Extraction morphology and Relative Clauses in Mam

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1 Introduction

- In many Mayan languages, when the ergative argument is Ā extracted, there is special morphology on the verb, known as the Agent Focus suffix (Erlewine 2016; Coon 2016, a.o.)

(1) [Ri xteni' (ri) x-oj-tz'et-**ö** roj] x-e-wär.
[the girls RC COM-B1pl-see-**AF** 1pl] COM-B3pl-sleep
'The girls who saw us slept.' Kaqchikel, (Erlewine 2016)

- Also described of Mayan languages is the anti-passive (Larsen and Norman 1979; Dayley 1981) which is syntacticly distinct from Agent Focus (Erlewine 2016) but the two can be morphologically identical, as is the case in Mam (Stiebels 2006).

- In a variety of Mam spoken in San Juan Atitan, Guatemala, (hereby called SJAM),[1] a -t suffix is used for ergative extraction in addition to the anti-passive/agent focus (AP/AF) suffix.[2] [3]

(2) [Aj xuj o b'aj sch'in-t u'j] o tz'ok t-b'yon a Eric.
[DEM woman PST ASP read-t book] PST ASP 3sERG-hit DET Eric
The woman who read the book hit Eric.'

- The presence of the -t can diagnose movement in Ā constructions in Mam (relative clauses, wh- questions, focus constructions).

- Today I'll present the distribution of -t in SJAM Ā constructions and argue that -t i) is the primary but not sole exponent of ergative extraction and ii) suggests that simple relative clauses in Mam are derived via movement.

2 Characteristics of SJAM

- This variety of Mam is spoken in San Juan Atitán, Guatemala. The consultant whose judgements are given in this talk lives in Oakland, California.

[1] Data comes from elicitation with SJAM speaker Henry Sales who live in Oakland, CA.

[2] I do not gloss the *-n* as AP/AF *n* because it does not serve the AP/AF function.

[3] Abreviations: 1,2,3 = first, second, third person, ABS = absolutive, ASP = aspect (lexically specified) or directional (yet to be analyzed), DEM = demonstrative, DET = determiner, DS = directional suffix, ERG = ergative, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PST = past tense, SG = singular, REC = recent, REL = relativizer (either complementizer or operator), RN = relational noun

- VSO word order (England 1983)

(3) [$_{V}$ Ma kub' t-sch'in] [$_{S}$ xuj] [$_{O}$ a u'j].
[$_{V}$ REC.PST ASP 3sERG-read] [$_{S}$ woman] [$_{O}$ DET book]
'The woman read the book.'

- Mam is highly pro-drop.
- A simplified schema of the Mayan verb stem from Coon (2016)

(4) TAM - {ABS} - ERG- [ROOT] - VOICE - STATUS SUFFIX - {ABS}

- Absolutive morphemes have two basic positions in the Mayan stem: 'high' (between aspect and ergative marking) and 'low': (after the verb stem) (Coon 2016). In SJAM, absolutives take the 'high' position.

(5) Ma chin wan-i.
REC.PST 1sAbs eat-1/2
'I ate.'

(6) N-chn-ajqeln-i.
IMP-1sABS-run-1/2
'I am running.'

- Grammatical relations are head-marked on the verb in Mayan, and these agreement markers are traditionally labeled 'Set A' (ergative) and 'Set B' (absolutive) (Bricker 1977; Robertson 1980). I will refer to them as Erg and Abs.

Table 1: Set A (Ergative) agreement

	sg			pl	
	prefix	suffix		prefix	suffix
1	w-/n-	-i	1excl	q-	
			1incl	q-	-i
2	t-	-i		ky-	-i
3	t-			ky	

- Classifiers
  - Animal: jil
  - Fruit: lo' (only used in possessive constructions)
  - Humans: ne 'baby'; k'wal 'child'; q'a 'teen boy'; xin 'man'; tij 'elder'; txin 'girl'; xuj 'woman'; bi'ẍ 'woman elder'

- SJAM utilizes topic and focus positions as described in Aissen (1992). Arguments are moved pre-verbally and preceded by either the determiners [a] or the indefinite determiner [jun].
- The phonological system of SJAM vowel contrasts is complex; what are in other dialects contrasts between V, VV, and V?, are contrasts in creak and vowel quality and possibly pitch in SJAM.

