# MAYAN STATIVE PREDICATION[*]

CLIFTON PYE
*The University of Kansas*

## 1   Introduction

Stative predicates in Mayan languages have a deceptively simple appearance (1). Mayan stative predicates lack affixes for aspect, ergative cross-referencing and status that define core features of the Mayan verbal complex (Bohnemeyer 1998:231; Dayley 1985:294; England 1983:238; Furbee-Losee 1976:204). Many Mayan grammars only provide superficial descriptions for stative predicates. I will argue that stative predication deserves further examination on two counts. First, the very simplicity of stative predication in the Mayan languages raises a fundamental theoretical issue, namely what is the minimal structure of predication and/or finiteness? Second, I suggest that Mayan stative predication marks a radical difference between

All Mayan words are shown in the practical orthography developed by the Proyecto Lingüístico Francisco Marroquín (Kaufman 1976) with a single exception: I use <'> rather than <7> for the glottal stop. The other orthographic symbols have their standard IPA values except: <ä> = /ɨ/, <ñ> = /ɲ/, <tz> = /ts/, <ch> = /tʃ/, <b'> = /ɓ/, <tz'> = /ts'/, <ch'> = /tʃ'/, <j> = /x/, <x> = /ʃ/ in all languages but Mam and Q'anjob'al and /ʂ/ in Mam and Q'anjob'al, <xh> = /ʃ/ in Mam and Q'anjob'al.

I use the following abbreviations: CMP=completive aspect, DEP$_{IV}$=intransitive dependent status suffix, INC=incompletive aspect, PERF$_{IV}$=intransitive perfect aspect, ICH=inchoative, PERF$_{TV}$=transitive perfect aspect, PASS=passive suffix, ABS=abstract noun, PRED=warning clitic, A=set A agreement (ergative), B=set B agreement (absolutive), 1=first person singular, 2=second person singular, 3=third person singular, 4=first person plural, AGT=person particle, AP=antipassive, CAUS=causative affix, CL=noun classifier, D2=distant marker, EMPH=emphatic particle, NEG=negation particle, NOM$_{IV}$=intransitive nominalization suffix, REP=repetition, NOM$_{TV}$=transitive nominalization suffix, V=verb, Q.FOCUS=question focus marker, EPN=epenthetic glide, FUT=future marker, ARG=argument, DP=determiner phrase, AdjP=adjective phrase, DET=determiner, FINP=finiteness phrase, Subj=syntactic subject, Obj=syntactic object, VP=verb phrase, NP=noun phrase, DER$_{TV}$=derived transitive verb status, EXIST=existential, IND$_{IV}$=intransitive indicative verb status, IND$_{TV}$=transitive indicative verb status, ENC=enclitic, IP=inflectional phrase, REC_DEP=recent dependent prefix, DIM=diminutive, PAGR=possessor agreement, ADVP=adverb phrase, AspP=aspect phrase, AbsP=absolutive phrase, Erg=ergative, KP=kase phrase, CP=complementizer phrase, IND=indicative, TR=transitive, TERM=terminative aspect

the Mayan and European languages. Following proposals by Furbee-Losee (1976) for Tojolabal and Bohnemeyer (1998) for Yucatec, I argue that Mayan languages have only stative predicates and lack true verb predicates. I extend their analysis using the comparative method.

(1)    MAYAN STATIVE PREDICATES

| a. | Q'ANJOB'AL | b. | MAM | | | c. | CH'OL | |
|----|------------|----|-----|--|--|----|-------|--|
| | mexhtol hin | | aj | xnaq'txal | qina | | ixpäs | oñ |
| | teacher B1 | | AGT | teacher | B1 | | teacher | B1 |
| | 'I am a teacher.' | | 'I am a teacher.' | | | | 'I am a teacher.' | |

The following section discusses the structure of Mayan DPs and Mayan stative predicates. Section three explores a copular analysis of Mayan stative predicates. Section four extends the stative analysis to negation and existential predicates, section five examines focus phrases, and section six explores recursion in stative predicates. Section seven shows how stative predication may extend to the Mayan verbal complex.

# 2    The Structure of Mayan Stative Predicates

Stative expressions in Mayan languages appear to be non-finite since they lack aspect and status markers. The absence of finiteness markers suggests that Mayan stative predicates have more in common with small clauses than with root clauses, but unlike small clauses, Mayan stative predicates are not dependent on other predicates. Mayan statives are used to express stative propositions equivalent to stative propositions in English. Mayan languages do not require a copular verb in stative predications to express tense.

Mayan stative predicates can be used as complements of verbs that require finite complements. In the following example, the verb *-oche* 'want' requires a finite complement clause introduced by the complimentizer *tol* (2a). When the same verb is followed by a verbal complement, the verb is inflected for aspect and agreement (2b). Thus, Mayan stative predicates can appear by themselves as ordinary clauses or as complements to verbs that license finite complements. Mayan stative predicates are finite.

