Q’anjob’al Reflexives*

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1 Q’anjob’al

- **Language family:** Mayan
- **Region:** Northern Guatemala, as well as a refugee and immigrant population in the US, especially Los Angeles
- **Status:** 77,700 speakers in Guatemala (1998) (Ethnologue)

1.1 Grammar overview

- **VSO**
- **Ergative**
- **Case marked on the verb,** and not on DPs
- **Aspect-marking** (not tense-marking)
- **pro-drop** – argument agreement/encoding/clitic pronouns on the verb
- **3rd person DP must usually be overt**
- **rich in verbal “particles”** – adverbials and directionals
- **fronting constructions and passive are frequently used**

*I am very grateful to our consultant Alejandra Francisco, who has been not only a valuable resource as a native speaker, but also a cheerful partner in our research into Q’anjob’al. I would also like to thank Professor Pam Munro for her guidance, and my classmates Mel Bervoets, Niki Foster, Laura Kalin, Jianjing Kuang, Laura McPherson, Kathleen O’Flynn Denis Peperno, Craig Sailor, Michael Tseng, Kaeli Ward, and David Wemhener for their work which is absolutely essential to this project. Finally, I am grateful for discussion with the participants of *The World of Reflexives Workshop* in Utrecht, NL as well as with Jessica Coon here last week.*
Verbal template:¹

\[
\text{Aspect-} \text{ABS(“class B”)} \text{ ERG(“class A”) - VERB - suffixes}
\]

(1) ch-\text{aspect(ic)}\text{-abs(2sB)} \text{erg(1sA)} \text{-V(like)} \text{-affixes(-ej)}

'I like you' (40:3)

Case markers:

- Mayanist tradition: Ergative = class A, Absolutive = class B (Caution! It’s the opposite of what you expect: Absolutive is class B!)

- Vary according to whether following segment is a consonant or vowel.

- 3p: our consultant almost always uses ø, not s-, except with extended reflexives (reflexive possession), when s- is required.

- **Possessed NPs** are marked with Ergative (A) case

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Ergatives (A)</th>
<th>Absolutives (B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular Pre-C</td>
<td>Plural Pre-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hin w- ku- j-</td>
<td>-in -on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ha ø he hey</td>
<td>ach ex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ø- y- ø- y-</td>
<td>ø- y-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poss. 3</td>
<td>ø/s- y- ø/s- y-</td>
<td>ø/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 1: Forms**

**Possessed NP**: uses Ergative (A) marker

(2) hin na

1sA house

‘my house’ (20:2)

**Classifiers**: Nouns usually require classifiers. Classifiers can also **stand alone** and are interpreted as pronouns. Sometimes I may call them pronouns, though I have glossed them all as cl.

¹All data unless otherwise indicated is from our class database of elicitations from our (amazing!) consultant Alejandra Fransisco (Bervoets et al., 2011). Numbers (xxx:yy) mean page xxx, number yy; Initials with numbers are for entries to the database without page numbers. The initials are those of the linguist and the numbers the date and number, e.g. (MF 2011-06-08:20) is example 20 from my June 8 elicitation. (MT ex.XX) is from Mateo Toledo (2008), example XX.

**Abbreviations**:

1/2/3 = 1st/2nd/3rd person, c = completive aspect, ic- = incompletive aspect, s/p = singular/plural, A/B = ergative (class A)/absolutive (class B), AF = agent focus, C = complementiser, cl = classifier, cl_an/plant/etc = classifier (animals/plants/etc.), m/f = masculine/feminine, dep = dependent clause marker (which might actually be AF), dir1/2/3 = directionals (three classes), dub = dubitative, excl = exclusive, foc = focus particle, pas = passive, rec = reciprocal, refl = reflexive, tr = transitivity marker, xa = contrastive particle
2 Reflexives: the basics

- reflexive morpheme b’a

- **ergative-marked**: hin b’a ‘myself’, ku b’a ‘ourselves’ etc.

