How perfect verbs seem to work in Kaqchikel:

1. Doesn't matter what the form of the prefix is; conditioned prosodically, not syntactically. still bound, see Henderson et al under review.
2. no forms appear with movement morphemes (like everyone except Tz'utujil intransitives)
3. -Vn appears on participles and full verbs, in all derivational contexts.
4. -ay- has unknown status, but hypothesize that it really is an antipassive marker, at least synchronically, in Kaqchikel. (find out what it was diachronically). antipassive ay?
5. Does permit anti agreement. CANNOT appear outside of AF, and also cannot appear with incorporated structures. Reflexives?
6. -inaq is used on root intransitives, -taj passives (although falling out of use), and simple passives, although it supplants any passive morphology. -V:m is used on transitive stems (including causatives).
7. -V:m and -inaq are used participially, in all forms, although mostly just in constructions with choj.

Differences with K'iche': uses -ayon as the antipassive, like Tz'utujil.
Semantic holes: movement verbs (both affixes), absolutive antipassives (on), incorporative antipassives (on; more evidence they aren't like AF), causativized intransitives (can't take -inaq. maybe bc no reason?).
-difference in meaning between -inaq and -on is stativity.
-some of the -x-less examples could be explained by saying it isn't derived from the verbal form(?), but apparently not all.
-still need to figure out what the restriction is for which verbs can take -naq and which can't.

9. What did this look like in the Annales?
k'enaq = perf. form of k'o in tz'utujil. 'there has been a ladino here'

-possibility that perfect is incompatible with movement and imperative because of conflict with other status suffixes?

——

*ask for a list of words ending in -naq.

8. Can both be used attributively?
        ri k'ayin tra's; ri tixon ya'; ri chupun q'aq'
xeb'e pa (*ri) chupun q'aq'.
tixon el ri ya'.
k'atom che'
        ri wartinaq ak'wal; ri b'enaq achin; ri sipojnaq q'ab'aj
choj wartnaq ak'wal la.
tixon ya' nub'an la ak'wal la'.
choj sipojnaq aqanaj rub'anun. it looks like a swollen leg
        ri tixnaq ya'; ri k'ayinaq tra's; ri chupunaq q'aq'
majun winaq e k'o choj chupunaq q'aq'
choj chupunaq k'aslem
choj atininaq kej

9. Movement?

1. at-b'e-nutz'et-on; b'e-a-tij-on; oj-al-k-oyob'e-n
2. at-b'e-tz'et-on; b'e-tij-on; e-al-q'et-en
3. at-b'e-tz'et-ey-on; e-b'e-chap-ay-on; oj-al-q'et-ey-on
4. in-b'e-war-naq; at-b'e-sach-naq; b'e-b'e-naq
5. b'e-k'ayi-naq ri tra's; e-b'e-pax-naq ri laq; e-al-chup-unaq ri taq q'aq'

TODO NO

3. Mediopassive: paxtajnaq ri laq; chojmitajnaq chik ri ch'ich' (UTZ); tzolitajnaq ri tzyaq (winaq? yes) (UTZ) . not used a lot.

   Passive: k'ayix(i)naq; chojmix(i)naq; tzolix(i)naq

NO

   Antipassive: in-chup-un-inaq; at-ch'ay-on-inaq; e-pitz'-on-inaq

NO

   Causative: e-ki-kamisa-n (yes); e-kamisan (yes); e-kamis-ay-on (yes); e-kamisa-taj
                e-kamisa-naq (NO) ; e-kamisa-taj-naq (NO)

5. With AF: Achike at-q'et-ey-on (yes)? Achike oj-tz'et-ey-on (yes)?
   Without AF: q'et-ey-on ri ak'wal (like teh child is hugging, not being hugged)
                e to'oy-on ri achi'a' (men are subject)
                *e t'isiyon ri xtani'
                [only get AF interpretation)

6. see 3.

