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Inclusivity in Mam morphosyntax

INCLUSIVITY IN MAM

- Mam makes an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person plural

(1) o   q-il   ay.   o   q-il=**i**   ay.
     PFV   A.1PL-see 2SG   PFV   A.1PL-see=**i** 2SG
     'We$_{INCL}$ see you.'   'We$_{EXCL}$ see you.'

- An analysis of the incl/excl distinction must look at the full phi paradigm in Mam

(2) o   t-il   qini.   o   t-il=**i**   qini.
     PFV   A.NON1.SG-see 1SG   PFV   A.NON1.SG-see=**i** 1SG
     `He/she see me.'                 `You see me.'

- The morpheme =**i** distinguishes 2nd from 3rd person as well as 1st pl excl from incl.
- The puzzle: 3rd person and 1st pl inclusive do not seem to making a natural class

Noyer (1992) analysis of Mam

- The =*i* morpheme spells out [αauthor, ᾱhearer] (opposite values)

3rd: [-auth,-hear] ; **1st.incl**: [+auth,+hear]   *2nd*: [–auth,+hear] ; *1st.excl*: [+auth,-hear]

CLUSIVITY

Classic view

- Privative features (Harley & Ritter 2002)
    - Inclusive includes [speaker] and [addressee]
    - Exclusive is [speaker]

1st ex pl — PART — Spkr
1st in — PART — Spkr, Addr
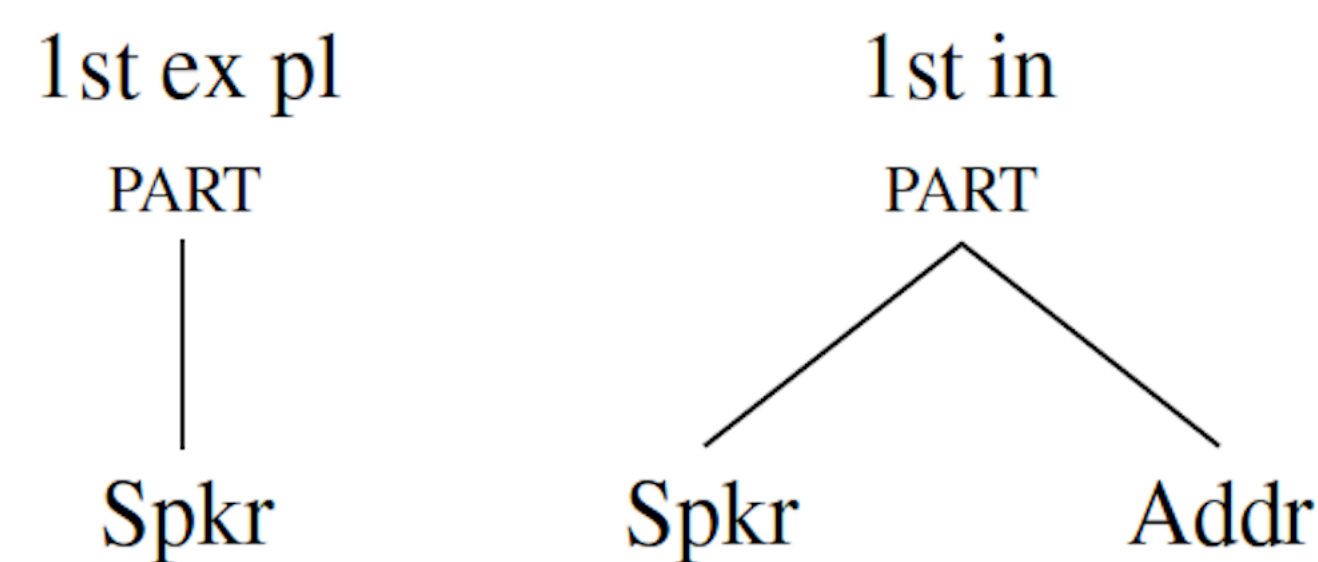
- Binary features (Bobaljik 2008, Nevins 2007)

