Hypothesis A/Hypothesis B

Linguistic Explorations in Honor of David M. Perlmutter

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1 Depictives and Serialization in Tzotzil

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1.1 Serial Directionals

Within the class of serial-verb constructions is a subtype that Schiller (1990) terms *serialized directionals*. Serialized directionals involve a transitive verb that denotes direct contact between an external and internal argument and an intransitive verb of directed motion that applies to the internal argument (i.e., there is "sharing" of the internal argument in serialized directionals). Examples from three unrelated languages are shown in (1):

(1) a. Em i karim diwai i kam.   Tok Pisin
      he   carry wood come
      'He brought the wood.' (Foley and Olson 1985, 48)

    b. Koat yɔɔk mhoup nɔɔk phteah.   Khmer
      PRO take food   come house
      'He brought the food home.' (Schiller 1990, 44)

    c. Kɔkú sɔ̀   àsɔ́ yì àxì.   Fon
      Koku take crab go market
      'Koku take a crab to the market.' (Lefebvre 1991, 39)

These examples meet the criteria for serial-verb constructions (SVCs) (see especially Aikhenvald 2006). Each contains two verbs, either of which could function independently as the predicate of its own clause, and depicts what is conceived as a single event. The overall argument structure corresponds to that of a single clause (one internal and one external argument), and features of tense, aspect, polarity, and modality have a single value.

Examples like (1a–c) raise the question of how to accommodate two verbal predicates within a single clause. Developments in the conception of phrase structure within the principles-and-parameters model and the Minimalist Program provide a way of thinking about the structure of serialized directionals (and serialized causatives, more generally) that assigns them structures that are very like those of simple transitive clauses. In current theorizing, even simple transitives involve two verbal
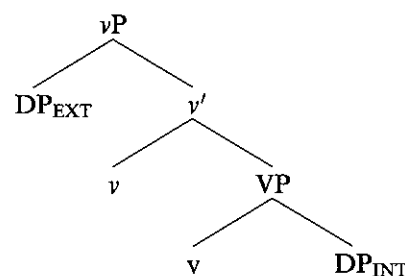
Figure 1.1

heads, a higher one (v = "little v") and a lower one (V). Each head introduces one nominal argument into the clause. In this structure, v is an abstract head associated with causation. It introduces the external argument (DP_{EXT}), the initiator of the causative event, in its specifier position, and an internal argument (VP) in its complement position. The VP complement denotes the caused event and introduces the internal argument, DP_{INT}. In simple transitives, the usual assumption is that V raises to v, yielding a single surface verb. In independent clauses, vP is dominated by further functional projections associated with the categories of tense, polarity, and modality.

As Lefebvre (1991) observes, the clausal architecture in figure 1.1 provides the basis for an analysis of serial causatives if we accept one assumption, namely, that both verbal heads may be overtly instantiated by lexical material (see also McIntyre 2004). If this is granted, then the analysis accommodates in a simple way the fact that SVCs involve two verbal predicates within a single clause.

Serialized directional constructions are fairly widely attested in the world's languages, and have been documented especially in Niger-Congo languages (Fon, Ijo, Yoruba), in Austro-Asiatic (Khmer, Thai), and in a number of creoles, both English- and French-based (Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea; Sranan, Saramaccan, and Haitian Creole in the Caribbean).

Although Mayan languages are not generally serializing, some dialects of Tzotzil have a construction (2a,b) that closely resembles directional serialization.[1]

(2) a. S-kuch-oj   la bat taj antz   ta xch'en   une. OCK 401[2]
       A3-carry-PF CL go DET woman to his.cave ENCS
       'That woman was carried off to his cave.'
    b. Ja'=te s-lap-oj   la lok' ti   tzekil une. OCK 49
       then   A3-wear-PF CL exit DET skirt ENC
       'He left wearing the skirt.'

This construction displays most of the features associated with directional serialization in other languages: two lexical predicates in a single clause (e.g., *xkuchoj* and *bat*

in (2a)), either of which could function independently as the primary predicate of a simple clause. The first is a transitive verb of direct contact; the second is an intransitive verb of directed motion, with the expected sharing of the internal argument. The construction allows only a single value for aspect, mood, and polarity, there is no clause boundary between the two predicates, and it depicts what is conceived as a single event.

