

# Variation in Mam Syntax

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# Methodology

Introduction

Mam background

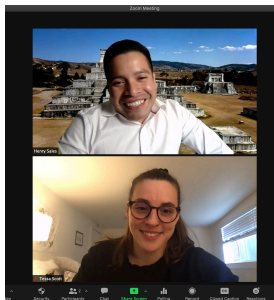
Object marking

Split ergativity

Ergative extraction

Conclusion

- ▶ For this study, I did targeted elicitations with **6 Mam speakers**.
- ▶ All elicitations were conducted over **Zoom**
- ▶ The main strategy was to ask for **translations** of Spanish sentences, then ask for back translations in Mam, then follow up with a constructed Mam sentence with something different and asking if that's good.
- ▶ With the speakers from San Juan Atitán, English was also used.





# Mam towns

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Object marking

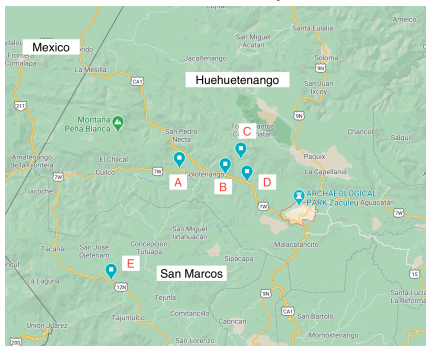
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Town (SPN)	Town (Mam)	Abbr.	On Map
San Ildefonso Ixtahuacán	Ixta	IXT	A
San Rafael Pétzal	Petzl	PTZ	B
San Juan Atitán	Xjan Xwan	SJA	C
San Sebastián Huehuetenango	Sanse/Sqisan	SSH	D
San Antonio, Ixchiguán	Ixchiguán	SMI	E

Table: Mam towns represented



# Mam towns

Introduction

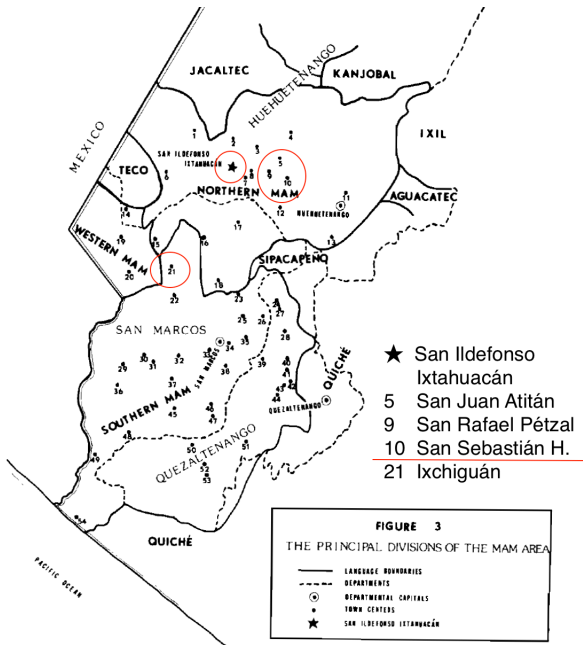
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# Speakers

**Henry Sales-Hernandez** is  
27 years old, from San Juan Atitán.

Henry and I have been teaching Mam language classes together since 2019 and Henry currently teaches Mam at Oakland High. He's also a former Mam interpreter.

Henry  
and I collaborated on this current project. He was present for most of the elicitations and helped translate between English, Spanish and Mam.



# Speakers

**Silvia Carrillo Godinez** is 22 years old, from and currently living in San Juan Atitán.





# Speakers

**Jeidy Mayari Mendes Sales** is 18 years old, from and currently living in San Rafael Pétzal.











# Basics of Mam syntax

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- ▶ Simple matrix clauses are **VSO** in neutral contexts.
- ▶ Mam is morphologically **ergative**, expressed through agreement morphemes in the verbal complex.
  - ▶ 'Set A' = ergative
  - ▶ 'Set B' = absolutive

(1) Intransitive

[ ASP B verb=ENC ] S

(2) Transitive

[ ASP B (DIR) A-verb(-SUFF)=ENC ] S O

- ▶ Mam is a '**high-abs**' Mayan language
  - ▶ The placement of Set A is consistent across Mayan (Coon et. al 2014)
  - ▶ However, Mayan languages differ in position the Set B morphemes (Bricker 1977, Tada 1993, Coon et. al 2014)

## Active intransitives

SAN JUAN ATITÁN (Henry and Silvia)

- (3) a. Ma chin b'et=i.  
PROX B1SG walk=ENC  
'I walked (today).'
- b. O chin b'et=i.  
CMPL B1SG walk=ENC  
'I walked (before today).'
- c. N=chin b'et=i.  
IPFV=B1SG walk=ENC  
'I am walking.'

