

Although the most important types of non-verbal predicates (NVPs) are outlined in the descriptive grammars of the K'ichee'an languages (cf. Dayley 1985, Larsen 1988, Mondloch 1978), no encompassing typology let alone a formal analysis of NVPs has ever been published. This paper is an attempt to remedy this using K'ichee' as source data.

Background Finite verbs and finite NVPs in K'ichee', I argue, each correlate with distinct structural configurations. It is assumed that finiteness in verbs involves the inflection of prefixed aspect/mood markers and subject/object agreement markers (AMs). Finiteness in NVPs, on the other hand, only involves the hosting of non-bound subject AMs. Accordingly, following Larsen (1988:105, 135, cf. 152), I argue that K'ichee' does not have a verbal copula.

Composed of a single agglutinating constituent (excluding periphrastic modals), verbs (1)–(2) inflect with obligatory prefixed aspect markers, person/number marking absolutive (ABS) and ergative (ERG) AMs, and so on:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|------------------------|-----|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) | x-ee-w-il-o | <i>Transitive verb</i> | (2) | k-ix-biin-ik | <i>Intransitive verb</i> |
| | COM-3PLABS-1SERG-see-TPF | | | INC-2PLABS-walk-IPF | |
| | 'I saw them.' | | | 'You all walk.' | |

Typology NVPs minimally configure with a non-bound (subject) absolutive AM followed by a predicate variable: noun or gerund, adjective or participle. Although some overlap occurs, NVPs fall quite naturally into three groups: (i) nominal/adjectival, (ii) stative positional, and (iii) perfect tense-aspect, although (iii) will not be addressed in this paper.

(i) The **adjectival predicate** uses non-pre-head, non-attributive adjectives for property attribution:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|--|
| (3) | saq lee laj jaa | (4) | sib'alaj ee (*sib'alaj) jeb'al lee tz'ununa |
| | white DET small house | | very.much 3PLABS very.much pretty DET hummingbirds |
| | 'The small house is white.' | | 'The hummingbirds are very pretty.' |

The **nominal predicate** uses nouns and gerunds to encode notions of identity (5) and classification (6):

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|-----|--|
| (5) | rii in at w-achi'l | (6) | ee utz-*(alaj) tik-on-el-ab' lee achii'-aab' |
| | DET 1SPRO 2SABS 1SPOSS-friend | | 3PLABS good-ATT farm-AP-NOML-PL DET man-PL |
| | 'As for me, you are my friend.' | | 'The men are a very good farmers.' |

(ii) As a word class that is exclusively-derived, the **stative positional predicate** includes its primary derivational stem, the positional participle. Of particular interest, I propose, is a non-verbal copula, the irregular positional participle *k'oolik* 'existing.' Its use encodes three elements of stage-level NVPs: existence (7a), possession (7b), and location (7c):

- | | | | |
|-----|----|---|--------------|
| (7) | a. | ojeer k'oo jun nim-a q'eq-a sia uu-bii' Miix Miix Miix | EXISTENTIAL |
| | | before existing DET big-ATT black-ATT cat 3SPOSS-name M. | |
| | | 'Once upon a time there was a big, black cat whose name was Meesh Meesh Meesh.' | |
| | b. | k'oo jun niitz' w-ochoch pa Chuwimeq'ana' | POSSESSIONAL |
| | | existing DET small 1SPOSS-house PREP T. | |
| | | 'I have a small house in Totoncapán.' (lit. 'It is existing, my small house in T.') | |
| | c. | lee nu-wuj ee k'oo p-u-wi' lee tz'alam je le' | LOCATIONAL |
| | | DET 1SPOSS-book 3PLABS existing PREP-3SPOSS-top DET table over.there | |
| | | 'My books are on the table over there.' | |

C-structures Let us first consider the constituent structure of absolutive AMs and predicates in K'ichee'. The AdvP *iwir* 'yesterday' cannot be used between the nominal predicate *q'ab'arelab*' and the lexical subject *oj* in (8), or between the absolutive AM *uj* and the nominal predicate in (9), but can be used either sentence-initially or sentence-finally:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| (8) | iwir uj q'ab'ar-el-ab' (*iwir) oj | (9) | uj (*iwir) q'ab'ar-el-ab' oj iwir |
| | ADV 1PLABS drunk-NOML-PL ADV 1PLPRO | | 1PLABS ADV drunk-NOML-PL 1PLPRO ADV |
| | 'Yesterday we were all drunk.' | | 'We were all drunk yesterday.' |