At the same time, the Tzotzil construction has properties that are unexpected under figure 1.1. Under that structure, Aspect would command both verbal projections and would be expected to surface on the higher (first) verb, henceforth *v1*. However, in fact, it is the lower (second) verb (*v2*) that carries aspect marking for the entire clause. v1 is identical to the transitive perfect (formed with the suffix *-oj*). In this construction, however, v1 is not interpreted as a perfect. Rather, the aspect of v2 extends over the entire clause, suggesting that v1 is dependent or nonfinite. Under most definitions, dependent status of either verb would exclude the construction from the class of SVCs.

As we will see, the particular properties of the Tzotzil construction suggest a syntactic analysis in terms of depictive secondary predication. Secondary predication has in common with serialization the presence of multiple predicates within a single clause, and thereby provides another way to package a complex event involving caused and accompanied motion within the confines of single clause. I return to the depictive analysis in section 1.5.1, but will refer to the construction exemplifed by (2a,b) as a *causative of directed motion (CDM)*, a term that implies no particular syntactic analysis.

1.2 Tzotzil

1.2.1 Surface Features
Typological features of Tzotzil relevant here include the fact that it is a verb-initial language, has head marking, and is morphologically ergative.

In pragmatically unmarked contexts, both subject and object occur postverbally in Tzotzil, with fronting operations always associated with some pragmatic or semantic force (Aissen 1992). Although transitive clauses with two overt postverbal arguments are infrequent, the unmarked order is VOS, as in the text examples (3a,b).

(3) a. I-s-pet   lok'-el   antz   ti   t'ul-e. OCK 47
       CP-A3-hug exit-DIR woman DET rabbit-ENC
       'The rabbit carried the woman out.'
    b. I-s-k'opon   pale ti   vinik-e. OCK 80
       CP-A3-address priest DET man-ENC
       'The man spoke to the priest.'

Tzotzil has an ergative agreement system, with one set of markers indexing subjects of transitive clauses, and a distinct set indexing subjects of intransitives and objects of transitives. The two sets, called Set A and Set B by Mayanists, correspond then to ergative and absolutive markers. While the transitive subject in (4a) is indexed by A3 (*s-*), the intransitive subject in (4b) is indexed by B1 (*-i-*). The same prefix indexes the object in (4a). There is no overt index for third-person absolutives—that is, no overt B3 marker. I assume that none exists, and that it is the absence of any Set B marker that indicates that the absolutive is third person (4c).

(4) a. Ch-i-s-maj.
      ICP-B1-A3-hit
      'She/he hits me.'
    b. Ch-i-bat.
      ICP-B1-go
      'I'm going.'
    c. Ch-bat.
      ICP-go
      'She/he/it's going'

The verbs of (3a,b) are in completive aspect, while those of (4a–c) are incompletive. Incompletive aspect (= *imperfective*) can be interpreted as habitual or as denoting a durative event set in the past, present, or future. Completive aspect (= *perfective*) denotes a bounded event, usually set in the past.

There are also several stative forms of the verb, derived by suffixes that index the transitivity status of the stem. Transitive statives, which are relevant to the discussion of CDM, are formed with the suffix *-oj* and may function as primary predicate expressing *perfect aspect*:

(5) S-kuch-oj-on.
    A3-carry-PF-B1SG
    'She/he has carried me.'

1.2.2 Phrase Structure

In line with the earlier discussion, I assume that transitive clauses in Tzotzil have the structure shown in figure 1.2, but with a right-hand specifier for *v*P, thereby deriving VOS order directly, and not by movement.[3] V raises to v_{TRANS} in the course of the derivation, yielding a single surface verb. Unergative intransitives have the same structure, but with a distinct functional verb $v_{INTRANS}$ and without an internal argument. In unaccusative intransitives, I assume that VP is immediately dominated by AspP, though nothing crucial hinges on this.

