

I Summary. Many Mayan languages display split ergativity: ergative-absolutive (ERG-ABS) alignment arises in some environments, whereas nominative-accusative (NOM-ACC) alignment arises in others. Most splits are aspect-based, with the exception of Mocho', whose split is person-based (Larsen and Norman 1979). The STANDARD ANALYSIS treats splits as *epiphenomenal* (Zavala 2017): aspect-based splits result from an aspectual predicate selecting an embedded possessed nominalization whose person marker invariably co-indexes the possessor. Such an analysis derives splits via independently available grammatical means and no specific machinery is needed to explain (apparent) alternations in alignment (Coon and Preminger 2017)—e.g., it derives a split found in all dialects of Chuj (see IV below). Here, we show that the San Sebastián Coatán (SSC) dialect of Chuj, however, displays an additional split that is conditioned by aspect *and* person. We argue that this unique pattern within Mayan cannot be derived via the STANDARD ANALYSIS. We propose that an aspectual head bearing two probes relativized to [PART:_] underlies the split, which is thus not epiphenomenal. We correctly predict that the split is observed across all clauses regardless of voice.

II Background. SSC is head-marking, with (primarily) ERG-ABS alignment, indicated via bold. Consider data in the perfective aspect; following Mayanists, we gloss agreement markers as Set A or Set B. Focusing on 1PL, note that Set A co-indexes transitive subjects (the A argument; Dixon 1994); Set A also co-indexes possessors (i.e., *genitive*). In contrast, Set B co-indexes intransitive subjects (S) and objects (O).

- (1) a. X-Ø-k-il-a'.
PFV-B3-A1PL-see-TV
'We saw him/her.' A= A1PL
- b. X-onh-ok'-i.
PFV-B1PL-cry-IV
'We cried.' S= B1PL
- c. X-onh-h-il-a'.
PFV-B1PL-A2SG-see-TV
'You saw us.' O= B1PL
- (2) *SSC Set A and Set B morphemes*
- | | Set A | | Set B |
|-----|--------|------|--------|
| | C | V | |
| 1SG | (h)in- | w- | (h)in |
| 2SG | (h)a- | h- | (h)ach |
| 3SG | s- | y- | Ø |
| 1PL | ki- | k- | (h)onh |
| 2PL | (h)e- | hey- | (h)ex |
| 3PL | s- | y- | Ø |

III A unique person+aspect-based split. In SSC, there is a person-governed split only in the prospective aspect. 1/2nd persons (henceforth *participants*; PART) follow a [NOM-ACC] alignment pattern (indicated with boxes): participant A and S arguments are co-indexed via Set A markers on the predicate, whereas the O argument is co-indexed via Set B. In other words, the O argument is singled out; compare (3)a-c with (1)a-c.

- (3) a. ?oj-Ø-[k]-il-a'.
PROSP-B3-A1PL-see-TV
'We will see him/her.' A= A1PL
- b. ?oj-[k]-ok'-i.
PROSP-A1PL-cry-IV
'We will cry.' S= A1PL
- c. ?oj-[onh]-y-il-a'.
PROSP-B1PL-A3-see-TV
'He/she will see us.' O= B1PL
- (4) a. ?oj-[w]-ok'-i.
PROSP-A1SG-cry-IV
'I will cry.'
- b. ?oj-[h]-ok'-i.
PROSP-A2SG-cry-IV
'You will cry.'
- c. ?oj-Ø-ok'-ok.
PROSP-B3-cry-IRR
'She/he will cry.'

In contrast, 3rd persons follow ERG-ABS alignment; see bolded morphemes in (3)-(4). The A argument is co-indexed with Set A in (3)c, but the O and S are co-indexed with Set B in (3)a/(4)c. Since this person-based split is exclusive to one aspect (prospective), it is distinct from Mocho's *overarching* person-based split. To our knowledge, no other such *person+aspect*-based split has been documented for a Mayan language.

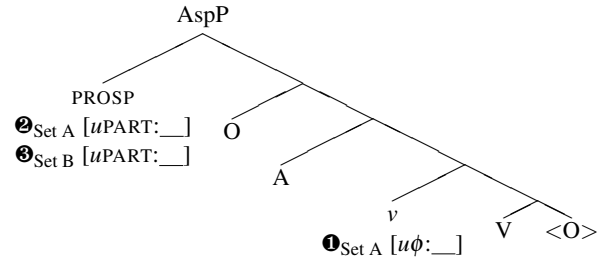
IV The STANDARD ANALYSIS: splits are epiphenomenal. A corner of SSC's grammar supports the idea that some aspect-based splits are epiphenomenal (Coon 2013). SSC, like other Chuj varieties, has a split in the *progressive* that is independent of person: S is co-indexed with Set A (5), which also co-indexes the A argument (data omitted). What is crucial is that the progressive marker behaves like a *nonverbal predicate* (NVP) selecting a nominalization, as diagnosed via negation: NEG is exponed in the progressive as it is with NVPs (*manh* PRED-ok; (6)), but it is exponed differently with *verbal* predicates—e.g., in the prospective (7):

- (5) Wan [w-] / [h-] / [y-] ok'-i. (6) Manh wan-ok [ki]-b'ey-i. (7) Ma ?oj-[ki]-b'ey-i.
 PROG A1SG-/A2SG-/A3-cry-IV NEG PROG-IRR A1PL-walk-IV NEG PROSP-A1PL-walk-IV
 'I am / You are / She is crying.' 'We are not walking.' 'We will not walk.'