The data in (8)–(9) suggest that the absolutive AM, the predicate, and the subject are located in non-endocentric S. Nonetheless, attributive adjectives optionally modify predicate nominals (6), suggesting that the absolutive AM is not necessarily a part of the predicate constituent. NVPs normally require absolutive AM inflection to form predicates; yet in the two conjoined clauses in (10) the absolutive AM of the second conjunct has been gapped. The absolutive AM takes scope over both predicates, suggesting that the inflectional absolutive AM is most likely located in Infl, not S:

- | | |
|------|--|
| (10) | [[[in] _{Infl} [[chaaku-n-el in] _S chi'l [tiko-n-el in] _S] _S] _{I'}] _{IP} |
| | 1SABS work-AP-NOML 1SPRO CONJ 1SABS farm-AP-NOML 1SPRO |
| | 'I am a worker and (I am) a farmer.' |

The non-attributive adjective *nim* 'big' in (11) is negated, an example, I argue, of sentential negation. An AdvP (*ojeer*) can be used between the negated adjective and its subject. Because the AdvP adjoins to S the subject NP (*wochoch*) remains *in situ* in S, but the negated adjective, which I suggest is predicative, base-generates in Infl (15d):

- | | |
|------|---|
| (11) | [[[ma nim ta] _{Infl} [[ojeer] _{AdvP} [[w-ochoch] _{NP}] _S] _S] _{I'}] _{IP} |
| | NEG big IRR past 1SPOSS-house |
| | 'My house was not large in the past.' |

The left periphery: The AdvP *chanim* ‘now’ in (12) is situated to the left of the absolutive AM, which is in Infl (see 8–10). The DP *lee tijonelab*’ is to the left of the AdvP and is thus, I argue, an external topic. This proposal garners support in (5) where the topic *rii in* ‘me’ binds the possessor of the predicate nominal *-achi*’l. Internal topics can only bind core GFs (Aissen 1992), not possessors. Therefore I propose, contra Aissen (1999), that the NVP topic is exclusively external, which means that internal topics do not occur in K’ichee’ NVPs (15a, b):

- (12) Lee tijo-n-el-ab’ chanim ee k’oo pa w-ochoch
 DET teach-AP-NOML-PL now 3PLABS existing PREP 1SPOSS-house
 ‘The teachers are at my place right now.’

F-structures (i) Nominal/Adjectival predicates: Adjectival predicates are zero copula. They can never be directly modified (4), and thus, are not phrasal. In addition, many attributive adjectives require an attributive inflectional suffix (6), and so lexically differentiate from predicative adjectives. Adjectival NVPs can therefore select for a subject, and so the single-tier analysis is indicated (15d). Nominal predicates, on the other hand, occur in more varied and complex situations. Although zero copula as well, nominal predicates are clearly phrasal in that they are directly modifiable by an attributive adjective (6). Also, non-subject [+def] nominals require the insertion of the 3rd person independent pronoun *are*’laree (Larsen 1988:145–6, 415). The pronominal *are*’, I argue, acts as a ‘dummy’ predicate, heads its own nominal predicate in SpecIP, and selects for the [+def] nominal as its subject (13). The main NVP’s subject (*ri numaak*) is located under S. The result is a nominal predicate embedded in a NVP. The pronominal *are*’ cannot itself act as a functional co-head, which would be required for a single-tier analysis, because the resulting f-structure would include an unacceptable [+def] predicate nominal (15c). Therefore, a double-tier analysis is indicated for all nominal NVPs:

- (13) [[*(aree) ri elaq’anik]_{Spec} [[ojeer]_{AdvP} [[ri nu-maak]_{DP}]_S]_{I’}]_{IP}
 3SPRO DET stealing past DET 1SPOSS-sin
 ‘It was stealing that was my sin in the past/My sin in the past was stealing.’