Two assumptions about Case licensing are relevant to what follows. The first is that v_{TRANS} licenses (abstract) Ergative case on the external argument that it intro-
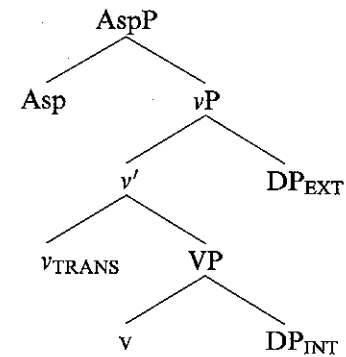
Figure 1.2

duces (reflected by Set A agreement). The other is that the $v_{INTRANS}$ differs sharply from v_{TRANS} in having no Case-licensing capacity. Instead subjects of intransitive clauses are, I assume, Case-licensed as Nominative by the closest c-commanding Aspect (reflected in Tzotzil by Set B).[4]

1.3 Tzotzil "Causative of Directed Motion"

The Tzotzil CDM shares many of the core properties of directional serialization in other languages. Semantically, it expresses directed motion that is the direct result of an atelic activity. Examples (2a,b) denote complex events involving atelic activities (carrying, wearing) that cause movement along a path (going, leaving). While each example denotes a complex event, the two components of meaning that compose it are cleanly partitioned between the two predicates, with the atelic activity denoted by the transitive participle v1 (*skuchoj, slapoj*), and the resulting movement by the finite v2 (*bat, lok'*). The CDM in Tzotzil is restricted further to complex events in which *both* agent and patient travel along the directed path. When a man carries a woman off (to some place), as in (2a), both the man and the woman move away from the deictic point of reference. Likewise, if a man wears a skirt out of some place, both the man and the skirt leave that place.

These restrictions determine the range of verbs in the Tzotzil CDM. The first verb, v1, is limited to atelic activity verbs of the type Levin (1993) calls "causation of accompanied motion." Verbs attested in corpus material include *kuch* 'carry', *lap* 'wear', *net'* 'push', *ik'* 'take', *ich* 'take', *mak* 'drive', and *kil* 'drag'. As in English, these verbs "do not lexicalize a particular direction of motion. Instead they differ from each other in meaning with respect to the manner/means of motion" (Levin 1993, 136). In English, the direction of motion must be overtly specified in a prepositional phrase (p. 136), but in the Tzotzil CDM, direction is specified by a (closed) set

of intransitive verbs of motion that function as v2. This set is larger than that of serialized directionals of most other languages. In addition to *go* and *come*, attested verbs include *arrive, return, exit,* and *enter,* as well as the absence-of-motion verb, *remain.*[5] Together, the atelic activity verb plus the verb of motion yield meanings like *carry x in (carry x, x enter)*, and *chase x away (chase x, x go)*. See the further examples in (6).[6]

(6) a. S-kuch-oj   i-'och   ti   stem   une. OCK 85
        A3-carry-PF CP-enter DET his.bed ENCS
        'His bed was carried in by him.'

    b. S-net'-oj   i-bat   ta=j-mek. OCK 117
        A3-chase-PF CP-go very.much
        'He was chased a long way.'

1.4 A Proposal for the "Causative of Directed Motion"

The proposal for Tzotzil CDM is shown in figure 1.3. The structure in figure 1.3 involves two layers of verbal projection, an inner projection (VP) headed by the intransitive verb of motion *lok'* 'exited, left' and an outer projection (*v*P_TRANS), which hosts the transitive participle *slapoj* 'wearing'. What is peculiar in this structure is that the two verbal projections are separated by Aspect. Hence, though the heads that make up this structure (V, Asp, *v*_TRANS) are exactly those associated with basic transitive clauses in Tzotzil (as well as serialized directionals, under some conceptions), they are composed in an order that is quite different. In figure 1.3, the func-
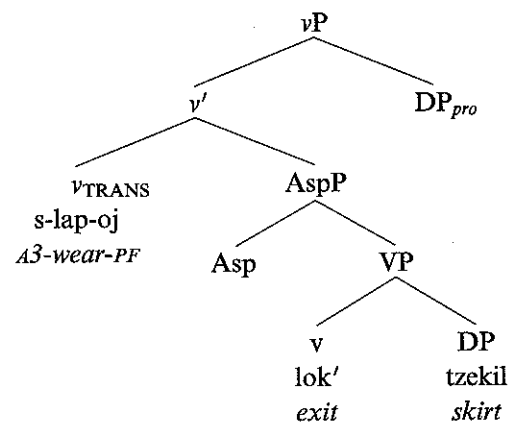
'he wore the skirt out (of the house)'

Figure 1.3

tional *v* head that introduces the external argument commands a constituent (AspP) that itself constitutes a complete, finite intransitive clause. I suggest in section 1.5.1 that figure 1.3 reflects the syntactic composition involved in depictive secondary predication.

