels)

a. Kóol-[**n**]en Kóol-ej

Pull-SUF-ITV.IMP Pull-TV.IMP

'Pull!' 'Pull it!'

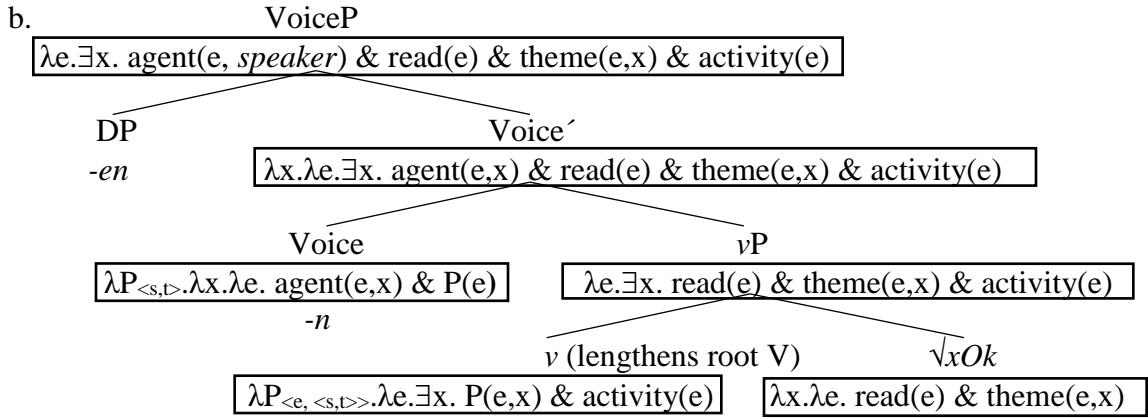
b. Others: *póol* (carve), *cha'ach* (chew), *la'ach* (scratch), *léets'* (lick), *síus* (peel), *páan* (dig), *lo'op* (remove with a gourd/spoon), *p'éep'* (pluck feathers, pick leaves/fruits), *méek'* (hug/brace), *páak* (cut weeds)

- Antipassive derivations have the same Voice, but a different *v* and root

(24) a. J xook-[**n**]aj-en jo'oljeak Transitive = *xok* (short vowel)

PFV read-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS yesterday

'I read yesterday'



3.2 Compounds: $\langle e, \langle s, t \rangle \rangle$ Roots with Restrict + Existential Closure

- V-N compounds are intransitives marked with $-n$ as shown below (Sullivan 1984; Gutiérrez Bravo 2002)

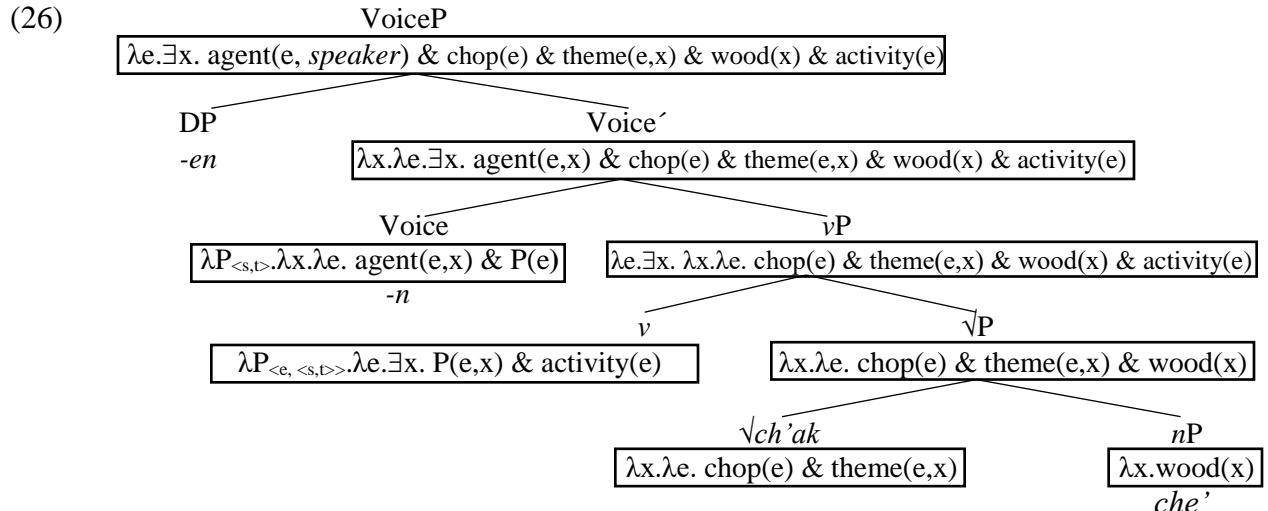
(25) a. (J) ch'ak-che'~~n~~aj-en

PFV chop-wood-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS

'I chopped wood'

b. Others: *juch'-sikil* (grind-squash seeds), *ts'on-kéej* (hunt-deer), *wéek-ja'* (throw-water), *muts'-ich* (close-eye, blink), *kuch-si'* (carry-firewood), *p'o'-nook'* (wash-clothes) ...