- ▶ This order and form of morphemes is extremely consistent across dialects
  - ▶ Except for the enclitic

# Set B morphemes

- ▶ Most Mayan languages make a 3-way person split in Set A/B morphemes
- ▶ Mam only distinguishes first / non-first person in Set A/B morphemes

	SG	PL
1st person	chin	qo
2nd and 3rd person	∅	chi

Table: Mam Set B (preconsonantal)

- ▶ These forms are quite consistent across dialects

# Prevocalic allomorphs

- ▶ While allomorphy in Set A is well known in Mayan, Set B allomorphy is not as often discussed.
- ▶ Set B morphemes in Mam have different **prevocalic forms** for many speakers.

	SJA	IXT	SSH	PTZ
1	chn-	chin	chin	chn-
2sg/3sg	tz(')-	tz(')-	tz(')-	tz(')-
1pl	qw-	q-	qo	qw-
2pl/3pl	chj-	ch-	chi	ch-

Table: Mam Set B (prevocalically)

- ▶ Important to notice: 2/3sg has phonological content (it's no longer null)
- ▶ This will be crucial for deciding whether there is 2/3sg agreement or **no agreement**.



## Enclitic

- ▶ In order to make the full 4-way person distinction in Mam, an enclitic is used.

(5) Intransitive verb *b'et* 'walk' in SJA Mam

	SG	PL
1 excl	nchin b'et=i	nqo b'et=i
1	-	nqo b'et
2	nb'et=i	nchi b'et=i
3	nb'et q'a	nchi b'et qa

- ▶ Allomorphy and variation
  - ▶ In all other Northern towns (and Ixchiguán - Southern Mam), =a is a possible (or only) allomorph
  - ▶ Post-vocally we see =ya and/or =yi in most towns.
  - ▶ In Ixtahuacán, =ky' is possible post-vocally.
  - ▶ In Ixchiguán (Southern Mam), the enclitic does not appear in 1sg.









## Effects of elicitation?

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- ▶ The variation we see with intransitive subjects marked with a classifier or *qa* is found for transitive subjects as well.
- ▶ I don't want to draw conclusions from these patterns yet, as I think they are a **result of elicitation**.
- ▶ For example, Tonhauser (2003) argues that in Yucatec, the distribution of overt third person nominals is tied directly to their **discourse status**.
- ▶ Zavala (2000) describes noun classifiers in Akatek as “markers of pragmatically important participants in discourse.”
- ▶ Therefore, the patterns we see here may be related to the **assumed context** each speaker has for each sentence.

# Statives

- ▶ Mam does not realize all intransitive subject in the 'high-abs' position.
- ▶ Stative subjects are realized **post-verbally**.

	SJA	SSH	PTZ
1sg	xjal qini	xjal qin	xjal qin(a)
2sg	xjal-i	xjal ay	xjal ay
3sg	xjal CLF	xjal CLF	xjal CLF
1pl	xjal qo	xjal qo	xjal qo
1pl excl	xjal qo'y	xjal qo'y	xjal qo'y
2pl	xjal qi	xjal kyey	xjal qay
3pl	xjal qa	xjal qi	xjal qa

**Table:** Stative person marking: X is a person

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1sg	xjal qini	xjal qin	xjal qina
2sg	xjal-i	xjal ay	xjal ay
3sg	xjal CLF	xjal CLF	xjal CLF
1pl	xjal qo	xjal qo	xjal qo
1pl excl	xjal qo'y	xjal qo'y	xjal qo'y
2pl	xjal qi	xjal kyey	xjal qay
3pl	xjal qa	xjal qe	xjal qa

Table: Stative person marking: X is a person

- ▶ A four way person distinction is made because stative subjects include the enclitic.