The following sections show how the structure in figure 1.3 accounts for the order of elements in the CDM (section 1.4.1), agreement, and the related issue of Case (sections 1.4.2 and 1.4.3). Evidence that it is the internal argument that is shared between the two predicates is presented in section 1.4.2, and section 1.4.4 discusses how that sharing is expressed in the analysis represented by figure 1.3.

1.4.1 Word Order
The structure in figure 1.3 positions the external argument in a right-hand specifier, where it would follow the internal argument. This is the normal position for the external argument, because Tzotzil is a VOS language. I have only one text example of the CDM in which both arguments are overt; the order is as predicted.

                  v1   v2   O   S
(7) Ja' te s-lap-oj   [i-kom tzekil] li   vinik-e. OCK 49
        then A3-wear-PF CP-stay skirt   DET man-ENC
        'The man was left wearing the skirt [sic].'

This is also the standard order in elicitation contexts.

1.4.2 The Inner Clause
Figure 1.3 posits what amounts to a full, finite intransitive clause, embedded beneath the projection of *v*_TRANS. Under this structure, the internal argument should be theta-marked by the intransitive verb, and Case-licensed within AspP.

A key claim of figure 1.3 is that the inner verb introduces the internal argument of the entire clause—that is, that in (2a) the argument introduced by *bat* 'go' is *taj antz* 'that woman', and likewise that in (2b) the argument introduced by *lok'* 'exit' is *ti tzekile* 'the skirt'. Showing this is a little tricky. Since the construction always denotes 'accompanied motion', it follows that in situations described by the CDM, the participants corresponding to both the internal and the external argument travel along the path denoted by the verb of directed motion. If a man wears a skirt out of the house, then both the man and the skirt leave the house. Thus, in *the man wore the skirt out of the house* and *the man left the house, wearing the skirt* have truth conditions that are hard to distinguish (see the translation of (2b) and note 2).

However, with certain verbs of motion, it is possible to tease apart this issue. The most useful verb for this purpose is *sut* 'return'. Like English *return, sut* is associated not only with the assertion that an entity arrives at a particular location, but also with a presupposition that the same entity was at that location earlier. In the intransitive,

I returned to my father's house, it is understood that I arrived at my father's house, and also that I had been there at some point in the past. Both the assertion and the presupposition are associated with the subject, the only argument of intransitive *return*. In the transitive *we returned the girl to her father's house*, both we and the girl most likely arrived at her father's house, but the presupposition applies only to the girl: we need never have been at the father's house in order to return the girl there, but she must have been there earlier. This suggests a way to show that the inner verb of motion licenses the internal argument of the clause.

Consider (8), bracketed per the analysis in figure 1.3:[7]

    v1   v2
(8) [S-kuch-oj   [i-sut   s-nuti'] ti   vinik-e]
    A3-carry-PF CP-return A3-bag DET man-ENC
    'The man carried his bag back.'

With this bracketing, the presupposition associated with *return* should apply to the bag. It must have been at the (implicit) location earlier. Consider a scenario then in which a man goes to the market, buys a bag there, and carries it home. Since it is highly unlikely that the bag was ever at the man's house before he bought it, (8) should be inappropriate (in this context). In fact, speakers are quite secure in judging that (8) does not describe this scenario. Example (8) would be appropriate, though, in a scenario in which a man brings a bag of fruit to his girlfriend's house as an offering to her parents—as is traditionally required when a man asks permission to marry a woman—but is rejected. He then returns home carrying the bag. In this case, the presupposition that the bag was at the man's house before being carried home is quite plausible.

Furthermore, if in this construction, the internal argument is introduced into the structure by the inner verb v2, then v2 should be limited to unaccusatives, since only an unaccusative intransitive introduces an internal argument into the clause. We have already seen that the inner verb is restricted in the corpus to intransitive verbs of motion. As in many other languages, these are unaccusative in Tzotzil.[8]

In fact, although they do not occur in the corpus material, it is possible to elicit other (noncanonical, i.e., nonmotion) verbs in the position of the inner verb:[9]

(9)   v1   v2   DP DP
   a. S-kuch-oj   [i-vok'   p'in] ti   antz-e.
      A3-carry-PF CP-break pot   DET woman-ENC
      'The pot broke, while the woman was carrying it.'
      v1   v2   DP
   b. S-kuch-oj   [i-cham yol]   *pro*].
      A3-carry-PF CP-die her.child
      'Her child died, while she [the mother] carried him.'