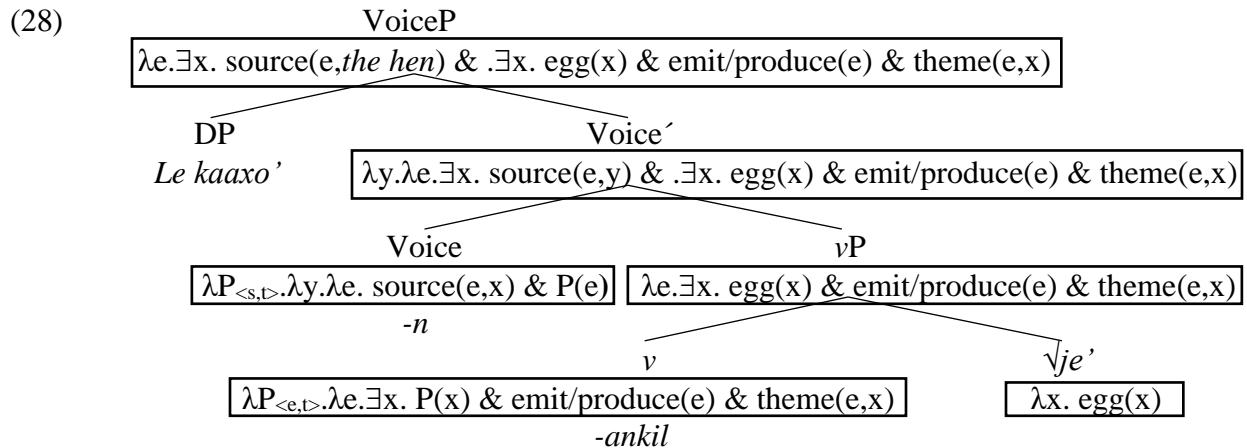
- I follow Coon (2017b) in claiming that the noun in such compounds combines with a transitive root through *Restrict* (Chung & Ladusaw 2004), followed by existential closure



3.3 Entity denoting roots <e,t>

- Many entity-denoting roots form unergatives with the suffix *-(á)ankil*, giving rise to verbs that describe production/emission of the entity described by the root

- (27) a. Its **áankil-n**-aj-ij (Bricker et. al. 1998: 352)
 sap-SUF-SUF-ITV.PFV-3S.ABS
 ‘It oozed’
- b. Sáam je' **áankil-n**ak le kaax-o'
 REC.PST egg-SUF-SUF-ITV.SBV DEF hen-DIST
 ‘The hen laid eggs recently’
- c. Others: aal-áankil ‘give birth’ (aal = child), its-áankil ‘ooze’ (its = sap), ich-áankil ‘bear fruit’ (ich = fruit), óom-áankil ‘foam/froth’ (óom = foam), book-áankil ‘give off odor’ (book = odor), buuts'-áankil ‘emit smoke’ (buuts' = smoke), lool-áankil ‘flower/bloom’ (lool = flower), k'u'uk'-áankil ‘sprout’ (k'u'uk' = sprout)



Notes on contextual meanings

- The verb stems formed may have special meanings that do not entail the literal meaning of the root (i.e. *its* = sap but *its-áankil* = to ooze, not necessarily emit sap) – I assume allosemes of a root must be fixed by the VoiceP phase (see Marantz 2013 for discussion)
- Thematic content of Voice is not agentive – this is due to the specific nature of the verbalizing head spelled out by *-ankil*; the argument introduced in Voice is an initiator of a production/emission event (= the *source* of emission)

4. Curious cases: *-bal* stems, sound emission, repetitive motion

4.1 *-bal* stems

- A limited set of unergative stems, labeled ‘affect verbs’ in Mayanist literature, contain *-bal* (Bricker et. al. 1998; Lois & Vapnarsky 2003)