# Statives

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1pl excl	xjal qo'y	xjal qo'y	xjal qo'y
2pl	xjal qi	xjal kyey	xjal qay
3pl	xjal qa	xjal qe	xjal qa

Table: Stative person marking: X is a person

- ▶ The rest of the phonological content for stative subjects looks somewhat related to [Set B morphemes](#).

# Statives

- ▶ The difference between the two sets is not systematic.

	Stative subject	Set B
1sg	qin	chin
2/3sg	a, $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$
1pl	qo'	qo
2/3pl	qa	chi

Table: Stative versus Active intransitive subjects

- ▶ Specifically, the 2/3pl stative subject, *qa*, is the general plural marker in the language.

(11) qa chej  
 PL horse  
 'horses' (SJA Mam)

- ▶ Stative subjects seems to be made up of some pronominal base and the enclitic.





# Transitive syntax

Reminder:

- (12) Transitive clauses  
 [ ASP B (DIR) A-verb(-SUFF)=ENC ] S O

SAN JUAN ATITÁN

- (13) a. Ma tz'=ok n-b'yo-'n=i ay.  
 PROX B2/3SG=DIR A1SG-hit-DS=ENC 2SG  
 'I hit you.'
- b. Ma ∅ w-il=i ay.  
 PROX B2/3SG A1SG-see=ENC 2SG  
 'I saw you.'

# Transitive subjects: Set A

- ▶ The form of the Set A morphemes shows **very little variation** across dialects.
- ▶ England (2017) describes this same level of consistency for these morphemes across **all three dialect regions**.

	SJA	IXT	SSH	PTZ	SMI
1sg	n-, w-	n-, w-	n-, w-	n-, w-	n-, w-
2sg and 3sg	t-	t-	t-	t-	t-
1pl	q-	q-	q-	q-	q-
2pl and 3pl	ky-	ky-	k-, ky-	k-	ky-

Table: Set A morphology

# Transitive objects

- ▶ England shows that transitive objects trigger Set B marking on the verb.

- (14) Ixtahuacán Mam (England 1983a:63)
- Ma chin ok t-tzeeq'an=a.  
PROX B1SG POT A2/3SG-hit=ENC  
'You hit me.'
  - Ma tz'=ok n-tzeeq'an=a.  
PROX B2/3SG=POT A1SG-hit=ENC  
'I hit you/him/her/it.'
  - Ma qo ok ky-tzeeq'an.  
PROX B1PL POT A2/3PL-hit  
'They hit us (incl).'
  - Ma ch=ok q-tzeeq'an=a.  
PROX B2/3PL=POT A1PL-hit=ENC  
'We (excl) hit you all/them.'

- ▶ This pattern is unsurprising!

# Transitive objects

- ▶ For all speakers, the full ‘high-abs’ construction is possible.

SAN SEBASTIAN H.

- (15) Ma chin t-il=a.  
 PROX B1SG A2/3SG-see=ENC  
 ‘You saw me.’

- ▶ However, speakers also offer a low-pronoun structure:

SAN SEBASTIAN H.

- (16) Ma t-il=a qin.  
 PROX A2/3SG-see=ENC 1sg  
 ‘You saw me.’

- ▶ Speakers report no difference in meaning between the two.
- ▶ For Nikte, from SSH, when asked “Which of these is better?” she more often chooses the low-pronoun option.

# Transitive objects

- ▶ What is going on in the low-pronoun structures?
- ▶ First, we see that the high-abs Set B slot in the verbal complex is not actually empty, but takes the **2/3sg value**.

SAN ILDEFONSO IXTAHUACÁN

- (17) Ma tz'=ok t-ki-'n q'a qin.  
 PROX b2/3sg=DIR A2/3SG-see-DS CLF 1sg  
 'He saw me.'



## Transitive objects

## SAN JUAN ATITÁN

- (19) a. Ma  $\emptyset$  t-il=i (a) qini.  
 PROX b2/3sg A2/3SG-see=ENC (DET) 1sg  
 'You saw me.'
- b. Ma  $\emptyset$  w-il=i ay.  
 PROX b2/3sg A1SG-see=ENC 2sg  
 'I saw you.'
- c. Ma  $\emptyset$  w-il=i (a) q'a.  
 PROX b2/3sg A1SG-see=ENC (DET) clf  
 'I saw him.'
- d. Ma  $\emptyset$  ky-il qa (a) qo.  
 PROX b2/3sg A2/3PL-see PL (DET) 1pl  
 'They saw us.'
- e. Ma  $\emptyset$  ky-il qa qo'y.  
 PROX b2/3sg A2/3PL-see PL 1pl.excl  
 'They saw us (exclusive).'
- f. Ma  $\emptyset$  ky-il qa a qi.  
 PROX b2/3sg A2/3PL-see DET PL 2pl  
 'They saw you all.'
- g. Ma  $\emptyset$  ky-il qa a qa.  
 PROX b2/3sg A2/3PL-see PL DET pl  
 'They saw them.'