In both (9a,b), v2 is unaccusative; other verbs elicited in this context include intransitive change-of-state verbs like *k'as* 'break', *k'unib* 'soften', *jat* 'tear'. Interestingly, both (9a,b) lack the causative meaning present in canonical instances of the CDM: (9a) does not imply that the woman broke the pot, nor does (9b) imply that the woman killed the child, or even that her carrying the child killed him. They imply only temporal overlap, as suggested by the translations. I take this to mean that the structure in figure 1.3 does not encode causation per se, though it is canonically used in Tzotzil to express causation. This is important because it means we can ask whether unergatives can instantiate the inner verb. It turns out that they cannot. Example (10a), which is trying to mean 'they chased (the sheep), the sheep fled', is simply impossible apparently because *flee* is unergative, not unaccusative.

           v1   v2   DP
(10) a. *S-nutz'oj   [i-jatav chij].
        A3-chase-PF CP-flee sheep
        ('The sheep fled, while they were being chased.')
     b. *S-kuch-oj   [i-k'el-van   skrem].
        A3-carry-PF CP-watch-AP his.son
        ('His son was watching [people], while being carried (by his father).')
     c. *S-kuch-oj   [i-k'evujin].
        A3-carry-PF CP-sing
        ('He sang, while he was being carried.')

It appears then that the CDM contains exactly one external argument and one internal argument, with the internal argument introduced by the inner V.

Turning now to agreement, since the CDM includes a full, finite inner clause, its sole argument should be Case-licensed as Nominative, and indexed on the intransitive verb through Set B affixes. In most of the examples considered so far, the internal argument has been third person, yielding no audible agreement on the inner verb regardless of the person of the external argument (recall that there is no Set B third-person marker). In (11), for example, the inner verb cannot carry a Set B marker; audible agreement on v2 results in ungrammaticality (11b).

           v1   v2   DP
(11) a. J-kuch-oj   [i-bat j-nuti'].
        A1-carry-PF CP-go A1-bag
        'I carried my bag away (lit., *I-carried my bag-went*).'
           v1   v2   DP
     b. *J-kuch-oj   [I-i-bat   j-nuti'].
        A1-carry-PF CP-B1-go A1-bag

Key examples are ones in which the internal argument is first or second person; when it is, the inner verb should agree with it. This is correct—example (12), a text example, is particularly clear on this point:

(12) As I was standing there a man came up to me . . .

    v1   v2

    y-ik'-oj   [l-i-bat   *pro* ta sna] (Laughlin 1980, 38)

    A3-take-PF CP-B1-go 1SG to his.house

    'He took me to his house (lit., *he-took I-went to his house*).'

Agreement with the first-person internal argument is registered on v2, the finite verb. The example in (13) makes the same point.

    v1   v2

(13) S-net'-oj   ch-i-k'ot   batel. (Laughlin 1975, 251)

    A3-push-PF ICP-B1-arrive REP

    'I was pushed down again and again [sic].'

Evidence from agreement in (12, 13) also suggests that the internal argument is not a syntactic argument of the outer verb at any point, as per the structure in figure 1.3. If it were, it would presumably be indexed on the higher verb via Set B markers. However, examples (12) and (13) show that there is no Set B agreement on the higher verb (the forms with such agreement would be *y-ik'-oj-on* A3-TAKE-PF-B1SG and *s-net'-oj-on* A3-PUSH-PF-B1SG). The conclusion that v_{TRANS} plays no role in syntactically licensing the internal argument is consistent with the assumption that it is syntactically licensed in the inner clause.

1.4.3 Licensing the External Argument

Turning now to the external argument, like the external argument in any transitive clause, it requires Case licensing. Since v_{TRANS} prominently figures in the structure proposed in figure 1.3, that node should syntactically license the external argument. All evidence suggests that is correct. V1, the transitive participle, always bears Set A agreement in this construction, with its form varying according to the person of the external argument. The example in (12), for example, shows agreement with a third-person ergative (A3), while (11a) shows agreement with a first-person ergative (A1). The absence of Set A agreement on the transitive participles in (11a) or (12) would result in complete ungrammaticality.

