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THE GENESIS OF AUXILIARIES IN YUCATEC MAYA

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1. THE GRAMMAR OF AUXILIARIES IN YUCATEC MAYA

Yucatec Maya (YM) has two paradigms of person cross-reference morphemes. One, the subject clitics, refers to the only actant of an intransitive verbal clause in tense/aspect/mood categories other than past or subjunctive, and to the actor of a transitive verbal clause. The other, the absolutive suffixes, cross-references the only actant of the intransitive clause in the past and subjunctive and the undergoer of a transitive verb. Apart from this, the subject clitics are also possessor clitics in NPs (cf. E4 and E5.a), and the absolutive suffixes also refer to the only actant of a nominal clause.

The finite verb has the morphological structure of S1.

S1. [verb_stem -TAM -absolutive]

The verbal complex has the structure of S2, illustrated in E1.

S2. [subject_clitic (adv) finite_verb]

E1. káa a bis-o'b

that SBJ.2 carry-ABS.3.PL `that you carry them'

The core of a verbal clause has the structure in S3.

S3. [verbal_complex (NP_{abs} NP_{ind.obj} NP_{subj}) (adjuncts)]

There is a paradigm of aspect auxiliaries, among them the ones enumerated in

T1. Each auxiliary selects a specific tense/aspect/mood category in the finite verb.

T1. *Yucatec Maya aspect auxiliaries*

category \ structure	form	TAM suffix
past	intr.: h tr.: t-	completive
imperfective	k-	non-completive
progressive	táan	"
terminative	ts'o'k	"
definite future	he'l	"
simple future	bín-	subjunctive
remote past	úuch	"

A full verbal clause is a verbal clause core preceded by an aspect auxiliary, as in S4 and E2.

S4. [asp.aux core]

E2. ts'o'k u y-il-ik-en

TERM SBJ.3 0-see-TR.INCPL-ABS.1.SG 'he has seen me'

The auxiliaries differ in their freedom. The terminative and definite future can occur independently, for instance in anaphora when answering a yes-no-question that contained them (like Engl. *have*). Thus, if E2 were a question, the answer could be *ts'o'kih* (with the pausa allomorph of absolutive third singular). The past tense and imperfective auxiliaries, on the other hand, only occur in concomitance with a clause core and need to join the following syllable, as the first morpheme in E6 below. If E2 were a question in the imperfective (with *k-* instead of *ts'o'k*), a positive answer would have to use an answer particle.

The auxiliaries are in a distribution class with modals such as *k'abéet* 'necessary', *tàak* 'anxious', as illustrated in E3 (cf. also E5.b below).

E3. k'abéet u y-il-ik-en

necessary SBJ.3 0-see-TR.INCPL-ABS.1.SG 'he must see me'

Given their syntactic properties, the clause-initial tense/aspect morphemes can indeed be regarded as auxiliaries. However, as the examples show, full verbs inflect for person and number, while the auxiliaries do not. Moreover, YM has a few non-finite verb forms, among them a resultative participle. However, no auxiliary combines with them. All the auxiliaries combine with finite verb forms. There is no infinitive in YM.

In cross-linguistic comparison, these properties of the auxiliary are rather unusual. Very generally, if a language has person or number inflection on the verb, then it has it on the auxiliary. There are, in fact, several languages such as Walbiri where only the auxiliary, not the full verb inflects for such "verbal" categories. The very notion of auxiliary seems to be falsified by the YM facts, since the function of an auxiliary is to serve as the carrier of verbal categories.

As a last prerequisite to a proper understanding of these facts, we have to take a look at complement constructions. The NP_{abs} of S3 may be represented by a clause core, which yields S5.

S5. [asp.aux core [core]]

E1 illustrates a complement clause; E4 shows a full construction.

E4. in k'àat káa tàal-ak-ech

POSS.1.SG wish [CONJ come-SUBJ-ABS.2.SG] 'I want you to come'

A complement clause is introduced by a conjunction under conditions which are of no interest here. However, it has no auxiliary of its own.

2. GRAMMATICALIZATION OF AUXILIARIES IN YUCATEC MAYA

Most of the auxiliaries in T1 originate by grammaticalization of full verbs. Thus, the terminative is grammaticalized from *ts'o'k* 'finish', the future from *bin* 'go' and the remote past from *úuch* 'happen'. Others such as the progressive come from nouns, and there are yet other sources. The verbal descentance of auxiliaries is, of course, cross-linguistically wide-spread, so that the lack of inflection on the YM auxiliaries becomes even more striking.