# Transitive objects

- ▶ Whether or not objects can be marked in both places shows variation.
- ▶ This option varies from between people and depending on the features of the object.
- ▶ For instance, 1pl is always restricted from the 'abs-pro' construction:

SAN SEBASTIAN H.

- (21) a. Ma **qo** t-il q'a.  
 PROX **b1pl** A2/3SG-see boy  
 'He saw us.'
- b. Ma  $\emptyset$  t-il q'a **qo**.  
 PROX **b2/3sg** A2/3SG-see boy **1pl**  
 'He saw us.'
- c. \*Ma **qo** t-il q'a **qo**.  
 PROX **b1pl** A2/3SG-see boy **1pl**  
 Intended: 'He saw us.'

# Transitive objects

- ▶ The following table shows the variation on the availability of the 'abs-pro' construction.
  - ▶ 2/3sg cannot be compared because the 'low-pro' construction is identical to 'abs-pro' doubling.

	SJA	IXT	SSH	PTZ
1sg	*	*	✓	*
1pl	*	*	*	*
2pl	*	✓	✓	✓
3pl	*	✓	✓	✓

**Table:** Can the object appear as 'abs-pro' (double marking)?

	Set B	Low pronouns
1sg	chin	qin=i
1pl	qo	qo(='y)
2pl	chi	q=i
3pl	chi	qa

**Table:** Set B and Low Pronouns in SJA

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# Transitive objects

## Summary

- ▶ Transitive objects in all four Northern towns show a new pattern of object marking:
  - ▶ The Set B slot gets 'default' 2/3sg features (which can be overt).
  - ▶ The object appears as a full pronoun in object position
- ▶ For many speakers, the Set B can co-occur with the low pronoun, though 1st person resists this.
  - ▶ Is this because the 1st person low pronouns are really the same as Set B morphemes?
  - ▶ Are the 2/3pl low pronouns decomposable to PL (+ ENC)? How does this explain their ability to double?
- ★ Why do **intransitive subjects** (Set B, absolutive) behave differently from **transitive objects** (Set B, absolutive)?
- ★ If we only saw the low-pronoun transitive constructions, would we call this a **tripartite** system?

# Split ergativity

- ▶ Factors conditioning split ergativity (Dixon 1994:70)
  1. semantic nature of the core nominal arguments (“person split”)
  2. tense or aspect or mood of the clause (“TAM split”)
  3. semantic nature of the main verb (“Split-S”)
  4. grammatical status of the clause (i.e., main or subordinate)

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## Split ergativity in Chol

- ▶ In the perfective, Chol shows an Erg/Abs alignment

- (22) a. Tyi a-k'el-e-yoń.  
PRFV A2-watch-TV-B1  
'You watched me.'
- b. Tyi ts'am-i-yoń.  
PRFV bath-ITV-B1  
'I bathed.'

- ▶ In the progressive, Chol shows a Nom/Acc alignment (Erg=Nom)

- (23) a. Mi a-k'el-oń.  
IMPF A2-watch-B1  
'You watch me.'
- b. Mi a-ts'am-el.  
IMPF A2-bath-NML  
'You bathe.'

- ▶ Dixon (1979) calls this pattern – where the ergative marker is extended to certain intransitives – 'extended ergative'.





# Split ergativity in Mam

In Mam, split ergativity does not result in nominative/accusative alignment. (England 1989).

- ▶ England (1983b, 1989, 2013a, 2013b, 2017) shows that intransitive subjects receive ergative in dependent clauses.

(24) Ma chin b'et=a  
 PROX B1SG walk=ENC  
 'I walked.'

(25) N-chi ooq' [ n-poon=a ].  
 IMP-B2/3PL cry [ A1S-arrive-ENC ]  
 'They were crying when I arrived'.