1.4.4 Argument Sharing

Like serialized directionals, the CDM in Tzotzil involves argument sharing, for the internal argument of the overall clause is interpreted both as the sole argument of

the inner verb and as the internal argument of the outer verb. In the analysis developed up to this point, however, the internal argument is formally related only to the inner verb. It is semantically selected (theta-marked) by that verb and syntactically licensed in situ. The issue for this analysis, then, is how it accounts for the semantic relation of the internal argument to the higher verb.

I suggest that though the internal argument is neither syntactically licensed by the outer verb nor merged into the structure to satisfy its (semantic) selectional requirements, it identifies the internal argument of that verb. One way this could be achieved is through a relation like *Linking* (i.e., Predication), proposed by Winkler (1997) for depictive secondary predication. Linking establishes a connection between an unsaturated predicate and a DP merged earlier in the structure to satisfy the selectional requirements of a distinct predicate. As a result of Linking, the unsaturated position is filled.[10]

Some evidence for this comes from the morphosyntax of depictives in Tzotzil. Tzotzil lacks secondary predication of the resultative type, but has a highly productive system of depictive secondary predication. Depictives come from all nonfinite predicative categories in Tzotzil, and are rigidly fixed to the left of the primary predicate. The primary predicate may be transitive (14a) or intransitive (14b,c); statistically, depictives occur most frequently with intransitive verbs of motion (14c).

(14) a. Vayem(-on) l-i-y-ikta.

      asleep(-B1SG) CP-B1-A3-leave

      'She/he left me asleep.'

   b. Vinik(-ot) x-a-k'opoj.

      man(-B2SG) NT-B2-speak

      'You speak (like) a man.'

   c. Kil-bil   ch-bat ta nab. OCK 368

      drag-PSV.PRT ICP-go to river

      'He was dragged off to the river.'

I assume that depictives left-adjoin to AspP, accounting for their position immediately to the left of the inflected verb. Let us assume that Linking, as characterized above, is responsible for identifying the argument of the depictive. What is relevant here is that while the primary predicate in (14a–c) obligatorily agrees with its argument(s),[11] the depictive *may* agree with the argument to which it is linked, but need not (and usually does not). In other words, agreement under Linking is optional.

The same is true of the outer verb in the Tzotzil CDM, which may *optionally* agree with the internal argument.

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      v1              v2
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(15) a. S-kuch-oj (-on) l-i-bat   li   jmakbeetik-e.
        A3-carry-PF-B1SG CP-B1-go DET highwaymen-ENC
        'The highwaymen carried me away.'
     b. S-kuch-oj (-on) l-i-sut   tal li   viniketik-e.
        A3-carry-PF-B1SG CP-B1-return DIR DET men-ENC
        'The men carried me back here.'

If the relation between the internal argument and the higher verb in the CDM is one of Linking, then the patterns of (14) and (15) fall together. In this view, the two instances of Set B morphology in (15a,b) reflect two modes of agreement. Agreement on the inner verb is obligatory, and reflects syntactic (Case) licensing of the internal argument by Asp(ect); agreement on the outer verb is optional, and reflects a semantic relation (e.g., Linking) that holds between the outer verb and the internal argument.[12]

1.5   The Markedness of the Tzotzil CDM

The structure in figure 1.3 provides an account of some of the key formal properties of the Tzotzil CDM—in particular, its word order and the inflection of each verb. The success of this analysis depends on the idea that internal and external arguments are introduced into clauses by distinct heads and that the two heads may be separated by other heads (here, Aspect). Assuming this is correct, the low position of Aspect is, nonetheless, unusual and presumably marked.

That the CDM is indeed marked is suggested by the fact that (to my knowledge) no other Mayan language has such a structure. Even in Tzotzil, the CDM is not robust. While speakers of the dialect in Zinacantán are familiar with the construction and use it, it is unknown to at least some speakers of the neighboring Chamulan dialect. And even in Zinacantec Tzotzil, the CDM is never spontaneously volunteered and as soon as the syntax gets complex, speakers fall back on less marked constructions. In view of this, one must wonder how the CDM has arisen and what function it serves for speakers. I address these two questions in closing.