(2)    Q'ANJOB'AL FINITE COMPLEMENT CONSTRUCTIONS

                                                                (Santa Eulalia dialect, Pedro Mateo, pc 2010)

a.    ch-Ø-w-oche-j          tol  watx' no tx'i'
       INC-B3-A1-want-DERTV that good  CL dog
       'I want the dog to be good.'

b.    ch-Ø-w-oche-j          (tol) ch-in   lo-w-i
       INC-B3-A1-want-DERTV that  INC-B1 eat-AP-INDIV
       'I want to eat.'

I assume that Mayan stative propositions are finite like their English counterparts, and have a structure like that in (3). Basically, some state is predicated for an argument.
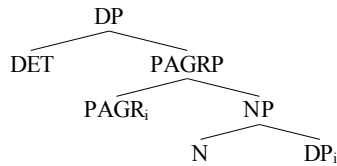
(3)    STRUCTURE OF MAYAN STATIVES

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              FINP
           /        \
        FIN          STATEP
                   /        \
               STATE          ARG
                 |
            DP, AdjP, etc
```

The finiteness projection in (3) is realized by the Absolutive cross-reference markers. The pronominal arguments in (1) realize the argument position of the stative predicate, but do not move to the finiteness projection to check the finiteness feature.

Mayan DPs provide a useful contrast with Mayan stative predicates. Mayan DPs have the minimal structure shown in (4). This structure can be elaborated through the addition of quantifier phrases, numeral classifiers, nominal classifiers and adjectives, but the essence of the Mayan DP is that shown in (4).

(4)    K'ICHE' DP (Ajpacajá Tum et al, 2005)

```
              DP
           /      \
        DET        PAGRP
                 /        \
            PAGR_i          NP
                          /     \
                         N       DP_i
```

lee $u_i$-k'ajool lee  To'l$_i$
the A3-son    the  Bart
'the son of Bart'

Bare Mayan DPs lack predicate status just as bare English DPs do. Mayan DPs do not form predicates by themselves. As the structure in (3) indicates, I assume that predication adds an assertion to the Mayan DP in forming a stative predicate. Predication adds an argument position and a functional projection for finiteness resulting in the minimal Mayan stative predicate. Stative predicates differ from the DP structure in (4) in that stative predicates cross-reference their argument via an absolutive (Set B) clitic whereas DPs use either an ergative (Set A) prefix or relational noun to license a complement.

Stative reference is temporally unbounded, but pragmatically restricted by discourse and real world knowledge. The type of state defines its duration. World knowledge dictates that a house is apt to remain white longer than a child will remain content. The division between stative and non-stative predicates in Mayan languages is fluid. Some "states" are realized as verbs in K'iche' (5a, b), and some are realized as either stative predicates (5c) or as verbs (5d). Mayan languages have a productive inchoative derivation that derives verbs from adjectives (6), and a perfect that derives states from verbs (7). Comparing across the Mayan languages reveals another dimension

of variation in which notions are expressed as stative or non-stative predicates. The predicate 'full' is realized as a verb in K'iche', Mam and Ch'ol, and as an adjective in Q'anjob'al (8).

(5)  STATE REALIZATION IN K'ICHE'

a.  k-in-kikot-ik
INC-B1-content-IND$_{IV}$
'I'm happy.'

b.  k-in-num-ik
INC-B1-hungry-IND$_{IV}$
'I'm hungry.'

c.  inin  yawab'
I      sick
'I'm sick.'

d.  k-in-yawab'-ik
INC-B1-sick-IND$_{IV}$
'I'm sick.'

(6)  K'ICHE' INCHOATIVE DERIVATION

a.  x-Ø-utz-ir-ik
CMP-B3-good-ICH-IND$_{IV}$
'S/he became good.'

b.  x-Ø-saq-ir-ik
CMP-B3-light-ICH-IND$_{IV}$
'It became light.'

(7)  K'ICHE' PERFECT

a.  war-inaq
sleep-PERF$_{IV}$
'asleep'

b.  il-oom
see-PERF$_{TV}$
'seen'

(8)  a.  K'ICHE'
x-in-noj-ik
CMP-B1-full-IND$_{iv}$
'I'm full.'

b.  MAM
ma    chin-noj-a
CMP   B1-full-ENC
'I'm full.'

c.  Q'ANJOB'AL
mal  noj  in-qul
now  full  A1-stomach
'My stomach is full.'

## 3  The Copular Analysis

It is possible that Mayan languages use a null copula structure like that in (9) to form stative predicates. This structure looks reassuringly familiar to English speakers and provides an acceptable analysis for Arabic, so why not invoke it for Mayan stative predicates?

(9)     NULL COPULA STRUCTURE



There are two reasons to question a null copula analysis for Mayan stative predicates. The first reason is that, as given, the null copula structure in (9) is transitive since it includes two arguments, and as every Mayan speaker knows, transitive structures assign an ergative cross-reference prefix to their head. Since there is no evidence of ergative cross-referencing in the stative predicts in (1), a null copula analysis is immediately suspect. One could claim that null copulas are a "special case" but this plea just ignores contradictory evidence rather than providing a legitimate argument.

The second reason that a null copula analysis is suspect can be found in completive or subjunctive forms of stative predicates. By themselves, Mayan stative predicates have an incompletive aspect. In completive contexts Mayan languages use the completive form of the existential (10a) or a verb (10b) to mark completive aspect, or in the case of Tzutujil, merely add an adverb. The use of a verb in (10a and b) converts the stative predicate to a non-stative predicate. The null copula analysis fails to predict this constraint. Arabic, in contrast, introduces an overt copula in completive contexts. Documentation of completive forms of stative predicates is lacking for many Mayan languages.
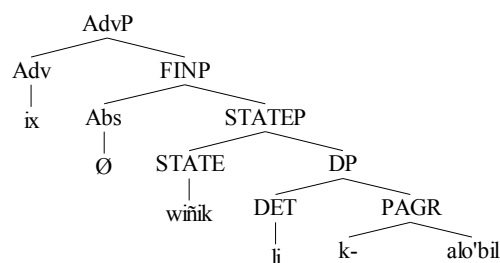
(10)    MAYAN COMPLETIVE STATIVES

    a.    K'ICHE' (Zunil dialect)
          x-Ø-k'oji    utz   nu-tz'ii'
          CMP-B3-exist good A1-dog
          'My dog was good.' (lit. 'It was the case that my dog was good.')

    b.    Q'ANJOB'AL (Santa Eulalia dialect, Pedro Mateo Pedro 2010, pc)
          x-Ø-ek'      naq hin-k'ajol mexhtol-ol
          CMP-B3-PASS CL  A1-son    teacher-ABS
          'My son was a teacher.' (lit. 'My son passed teaching.')

    c.    TZUTUJIL (Dayley 1985:303)
          Inin oojeer in  ajch'a'ool.
          I    before B1 fighter
          'I used to be a fighter.'

Ch'ol provides further evidence for finiteness marking on stative predicates. The example in (11a) shows a stative predicate modified by a temporal adverbial suffix *ix* 'now' and that in (11b) shows a stative predicate with the subjunctive suffix. These examples provide valuable evidence that stative predicates can take a range of adverbial modifiers even though they lack the aspectual prefixes found on verbs. The structure that I proposed in (3) can easily be extended to accommodate temporal modifiers as shown in (12).

(11)    CH'OL ADVERBIAL MARKING OF STATIVE PREDICATES (Vasquez Alvarez 2005:229-230)

    a.    wiñik-Ø=ix  li   k-alo'bil
          man-B3=now the A1-son
          'My son is now a man.' ('Ya es hombre mi hijo')

    b.    wiñik-Ø=ik         aj-wañ
          man-B3=SUBJUNCTIVE   AGT-Juan
          'If Juan was a man.' ('Si Juan fuera hombre')

(12)      EXTENDED STRUCTURE OF MAYAN STATIVE PREDICATES