- b’a follows the verb and its particles; precedes the subject and obliques

- Verb has **only Ergative** (A) marker

(3) a. ch- w- och-ej hin b’a
    ic- 1sA- like-tr 1sA REFL
    ‘I like myself’ (63:3)

b. *ch- -in w- och-ej hin b’a
    ic- -1sB 1sA- like-tr 1sA REFL
    Intended: ‘I like myself’

c. ch- y- och-ej ∅-b’a naq
    ic- 3A- like-tr 3A-REFL 3m
    ‘He likes himself’ (64:15)

d. ch- y- och-ej ∅-b’a naq Xhun
    ic- 3A- like-tr 3A-REFL 3m Xhun
    ‘Xhun likes himself’ (104:8)

e. X- ∅- ten -aj -toq ∅-b’a naq [y-in tx’an lasso]
    ic- 3A- pull -up -DIR3 3A-REFL 3m [3A-prep cl_plant rope
    ‘He pulled himself up the rope’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hin b’a</td>
<td>ku b’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ha b’a</td>
<td>he b’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>(s)b’a (naq)</td>
<td>(s)b’a (heb’)(naq)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>(s)b’a (ix)</td>
<td>(s)b’a (heb’)(ix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Reflexive phrases

- **Clause-bounded** interpretation

(4) a. ch- na’ il naq Xhun [tol ch- y- och-ej b’a naq Yakin]
    ic- think see? 3m Xhun [C ic- 3sA- like-? REFL 3m Yakin]
    ‘Xhuni thinks Yakinj likes himself_{i/j}’ (350:33)

b. x- na’ il naq Xhun [tol ch- och-lay naq yuj naq Yakin]
    ic- think see? 3m Xhun [C ic- like-pass 3m by 3m Yakin]
    ‘Xhuni thinks Yakinj likes him_{i/j}’ (350:34)
3 What is b’a?

3.1 Possessives?

*b’a*-phrases look just like possessive phrases, down to the somewhat mysterious third-person (*b’a naq Xhun* ‘Xhun’s self’ cannot stand alone, however – it’s just as bad as English.)

(5) a. hin na
   1sA house
   ‘my house’ (20:2)

b. hin b’a
   1sA refl
   ‘myself’ (63:3)

c. s/∅-na  ix
   3A-house 3sf
   ‘her house’ (20:5)

d. s/∅-b’a  ix
   3A-refl 3sf
   ‘herself’ (64:17)

e. s/∅- naq Xhun
   3A-house 3m Xhun
   ‘Xhun’s house’

f. (*)s/∅- b’a naq Xhun
   3A-refl 3m Xhun
   ‘(*)Xhun’s self’ (MF 2012/06/08:20)

• Question: Are *ix* of *b’a ix* and *naq Xhun* of *b’a naq Xhun* part of the reflexive phrase?

• Answer: It appears not. If the subject of a reflexive is fronted, (*s)b’a can stand alone.

(6) a. x- y- il s/∅- b’a naq Xhun
   c- 3A- see 3A- refl  clm Xhun
   ‘Xhun saw himself’

b. [A naq Xhun] x- ’il -on s/∅- b’a
   [FOC clm Xhun] c- see -AF 3A- refl
   ‘It’s Xhun that saw himself’ (509:19)

Fronting:

– Several fronting constructions
– Some require a copy of the classifier in the canonical position of the fronted phrase
– Some disallow copy of classifier
– Some allow it optionally
– In reflexives with fronted subject, *b’a* is accompanied by a classifier in precisely those contexts where a copy of the classifier of the fronted phrase must appear in its canonical position anyway.
Focus: copy disallowed

(7) a. [A no’ chej] max-∅ lo -on (*no’) xim awal  
   FOC CL_{an} horse c- -3B eat -AF (*CL_{an}) CL_{corn} field  
   ‘It’s the horse that ate the crop’ (Barreno et al 2005, pp. 194)

b. A naq Xhun x-il -on s/∅ b’a (*naq)
   FOC CL_{m} Xhun c- see -AF 3A- REFL (*3m)
   ‘It’s Xhun that saw himself’ (509:19)

Topic: copy required

(8) a. naq Xhun x-lo-aytoq *(naq) te’ tzoyol
   CL_{m} Xhun c- eat-?? *3m CL_{plant} chayote  
   ‘Xhun ate chayote’ (387:62)

b. naq Xhun chyochej b’a *(naq)
   CL Xhun he.likes REFL *(3m)
   ‘Xhun likes himself’

Quantifier fronting: usually no copy

(9) a. Masanil heb’ x- iya’ik junoq q’util b’ay q’in.
   Every CL_{pl} c- wear a shawl to party  
   ‘Everybody wore a shawl to the party.’ (mel-2011-05-25)

b. jun kuywom x- y- il b’a (*naq) yul nen
   some student c- 3A- see REFL *(naq) in mirror  
   ‘Some student saw himself in the mirror’ (MF 2012-01-30)

→ Conclusion: b’a naq/ix is not a constituent.