## Split ergativity in the Northern towns

- ▶ I illustrate dependent clauses with purpose clauses headed by *tu'n* (embedded under *aj* 'want') as well as various 'when' clauses.
- ▶ As expected for Mam, we see the **extendend ergative** pattern on intransitives in all towns.

## SAN JUAN ATITÁN

- (28) a. Taj **w**-ul=i...  
when **A1SG**-arrive.here=ENC  
'When I arrived...'
- b. \*Taj **chn**=u'l=i...  
when **B1SG**=arrive.here=ENC  
'When I arrived...'
- (29) a. Taj **t**-ul=i...  
when **A2/3SG**-arrive.here=ENC  
'When you arrived...'
- b. \*Taj **tz**=ul=i...  
when **B2/3SG**=arrive.here=ENC  
'When you arrived...'





## Super extended ergativity

- ▶ Also as expected, in dependent transitive clauses, both subjects and object receive Set A (ergative) verbal agreement.

## SAN JUAN ATITÁN Matrix

(32) O Ø-tzaj t-q'ama-'n=i jun tijil  
 PROX B2/3SG-DIR A2/3SG-tell-DS=ENC one what  
 w-i=y.  
 A1SG-RN.DAT=ENC  
 'You told me something.'

## SAN JUAN ATITÁN Dependent

(33) Taj t-tzaj t-q'ama-'n=i jun tijil  
 when A2/3SG-DIR A2/3SG-tell-DS=ENC one what  
 w-i=y...  
 A1SG-RN.DAT=ENC  
 'When you told me something...'

## Default Set A

- ▶ We expect that the Set A referencing the object can take any person or number value.
- ▶ That is not the case.
- ▶ Regardless of the features of the object, the **Set A object agreement is always t- 2/3sg**.

SAN ILDEFONSO IXTAHUACÁN

(34) Aj t-ok t-ki-'n=a qin, o qo  
 when A2/3SG-dir A2/3SG-see-DS=ENC 1SG, CPL B1PL  
 wan.  
 eat  
 'When you saw me, we ate.'

(35) \*Aj w-ok t-ki-'n=a, o qo  
 when A1SG-dir A2/3SG-look.at-DS=ENC, CPL B1PL  
 wan.  
 eat  
 Intended: 'When you saw me, we ate.'

## Default Set A

- ▶ This holds across 3 of the Northern towns (data lacking in PTZ).

SAN SEBASTIAN H.

- (36) Ma qo wan te t-ok t-ki-'n  
 PROX B1PL eat when A2/3SG-dir A2/3SG-look.at-DS  
 Henry qo.  
 Henry 1PL  
 'We ate when Henry looked at us.'
- (37) \*Ma qo wan te q-ok t-ki-'n  
 PROX B1PL eat when A1PL-dir A2/3SG-look.at-DS  
 Henry.  
 Henry  
 Intended: 'We ate when Henry looked at us.'



# Default Set A

- ▶ This holds across 3 of the Northern towns (data lacking in PTZ).

SAN JUAN ATITÁN

(38) Taj t-ok t-key-'n=i qini, o qo  
 when A2/3SG-dir A2/3SG-see-DS=ENC 1SG, CPL B1PL  
 wan.  
 eat  
 'When you saw me, we ate.'

# Directionals

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- ▶ Variation within the broader Mamean branch of languages exists with respect to where the extended ergative pattern appears:
  - ▶ All verbs in dependent clauses (Mam)
  - ▶ Only verbs with directionals (Akatek)
- ▶ England argues that the Mam system developed from a system like that of Awakatek: the use of super-extended ergative in non-directional contexts is an innovation.
- ▶ The variation between Mam and Awakatek means that we should look closely at the patterns of split ergativity in clauses with and without directionals.

# Directionals

- ▶ A first look at directional-less verbs shows more variation

SAN SEBISTIÁN H.

- (39) Ma qo wan te t-w-il ay.  
 PROX B1PL eat when A2/3SG-A1SG-see 2SG  
 'We ate when I saw you.'

SAN ILDEFONSO IXTAHUACÁN

- (40) Aj t-t-il=i qin o qo wan.  
 when A2/3SG-A2/3SG-see=ENC 1SG CPL B1PL eat  
 'When you saw me, we ate.'