```
                AdvP
           ┌─────┴─────┐
          Adv         FINP
           │      ┌─────┴─────┐
           ix    Abs        STATEP
                  │      ┌─────┴─────┐
                  Ø    STATE         DP
                        │       ┌─────┴─────┐
                      wiñik    DET         PAGR
                               │        ┌───┴───┐
                               li       k-    alo'bil
```

wiñik-Ø=ix    li    k-alo'bil
man-B3=now    the   A1-son
'My son is now a man.' ('Ya es hombre mi hijo')

The stative structure in (3) is asymmetric. Although it has the surface appearance of two DPs in succession, the first acts as the predicate while the second is its argument. Adverb placement provides evidence for this asymmetric structure. Possession provides further evidence for asymmetry. Possessed stative predicates have not received much attention in the Mayan literature. The Ixtahuacán dialect of Mam only allows unpossessed DPs to serve as stative predicates (13a) while the Tila dialect of Ch'ol and the Santa Eulalia dialect of Q'anjob'al allow possessed DPs to serve as stative predicates (13b and c). As far as I know, this constraint has not been tested in other Mayan languages.

(13)      POSSESSED STATIVE PREDICATES

   a.     MAM (Ixtahuacán dialect, field notes 2009)
          aliy    t-al            xhwana
          María   A3-daughter     Juana
          'María is Juana's daughter' or 'Juana's daughter is María.'

   b.     CH'OL (Tila dialect, field notes 2009)
          y-une'    ix  xhuwin ix  malin
          A3-child  CL  Juana  CL  María
          'María is Juana's daughter.'

   c.     Q'ANJOB'AL (Santa Eulalia dialect, Pedro Mateo Pedro 2010, pc)
          ha-mexhtol naq  hin-k'ajol
          A2-teacher CL   A1-son
          'My son is your teacher.' ('mi hijo es tu maestro')

# 4 Other Stative Predicates

Nouns and adjectives provide prototypical examples of stative predicates in Mayan grammars. The question of what other lexical categories form stative predicates deserves further attention. For example, some linguists analyze existential predicates (14) as stative predicates (England 1983:238). Existentials express existence, location and possession. Existentials are exceptional in that they lack the aspectual prefixes and status suffixes typically found on verbal predicates. The K'iche' existential is unusual in that it takes positional inflections in clause-final position.

(14)  a.  K'ICHE'               b.  MAM                    c.  CH'OL
          k'oo jun tz'i'            at     junt tx'i'           añ   jun ch'i'
          exist one dog            exist  one  dog            exist one dog
          'There is a dog.'         'There is a dog.'          'There is a dog.'

It is possible to analyze propositional negation as a form of stative predication as well. Mam and Ch'ol add a marker for propositional negation to the beginning of the sentence consistent with the placement of a stative predicate (15). The interpretation of stative negation is more in keeping with the interpretation that negation receives in predicate logic than its interpretation in English or Spanish.

(14)  a.  MAM                                    b.  CH'OL
          nya' aj  xnaq'tzal qina                    mach ixpäs    oñ
          NEG  AGT teacher    B1                     NEG  teacher  B1
          'I am not a teacher.' (lit. 'It is not      'I am not a teacher.' (lit. 'It is not
          the case that I am a teacher.')            the case that I am a teacher.')

Stative negation in Q'anjob'al takes another form that reveals more details of stative clause structure (16). Negation in Q'anjob'al introduces a dependent marker that follows the stative predicate. I analyze -oq as a dependent marker that indicates the stative predicate is dependent on the negation predicate. Q'anjob'al adds the further wrinkle that the absolutive pronoun is attracted to a position that follows the negation marker. The predicate adverb -xa appears in this position as well. The position of the absolutive and predicate adverb supports the analysis of negation as the main stative predicate. As far as I know, no one has described the conditions that result in absolutive movement under negation in stative predicates.

