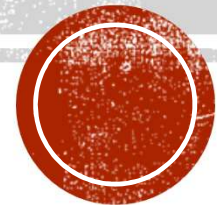# RE-ALIGNING THE A'S IN DISCOURSE IN MOCHO' (MAYAN)

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AWAQ'ANIQE'

JMM
FEG
CMJ
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NE

To the Mocho' community in Motozintla and Tuzantan

OUTLINE:

1. Introduction
2. Language and speakers
3. Typological Features of Mocho'
4. Preferred Argument Structure (PAS) in Mocho'
5. Conclusion

1. INTRODUCTION

- Jack Du Bois (1987)

➢ -Sakapulteko (Mayan), and ergative-absolutive language.

- Proposed a set of predictions regarding information flow in discourse and its interaction with the primary noun arguments associated with verb phrases:

➢ Transitive Subject or Agent (A),

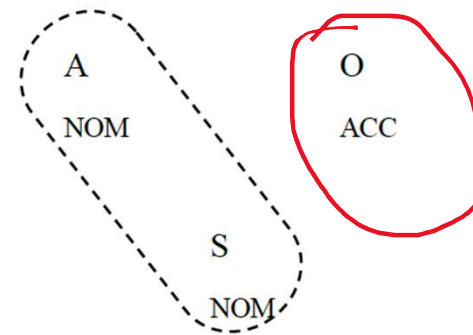➢ Object (O),

➢ Intransitive Subject (S).

1.1. ERGATIVE ALIGNMENT

(1) TSELTAL

		Tseltal		English		Role	
a. *ya*	*x-'ok'-**on***	-on	=	I	→		S
ICP	ICP.IV-cry-**B1**						
'I will cry'	I						

b. *ya*	***j-mey-a**t*	-j	=	I	→		A
ICP	**A1**-hug-B2						
'I will hug you'							

c. *ya*	*a-mey-**on***	-on	=	me	→		O
ICP	A2-hug-B1						
'you will hug **me**'							

Ergative-Absolutive (Tseltal)

A
ERG

O
ABS

S
ABS
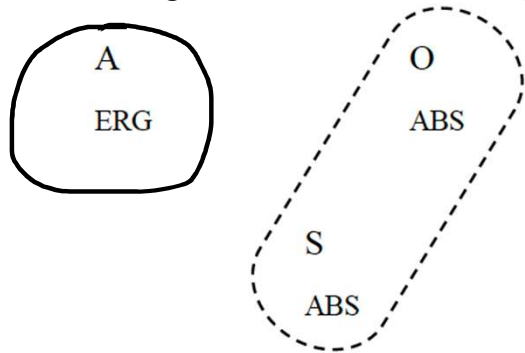
Nominative-Accusative (English)

A
NOM

O
ACC

S
NOM

1.2. PREFERRED ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

1) Avoid more than One Lexical Argument per clause;

2) Avoid Lexical Agents (A's);

3) Avoid more than One New Argument per clause;

4) Avoid New Lexical Mentions in A role.

- He claimed that "the ergative patterning of discourse constitutes the basis…of the grammatical phenomenon of ergativity" (1987b: 806).

- Therefore, he claimed that the Preferred Argument Structure seem to be universal in discourse.

1. Introduction

1.2. Preferred argument Structure (PAS):

(4) Avoid New Lexical Mentions in A role

- The theme or topic:

S

A

- New participant:

S

O

- **1.3. Preferred Argument Structure in Mocho'**

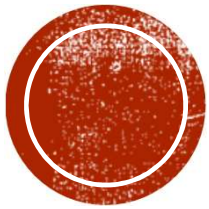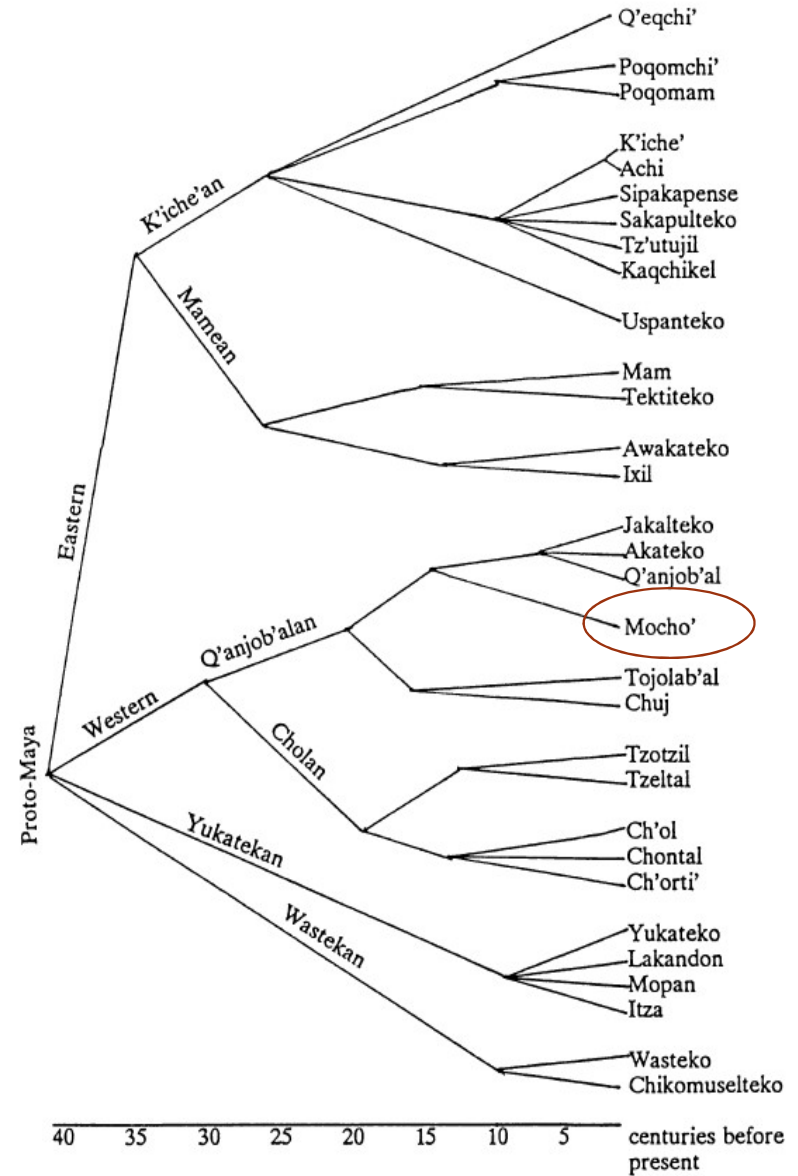|	
- The theme or topic:	A S
- New participant:	S O A

2. LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

2.1. MOCHO'

- Mayan language (Q'anjob'alan)

Figure 1. Mayan Family (England 1991:453)

2. MOCHO' SPEAKERS

Spoken in Chiapas, Mexico

40 Motozintla de Mendoza
3 Tuzantán

Figure 2. The Mayan languages and their geographic distribution (Law 2017:123).

The Mayan Languages at The Present Day

1. Wastek
2. Chikomuseltek [extinct]
3. Yukateko (Maya)
4. Mopan
5. Itza'
6. Lakantun
7. Chol
8. Chontal
9. Cholti [extinct]
10. Ch'orti'
11. Tseltal
12. Tsotsil
13. Tojol-ab'al
14. Chuj
15. Q'anjob'al
16. Akateko
17. Popti'
18. Mocho
19. Mam
20. Tektiteko
21. Awakateko
22. Ixil
23. K'iche'
24. Kaqchikel
25. Tz'utujil
26. Sakapulteko
27. Sipakapense
28. Uspanteko
29. Poqomchi'
30. Poqomam
31. Q'eqchi'
32. Achi

3. TYPOLOGICAL FEATURES OF MOCHO'
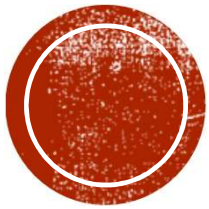
3.1. PERSON MARKING

	Set A		Set B	Set C
Speech act participants (SAP, 1st + 2nd) →	A of a direct transitive verb S of an intransitive verb		O of a transitive verb S of a non-verbal predicate	S of an intransitive verb O of an inverse verb A of an AF verb
3rd person →	A of a direct transitive verb		O of a transitive verb A & O of an inverse verb S of an intransitive verb S of a non-verbal predicate	-
	/_C	/_V		
1	ii-	(ii)w-	-in	=ki(i)=
2	aa-	aaw-	-aa	=ka(a)=
3	x-	ch-	-ø	-ø
1 dual	qa-	q-	-o'	=(k)qa=
1 exclusive	qa-…‿oo'	q-…‿oo'	-(oq-)o'oo'	=(k)qa=…-(o)o'
1 inclusive	qa-__-qe'	q-__-qe'	-(oq-)oq	=(k)qa=…-qe'
2	aa-__-qe'	aaw-__-qe'	-ix ~ -aa-qix	=(k)ka(a)=…-qe'
3	x-__-qe'	ch-__-qe'	-ø-qe'	-ø-qe'