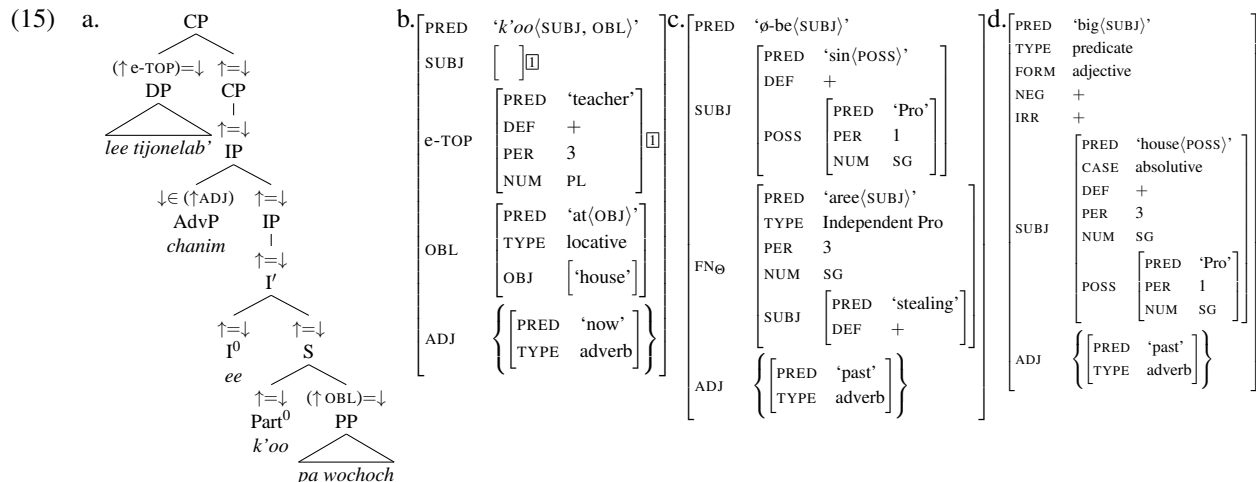
(ii) Stative positional NVPs: The non-verbal copula *k’oolik* is a bare, unmodifiable adjectival participle, just like the predicate adjective, and similarly, selects for a subject. The single-tier analysis is therefore recommended (15b).

Butt et al.’s (1999) copula f-structure subcategorizes for two GFs, SUBJ and PREDLINK, and thus represents a bivalent transitive construction. Because K’ichee’s NVPs host absolutive AMs, the NVPs are monovalent intransitives requiring SUBJ-only f-structure semantic forms. The PREDLINK argument is thus not appropriate for K’ichee’.

Rather, I propose an intermediate argument–adjunct category called Function Theta (FN_Θ), which is not listed as a GF in f-structure’s semantic form but is listed as a thematic role in a-structure (15c). As a GF that is thematically-selected for but is *not* syntactically-selected for, FN_Θ identifies a previously unrecognized grammatical space that occurs in a two-feature, four way binary feature array: arguments [+syntactic, +thematic]; non-arguments [–syntactic, –thematic]; expletive subjects/objects of raising verbs [+syntactic, –thematic]; and finally, FN_Θ [–syntactic, +thematic].

Dalrymple et al.’s (2004) PS annotation is ammended in (14) so as to apply to the K’ichee’ data discussed here:

- (14) S → DP Participle ∨ Adj ∨ ε S ∨ DP ∨ PP
 (↑ SUBJ)=↓ ↑=↓ (↑ PRED)=‘ø-be(SUBJ)’ (↑ FN_Θ)=↓ (↑ OBL)=↓



Bibliography: Aissen, Judith. 1992. Topic and Focus in Mayan. *Language* 68(1):48–80. * Aissen, Judith. 1999. External Possession and Logical Subject in Tz’utujil. In *External Possession*, eds. Immanuel Barshi and Doris Payne, pp.451–485. * Butt, Miriam et al. 1999. *A Grammar Writer’s Cookbook*. CSLI Pubs., Stanford Uni. * Dayley, Jon. 1985. *Tz’utujil Grammar*. Uni. of California Pubs. * Dalrymple, Mary et al. 2004. Copular Complements: Closed or Open? In *Proceedings of LFG04*. CSLI Pubs., Stanford Uni. * Larsen, Thomas L. 1988. Manifestations of Ergativity in Quiché Grammar. Ph. D dissertation. Uni. of California, Berkeley, Ca. * Mondloch, James Lorin. 1978. *Basic Quiche Grammar: 38 Lessons*. IMS, SUNY at Albany. Albany, NY * Mondloch, James Lorin. 1981. Voice in Quiché-Maya. Ph. D dissertation. SUNY at Albany. Albany, NY.