(16)  Q'ANJOB'AL (Mateo Pedro, pc 2010)
      man-xa   mexhtol-oq   naq hin-k'ajol
      NEG-now teacher-DEP$_{IV}$ CL   A1-son
      'My son is not a teacher now.'

# 5 Focus

Mayan languages place focused arguments in the pre-predicate position. Mayan linguists commonly analyze focused constituents as cleft constructions (Bohnemeyer 1998:189; England 1983:284). Although the Mayan literature concentrates on focus constructions in preverbal position, Mayan stative predicates also permit the use of clefts to mark focus. Vasquez Alvarez (2005:229) provides an example of a focused version of the structure in (12), which I provide in

(17). This example shows that the adverbial suffix remains attached to the stative predicate rather than moving to a second position of some type. The position of the adverbial suffix allows us to see that the predicate remains in place, while the focused constituent appears to the left in a cleft phrase. At a minimum, this example confirms that Mayan stative predicates have the anti-symmetric structure assumed in (3) rather than an equative structure. I assume the structure for focus shown in (18).
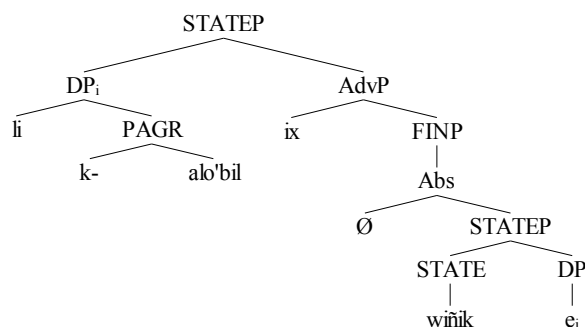
(17)    FOCUSED MAYAN PREDICATE STRUCTURE IN CH'OL (Vasquez Alvarez 2005:228)
        li    k-alo'bil wiñik-Ø=**ix**
        the A1-son   man-B3=**now**
        'It is my son that is now a man.' ('Mi hijo ya es hombre')

(18)    STRUCTURE OF MAYAN STATIVE PREDICATES WITH FOCUS CLEFT



The stative analysis of focused phrases extends naturally to wh-phrases. In (19a) the K'iche' DP *lee naj alih* is a stative predicate taking the stative predicate *utz* as its argument, while in (19b) the interrogative word *jas* takes the stative predicate *ab'ii'* as its argument. England (1983:241) states "any fronted nominal or adjectival constituent which does not appear in a relational noun phrase might be a non-verbal sentence with the rest of the sentence being an embedded clause." Mam marks the distinction between root and dependent clauses with different aspectual prefixes. Sentences with focused constituents have the dependent aspect prefixes indicating that the verb is in a dependent clause (20) which modifies a non-verbal clause.

(19)    K'ICHE' FOCUS (Zunil dialect)

   a.   SUBJECT FOCUS                         b.   SUBJECT QUESTION
        lee   naj  alih  utz                       jas    a-b'ii'?
        the   DIM  girl  good                       what   A2-name
        'It is the little girl that is good.'       'What is your name?'


(20)    MAM FOCUS (England 1983:242)
        xu'j    x-Ø-juusa-n            t-e        chib'aj
        woman REC_DEP-B3-burn-AP A3-POSS  food
        'It was the woman who burned the food.'

Focus constructions are a primary mechanism of word order change. While Q'anjob'al allows questioning into possessed stative arguments (21a), it prohibits questioning into possessed stative predicates (21b). As far as I can tell, this constraint has not been explored in any Mayan language.

(21)    INTERROGATIVE POSSESSED STATIVE PREDICATES (Q'anjob'al, Pedro Mateo Pedro, pc)

    a.    maktxel mexhtol=xa  s-k'ajol
           who    teacher=now A3-son
           'Whose son is now a teacher?'

    b.  * maktxel s-k'ajol=xa   mexhtol
           who    A3-son=now teacher
           'A teacher is now whose son?'

# 6  Recursion

Recursion is another aspect of stative predication that has been largely ignored in the Mayan literature. Bohnemeyer claims that stative predicates cannot be embedded as arguments in Yucatec (1998:167), but his evidence is limited. The examples in (22) show that stative predication is recursive. Both stative and non-stative predicates can take stative predicates as arguments.

(22)    RECURSION IN MAYAN STATIVE PREDICATES

    a.    K'ICHE' (Norman 1976:46)
           aree rii r-uxlab'  r-aab'iix k-oj-noj-sa-n-ik
           it    the A3-smell the-corn INC-B4-full-CAUSE-FOC-IND$_{IV}$
           'It is the smell of the corn that is what makes us full.'

    b.    TZUTUJIL (Dayley 1985:397)