1.5.1   Serialization and Depictives
An explanation for why aspect is marked on the *inner* verb (v2) in the CDM—that is, for the arrangement of heads in figure 1.3—may be found in the syntax of depictive secondary predication (see section 1.4.4, including (14a–c)). The CDM resembles secondary depictive predication, and may be an instance or an extension of that construction.

Depictives are fixed to the immediate left of the primary (aspect-bearing) predicate, (16a,b). The transitive participle in the CDM occurs in the same position, (17).

(16) *Depictive secondary predication*
     a. Vay-em(-on)   l-i-y-ikta.
        sleep-PF(-B1SG) CP-B1-A3-leave
        'She/he left me asleep.'
     b. Vinik(-ot)   x-a-k'opoj.
        man(-B2SG) NT-B2-speak
        'You speak (like) a man.'

(17) *CDM*
     S-kuch-oj(-on) l-i-bat   li   jmakbeetik-e.
     A3-carry-PF-B1SG CP-B1-go DET highwaymen-ENC
     'The highwaymen carried me away.'

I assumed earlier that depictives are adjoined to AspP, and assume the same for v1 in the CDM.

In both constructions, there is argument sharing between the two predicates and the agreement patterns are the same. The aspect-bearing verb obligatorily agrees with the shared argument; the other predicate shows only optional agreement.

The simplest possibility is that the CDM simply *is* depictive secondary predication where the secondary predicate happens to be a (transitive) participle. This makes sense from a paradigmatic perspective since then *every* type of nonfinite predicate would be attested in depictive function. This approach faces a significant challenge, however, which is how a depictive, which is ordinarily a clausal adjunct, adjoined above AspP, comes to function as an integral part of the clausal spine, projecting its own structure (v', vP) higher (see figure 1.3).

One way to understand this might be in terms of argument saturation. While other (i.e., intransitive) depictives saturate their argument structure through Linking, transitive depictives do not. The internal argument is identified through Linking (section 1.4.4), but the external argument is left free. Hence, a transitive depictive remains unsaturated until its external argument is merged into the structure. It is the need, then, to saturate the depictive through merger of an external argument that motivates projection of v_{TRANS}, the head that introduces the external argument into the structure and Case-licenses it.

In this view, the CDM is a special case of depictive syntax in Tzotzil. However, it is the very properties that set it apart from canonical depictive syntax—in particular, the fact that it *augments* the valence of the clause—that align it closely with directional serialization (more generally, with causative serialization).

1.5.2 The Function of the CDM in Tzotzil

As noted earlier, speakers generally prefer a different construction for the expression of directed motion, one that involves a *directional* (see (3a) for an example). Directionals are based on the same class of intransitive verbs of motion that figure in the CDM. Derived by the suffix *-el*, they follow the main verb and often express notions translated by particles in English (e.g., *up, down, in, out, by, away*) (see Haviland 1991, 1993).[13]

Asked to translate from Spanish to Tzotzil, speakers will always offer a directional construction over the CDM, and whenever the syntax gets complex, speakers will revert to the directional construction, preferring it to the CDM. Since the CDM does occur, however, there must be conditions under which it is favored over the directional construction, though these conditions are difficult to replicate in an elicitation context.

Looking at a corpus containing twenty-six textual examples of the CDM, one feature that stands out is the high discourse prominence of the internal argument. It is striking that of the twenty-six textual examples, sixteen involve an *inanimate* internal argument that is highly salient. In six instances, it is a magical object (e.g., a magic ring, a magic staff); in two examples, it is a ritual object (e.g., a bed that must be carried around a house three times for curing purposes); and in eight more it is highly topical. That is, it plays an important role in the narrative and is mentioned repeatedly (e.g., a skirt, worn by a man).

The question then is why the CDM provides a suitable vehicle for presenting a highly salient internal argument. Here a proposal due to Winkler seems promising. Winkler (1997, 391) suggests that Linking (Predication), which is central to her analysis of depictives, is associated with topic status and with an "aboutness" interpretation. This seems exactly right for the internal argument in the CDM, and is reflected in the way that Laughlin (1977) translates many of the corpus examples of CDM clauses. A substantial number (about half) were translated as passives (see notes 2 and 6).