The STANDARD ANALYSIS (see Coon and Carolan 2017 for S. Mateo Ixtatán Chuj) holds that patterns akin to (5)-(6) result from a complex structure: a progressive *NVP* embeds a possessed nominalization; i.e., (5) would translate as 'My/Your/Her crying is happening'. Set A in (5) is thus *genitive* (which is syncretic with *ergative*), and the possessor being co-indexed with Set A derives the NOM-ACC pattern, and thus the "split".

V First takeaway: splits can't always be epiphenomenal. The STANDARD ANALYSIS explains the SSC progressive split (5), but it cannot be extended to derive the *person+aspect*-split found in the prospective (3)-(4). Such an extension would require an unwarranted stipulation regarding ?oj-: that it be a predicate when S is 1st or 2nd person, but an aspect marker when S is 3rd person. Crucially, since stems bearing ?oj- are negated like verbs (7), there exists compelling evidence against analyzing ?oj- as an embedding NVP.

VI Analysis. We propose an analysis that derives these two core facts: (i) the person-based split is specific to prospective aspect (see III) and (ii) it cannot be the result of nominalization (see V). We thus invoke probe relativization (Béjar 2003, *et seq.*) and make three assumptions (exemplified in the tree below) building on previous work. First, SSC is a high-absolutive language, meaning that transitive Os raise above As (see Coon et al. 2014). Second, there is a Set A-assigning probe on transitive *v* that is not relativized [$u\phi$:__], as standardly proposed for Q'anjob'alan (e.g., Coon et al. 2014). Third, all ASP heads bear a Set B-assigning probe relativized to search for a participant feature ([u PART:__]). If probing fails, then no agreement morpheme is exponed, leading to the "Set B" \emptyset morpheme co-indexing all S arguments that are 3rd person, even in the prospective. We argue that what is special about PROSP is that it bears a second Set A-assigning probe, which probes first. This derives that Set A co-indexes PARTS in intransitives solely in the prospective. With the two probes located on PROSP, three types of stems must be ruled out: (i) intransitive *[PROSP-B_i-A_i-V] stems, (ii) intransitive *[PROSP-B_{PART}-V] stems, and (iii) transitive *[PROSP-B_i-A_i-A_k-V] stems, where indices indicate the same person features for B and A. None of these stems are well-formed (data omitted). We propose to rule out all ill-formed examples through (a) an independent constraint on identical participant person values for Set A and Set B, (b) cyclical V(ocabulary) I(nsertion), and (c) a morphological filter *A-A. Regarding (a), there is an independent constraint in Chuj on verbs co-indexing arguments with the same value for person. Sentences that translate (given the right context) as 'I saw us', where A and O share the same participant specification, are ineffable. We argue that this constraint rules out intransitive *[PROSP-B_i-A_i-V] stems. Regarding (b), probing happens in the order indicated on the tree. The first item inserted without incurring an independent violation is the one preserved—this derives that prospective intransitives will only co-index participants with Set A, i.e., why *[PROSP-B_{PART}-V] is ruled out. Through (c), we rule out *[PROSP-B_i-A_i-A_k-V] (and *[PROSP-A_i-A_k-V]) transitives, and also derive the well-formed [PROSP-B_i-A_k-V], where Set A is the insertion of *v* and Set B is the insertion of PROSP.



VI Predictions Since PROSP bears a Set A probe, we predict that Set A should co-index participant S in passive and antipassive clauses. This is borne out (data omitted). We also predict that Set A should arise in Agent Focus (AF) clauses (Aissen 2017), co-indexing either an A or O participant according to the hierarchy 1/2>3 (Preminger 2014). This is borne out: Set B co-indexes participant O in the perfective, but Set A does so in the prospective. We confirm thus that the split in (III) arises due to a Set A [u PART:__] probe on PROSP:

- (8) Mach ix-in-/*w-il-n-i. (9) Mach ?oj-w-/*in-il-n-i.
 who PFV-B1SG-/*A1SG-see-AF-IV who PROSP-A1SG-/*B1SG-see-AF-IV
 'Who saw me?' 'Who will see me?'

VII Second takeaway: split ergativity can have multiple sources. SSC, a single language, exemplifies this, enriching our understanding of cross-linguistic variation in alignment patterns and their derivation(s).