(10) ch- y- och-ej [b’a Refl [naq Xhun Subject]]
    ic- 3A- like-tr 3A-REFL 3m Xhun  
    ‘Xhun likes himself’ (104:8)

---

2 Exception: in reflexives only, a long pause after the focused constituent requires a copy of the classifier, e.g.

(i) (A) heb’ Beatles, /x- waj (-ik) b’a heb’ b’ay kampo
    (FOC) CL_{pl} Beatles, / c- gather (-DIR2) REFL CL_{pl} in park
    ‘It was The Beatles who gathered in the park.’ (MF 2011-11-07:11,16,17)

Perhaps it the focused constituent is base-generated in front, like in English *The Beatles, they gathered in the park.*  
But why only in reflexives?

3 the plural classifier heb’, which behaves differently anyway, is at least sometimes permitted with quantifier fronting:

(i) a. masanil kuywom ix (heb’)
    all CL_{pl} student woman  
    ‘All the students are female (DP 2011-05-03:48)

b. masanil heb’ kuywom x- -y- il b’a (heb’)
    every CL_{pl} student c- 3A- see REFL (heb’)
    ‘All the students saw themselves’ (MF 2012-01-30)
3.2 Word Order

Q’anjoba’il is canonically VSO, even with extended reflexive (reflexive possessive):

(11)  a. [V s- b’itni] [S ix Malin] [O jun kanto].
    [V ic- sing] [S clf Mary] [O one song]
    ‘Malin sings a song’ (146:20)

b. x- y- il naq Xhum s- txutx
    c- 3A- see cl m Xhum 3A- mother
    ‘John saw his/ə mother’ (DP-2011-04-06:1)

• 3rd-person subject of reflexive is not part of the reflexive, so it is the syntactic subject

• But now reflexives are VOS!

(12) [V ch- y- och-ej] [O 0- b’a] [S naq Xhum]
    [V ic- 3A- like-tr] [O 3A- refl] [S clm Xhum]
    ‘Xhum likes himself’ (104:8)

Perhaps b’a is not a noun, but an arity-reducing verbal particle

3.3 Particles

• Q’anjoba’il has lots of verbal particles, fairly strictly ordered, mostly coming after the verb and before the arguments.

• O’Flynn (2011) calls the verb and its particles the verbal complex

• DIR3 if present always marks the end of the verbal complex

(13) [ch- b’ey -xa mi kan el- toq]VerbalComplex [naq]s [iglesia]O
    [ic- walk -XA DUB DIR1 DIR2 - DIR3 ] [CLm] [church]
    ‘He might walk into the church and stay there now.’ (458:26)

• Reflexive follows the verbal complex:

(14) [X- in b’al -ay -toq] [hin b’a]refl witz.
    [c- 1A roll -down -DIR3 ] [1A REF] hill
    ‘I rolled myself down the hill’ (KO 08/22:53)

• adverb can marginally intervene between verbal complex and b’a

• Adverb not possible within verbal complex

• xa (contrastive) particle is most natural between verbal complex and reflexive

(15)  a. ?x- in- k’ub’il yet ewi hin b’a
    c- 1sA- hide yesterday 1sA refl
    ‘I hid yesterday’ (MF 2011-05-17:44)
b. [ch- w- och -ej]V xa hin b’a
   [ic- 1A- like -tr]V XA 1A- REFL
   ‘I like myself now (but I didn’t used to)’ (MF 2011-06-08:38)

- No (other) particles are inflected
- arity is not strictly reduced. Reflexive clauses show reduced transitivity, but are not fully intransitive (Munro, 2011).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Intransitive</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>retains transitive suffixes</td>
<td>allows ergative extraction usually restricted to absolutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>case marker is ergative (A)</td>
<td>only one case marker on the verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Transitive and intransitive behaviour of reflexives

3.3.1 Extraction I

- Normally, it’s not possible focus or question the 3rd person subject of a transitive clause without changing something
- use anti-passive or agent focus
- Agent focus: -on/-n on verb, no ergative morphology, intransitive -i suffix – transitivity reduction!