           anij   qatziij wi'  chi ma in  b'ayoom ta
           always certain front that not B1  rich      IRREAL
           'That I am not rich is certain.'

    c.    Q'EQCHI' (Freeze 1976:24)
           aa ink'a' aw-otz'ink-il   yookin  wi'
           oh NEG   A2-tickle-NOM exist-B1 PROADV
           'Oh, I'm just tickling you.' (lit. 'It is not your tickling that I am.')

    d.    Q'ANJOB'AL (Santa Eulalia dialect, Mateo Pedro 2010, pc)
           watx' tol  yalixh no' tx'i'
           good  that small CL  dog
           'That the dog is small is good.'

    e.    YUCATEC (Bohnemeyer 1998:231)
           mix+ba'l-o'n t-aw    ich
           NEG+thing-B4 loc-A2  eye
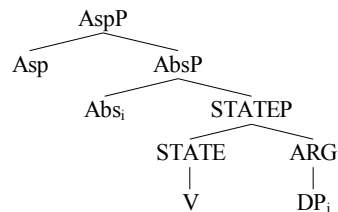           'We are nothing in your opinion.'

Stative complements provide an interesting test of finiteness since they do not mark finiteness overtly. Stative predicates should not be permitted in non-finite contexts even though they do not carry overt aspect markers.

# 7 "Non-stative" Predicates

At a minimum, then, I take Mayan stative predication to include projections for finiteness in addition to the stative predicate, its argument and adverbial modifiers. The analysis of focused constituents, wh-phrases, negation and the existential as stative predicates radically reduces the functional structure of Mayan clauses. This analysis runs counter to the identification of multiple functional projections within a single clause. This analysis of Mayan stative predicates naturally raises the question of the difference between stative and non-stative predication in these languages. In this section I propose extending the stative structure to verbal predicates.

I presented the prototype of the Mayan stative configuration in (3). This structure is easily extended to intransitive verbs as shown in (23). The stative analysis assumes the intransitive verb represents a state which is predicated of some argument in the same way that a stative predicate applies to a stative argument. The verbal predicate expresses the proposition that the argument is in some state, e.g. a state of walking.
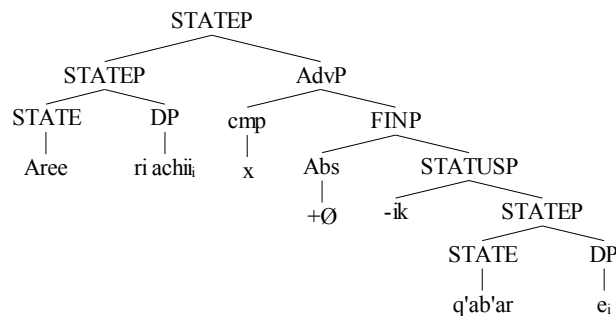
(23)     STRUCTURE OF MAYAN INTRANSITIVE VERBS



k-Ø-b'in      lee alih
INC-B3-walk the girl
'The girl is walking.' (lit. 'The girl is in a walking state.')

Extending the stative analysis to verbs predicts that verbs will exhibit the same syntactic behavior as stative predicates. In particular, they should have the same focus structure as stative predicates (24) and accept clausal complements like stative predicates (25). This analysis predicts that stative predicates and intransitive verbs will have a common set of constraints as well.

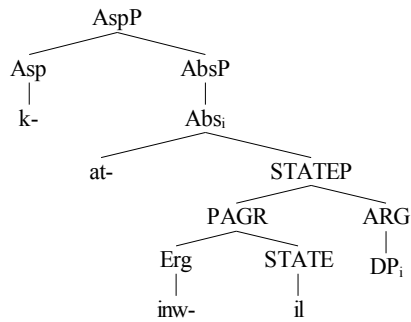(24)     FOCUS WITH INTRANSITIVE VERB (K'iche', Larsen 1988:503)



aree    ri    achii x+Ø+q'ab'ar-ik
FOCUS the man  CMP+B3+get.drunk-IND$_{IV}$
'It was the man who got drunk.'

(25)    INTRANSITIVE VERB WITH CLAUSAL COMPLEMENT (K'iche', Kaufman 1990:84)
        k+(at)    tajin        k+at-chak.u-n-ik
        INC+B2  continuousINC+B2-work.do-AP-INDIV
        'You are working.' (lit. 'You are continuing that you work.')

Transitive verbs can be accommodated within the stative predicate structure as well. Stative predication is biased toward intransitive predicates. Transitive predicates can only be accommodated by adding a possessor. Rather than saying 'I see you', the K'iche' predicate in (26) expresses the proposition 'You are my seeing.' The possessed stative head results in a more complex predicate structure that is more marked relative to unpossessed stative heads. The more marked possessive structure predicts that the ergative constituent will be subject to more constraints than the absolutive constituent. Mayan languages are well known for violating the Keenan-Comrie (1977) accessibility hierarchy in that Mayan direct objects are more accessible than transitive subjects in questions and relative clauses. The stative structure accounts for this constraint and predicts the constraint applies to possessor DPs in stative and non-stative predicates alike.
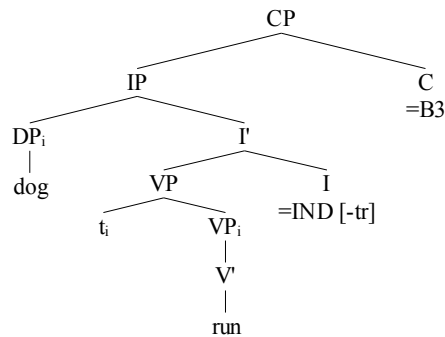
(26)    STRUCTURE OF MAYAN TRANSITIVE VERBS