3 Ergative Extraction Morphology

3.1 Anti-passive and Agent Focus

- The Anti-passive and the Agent Focus suffixes can be contrasted in the following ways:

Anti-passive	Agent Focus
– Demotes object to oblique	– Does not demote object
– Absolutive agreement can only cross-reference extracted subject	– Absolutive agreement can cross-reference object *or* extracted subject
– Proto-Mayan antipassive: *-(V)w (Stiebels 2006)	– Proto-Mayan Agent Focus: *-(V)n (Stiebels 2006)

- Stiebels (2006) describes the Anti-passive and Agent Focus suffixes in Mam as identical: -(VV)n
- In SJAM, the suffix which functions as the Anti-passive and Agent Focus (AP/AF) is *-t* and surfaces with a -Vn suffix preceding it.

3.2 Relative Clauses

- Schema for an ergative-argument relative clause in pre-verbal position:[4]

(7) S[$_{RC}$]VO
[$_{SUBJ}$ (DEM) Noun$_{OBJ}$ (REL) [V$_{REL}$-**t** O]] V$_{MATRIX}$ O

(8) Aj xuj o b'aj sch'in-t u'j o tz'ok t-b'yon a Eric.
DEM woman PST ASP read-t book PST ASP 3sERG-hit DET Eric
The woman who read the book hit Eric.'

- Relative clauses can be right extra-posed, preverbal, or post nominal.
  - Right extraposed

[4]See Appendix for schemas for object relative clauses.

(9) O tz'el t-tx'an **jil** **tx'ian** a Noah [aj jil o b'aj chiyon].
PST ASP 3sE-bite CLF dog DET Noah [DEM CLF PST ASP bark]
'The dog that barked bit Noah.'

(10) O tz'ok t-b'yon **xuj** a Eric [aj o b'aj sch'in-t u'j].
PST ASP ERG-hit woman DET Eric [DEM PST ASP read-t book]
'The woman who read the book hit Eric.'

- Preverbal, used for topic and focus
- Focus

(11) [$_{FOC}$ Aj txin o tz'oks jqon-t tlamel ja] o ka'm txin.
[$_{FOC}$ DEM girl PST ASP open-t door house] PST win girl
'The girl who opened the door won.'

- Topic

(12) [$_{TOP}$ Aj q'a n-kxun i'ӈ] [$_{FOC}$ aqini] o w-il-i.
[$_{TOP}$ DEM boy IMP-chew corn] [$_{FOC}$ 1SG] PST 1sE-see-1/2
'I saw the boy who was chewing corn.'

- Post nominal

(13) Ma til Lev aj k'wal [n-kxun i'ӈ].
PST 3sE-see Lev DEM boy [IMP-chew corn]
'Lev saw the boy who was eating corn.' 2-21

- The relative demonstrative and relativizer, *aj*, can be pre or post nominal.
  - Prenominal aj

(14) O kub' tz'ey' aj u'j , [o kub' t-sch'in xuj].
PST ASP burn DEM book , [PST ASP 3sERG-read woman]
'The book that the woman read burned.'

  - Post nominal aj

(15) O kub' tz'ey' u'j , [aj o kub' t-sch'in xuj].
PST ASP burn book , [REL PST ASP 3sERG-read woman]
'The book that the woman read burned.'

  - Pre and post nominal aj

(16) O kub' tz'ey' aj u'j [aj o kub' t-sch'in xuj].
PST ASP burn DEM book [REL PST ASP 3sERG-read woman]
'The book that the woman read burned.'

– Prosodic breaks (indicated by commas) motivate the analysis that pre-nominal *aj* is a relative demonstrative and pos-nominal *aj* is a relativizer.

3.3 Distribution of -t

- The -t suffix is only used for ergative extraction; normal agreement appears on the verb when absolutive arguments are extracted.

  – Transitive subjects:

  (17) N-tzqin-i aj q'a [$_{RC}$ o tz'ok **qesan-t** te Noah].
  IMP-know-1/2 DEM boy [$_{RC}$ PST ASP cut-t RN Noah]
  'I know the guy who cut Noah.'

  – Intransitive subject:

  (18) N-tzqin-i aj q'a [$_{RC}$ o b'aj **b'etan**].
  IMP-know-1/2 DEM boy [$_{RC}$ PST ASP walk]
  'I know the guy who walked.'