(16) [A no’ chej] max- ∅ lo -on xim awal
   FOC CLon horse c- -3B eat -AF CLcorn field
   ‘It’s the horse that ate the crop’ (Barreno et al 2005, pp. 194)

- No agent focus for objects, adjuncts, intransitives:

Questioning an intransitive subject or object: no AF

(17) a. Maktxel s- tsew -i
    who c- laugh -intr
    ‘Who laughed?’ (18:6)

b. tzetal yetal x- lo’ naq
   what c- eat 3m
   ‘What did he eat?’

Questioning a transitive subject: need AF , intransitive suffix -i, no Erg (A) morph

(18) a. maktxel x- ‘ach il -on -i
    who c- 2sB see -AF -intr
    ‘Who saw you?’ (504:1)

b. *maktxel x- ach (y-) il (-i)
    who c- 2sB (3A-) see (-intr)
    intended: ‘Who saw you?’ (504:4)
However, for reflexives (Coon and Mateo Pedro, to appear) and indefinite objects (Munro, 2011), agent focus form is not required.

Questioning a transitive subject with an indefinite object:\(^4\) no AF, still has transitive marker -\(a'\) if the verb is phrase-final.

\[(19)\]
\[
\text{a. maktxel x- y- il -a' jun tzetal}
\]
\[
\text{who c- 3sA- see -tr one what}
\]
\[
\text{‘Who saw something?’ (161:1)}
\]

Questioning a transitive subject with a reflexive: no AF. (The verb is never phrase-final, so no (in)-transitivity “status” marker will ever occur.)

\[(20)\]
\[
\text{a. maktxel x- y- il 0-/s- b'a}
\]
\[
\text{who c- 3sA- see 3sA- REFL}
\]
\[
\text{‘Who saw him/herself?’ (504:5-6)}
\]
\[
\text{b. *Maktxel x- il -on b'a}
\]
\[
\text{*who c- see -AF REFL}
\]
\[
\text{‘Who saw herself?’ (MF 2011-05-24:7)}^5
\]

Why do reflexives and indefinite objects allow the ergative subject to pattern with absolutive arguments?

- Hopper and Thompson (1980): reflexives and indefinites can pattern together when it comes to transitivity

- Here: lift restriction on extracting ergative subject when clause is rendered “less transitive” by indefinite or reflexive

- The idea (Hopper and Thompson, 1980):
  - transitivity is a spectrum; property of whole clause
  - One factor: \textit{individuation} of object: more individuated, more able to be affected by action, more transitive.
  - less individuated objects include indefinites and reflexives

\[3.3.2\] Body parts

- Body parts pattern with reflexives! (At least optionally)

- When the object is the Subject’s own body part the object follows the verb

\[4\] However, with the existential marker \(Ay\), AF is possible:

\[(i)\]
\[
\text{Ay maktxel x- 'il -on jun tzetal. [184-28]}
\]
\[
\text{Exist. who c- see -AF one what}
\]
\[
\text{‘Someone saw something.’}
\]

\[5\] This should be checked again, as she may have been reacting to the subtle distinction between \textit{xyilon} and \textit{xilon} rather than the presence of AF -\(on\) with a reflexive.
• Also fits Hopper and Thompson (1980)

(21)  a. \[X- k’aj \toq]_V \ q’ab’ naq \ Xhun. \[c- break -\text{DIR3} ]_V \text{hand} \text{CL}_m \ Xhun
    ‘Xhun broke his hand’ (NF-2011-03-28:1)

    b. Yalanto low ix, x- tx’aj -on \[ix]_S \ q’ab’
    before eat she, c- wash - AF \[she]_S \ hand
    ‘She washed her hands before she ate.’

• Note (b) is in a non-finite embedded clause (hence \text{AF}) \rightarrow behaves differently?