# Directionals

- ▶ Set A objects in San Sebastián can show full agreement
- ▶ (41)-b may be absolutive (null) high-abs agreement, but this construction is a bit mysterious to me.

SAN SEBASTIÁN H.

- (41) a. O qo wan te n-t-il=i.  
 PROX B1PL eat when A1SG-A2/3SG-see=ENC  
 'We ate when you saw me.'
- b. O qo wan te t-il=i qin.  
 PROX B1PL eat when A2/3SG-see=ENC 1SG  
 'We ate when you saw me.'



## Some theoretical questions

- ▶ Why do intransitive subjects behave ‘normally’ (full agreement) but transitive objects do not? What makes transitive objects special?
- ▶ Why do transitive objects in low-pronoun constructions show case marking (Set A/ Set B) on the verb but not person/number features?
- ▶ How does the object in subordinate clauses in Mam get ergative case?









## Variation: subject agreement

- ▶ In Ixtahuacán, the Set B marker agrees with the extracted agent.
- ▶ In a few other towns, the Set B marker is the default 2/3sg Set B.

TACANÁ (Munson 1984 cited in England 2017)

- (46) **Aa'e'** ma' **tz'**-ok b'ujuu-n=t-e  
**they** PROX **b3sg**-DIR hit-AP=A3SG-RN:PAT  
 q-ee.  
 A1PL-RN:PAT  
 'It was they who hit us.'

TODOS SANTOS (Canger 1969:111)

- (47) **Na'yan** e Ø-kub' b'yo-n t-e  
**1sg** ASP **b3sg**-DIR hit-AP A3SG-RN:PAT  
 n-man.  
 A1PL-father  
 'I hit my father.'



## Ergative extraction in Northern towns

- ▶ Only some preliminary data from San Juan Atitán and San Sebastián will be presented.
- ▶ Main take aways:
  - ▶ In both towns, an “object suffix” is present
  - ▶ There is variation between agent agreement and default 2/3sg agreement
    - ★ There is variation in whether the object is clearly demoted.

	obj suff	3 demo	1/2 demo	Agree
Ixtahuacán	*	✓	✓	subj
Todos Santos	*	✓	✓	2/3sg
Tacaná	=te	✓	✓	2/3sg
SJA - Silvia	=ta	opt.	✓	subj ~ 2/3sg
SJA - Henry	=t	opt.	*	2/3sg
SSH	*	opt.	*	subj ~ 2/3sg

Table: Variation in agentive antipassive

## San Juan Atitán - Silvia

- ▶ The “object suffix” is *ta*
- ▶ Overt demotion of the 3rd person object is optional.

## SAN JUAN ATITÁN, Silvia

(49) Al ma tz'=ok                    b'yo-**n=ta** (t-e)  
 who PROX B2/3SG=DIR hit-**ap=ta** (A2/3SG-RN:PAT)  
 Silvia?  
 Silvia  
 'Who hit Silvia?'



## San Juan Atitán - Silvia

- ▶ Agreement can be with the extracted agent or the default 2/3sg.

## SAN JUAN ATITÁN, Silvia

- (51) a. A qini ma **chn**=o'k b'yo-n=ta  
 DET 1SG PROX **b1sg**=DIR hit-AP=ta  
 t-e Silvia.  
 A2/3SG-RN:PAT Silvia  
 'I hit Silvia.'
- b. A qini ma **tz'**=ok b'yo-n=ta  
 DET 1SG PROX **b2/3sg**=DIR hit-AP=ta  
 t-e Silvia.  
 A2/3SG-RN:PAT Silvia  
 'I hit Silvia.'

## San Juan Atitán - Henry

- ▶ The “object suffix” is *t*
- ▶ Overt demotion of the 3rd person object is optional

## SAN JUAN ATITÁN, Henry

- (52) a. O b'aj t-kxu-'n-i i'x̃ ew.  
CPL DIR A2SG-chew-DS=ENC corn yesterday  
'You ate corn yesterday.'
- b. Ay o b'aj kxu-n-t (t-e) i'x̃  
2SG CPL DIR chew-AP-t (a2/3sg-rn:pat) corn  
ew  
yesterday  
'YOU ate corn yesterday.'



## San Juan Atitán - Henry

- ▶ Local person objects can be expressed without being demoted.