  – Transitive object:

  (19) O kub' tz'ey' aj u'j [$_{RC}$ aj o kub' **t-sch'in** xuj].
  PST ASP burn DEM book [$_{RC}$ REL PST ASP 3sEERG-read woman]
  'The book that the woman read burned.'

- Wh- questions trigger the -t suffix:

(20) a. O tz'ok ky-b'yo'n qa k'wal a Xwan
PST ASP 3PLERG-hit PL boy DET John
'The boys hit John.'

b. Al qa k'wal ma tz'ok **b'yon-t** a Xwan?
who PL boy REC.PST ASP hit-t DET John
Which boys hit John?

(21) a. O txi' t-wan Eric a wab'j.
PST ASP 3SGERG-eat Eric DET tortilla
'Eric ate the tortilla.' 4-11

b. Al o txi' **wan-t** wab'j?
who PST ASP eat-t tortilla
'Who ate the tortilla?' 11-13-17

- Focus constructions can use the -t, although it's optional (Stiebels 2006).

(22) O tz'ok **t-qesan** Karee a Noah.
PST ASP 3sERG-cut Karee DET Noah
'Karee cut Noah.' 11-27

(23) A Karee o tz'ok **qesan-t** te Noah.
DET Karee PST ASP cut-t RN Noah
'*Karee* cut Noah.' 11-27

(24) Jun txin ma tz'ok **b'yon-t** a Xwan.
one girl REC.PST ASP hit-t DET John
'A girl hit John.' 2-1-2018

(25) Me'n, a Henry ma tz'ok **b'yon-t** a Xwan.
no, DET Henry REC.PST ASP hit-t DET John
'No, *Henry* hit John.' 2-1

(26) A t-txu q'a o tz'ok **b'yon-t/t-b'yon** qini
DET 3POSS-mother boy PST ASP hit-t/3sE-hit 1SG
'The boy's mother hit me.' (E.HSH.TLS.20171116)

- The -t suffix is used for non-3rd person extraction as well, which suggests it's not a movement of the ergative prefix to a suffix.

(27) O txi' q-kxun i'ẍ ew.
PST ASP 1plERG-chew corn yesterday
'We ate corn yesterday.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180201)

(28) A qo o txi' **kxun-t** te i'ẍ ew.
DET 1PL PST ASP chew-t RN corn yesterday.
'We ate corn yesterday.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180201)

(29) Aqini o txi' **kxun-t** i'ẍ ew.
1SG PST ASP chew-t corn yesterday
'*I* ate corn yesterday.' 4-11

- -t is not used in tense and aspect combination that don't normally show ergative agreement, like the imperfective.

(30) a. N-qesan k'wal a Noah.
IMIP-cut boy DET Noah
'The boy is cutting Noah.' 4-11
b. N-tzqin-i aj xjal n-qesan te Noah.
IMP-know-1/2 DEM person IMP-cut RN Noah

'I know the person who is cutting Noah.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180404)

- Evidence that -t can be either the anti-passive or Agent Focus: the object is optionally demoted, evident by the optionality in the relational nouns in (31) and (32).[5]

(31) a. al ma ts'ok b'iyon-t te/a Xwan?
who REC.PST ASP hit-t RN/DET John
'Who hit John?' 4-11

b. Al o kub' qesan-t te/a Noah?
Who PST ASP cut-t RN/DET Noah
'Who cut Noah?' 4-11

(32) a. O b'aj t-kxun-i i'ẍ ew.
PST ASP 2SGERG-chew-1/2 corn yesterday
'You ate corn yesterday.' 1-31-18

b. Ay o b'aj kxun-t (te) i'ẍ ew
2SG PST ASP chew-t RN corn yesterday
'YOU ate corn yesterday.' 1-31-18

- Intervening adverbs do not block -t, suggesting that it is not triggered by an Anti-locality constraint as proposed for Kaqchikel in Erlewine (2016).

(33) N-stqin-i aj txin o txi' **wan-t** wap'j.
IMP-know-1/2 DEM girl PST ASP eat-INTR tortillas
'I know the girl who ate the tortillas.' (E.HSH.TLS.20171113)

(34) N-stqin-i aj txin *tkyaqil-maj* o txi' **wan-t** wap'j
IMP-know-1/2 DEM girl always PST ASP eat-INTR tortillas
'I know the girl who always ate the tortillas.' (E.HSH.TLS.20171113)

- When the relative clause itself is a focus expression, -t is used.[6]

[5]If -t can truly function as both anti-passive and Agent Focus, we would expect that the absolutive marking can optionally track either the extracted subject or the object. I have not tested this yet.