• Same focus pattern (though I haven’t checked if agent focus is also optionally available here. I predict it is.)
  – No Agent Focus necessary
  – No copy of classifier \iff No pause after focused constituent

• Same wh-question pattern:
  – no AF needed
  – no copy of classifier

(22)  a. \[A \ [ foc \ naq \ Xhun ] x- \emptyset \ q’aj \ q’ab’ (\text{*naq}) \[FOC \ CL}_m \ Xhun] \ c- 3A- break hand (\text{*CL}_m )
    ‘It was Xhun who broke his hand’

    b. \[A \ [ foc \ naq \ Xhun], // x- \emptyset \ q’aj \ q’ab’ \text{naq} \[FOC \ CL}_m \ Xhun], // c- 3A- break hand \text{CL}_m
    ‘It was Xhun who broke his hand’

    c. maktxel x- \emptyset \ q’aj \ q’ab’ (\text{*naq})?
    who \ c- 3A- break hand (\text{*CL}_m )
    ‘Who broke their hand?’

• Body parts can be \text{modified} \rightarrow act like \text{normal objects (VSO)}

(23)  K’am xa x- jej \[q’an -on]_V \ [naq \ Xhun]_S \ [s- q’ajil \ q’ab]_O
    neg xa c- can [use - AF]_V \ [CL}_m \ Xhun]_S \ [3A- broken hand]_O
    ‘John couldn’t use his broken hand.’

• q’ab ‘hand’ is clearly a \text{noun}, not a particle

• patterns with \text{b’a}

3.3.3 \text{Extended Reflexive}

• Extended reflexive patterns partly with reflexives

• Subject and possessor of object co-refer

• Object is in normal position, but extraction facts mostly are like reflexive
Aqwal ch- yal [naq k’ajol]s [ts txaj]O
should ic- 3A- say Clm son prayer 3A- prayer
The son should say his prayers.

• AF is optional

(25) a. A heb’ Beatles xb’on -on sna [-13]
   FOC Clpl Beatles c- paint -AF 3A- house
   It was the Beatles who painted theirj house
   (meaghan-2012-01-23)

   b. A heb’ Beatles x- b’on s- na [-15]
   FOC Clpl Beatles c- paint 3A- house
   It was the Beatles who painted theirj house
   (meaghan-2012-01-23)

BUT, Unlike with reflexive b’a, no AF with pause and copy of classifier heb’ is not possible.

(26) *A heb’ Beatles, // xb’on sna heb’ [-17]
   FOC Clpl Beatles, // c- paint 3A- house Clpl
   It was the Beatles who painted their house
   (meaghan-2012-01-23)

3.4 Interim Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Against DP</th>
<th>Against Particle</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wrong word order (VSO vs VOS)</td>
<td>follows all other particles and even some adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often no overt binder</td>
<td>inflection on particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not entirely like reflexive possessive</td>
<td>Looks like possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patterns with body part nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>patterns partly with reflexive possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>not fully arity-reducing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Particle and DP behaviours

4 Coon and Mateo Pedro

• Coon and Mateo Pedro (to appear) propose that b’a is a bare NP

• Evidence: Word order may be explainable by incorporation into verb
  
  – Problem 1: adverbs and post-verbal particles can intervene between verb and reflexive phrase.
  
  – Problem 2: Where is the overt ergative/possessor, esp in non-3p?

• Evidence: Bare NPs are proposed not to need case.
– If refl phrase doesn’t need case, it doesn’t need to move to spec-vP for case and block the phase edge
– → subject can extract through phase edge
– **Problem:** 3p objects also stay in situ. There is nothing to block the phase edge, but 3p subjects still cannot extract (unless there is a null pronominal, but then where does the full DP object merge?) See Appendix of Coon (2012)
– Need to check non-3p full DP objects: overt ABS on verb, but I think 3p subject still cannot extract

  • **Evidence:** other Mayan languages show evidence of “smallness” of reflexives (Jessica Coon, p.c. 2012-01-20)
  – **Support:** modified body part nouns appear in normal object position while unmodified (smaller) appear after the verb

5 **Focus**

• Fronted constituent, usually preceded by morpheme A.
• If focused element is non-3rd-person pronoun, use a special stand-alone form of the pronoun.
• No copy of the classifier in canonical position of fronted constituent
• Focused meaning