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3.2. ALIGNMENT

- Ergative split in mayan can be motivated by certain conditions: aspect, subordinate clause, a focused constituent immediately preceding the verb, and lexical features (Larsen and Norman 1979, England 1983, Zavala Maldonado 2017)

Mocho' exhibits a split ergative marking motivated by person (Kaufam 1967, Larsen and Norman 1979, Palosaari 2011, Zavala Maldonado 2017):

SAP (First and second person)   → nominative-accusative

    +Completive aspect   → tripartite

Third person   → ergative-absolutive
            → neutral

3.3. Word order

- VOS and SVO (England and Martin 2001):

V		O	A
(2) *x-ts'anh-a'-Ø*	*kene'*	*ch-iit*	*we' oso*
A3-cook-TV-B3	DIR:stay	A3-food	DET bear

'The bear cooked his food.' {Martin & Mendez M. 1986e:47}

3.4. FOCUS: No ergative extraction constraint

In situ or fronting the argument with the marker *ha'*
Or just fronting the argument with or without marker.

	V	O		A		
(3)	*x-mol-o'-Ø*	*hun-anh*	*x-laansuh*	***ha'-ø***	*we*	*Kolax*
	A3-gather-TV-B3	one-ADJ	A3-rope	FOC-B3	DET	Nick

'IT WAS NICK who gathered all his ropes' {Pedro_y_Nicolas-1}

	A		V		O
(4)	***ha'-e***	*x-k'aahol*	*mu*	*x-its'-a-ø-qe'*	*waanhab'=a*
	FOC-PL	A3-man's.child	NEG	A3-know-TV-B3-PL	town=LOC

'HIS CHILDREN did not know the town there' {TOR-hijos}

Typology:

(Givón 1994:3, Fox and Hopper 1994:ix, Zavala 1997 for a Mayan language, among others):
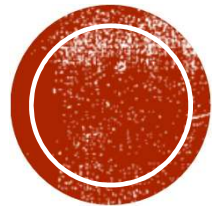
1. Active-direct
2. Passive
3. Antipassive
4. Inverse

- Previous studies in Mocho':
1. Active
2. Passive
3. Atipassive (Kaufman 1967)/ middle voice (Palosaari 2011).

Pérez González (2021):

1. Active
2. Inverse
3. Agent focus (contrastive)
4. Passive
5. Antipassive

4. PREFERRED ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

4.1. How do people tell stories in Mocho'?

(5) Preverbal topic and Post-verbal Topic {MHC004R042I101_bear} (Martin & Mendez M. 1986e:1)

a) *K-ii-took'-le-ø*   **huun-e**   **w-aabiin**,   *abi óso*
    POT-A1-sound-TVZR-B3   one-NUM   A1-story   EV   Bear
    'I am going to tell my story, about a bear'

b) *Hi'-ø*   *ab*   **huun-e**   **ixoq**   *ch-'ik'-oon-ø*   *ha'*
    EXIST-B3   REP   one-NUM   woman   ICP-bring-AP-B3   water
    'they say there was a woman who was water-carrying'

c) *ik'-e-ø*   *noonh*   *ab*   **chuu**   **óso**   *ch-ibeel*   *huun-e*   *toonh*
    bring-PASS-B3   DIR:go   REP   by   Bear,   A3-under   one-NUM   Stone
    'they say she was taken by the Bear behind a rock'

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d)
la	*ak-i-ø*	*ta*	*we*	*óso=**he***
and	come-IV-B3	DIR:come	DET	Bear=**TOP**

'and the oso came'

e)
toow-i-ø	*ab*	*ch-ibeel*	*toonh*	*kómo*	*teehe*	*nhaah-oom-ø=a,*
stay-IV-B3	REP	A3-under	stone	because	there	house-NOM-B3=LOC