Nevertheless, a dynamic perspective solves the puzzle. The construction of most auxiliaries known from other, especially European, languages involves a personal subject. In English, one says *you have to buy/bought it*, just as one says *you have a bird*. However, this is a type (and English is an extreme representative of it) that generally prefers personal over impersonal verbs. YM represents the opposite type. In E5.a, the existence verb figures instead of 'have', and the grammaticalized variant appearing in E5.b serves as a debitive modal.

E5. a. yàan a ch'íich'

EXIST POSS.2 bird 'you have a bird'

b. yàan a man-ik

DEB SBJ.2 buy-TR.INCPL 'you have to buy it'

All modal verbs such as 'can' or 'must' are impersonal ('be possible', 'be necessary'; cf. E3), and so are phasal verbs such as 'begin', 'continue' etc. Such verbs take a subject complement clause, as shown in E6.

E6. k-u hóop'-ol a koh-ik bèey-a'
 IMPF-SBJ.3 begin-ITR.INCPL [SBJ.2 push-TR.INCPL thus-D1]
 'you start stamping it like this' (NAH 163)

In such a construction, the main verb is in the third person singular and may have its own aspect. The complement clause itself has no aspect auxiliary; but the subordinate verb is in whatever finite form is appropriate.

The absolutive third person singular suffix is generally zero. Therefore, if the phasal or modal main verb is in the past, it will mostly be monomorphemic. The past auxiliary *h* itself is phonetically extremely weak. E7.a shows the relevant source construction with *ts'o'k* 'finish' as the governing phasal verb.

E7. a. h ts'o'k a meyah
 PAST [finish(ABS.3.SG) SBJ.2 work] 'you finished working'
 b. ts'o'k a meyah
 TERM SBJ.2 work 'you have worked'
 c. ts'-a meyah

If the construction gets grammaticalized, then the clause boundary of the subject complement clause disappears, so that the phasal verb forms a clause with the erstwhile subordinate verb. At the same time, it is reinterpreted as an aspect auxiliary, filling the slot 'asp_aux' in S4. Thereby the full verb becomes the main verb. The result is a non-inflecting auxiliary combining with a finite full verb. At this stage, exemplified in E7.b, the auxiliary is still a free form and, thus, in the subclass of T1 which may constitute a sentence.

The auxiliary may then be further reduced phonologically so that it needs to join the following syllable. It is then in a subclass with the past and imperfective auxiliaries. This last stage of the process is exemplified in E7.c.

This has been a highly productive grammaticalization channel for auxiliaries in YM for a long time. The synchronic paradigm of T1 is heterogeneous precisely because it unites forms that have entered it at different times and have advanced to different degrees on the scale sketched here. The dynamic perspective also makes us understand why YM auxiliaries do not inflect for person and number, but rather the full verb does.

3. TYPOLOGICAL OUTLOOK

A modal or aspectual (phasal) construction is semantically one in which a modal or aspectual predicate is an operator on the core predication. The latter may have its own participant structure. As a whole, it serves as an argument to the modal or aspectual predicate, whose second argument is the deictic center; but this will not manifest itself structurally. Therefore, if both predicates are expressed by verbs, they will generally not have different personal subjects. Consequently, the subject need not be marked twice in such constructions.

There are two opposite structural strategies to cope with this state of affairs. The personal strategy is to "raise" the subject of the core predication and make it the subject of the modal or aspectual predicate. The core verb will then be subjectless, which leads to integration of the two predications into one clause. The result is an infinitive construction. The infinitive appearing in languages with personal modals/auxiliaries expresses the fact that the subject is taken over from some controlling construction. It is typical of languages that favor personal over impersonal constructions, and it leads to additional subject-prominence.

The impersonal strategy leaves the core predication intact. The modal or aspectual predicate remains an outer operator without a personal argument of its own. It is therefore constructed impersonally. This is grammatically third person singular. So far, the two verbs have distinct subjects, which impedes clause integration.

However, as the person of the operator verb never varies, always being the unmarked one, the conditions for loss of person marking - and, indeed, of verbality - are fulfilled. At this point, the modal/aspectual predicate may become an auxiliary and, thus, a constituent of the core predication. This typically happens in languages that favor impersonal over personal constructions.

In the impersonal strategy, there is no subject control. The essential motivation for an infinitive therefore falls away. This leads to the following universal hypothesis: if the modals/auxiliaries of a language do not inflect for person, then it does not have an infinitive. The antecedent of this implication is not intended to cover languages with some modals/auxiliaries which do and others which do not inflect for person, such as Russian. And naturally, the implication does not invert. There are quite a few languages, like the Balkan languages, that lack an infinitive even though their modals and auxiliaries are personal.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABS	absolute
CONJ	conjunction
D1	first person deictic
DEB	debitive
EXIST	existence verb
IMPF	imperfective
INCPL	incompletive
ITR	intransitive
PAST	past
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
SBJ	subject
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TERM	terminative
TR	transitive