[6]The context for (35) is given as a preceding question:

(i) A=m-j xuj o b'aj wan-t wab'j o tz'ok b'yon-t a Eric?
DET=POLQ-REL woman PST woman PST ASP eat-t tortilla PST ASP hit-t DET Eric
'Did the woman who ate the tortilla hit Eric?' 4-11

Sometimes the relative clause itself triggers normal ergative agreement on the matrix verb. I hypothesize that in these cases the relative clause is actually in an externally merged Topic position (Aissen 1992). Further testing using specific contexts is needed before a formal analysis can be made.

(ii) Aj xuj o b'aj sch'in-t u'j o tz'ok t-b'yon a Eric.
DEM woman PST read-t book PST ASP 3SERG-hit Eric
The woman who read the book hit Eric.' 3-14

(35) Me'n, [$_{FOC}$ aj xuj o b'aj sch'in-t u'j] o tz'ok **b'yon-t** a Eric.
No, [$_{FOC}$ DEM woman PST ASP read-t book] PST ASP hit-t DET Eric
'No, THE WOMAN WHO READ THE BOOK hit Eric.' 4-11

3.4 Form of -t

- England (1983) lists 7 non-productive intransitivizing suffixes in Mam: -b'a, -ch, -chaj, -paj, -t, and -tz'aj (pg. 114-117).
- -t: 'intransitivizer.' No variation. Nonproductive. Derives intransitive stems from adjective and unidentified roots. Exampes:

(36) a. b'a7n 'good' (adjective)
b. b'ant- 'be well; known'

(37) a. *meq'-
b. meq't- 'be hot'

- The intransitiving suffix described by England (1983) is most likely related to the -t suffix in SJAM ergative extraction.
- Further evidence comes from passivization of some verbs.

(38) O jaw **t-b'anchan** echl jun ja.
PST ASP 3SGERG-build engineer one house
'The engineer built a house.' 2-14

(39) Ma **b'an-t** jun ja tu'n echl.
REC.PST build-t one house RN engineer
A house was built by the engineer

(40) O b'aj t-kxun echl i'ẍ aj [o jaw **b'anchan-t** jun ja]
PST ASP 3SGERG-chew engineer corn DEM [PST ASP build-t one house]
The engineer who built a house chewed corn

4 AP/AF suffix in Mam

- For Ixtahuacan Mam, England (1983) describes the anti-passive as the suffix '-n.'
- An example from England (1983)
  - Baseline transitive sentence (no focus)

(41) o chi tzaj t-tzyu-7n Cheep kab' xiinaq
past 3pA dir 3sE-grab-ds Jose two man
'Jose grabbed the men.' (pg. 215)

– The focused agent precedes the verb and the anti-passive suffix is used

(42) Cheep ø-ø-tzyuu-n ky-7j kab' xiinaq
Jose past-dep-3sA-grab-ap 3s-rn two man
'Jose grabbed the men.' (pg. 215)

- In SJAM, there are many examples where there is no anti-passive/ directional suffix distinction of the type in England (1983)

(43) O tz'ok t-qes[an] q'a a Noah.
PST ASP 3sE-cut boy DET Noah
'The boy cut Noah.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180404)

(44) N-tzqin-i aj q'a o tz'ok qes[an]-t te Noah.
IMP-know-1/2 DEM boy PST ASP cut-*t* RN Noah
'I know the boy who cut Noah. (E.HSH.TLS.20180404)

- However, some verbs do show a contrast:

(45) Jaux t-q'o['n] xin qa tijil twi mes.
ASP 3sE-put man PL thing on table
'A man put thing son the table.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180404)

(46) N-tzqin-i aj xin jaux q'o[n]-t qa tijil twi mes.
IMP-know-1/2 DEM man ASP put-t PL thing on table
'I know the man who put things on the table.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180404)

- The generalization based on (43)-(46): The -n suffix appears together with the -t suffix to mark ergative extraction. The directional suffix is sometimes distinguished from the -n suffix in nonĀ-extraction contexts, which is possibly lexically specified.

4.1 Optional AF/AP suffix

- For some verbs, the -Vn (AF/AP) suffix can be dropped in extraction contexts with -t suffix.