The status of the internal argument in the *directional construction* is quite different. Haviland (1991) shows that directionals associate a trajectory with an event, not an individual argument.[14] Hence, the internal argument does not enter into a predication relation, and the construction itself therefore carries no association with topicality for the internal argument.

1.6 Conclusion

Tzotzil CDMs are like simple transitive clauses in their argument structure, in the fact that they involve a single value for aspect and polarity, and in their depiction of a single, complex event. These parallels are due in part to the fact that the two struc-

tures involve the same inventory of heads, Asp, v, V. However, the principles that compose these heads are different. In canonical transitive clauses, general principles arrange these heads in the order $Asp > v > V$ ($>=$ c-command). But the principles of composition that operate in the CDM probably come instead from the domain of depictive secondary predication and result in the order $v > Asp > V$.

The serial character of clauses with transitive depictives arises from the fact that transitive depictives, but not intransitive ones, augment the valence of the clause. This yields a tighter link between the two predicates and is probably responsible for the fact that the construction is, to some degree, grammaticized. Transitive depictives are found only with unaccusative intransitive verbs of motion, and are themselves drawn only from verbs of direct contact. The result is that clauses with transitive depictives are restricted to expressing caused and accompanied motion, thereby largely coinciding with the domain of serialized directionals in other languages. It is an interesting question why transitive depictives in Tzotzil are restricted in this particular way. The answer is perhaps related to the idea that scenes involving *directly caused motion*—exactly as in the Tzotzil CDM—are basic or prototypical (Slobin 1985), hence are more likely to be expressed by a "construction" than less prototypical scenes. As Goldberg (1995, 42) notes, "Events encoded by constructions are in some sense basic to human experience."

Notes

1. Abbreviations used in glosses include A1,3 = Set A 1st, 3rd person; AP = antipassive; B1,2 = Set B 1st, 2nd person; CL = clitic; CP = completive; DET = determiner; DIR = directional; ENC(s) = enclitic(s); EXT = external; ICP = incompletive; INT = internal; INTRANS = intransitive; NT = neutral aspect; OCK = Laughlin 1977; PF = perfect; PRO = pronoun; PSV.PRT = passive participle; REP = repetitive; SG = singular; TRANS = transitive.

2. Both (2a) and (2b) are from Laughlin 1977, a text collection cited here as OCK. I have retained Laughlin's translations. On the passive translation of (2a), see section 1.5.2; on the translation of (2b), see the discussion in section 1.4.2.

3. Chung (2006) discusses some of the problems facing a movement analysis of VOS in Tzotzil.

4. I assume that the internal argument in a transitive clause—which is also indexed via Set B markers—is likewise nominative.

5. These verbs belong to a closed set of about twelve intransitive verbs of motion that figure in several distinctive constructions (Haviland 1991, 1993). Members of the set that are not attested in serial function in corpus material can be elicited. It appears then that all members are possible in the CDM.

6. Note that Laughlin 1977 translates both (6a,b) by English passives. See section 1.5.2.

7. Tzotzil examples with no source indicated are from my own fieldnotes.

8. For example, each verb of directed motion derives a morphological causative. These verbs also function like unaccusatives with respect to phenomena that distinguish unaccusatives and unergatives—for instance, the possibility of extracting the possessor from the subject (Aissen 1996).

9. Whether one would want to say these examples are grammatical is not clear to me. However, the speakers I consulted were able and willing to work with these examples and say what they meant. Crucially, they sharply distinguished examples like those in (9) from those in (10).

10. Alternatively, the internal argument of the outer verb might be identified through pragmatic inference (McIntyre 2004).

11. But recall that there is no visible agreement morphology in the case of third-person Nominative/Absolutive.

12. Various issues remain to be addressed here if Linking is a viable solution. One is that the locality condition that Winkler imposes on Linking (mutual m-command) is not satisfied in the structure I am assuming (figure 1.3). I leave open here the appropriate locality condition for Linking in Tzotzil depictives and the CDM.

13. I do not consider verb + directional, as in (3), to be an instance of serialization because the directional generally cannot function independently as a predicate. Further, the directional need not take an individual as its argument, but may be construed as applying to the event denoted by the main verb (for discussion, see Haviland 1991, 1993).

14. Thanks to John Haviland for discussion of this point.

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