7. Are these trans+inaq derived from intransitive verbs?v
   yitix ~ yitixon
   yichup ~ yichupun
   yipax ~ yipaxon
   can they be analyzed as attaching to nouns?
   nuk'ay -YES
   nutzij —> tzijinaq o tzijonaq?
   nupax —>xpax intransitive.
   tzol? MAJUN
   nuchoxin susutantivo
   nujab' jab'in el. tirar algo liquido.
   nut'at?

8. AF: yes. Absolutive? see 5. Reflexive? can't say, test with non-Ixnal. Oblique: yes. Incorporative?
   ri achi'a' chanin yekos toq yetikon ixim pa awan.
   ri achi'a' chanin yekos toq e tikiyon ixim pa awan.

   ri ixoqi' jantape yetzijon toq yeponon way. [YES]
   ri ixoqi' jantape yetzijon toq e ponoyon way. [NO]

10. is there a perfect form of k'o? k'enaq jun ula' pa wochoch?

k'aton ha sido quemado
k'atinaq esta quemado.

chupunaq kan . no real by phrase.
chupul q'aq'. tikirel chuqa.

e pitz'inaq oj
b'ininaq pe < b'inem entrance, ha tomado la routa
ma pedro morejon

xnoj —> nojnaq
nowinaq smart. from what?

-Vm's are reconstructable as ppl and perfect separately, although it's often hard to separate in the individual languages.

-where does -inaq come from? definitely proto-kichean. possibly beyond that.

-judie's going to a tunica workshop instead of LSA. Can I not give it, or is that really bad academic juju? since I'll still be there

-ay from ponoy way, +on extended to use with intransitives on analogy to the passive.

-not verbal.

form cs. function issue. morphology vs. syntax.based on the morphology. use tests from henderson.
not in the language in a consistent way

Tests for aspect:
on perfect aspect, from Mina:
p. the perfect aspect is used to code the state of an entity at a specific time that results from a previous event. the subject of the perfect aspect s affected. this, **the perfect aspect is used to code the state of the subject with verbs that in the non-perfect aspects take a controlling subject.**
hide
grill

petenaq and b'enaq:has the endpoint been reached? that would be more typical of the perfect.

the perfect aspect cannot be formed from adjectives. the explanation for this is that adjectival predicates are inherently stative, and therefore the use of perfect coding would be redundant.

the difference between dynamic aspect and stative aspect is that the dynamic aspect determines the time of an event, and the stative does not. in the following example, there are two events with the same verb. the first is expressed through dynamic expression and the second through the perfect:

when the chief returned, the monkeys came[PERF] to eat the tree

He walked and walked. When he arrived, he found the monkey sleeping[PERF] on the road with his mother, both of them.

From Yalunka grammar:
28-45 event structure
for vs. in test determines telicity. for=atelic, in=telic.

p. 30 Vender's four classes of lexical aspect in terms of three binary features

state	+static	-telic	-punctual
activity	-static	-telic	-punctual
accomplishment	-static	+telic	-punctual
achievement	-static	+telic	+punctual

p. 32 characterization of verbs in terms of two binary features, following Bohnemaeyer (2001, 2004) and Kennedy and Levin (2001)

state	+stative	-change
Activity	-static	-change
Change of state	-static	+change

p. 36 Rapport and Levin's template

stative verb	-cause	+static	-change	-manner
manner verb	-cause	-static	-change	+manner
result verb	-cause	-static	+change	-manner
manner-with-result verb	+cause	-static	+change	+manner
externally caused result verb	+cause	-static	+change	-manner

p. 36 transitive manner verbs more often allow the suppression of their direct object than result verbs do. Often, transitive manner verbs only implicate change of state, but do not entail it.

verbs of change of state with a simple event structure do not lend themselves to expansion by means of adding a causing subevent. *the conductor arrived the train.

The differences among verbs of change of state are motivated through the distinction between them denoting externally vs. internally caused or uncaused eventualities. [to deal with the differences bt COS verbs with complex event structure and with a simple event structure.
 the concept of internal causation subsumes agency. however, an internally caused verb need not be agentive. e.g. blush and tremble.

p. 39 internally caused verbs typically have an intransitive argument structure; all externally caused verbs are attested with a basic transitive argument structure; and only a subset of them allows intransitive uses.