Inclusive is specified as [+spkr,+addr]   Exclusive is [+spkr,–addr]

Little (2018):

- A mix between binary and privative features
    - **Inclusive** is the generic first person plural   [+PL] [+speaker]
    - **Exclusive** specifically excludes the hearer   [+PL] [+speaker,–hearer]
- This analysis is proposed for Ch'ol (Mayan) based on the following
    - *Morphology:* the exclusive contains the inclusive

        (3) k-otyoty=la   (4) k-otyoty=loj-**oñ**
             A1-house-PART.PL   A1-house-PART.PL-**B1**
             Our house (incl)   Our house (excl)

    - *Semantics:* 1pl (incl) is used with i) default possession, ii) impersonal context, iii) certain grammaticalized possession not referencing hearer. 1pl (excl) is used only in context excluding the hearer

Proposal for Mam

- Like Ch'ol, first person inclusive in Mam is [spkr] and [pl]
    - **In the morphology,** =*i* spells out [+/-hearer]
    - **In the syntax,** an object with [+/-hearer] cannot co-occur with a subject which lacks a hearer feature
- The best analysis of the Mam data includes both binary *and* privative features

MORPHOLOGY

- In verb agreement, ergative (set A) and absolutive (set B) agreement does not distinguish inclusive/exclusive
- Set A/B distinctions: First/non-first, singular/plural

Table 5: SJAMam set A

	SG	PL
First person exclusive	n-/w-	q-
General first person	-	q-
Second person	t-	ky-
Third person	t-	ky-

Table 6: SJAMam set B

	SG	PL
First person exclusive	chin	qo
General first person	-	qo
Second person	∅/tz-	chi-
Third person	∅/tz-	chi-

- The addition of the verbal enclitic =i (in San Juan Atitán) or =a (in Ixtahuacán) introduces further distinctions

Table 7: SJAMam [hearer] enclitic

	SG	PL
First person exclusive	=i	=i (qi)
General first person	-	∅
Second person	=i	=i (qi)
Third person	∅	∅

The puzzle: Why does first person inclusive pattern with third person?

- Impoverishment hypothesis:

  [speaker] → ø / __ [hearer]   [hearer] → ø / __ [speaker]

    - Evidence against a morphological impoverishment account: first person inclusive patterns with third person in the syntax