(27) \[\text{[A \text{ no’ chej}] [max- -∅ lo -on]}_V \text{ (*no’)} xim awal} \\
\text{[FOC \text{ cl}_{an} horse]} [\text{c-} -3B \text{ eat -AF }]_V \text{ (*cl}_{an}) \text{ cl}_{corn} \text{ field} \\
\text{‘It’s the horse that ate the crop’ (Barreno et al 2005, pp. 194)}

(28) \text{Ayin [ch- woch -ej]}_V \text{ naq Xhun} \\
\text{I [ic- like -tr]}_V \text{ cl}_{m} Xhun \\
\text{‘It’s me who likes Xhun’ (meaghan-2011-05-10:6)}

5.1 **Focus with reflexives**

• 3p reflexives behave differently from other 3p DPs
• no AF required
• BUT AF is **optionally available**, contra my shorter handout (Fowlie, 2011)
• Special construction, **refl only**: pause after focus + copy of classifier in cannonical position

(29) \text{[x- waj -ik]}_V \text{ b’a heb’ Beatles b’ay kampo} \\
\text{[c- gather -DIR2 ]}_V \text{ refl cl}_{pl} Beatles in park} \\
\text{The Beatles gathered in the park. (MF 2011-11-07:6)}
3rd person WITHOUT AF: great with reflexive (30-b), bad with definite DP (30-a)

(30)  a. *[A naq Ringo] [x- in y- il -i] _V_  
    [FOC CL_m Ringo] [c- -1B 3A- see -tr] _V_.  
    Intended: ‘It was Ringo who saw me’ (MF 2012-01-30)  
  b. [A heb’ Beatles x- waj (-ik) b’a b’ay kampo  
    [FOC CL_plt Beatles] c- gather (-DIR2 ) REFL in park  
    ‘It was The Beatles who gathered in the park.’  
    (meaghan-2011-11-07:12,20)

3p WITHOUT AF, WITH pause + resumptive. Note A is optional. Fine with reflexive (31-b), bad with definite DP (31-a)

(31)  a. *[A naq Ringo] , // x- in y- il naq  
    [FOC CL_m Ringo] , // [c- -1B 3A- see] _V_ CL_m  
    Intended: ‘It was Ringo who saw me’ (MF 2012-01-30)  
  b. (A) heb’ Beatles pause x- waj (-ik) b’a heb’ b’ay kampo  
    (FOC ) CL_plt Beatles pause c- gather (-DIR2 ) REFL CL_plt in park  
    ‘It was The Beatles who gathered in the park.’  
    (meaghan-2011-11-07:11,16,17)

3p WITH AF, without pause + resumptive: both fine

(32)  a. a naq Ringo x- in il -on -i  
    FOC CL_m Ringo c- -1B see -AF -tr  
    Intended: ‘It was Ringo who saw me’ (MF 2012-01-30)  
  b. A heb’ Beatles x- waj -on b’a b’ay kampo  
    FOC CL_plt Beatles c- gather -AF REF in park  
    It was The Beatles who gathered in the park.  
    (meaghan-2011-11-07:7)

6  Single-purpose b’a

- I have found only one use for b’a: reflexives  

- not in middle. Alejandra could not think of a way to say this with b’a

(33)  junb’ey x- txon -chaj -toq te’ tzoyol  
    fast c- sell -?? -DIR3 CL_plant chayote (squash)  
    ‘The chayote were selling fast’  

- not emphatic: As in The grinch himself carved the roast beast. Focus contructions front the focused constituent and have a focus particle a (see (7)). Alejandra could not think of a way to say this with b’a

- applicative uses possessive:

(34)  x- -∅ w- it -ej hin lob’ej chuman  
    c- -3B 1sA- bring -tr 1sA lunch  
    ‘I brought lunch for myself’ lit: ‘I brought my lunch’
7 Conclusion

7.1 Summary

- reflexive morpheme \textit{b’\textquoteright a}
- always preceded by Ergative marker, e.g. \textit{hin b’\textquoteright a}
- Not exactly a possessive phrase
- \textbf{Not a DP?} If it’s a DP, we have VOS exceptionally
- \textbf{Not a particle?} Outside verbal complex
- \textbf{partial detransitivising} effect
- \textbf{reciprocals} usually have \textit{b’\textquoteright a}, suffix \textit{-l}
- not clear that \textit{-l} really is reciprocal
- \textit{b’\textquoteright a} lacks any other use

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