'he stayed under the rock because he was living there'

f)
ik'-e-ø	*noonh*	*we*	*ixoq*
bring-PASS-B3	DIR:go	DET	WOMAN

'(where) the woman was brought'

Ixoq is not the topic yet, so passive is required

g)
chaaw-i-ø	*ixoq=**he**,*
arrive-IV-B3	woman=**TOP**

'The woman arrived,'

h)
toow-i-ø	*ixoq*	*tehe',*
stay-IV-B3	woman	here

'the woman stayed there'

i) *la*   *toow-i-ø*
    and   stay-IV-B3
    'and she stayed'

j) *la*   *moocho=ni*   *ab*   *s-tsa'al*   *ook-i-ø* | *chuu*   *óso*
    and   NEG.EXIST=already REP   A3-clothing   enter-IV-B3 | by   Bear
    'and they said she did not have clothing that was put on her by the Bear'

k) *t'us-w-i-ø*   *ab*   *ch-iình*
    POS:naked-IVTZR-IV-B3   REP   A3-back
    'they say she stayed naked (her back was uncovered)'

l) | *la*   *ak-i-ø*   *ta*   *we*   *óso=he*,
    | and   come-IV-B3 DIR:come DET   Bear=TOP
    'and then the bear came'

(m)… The end.

WITH INVERSE

(6) NEW REFERENT: (Martin & Mendez M. 1986e)

a) *Huu',* *ya* | ***huun**-e'* *animál* ***kii**=ik'-**oon**-Ø* | *noonh*
yes, becuase | one-NUM animal C1=bring- INV-B3 | DIR:go
'Yes, because an animal took me there.'

b) *Kii=ook-i* *nook* *ch-ebeel* *toonh*
C1-enter-IV DIR:inside A3-under rock
'I entered under a rock'

c) | *Kib-an=to* *te'* *w-aal* ***kii**=ik'-**oon**-Ø* | *te'-eel*
| sweeten-POS=YET this a1-woman's_child C1=bring- INV-B3 | here-DIR:come
'Thanks to my son's sweetness, it/he rescued me'

4.2. ARGUMENT STRUCTURE IN MOCHO'

(England and Martin, 2003):

- Mocho' is consistent with Du Bois' (1987) proposal about preferred argument structure.

- Avoid lexical A argument.

- New information is introduced as an S or as an O argument.

Data for the Preferred Argument Structure

I analized 3 texts:

- Narrative: cuento del oso. Tape 152 A/B /3 March 1986/transcribed 6 March

- MULA: cuento de cuando se perdió la mula de don Juan. Tape 104-A 6 Jan 86

- Narrative: Historia del tigre que comió gente. Tape 168A 10 Mar 86 JMatías TIGRE.

Total of 1031 clauses.

4.2.1. RESULTS FOR NEW REFERENTS:

Roles	A		S		O
	$A_{Inverse}$	5	$S_{Intransitive}$	1	**6**
	$A_{Passive}$	2	$S_{Existential}$	2	
			$S_{Passive}$	2	
			S_{NVP}	4	
Total	A	7	S	9	**6**

4.2.2. Preferred Argument Structure in Mocho'

- The theme or topic: S, A

- New participant: S
                       A
                       O

4.2.3. SAKAPULTEK PAS

Preferred argument Structure (**PAS):** universal tendencies (Du Bois 1987):

- The theme or topic:

S

A

- New participant:

S

O

4.2.4. Vázquez Álvarez & Zavala Maldonado (2013) show that Chol follows an agentive alignment discoursively.

- The theme or topic:

SA   I walked

A

- New participant:

So   I fell asleep

O

5. CONCLUSIONS

Each voice is used to introduce participants with the discursive prominence that is required or desired.

Preferred Argument Structure in Mocho' follow partially Du Bois' proposal (1987), but

New information: O and S, but it can also be introduced as an A.

The topic or theme: S, as well as in A but very limited as an O.

Mocho' does not seem to be ergative nor agentive as proposed by Vázquez Álvarez & Zavala Maldonado (2013).

Does gramatical Voice play a role in the PAS of a language? That might be the case.

THANKS

Thanks to the organizers of this Colloquium

Awaq'aniqe'

Wokolawalik

Gracias

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