- (29) a. Úum-[**bal-n**]-en te' k'áan-o'!
 Swing-SUF-SUF-ITV.IMP LOC hammock-DIST
 ‘Go swing in the hammock!’
- b. J xíim-[**bal-n**]-aj-ech
 PFV walk-SUF-SUF-ITV.PFV-2s.ABS
 ‘You walked’
- c. Others: jol-bal ‘become slippery’, ts'op-bal ‘become muddy’, ol-bal ‘become soft’, kfil-bal ‘tremble/shake’, léem-bal ‘flash/shine/glitter/sparkle’, tsik-bal ‘chat’

Curious properties of *-bal* stems:

- The nature of *-bal* is controversial – meaning is unclear as well as its status as a derivational morpheme or root across the language family (Lois & Vapnarsky 2003)
- Most of the CVC roots in *-bal* stems are bound roots or have very different meanings when combined with *-bal* (i.e. *tsik-bal* tsik = respect, *tsik-bal* = chat)
- Some *-bal* stems may be transitivized as if they were roots

- (30) a. J xíim-[**bal-n**]-aj-ech
 PFV walk-SUF-SUF-ITV.PFV-2s.ABS
 ‘You walked’
- b. T-a xíim-[**bal-t**]-aj-en
 PFV-2s.ERG walk-SUF-SUF-TV.PFV-1s.ABS
 ‘You visited me’

- Some *-bal* stems with non-agentive arguments may causativize with *-kVns/t*

- (31) a. Jol-**bal-n**-aj-ij (Bricker et. al. 1998: 352)
 slippery-SUF-SUF-ITV.PFV-3s.ABS
 ‘It became slippery’

b. T-u jol-**bal-kunt**-aj (Bricker et. al. 1998: 336)
 PFV-3s.ERG slippery-SUF-SUF-TV.PFV
 ‘He greased it’

Proposal

- *-bal* is a root modifier, there for morphological reasons – it has no semantic content
 - Roots with agents may appear as unergatives or transitives in the expected manner (32)

- | | |
|--|---|
| (32) a. <i>xíim-</i> <s,t> (30a) | b. <i>xíim-</i> <s,t> (30b) |
| $ \begin{array}{c} \lambda e. \text{walk}(e) \& \text{activity}(e) \\ \swarrow \qquad \searrow \\ \lambda P_{\ll s,t \rr} \lambda e. P(e) \& \text{activity}(e) \qquad \lambda e. \text{walk}(e) \\ v \qquad \qquad \qquad \sqrt{} \\ \sqrt{xíim-} \qquad X \\ \qquad \qquad -bal \end{array} $ | $ \begin{array}{c} \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{visit}(e) \& \text{activity}(e) \& \text{theme}(e,x) \\ \swarrow \qquad \searrow \\ \lambda P_{\ll s,t \rr} \lambda x. \lambda e. P(e) \& \text{activity}(e) \& \text{theme}(e,x) \\ v \qquad \qquad \qquad -t \\ \sqrt{xíim-} \qquad X \\ \qquad \qquad -bal \end{array} $ |

- Non-agentive roots either do not transitivize or form ‘causative pairs’ (Levin & Rappaport 1995) – they appear in an unergative constructions related to substance/sound emission and (sometimes) a causative one in which the same root describes a state change

- | | |
|---|---|
| (33) a. <i>jol-</i> <e,t> (31a) | b. <i>jol-</i> <e, <s,t>> (31b) |
| $\begin{array}{c} \lambda e. \exists x. \text{slippery-substance}(x) \& \text{produce}(e,x) \\ \swarrow \qquad \searrow \\ \lambda e. \exists x. P(x) \& \text{produce}(e,x) \qquad \lambda x. \text{slippery-substance}(x) \\ v \qquad \qquad \sqrt{jolbal} \\ \sqrt{jol-} \qquad X \\ -bal \end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c} \lambda e. \exists e'. \text{slippery}(e') \& \text{theme}(e', b) \& \text{CAUSE}(e', e) \\ \swarrow \qquad \searrow \\ \lambda P_{\langle s, \triangleright}. \lambda e. \exists e'. P(e) \& \text{CAUSE}(e', e) \\ v \\ -kunt \\ \lambda e. \text{slippery}(e) \& \text{theme}(e, b) \\ \sqrt{jolbal} \\ \swarrow \qquad \searrow \\ \lambda x. \lambda e. \text{slippery}(e) \& \text{theme}(e, x) \\ \sqrt{jol-} \qquad X \\ -bal \end{array} \qquad \text{DP}_b$ |