SYNTAX

- Scott (2019) argues that the =i enclitic on verbs is the result of agreement between a high probe above the shifted object in Ixtahuacán Mam
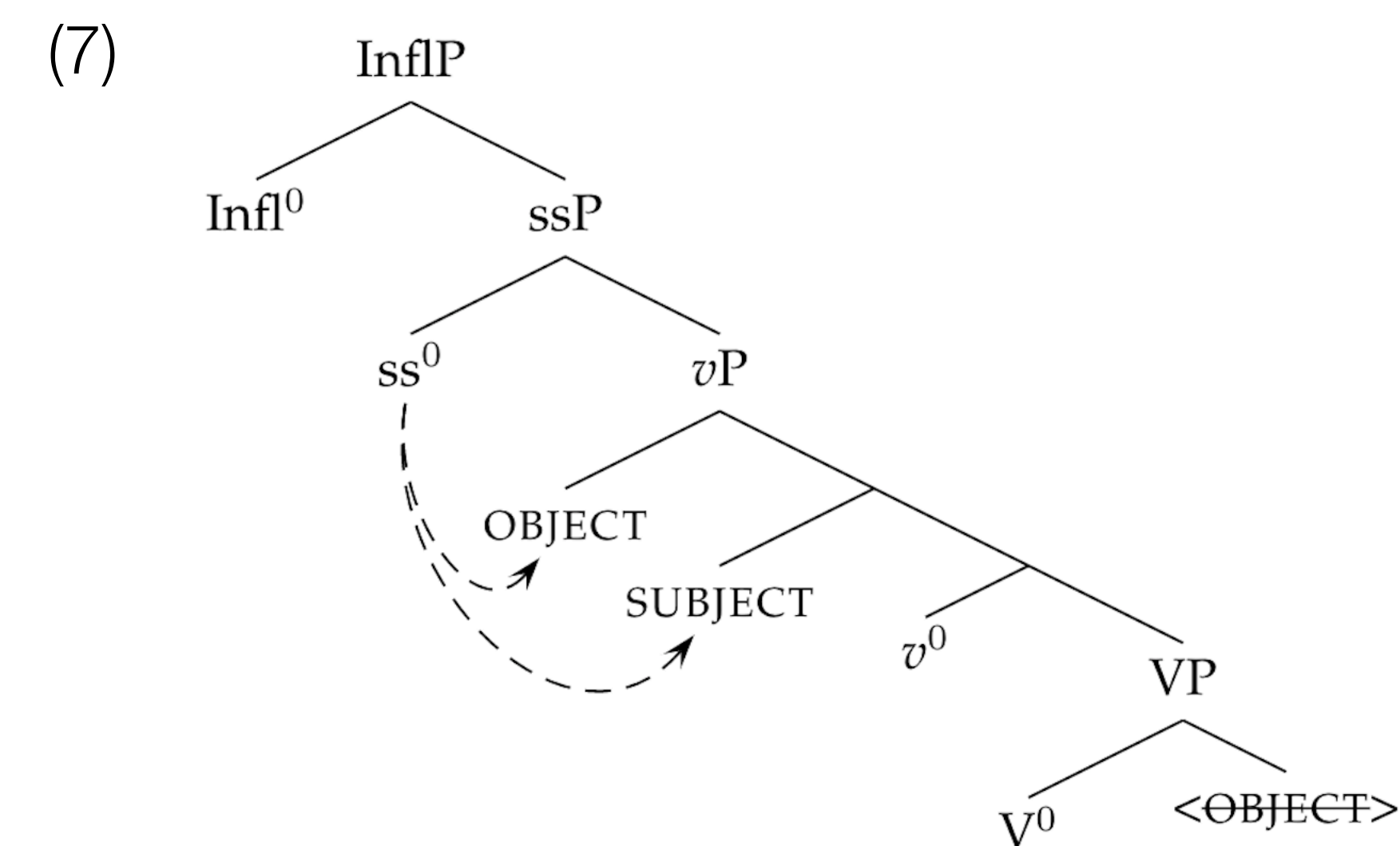
(7)

Table 8: Ixtahuacán Mam person restriction

OBJ	SUBJ	
1sg	3sg	*
2sg	3sg	*
1PL.EXCL	3sg	*
2pl	3sg	*
3sg	3sg	OK
3pl	3sg	OK
1PL.INCL	3sg	OK

- England (1983) notes a transitive person restriction for some speakers of Ixtahauacán Mam (Table 8)
    - If the subject (lower argument) is third person, the person features of the object are restricted
    - Scott (2019) argues that if the probe encounters [part] on the object, it must encounter [PART] on the subject, implemented with Deal's (2015, 2019) interaction/satisfaction theory
    - If not, 3sg subject is unlicensed
- Crucially, **first plural inclusive objects pattern like third person arguments**, indicating that the pattern in the enclitic is syntactic