```
                    AspP
                   /    \
                Asp      AbsP
                 |         |
                 k-       Abs_i
                         /    \
                       at-    STATEP
                             /      \
                          PAGR       ARG
                         /    \        |
                       Erg    STATE   DP_i
                        |       |
                       inw-     il
```

k-at-inw-il-oh
INC-B2-A1-see-IND$_{TV}$
'I see you.' (lit. 'You are my seeing.')

The structures that I derive in this fashion bear a striking similarity to the structures that Bittner and Hale (1993) proposed for what they term "opaque ergative" languages. I provide their analysis of Innuit in (27). Bittner and Hale were forced to stipulate a host of special features and rules to derive their structure. They claim the VP in opaque languages is opaque to government from C with the consequence that the subject of intransitive verbs and the object of transitive verbs lack a case competitor — forcing their movement to [Spec, IP] to satisfy the case filter. While their analysis provides a superficial description of Innuit, it does not provide a motivation for opaqueness that is given directly by an analysis along the lines of stative predication.

(27)   INNUIT: OPAQUE ERGATIVE LANGUAGE (Bittner and Hale 1993:7)
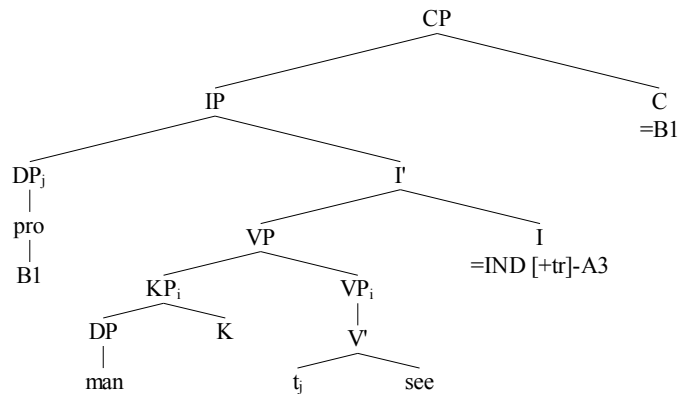
   a.   INTRANSITIVE