4.2 Unexpected transitivization processes in sound emission and repetitive motion

- Bohnemeyer (2004) notes that some sound emission and repetitive non-agentive motion verbs show unexpected properties in transitivization
- The verb *péek* (move/wiggle) appears with *-n* when used as an intransitive, but it causativizes with *-s* (it is the only root that presents this pattern)

- (34) a. J péek[n]aj-en
 PFV wiggle-SUF-ITV.PFV-1s.ABS
 ‘I wiggled’
- b. T-a péek[s]aj-en
 PFV-2s.ERG wiggle-SUF-TV.PFV-1s.ABS
 ‘You made me wiggle’

- Other sound emission and repetitive motion verbs follow the general morphological patterns of roots in unergative and transitive structures, but are semantically irregular (Bohnemeyer 2004: 82)

- (35) a. Balak'[n]aj le boola-o'
 Roll-SUF-ITV.PFV DEF ball-DIST
 ‘The ball rolled’
- b. Pedro-e' t-u balak'[t]aj le boola-o'
 Pedro-TOP PFV-3s.ERG roll-SUF-TV.PFV DEF ball-DIST
 ‘Pedro rolled the ball’
- c. **Sounds:** *tsíirin* (buzz), *nik'ich* (squeak), *jáarax/júrich* (slide) **Motion:** *mosoon* (whirl), *júuy* (stir), *pi'ik'* (shake), *chúik* (shake), *tít* (shake), *walak'* (revolve)

- Recall: *-t* transitivizes a root that typically appears in an unergative stem, adding an internal argument; here it looks like a causativizer

Proposal

- The roots in (34) and (35) have mixed properties – they are *unergative* as intransitives but transitivize as *unaccusatives* (i.e. form causatives)

- (36) a. Unergative stem [_{vP} *v* [*balak'*]] = $\lambda e. \exists x. \text{rolling-motion}(x) \ \& \ \text{produce}(e, x)$
 b. Unaccusative [_{vP} *v* [_{NP} *balak'* [DP ...]]] = $\lambda e. \exists e'. \text{roll}(e) \ \& \ \text{theme}(e, x) \ \& \ \text{CAUSE}(e', e)$

- The transitivizing morphology presents variation and is neutralized semantically – both *-s* (general causative) and *-t* (general transitivizer) introduce CAUSE
- Cross-linguistically this particular class of predicates has mixed properties in areas related to diagnosing unaccusativity/unergativity (Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995: 110-119; Sorace 2000)

Transitivization (see Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995: 115-117)

- Verbs of this class show “causative pairs” in which the intransitive stem is unergative and the transitive is causative – the roots are capable of appearing in two different types of constructions

- (37) a. The doorbell buzzed/rang – The postman buzzed/rang the doorbell
 b. The light flashed – We flashed the light
 c. The patient bled – The doctor bled the patient
 d. The jello jiggled – I jiggled the jello
 e. The ball is rolling – The child is rolling the ball
 f. John shook with fear – I shook John (#with fear)

Auxiliary selection (see Sorace 2000)

- (38) *roll* (from Sorace 2000: 875-877)
- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| a. De bal heeft/*is gerold | DUTCH – <i>have</i> |
| The ball has/is rolled | |
| ‘The ball rolled’ | |
| b. Mario ha/è rotolato per evitare l’auto | ITALIAN – <i>be/have</i> |
| Mario has/is rolled to avoid the car | |
| ‘Mario rolled to avoid the car’ | |
- (39) Italian sound emission verbs (from Sorace 2000: 877-878)
- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| a. Il telefono ha/è squillato | |
| The phone has/is rung | |
| ‘The phone rang’ | |
| b. La campana ha/?è rintoccata | |
| The bell has/is tolled | |
| ‘The bell tolled’ | |

5. Conclusion

Unergatives in Yucatec Maya share a formal characteristic because ...

- *-n* is a marker of structural unergativity – a Voice head that introduces an argument but has no case feature

Unergatives in Yucatec Maya are semantically heterogeneous because ...

- The verb stems formed below Voice are built in a variety of different ways from different types of roots

Abbreviations

DEF = definite marker, DIST = distal deictic clitic, DIST.PST = distant past aspect marker, IMP = imperative, ITV.PFV = perfective intransitive status, ITV.SBV = subjunctive intransitive status, PROS = prospective imperative mood marker, LOC = locative, PFV = perfective aspect marker, REC.PST = recent past aspect marker, TOP = Topic marker *-e'*, SUF = any verbal suffix between the root and status marker, TV.PFV = perfective transitive status, TV.SBV = subjunctive transitive status

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