ANALYSIS

(9) General first plural (inclusive)   (10) First person exclusive
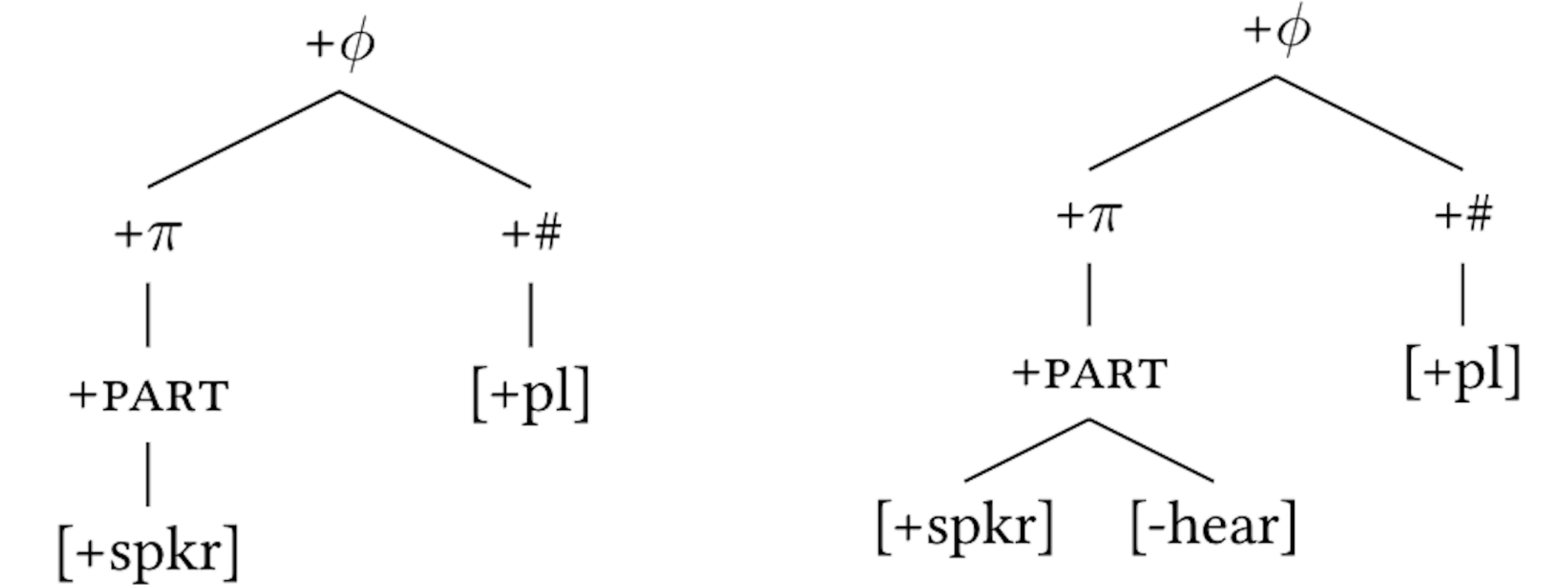
- All other local person arguments are specified for [hearer]

Table 11: Mam phi features

	SG		PL		
First person exclusive	[+spkr]	[–hearer]	[+spkr]	[–hearer]	[+pl]
General first person	-		[+spkr]		[+pl]
Second person		[+hearer]		[+hearer]	[+pl]
Third person					[+pl]

- **Morphology:** Spell out rules

Table 13: SJAMam VIs

1 sg	A	n-/w-	↔	[A]	[spkr]	
2/3 sg	A	t-	↔	[A]		
1 sg	B	chin/chn-	↔		[spkr]	
2/3 pl	A	ky-	↔	[A]		[pl]
1pl	A/B	q-/qo/qw-	↔		[spkr]	[pl]
2/3 pl	B	chi/chj-	↔			[pl]

=i ↔ [hearer]

- **Syntactic** Restriction
    - An update to Scott (2019): the feature that the probe cares about is not [PART] but [hearer] (regardless of value)

CONCLUSION

- Mam and Ch'ol present evidence for a phi featural representation with binary *and* privative features
- The Agree operation and spell out rules can reference the existence of a feature regardless of [+/–] value
- This opens the question to the possibility of a joint feature theory:
    - What does a joint theory predict? How is the theory constrained?
    - More work on clusivity in Mayan can shed light on the representation of phi features

References

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