```
                        CP
                 ┌──────┴──────┐
                IP              C
           ┌────┴────┐         =B3
         DPᵢ          I'
          │      ┌────┴────┐
         dog    VP          I
             ┌──┴──┐      =IND [-tr]
            tᵢ     VPᵢ
                    │
                    V'
                    │
                   run
```

Qimmiq pangalip-p-u-q    (I)
dog       run-IND-[-tr]-B3
'The dog is running.'

   a.   TRANSITIVE

```
                             CP
                   ┌─────────┴─────────┐
                  IP                    C
          ┌────────┴────────┐          =B1
        DPⱼ                  I'
         │          ┌────────┴────────┐
        pro        VP                  I
         │     ┌────┴────┐        =IND [+tr]-A3
        B1   KPᵢ         VPᵢ
          ┌───┴───┐       │
        DP        K       V'
         │            ┌───┴───┐
        man          tⱼ      see
```

Anguti-p _____    taku-v-a-a-nga.        (I)
man-ERG pro(B1)  see-IND-[+tr]-A3-B1
'The man sees me.'

     I have mentioned that one significant difference between stative and non-stative predicates is the obligatory use of aspectual prefixes with non-stative predicates. Obligatory aspect marking would appear to raise a major problem for a stative analysis. In this respect, it is interesting to note that some Cholan languages have lost the use of overt aspect markers. Chontal innovated a set of aspectual contrasts that rely on the status suffixes. Incompletive transitive verbs in Chontal have the suffixes –e' or –Vn, while completive transitive verbs with third person objects have the thematic suffix –i (28).

(28)　CHONTAL ASPECT LOSS ON TRANSITIVE VERBS

    a.　INCOMPLETIVE (Keller and Plácido Luciano 1997:447)

        u   pul-e'-0

        A3  burn-IND$_{TV}$-B3

        'S/he burns it.'

    b.　COMPLETIVE (Keller and Plácido Luciano 1997:438)

        u   k'ux-i-0

        A3  eat-THEME$_{TV}$-B3

        'S/he ate it.'

Intransitive verbs in Chontal indicate the aspectual contrast through the use of split ergative marking (29). Completive intransitive verbs only carry an absolutive person marker while incompletive intransitive verbs have an ergative prefix as well as a thematic suffix (-e, -o, -a, -an or -in).

(29)　CHONTAL ASPECT LOSS ON INTRANSITIVE VERBS

    a.　INCOMPLETIVE (Keller and Plácido Luciano 1997:458)

        u   jom-e

        A3  climb-THEME$_{IV}$

        'S/he climbs.'

    b.　COMPLETIVE (Keller and Plácido Luciano 1997:459)

        wäy-on

        sleep-B1

        'I slept.'

Chontal illustrates one way in which Mayan languages may communicate without the use of overt aspect marking. The Chorti' language provides a related, but distinct example of the loss of overt aspect marking. Huastec is another Mayan language that has lost its aspect marking. Robertson (1992) provides the examples of incompletive verbs shown in (30).

(30)　HUASTEC (Robertson 1992:213-214)

    a.　INTRANSITIVE INCOMPLETIVE

        in-way-el

        A1-sleep-NOM$_{IV}$

        'I sleep.'

    b.　TRANSITIVE INCOMPLETIVE

        u-k'ap-al

        A1-eat-NOM$_{TV}$

        'I eat it.'

While the agreement and status inflections on verbs remain largely intact across the Mayan languages, aspect marking appears to be more vulnerable. Kaufman hypothesizes that the Proto-Mayan aspect markers were derived from adverbs, and to this day some Mayan languages recruit aspect markers from a number of sources. In the following Q'anjob'al example, the adverb *amank'wan* 'quickly' replaces the incompletive aspectual prefix (31). One consequence of this substitution is the switch to a nominalized verb with ergative rather than absolutive marking.

(31)    Q'ANJOB'AL (Santa Eulalia dialect, Mateo Pedro 2009, pc)

      a.   ASPECTUAL PREFIX      b.   ADVERBIAL PREFIX

          ch-in     b'ey-i           amank'wan  im-b'ey-i

          INC-B1   walk-IND$_{IV}$      quickly       A1-walk-IND$_{IV}$

          'I walk.'              'I walk quickly.' (lit. 'My walking is quick.')

The use of adverbs as aspect markers is more pronounced in Ch'ol and Yucatec. Bohnemeyer (1998:179) argues that all of the unbound aspect markers (such as the terminative marker shown in (32) are stative predicates which take the verbal core as an argument.

(32)    YUCATEC TERMINATIVE ASPECT MARKER (Bohnemeyer 1998:155)

        ts'ok a    ka' ah-s-ik-en

        TERM A2 REP wake_up-CAUS-NOM-B1

        'You have woken me up again!'

Bohnemeyer provides three arguments for the stative status of the unbound Yucatec aspect markers. First, he claims the unbound markers are formally stative since they do not take aspect markers like verbal predicates. Second, the unbound markers can be construed as stative predicates just like relational nouns, interrogative pro-forms, adjectives and numerals. Since stative predicates across the Mayan languages can be formed from a diverse set of lexical categories, there is no reason to exclude the aspectual markers from this set. Third, the placement of the question-focus marker indicates the unbound aspect markers are the main predicate in the Yucatec verbal complex (33). If the verbal core (*máan*) were the focus of the question, the question-focus marker would follow it as it does with lexical verbs (34). The question-focus test shows that the unbound aspect marker is the main predicate in the verbal complex.