SAN JUAN ATITÁN, Henry

- (53) A t-txu q'a o tz'=ok b'yo-n=t  
 DET A2/3SG-mother boy CPL B2/3SG=DIR hit-AP=t  
 qini.  
 1SG  
 'THE BOY'S MOTHER hit me.'

## San Juan Atitán - Henry

- ▶ It seems that agreement can only be the default 2/3sg, though more data is needed.

SAN JUAN ATITÁN, Henry

(54) A qini o Ø=txi' kxu-n=t i'x̃ ew.  
 DET 1SG CPL B2/3SG=DIR chew-AP=t corn yesterday  
 'I ate corn yesterday.'

## San Sebastián

- ▶ No object suffix is used.
- ▶ Overt demotion of 3rd person objects is optional

## SAN SEBASTIÁN H.

- (55) a. Ma tz'=ok t-ki-'n Henry a  
 prox b2/3sg=dir a2/3sg-look.at-ds Henry det  
 Tessa.  
 Tessa  
 'Henry looked at Tessa.'
- b. Alkye ma tz'=ok ki-n  
 who prox b2/3sg=dir look.at-ap  
 (t-e) Tessa ?  
 (a2/3sg-rn:pat) Tessa  
 'Who looked at Tessa?'

## San Sebastián

- ▶ Local person objects can be non-demoted, though more data is necessary.

## SAN SEBASTIÁN H.

- (56) a. Alkye ma tz'=ok ki-n qin?  
 who PROX B2/3SG=DIR look.at-AP 1sg  
 'Who looked at me?'
- b. Alkye ma tz'=ok jato-n ay?  
 who PROX B2/3SG=DIR look.at-AP 2sg  
 'Who looked at you?'



# Ergative extraction summary

- ▶ Main take aways:
  - ▶ In both towns, an “object suffix” is present
  - ▶ There is variation between agent agreement and default 2/3sg agreement
  - ▶ There is variation in whether the object is clearly demoted.

	obj suff	3 demo	1/2 demo	Agree
Ixtahuacán	*	✓	✓	subj
Todos Santos	*	✓	✓	2/3sg
Tacaná	=te	✓	✓	2/3sg
SJA - Silvia	=ta	opt.	✓	subj ~ 2/3sg
SJA - Henry	=t	opt.	*	2/3sg
SSH	*	opt.	*	subj ~ 2/3sg

Table: Variation in agentive antipassive

# Summary

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Object marking

Split ergativity

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Conclusion

## Northern Mam variation take aways

- ▶ Object marking
  - ▶ Transitive objects can receive the default (2/3sg) Set B morpheme and be expressed as a low pronoun
  - ▶ First person objects cannot be doubled (abs-pro), but non-first person objects can.
  - ▶ In this way, transitive objects are different from intransitive subjects.
- ▶ Split ergativity
  - ▶ All verbal arguments receive Set A agreement in Mam split ergative contexts.
  - ▶ Transitive objects can only take the default 2/3sg Set A in most cases.
- ▶ Ergative extraction
  - ▶ The agentive antipassive is used to extract agents
  - ▶ There is variation in the presence of an object suffix and whether the object can, cannot, or is optionally demoted
  - ▶ There is variation in whether the agentive antipassive verb agrees with the subject or shows default 2/3sg agreement.

## Questions and next steps

- ▶ In all transitive clause types in this study, the high-absolutive slot at least has the option to show default agreement (2/3sg).
  - ▶ What is the structure of these clauses? Is the object case licensed by a high head (like Infl)?
- ▶ An analysis of Mam morphological case should account for the full super extended ergative pattern, as well as the default super extended ergative pattern.
- ▶ Does the agentive antipassive take both the agent and patient as arguments? If not, how does the non-demoted object get case?
- ▶ I will be collecting more data from these speakers, as well as more speakers from each town.



# Chjonte kyiy!

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Mam background

Object marking

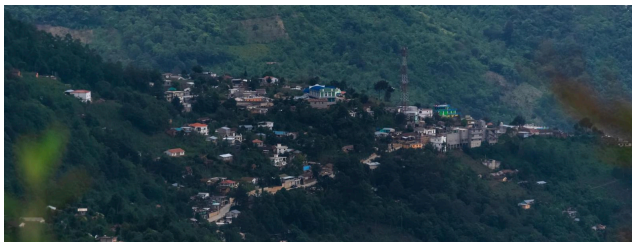
Split ergativity

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Conclusion

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