(47) a. N-tzqin-i aj xna'tzal [o kub' **tz'ib'-t** u'j].
IMP-know-1/2 DEM teacher [PST ASP WRITE-t book].
'I know the teacher who wrote the book.' 4-11

b. N-tzqin-i aj xna'tzal [o kub' **tz'ib'an-t** u'j].
IMP-know-1/2 DEM teacher [PST ASP WRITE-t book].
'I know the teacher who wrote the book.' 4-11

(48) a. Al o kub' **qesan-t** te Noah?
Who PST ASP cut-t RN Noah
'Who cut Noah?' 4-11
b. Al o kub' **qes-t** te Noah?
Who PST ASP cut-t RN Noah
'Who cut Noah?' 4-11
c. Al o kub' **qes-t** q-chi'?
Who PST ASP cut-t 1PL-meat
'Who cut our meat?' 4-11
d. A q-txu ma kub' qes-t a q-chi'.
DET 1PL-mother REC.PST ASP cut-t DET 1PL-meat.
'OUR MOTHER cut our meat.' 4-11

- The form of the root without -Vn is ungrammatical in non-Ā-extraction contexts.

(49) *Ma kub' **t-qes** q-txu a q-chi'.
REC.PST ASP 3SGERG-cut 1PL-mother DET 1PL-meat.
'Our mother cut our meat.' 4-11

- While most roots end in a nasal, not all roots show the pattern in (48).

(50) a. Al ma tz'ok **b'yon-t** te Xwan?
who REC.PST ASP hit-t RN John
'Who hit John?' 4-11
b. *Al o tz'ok **b'yo-t/b'y-t** te Noah?
who PST ASP hit-t RN Noah
Intended: 'Who hit Noah?' 4-11

(51) a. Al o txi' **wan-t** wab'j?
who PST ASP eat-t tortilla
'Who ate the tortilla?' 11-13-17
b. *Al o txi' **wa-t/w-t** wab'j?
who PST ASP eat-t tortilla
'Who ate the tortilla?' 4-11

- The verbs that can delete -n (cut, hit, grill, etc) are the verbs that do not show the -'n/-n distinction. However, it's not the case that all of the verbs that can't delete -n (namely, *wan* 'eat') do show the -'n/-n distinction.

4.2 Derivation

- Broadly speaking, relative clauses are derived one of two ways (Kayne 1994):
  1. Movement
  2. Base generation and binding
- The -t suffix for ergative extraction is evidence that simple relative clauses in Mam are derived through movement.
- **Verbs in a relative clause island show normal ergative agreement, not the extraction suffix.**
- It is possible that in (52), there is a *pro* in the most embedded clause which controls agreement.

(52) N-tzqin-i aj xna'tzal aj o kub' t-sch'in Lev aj u'j o kub'
IMP-know-1/2 DEM teacher COMP PST ASP 3sE-read Lev DEM book PST ASP
t-tz'ib'an.
3sE-write
'I know the teacher who Lev read the book that (she) wrote.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180404)

(53) **T-tzqin** xna'tzal qini aj o kub' t-sch'in Lev aj u'j o kub'
3sgErg-know teacher 1sg DEM PST ASP 3sgErg-read Lev DEM book PST ASP
t-tz'ib'an.
3sE-write
'The teacher who Lev read the book that she wrote knows me.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180405)

- Compare to the single embedded clause in (54).

(54) N-tzqin-i aj xna'tzal [o kub' tz'ib'an-t u'j].
IMP-know-1/2 DEM teacher [PST ASP WRITE-t book].
'I know the teacher who wrote the book.' 4-11

- The lack of -t and the grammaticality of the island construction suggest that the base generation and binding strategy for forming relative clauses in Mam is available.

5 Are these Correlative Clauses?

- Some reasons to believe Mam relative clauses are Correlative Clauses (CorrCs), based on the characteristics that Lapierre (2018) argues are defining of CorrCs.
  1. They appear at the left edge of the matrix clause.