(33)    YUCATEC QUESTION-FOCUS TEST (Bohnemeyer 1998:182)

        ts'o'k **wáah**    u   máan le   ha'-o'?

        TERM Q.FOCUS A3 PASS DET water-D2

        'Has the rain already gone by?'

(34)    YUCATEC QUESTION-FOCUS TEST (Bohnemeyer 1998:182)

        h   lúub **wáah**   túun le   nuxib   lòobo-o'?

        CMP fall Q.FOCUS CON DET old_male wolf-D2

        'So, did that mean old wolf fall?'

A similar predicate marker exists in Ch'ol, and appears after non-verbal predicates and after the aspect marker in verbal predicates (35). Vázquez Alvarez states that 'Este clítico da información de advertencia, aclaración o sorpresa' [This clitic expresses a warning, clarification or surprise, cp] (2002:171). He glosses the marker as 'te advierto que ...' or 'I warn you that ...'.

(35)  CH'OL PREDICATE MARKER (Vázquez Alvarez 2002:171-2)

    a.    uts-Ø=**me**
        good-B3=pred
        'It is good.' ('es bueno')

    b.    tsa'=**me**    wäy-i-y-ety
        CMP=PRED sleep-IND$_{VI}$-EPN-B2
        'You slept.' ('te dormiste')

Furbee-Losee (1976:204) explicitly treats the aspect markers in Tojolab'al as stative predicates which take verbal complements. As evidence, she cites the use of *oh*, the future progressive tense, in affirmative replies to a question in the future tense. The reduplicated form *oh-oh* is a possible response to the question *oh xa wahan* 'Are you going now?' (36).

(36)  TOJOLAB'AL ASPECT RESPONSE (Furbee-Losee 1976:204)

    oh   xa   wah-an,
    FUT now go-FUT
    'Are you going now?'

Bohnemeyer shows that the unbound aspectual markers in Yucatec can be used as responses in the same way. Bohnemeyer concludes:

> *The fact that morphologically independent markers of aspect and mood may represent the main predicate in the clause in syntactic respects and accordingly assume the segmental locus of assertion is by itself by no means alien to the typologist, as it holds just as well for the auxiliary constructions known from languages all across the globe, among them Indo-European. What makes the case under discussion so radically different from the strategy of auxiliary inflection is that auxiliaries are "grammatical verbs" that carry the load of finite verbal inflection in replace [sic.] of the lexical verb which appears itself in some non-finite form.... This is clearly not the case with the AM (aspect/mood, cp) markers in YM (Yucatec Maya, cp), as they are inflected neither for aspect or mood themselves nor for arguments other than the embedded verbal core itself... (184).*

# 8   Conclusion

This paper sketches an argument for treating predication in the Mayan languages as wholly stative. Stative predicates can be formed from any lexical category which helps to explain why the Mayan languages recruit aspect markers from a range of sources (Pye 2009). Nominalization plays a major role in the grammar of Mayan languages and many linguists have noted the nominal character of the Mayan verbal complex. To date, Mayanists have tended to analyze stative predicates separately from the non-stative predicates, that is when they analyze stative predicates at all. Regardless of whether the stative hypothesis is correct, we should subject stative predicates to the same analyses that have been made for non-stative predicates and vice versa.

I end with some observations that Colette Grinevald made over three decades ago. She pointed out a global constraint on the ordering of absolutive and ergative marking that holds for

both verbs and nouns in Popti' (Jacaltec). She notes, first, that the absolutive typically follows a stative predicate as shown in (37).

(37)     POPTI' STATIVE PREDICATE (Grinevald Craig 1977:123)
         mam-e      hach
         father-SUFF B2
         'You are a father.'

When the stative predicate is a possessed noun with an ergative possessive marker, the absolutive precedes the predicate as in (38). This example shows that Popti' has the same constraint as Mam.

(38)     POPTI' POSSESSED STATIVE PREDICATE (Grinevald Craig 1977:123)
         hach s-mam    naj
         B2    A3-father CL
         'You are his father.'

Second, she notes that the absolutive marker precedes the ergative marker in aspectless embedded transitive verbs as in (39).

(39)     POPTI' ASPECTLESS EMBEDDED TRANSITIVE VERB (Grinevald Craig 1977:124)
         x-Ø-w-ilwe      hach hin-kol-ni
         CMP-B3-A1-try  B2    A1-help-SUFF
         'I tried to help you.'

Finally, she observes that Popti' allows the relational noun -et to incorporate into intransitive verbs between the absolutive subject marker and the verb stem as in (40).

(40)     POPTI' RELATIONAL NOUN INCORPORATION (Grinevald Craig 1977:124)
         xk-ach    w-et        kaŋalwi
         INC-ABS2  ERG1-withdance
         'I dance with you.' (lit. 'You dance with me.')

I owe a profound debt to the linguists who have been documenting the Mayan languages over the past four centuries. Whether or not you agree with the stative hypothesis, I hope you will be inspired to remember the work of our ancestors and collaborate on the comparative analysis of all Mayan languages while there are still speakers using them as an integral part of their daily lives.

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