   - They also appear at the right edge, in which case maybe CorrCs can be left or right adjoined.
2. They allow full TAM marking on the verb

- Some reasons to reject the CorrC analysis:

1. They can appear in argument position:

(55) O tz'ok t-b'yon **xuj** [aj o b'aj sch'in-t u'j] a q'a Eric .
PST ASP ERG-hit woman [REL PST ASP read-t book] DET CLF Eric
'The woman who read the book hit Eric.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180314)

2. They appear to be externally headed.

6 Conclusion

- In SJAM, when an ergative argument is Ā-extracted (through relative clauses, wh-questions and topicalization), regular ergative agreement is not marked on the verb. Instead, a -t suffix is used.
- The -t suffix functions as an Anti-passive and an Agent Focus marker, suggested by the optionality of demoting the object to an oblique using a relational noun. However, more research needs to be done for the absolutive marking in such constructions.
- The -t suffix construction is absent in relative clause islands, suggesting that islands are derived differently than simple relative clauses. This further suggests that simple relative clauses are derived by movement, but the base generation option is available.
- Typological relevance of SJAM extraction morphology: No other Mamean or Mayan language (that I am aware of) uses a -t suffix to tracks ergative extraction, making SJAM different from the rest of the family.

6.1 One point of future research

Classifiers are sometimes doubled in relative clauses. The question remains whether these are resumptive pronouns and if they are, what kind of resumptive pronouns they are.

(56) [Aj k'wal matij twe ju te xin], ma b'aj tan (*k'wal).
[DEM boy more tall RN DET man], PST ASP sleep boy
'The boy that is taller than the man slept.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180222)

(57) [Aj q'a matij twe te a xin], o p'aj tan *(q'a).
[DEM boy more tall RN DET man], PST ASP sleep boy
'The boy that is taller than the man slept.' (E.HSH.TLS.20171130)

(58) [Aj txin o tz'oks **jqon-t** tlamel ja o ka'm (txin).
[DEM girl PST ASP open-t door house PST win girl
'The girl who opened the door won.' (4-11)

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9 Appendix

9.1 Object Relative Clauses

- Schemas for object relative clauses (in subject position):

(59) S[$_{RC}$]V
[$_{OBJ}$ (DEM) Noun$_{OBJ}$ (REL) [V$_{REL}$ S]] V$_{MATRIX}$ S

(60) Aj u'j [o kub' t-sch'in xuj] o kub' tz'ey'.
DEM book [PST ASP 3sERG-read woman] PST ASP burn
The book that the woman read burned. 3-7

(61) VS[$_{RC}$]
V$_{MATRIX}$ S [$_{OBJ}$ (DEM) Noun$_{OBJ}$ (REL) [V$_{REL}$ S]]

(62) O kub' tz'ey' aj u'j [o kub' t-sch'in xuj].
PST ASP burn DEM book [PST ASP 3sERG-read woman]
The book that the woman read burned. 3-7

9.2 Mysterious Data

- Some verbs, like *il* 'see,' do not appear with either an aspectual, directional, or positional between the tense and the verb. No -'n suffix is used in matrix clauses.

(63) Jun xjal o t-il jun ch'it.
one person PST 3sERG-see one bird
'Someone saw a bird.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180201)

(64) O w-il-i Lev n-kxun i'ӈ.
PST 1sgERG-see-1/2 Lev IMP-chew corn
'I saw lev chewing corn.' 2-14

- In extraction contexts, the normal ergative marking can be used.

(65) a. N-tzqin-i aj k'wal aj o t-il jun ch'it.
IMP-know-1/2 DEM boy COMP PST 3sERG-see one bird
'I know the boy who saw a bird.' (E.HSH.TLS.20180201)
b. *ilt

(66) Al o t-il ne ch'it?
who PST 3sgERG-see little bird
'Who saw the bird?' 4-11

- However, if the -an (AP/AF) suffix is added in an extraction context, the -t suffix is used as well.

(67) Al o il-an-t ne ch'it?
who PST see-an-t little bird
'Who saw the bird?' 4-11

- The form ilant is not used in focus constructions (relative clauses yet to be tested)

(68) *Aqini o il-an-t ne ch'it.
who PST see-an-t little bird
Intended: '*I* saw the bird.'

(69) *A Eric o il-an-t ne ch'it.
who PST see-an-t little bird
Intended: 'ERIC saw the bird.'

- Other mysterious AAE data:

(70) A=m-ni o t-il/*t-il-i jun ch'it?
DET=POLQ-ni PST 3SGERG-see/*2SGERG-see-1/2 one bird
'Did YOU see a bird? 2-1

(71) A=m qini o t-il/w-il-i jung ch'it?
DET=POLQ-ni 1SG PST 3SGERG-see/1SGERG-see-1/2 one bird
'Did YOU see a bird?' 2-1