English examples for each type [36]:
Sonja loves dark chocolate
Jurgen yawned
the Fachbeirat members came into the conference room
Birgit chopped the vegetables
Loretta cooked the pasta

p. 33 more recent approaches to argument structure and linking assume that properties of the lexical semantic representation or the event structure of verbs are responsible for the default expression of arguments in the syntax.

p. 35 only features of dynamicity vs. stativitl and the presence vs. absence of a change of state are determined at the lexical level.

72 test summary

Tests diagnosing different event structure classes in Jalonke

	states	manner verbs	result verbs	manner-with-result verbs
default aspect realization under	present	past	past	past
cessation test	NA	realized	+/-realized	+/- realized
duration-completion test	NA	duration	duration/ completion	duration/ completion
degree of change test	NA	NA	completion	completion

the dynamicity test was used to assess whether stative verbs admit change of state readings (see 3.5).

default aspect test distinguishes stative verbs from dynamic verbs. statives are unmarked for tense and get a default present tense interpretation. dynamic verbs in Jalonke get a past perfect interpretation.
Now, I am tired.
*Now, I am crying. however, this is ok if they are marked for imperfective aspect.

dynamicity test: if stative verbs in Y are combined with an imperfective marker, they get a state change interpretation.
the water is getting hot
the water is hot

p. 66 the 'imperfective paradox' (Dowty 1979), or the finding that yawning entails having yawned, while dying does not entail having died, distinguishes atelier from relic predicates. this is the realization-under-cessation test. take a sentence with a dynamic verb marked for imperfective as the starting point, for instance 'Adama is yawning', the tests consists of asking 'When ADama stops yawning, has he yawned? if the answer is 'yes, he has (already) yawned", the verb is atelic. if the answer is 'no, he hasn't yawned", the verb denotes a relic change of state.
adam is yawning.
when he stops it, has he already yawned?
yes, he has already yawned.

the goat is dying.
when it is dying, can I say: it has already died?
No, it hasn't died yet.

p. 67 atelier vs. relic verbs and clauses can often additionally be distinguished through th compatibility with temporal operators indicating duration vs. completion (english for vs. in). Jalonke does not employ different postpositions for duration vs. completion. To get around this, you can ask "if X has Ved for less than [the specified time interval], has s/he already Ved? yes=atelic, no=telic.

p. 69: degree of change test: If verbs of change of state/location occur in the imperfective, two options can be distinguished. for the verbs that lexically encode a discrete result state (or are relic), the event denoted by the verb is not interpreted as realized. for the verbs that do not encode a discrete result state (or are atelier), the interpretation of the event as realized or not depends on properties of the clause. the realization-under-cessation test for different groups of verbs illustrates these properties. for verbs of discrete change of state like too 'die', it is impossiblee to view them as realized when interrupted before completion. Thus, the only possible answer to the question 'when a goat is dying, has it died? is 'no'. for verbs of inherently directed motion and verbs of gradual change, the interpretation of the imperfective is different. if no measured Path is present, verbs of inherently directed motion receive an atelier interpretation, as exemplified by the answer to the realization-under-cessation test:

Mariana is going up
she has already gone up

if atelier verbs of change specify a degree of change, for instance through a measured path, they have to be interpreted as teic. the event is then not realized until the Goal is reached, as shown by the answer to the RUC test:

Mariana is going up the mountain
she did not yet go up the mountain

p. for verbs of change of state, it was tested whether they receive punctual or durative interpretation. this test consisted of assessing their compatibility with the imperfective marker. if a verb of change of state was compatible with the imperfective marker, as tu 'die', it was taken to denote an event construed as durative. if it was incompatible with the imperfective marker, it was interpreted to denote an event construed as punctual.

the goat is dying
*the ball is exploding

control was tested by asking whether it was possible to say that X did or did not do the verb action deliberately.
I laughed deliberately
I didn't laugh deliberately

123 perfect aspect: the perfect suffix -xi construes a situation its result state, which still holds at topic time or the time interval about which the utterance makes an assertion. it resembles a perfective because it views a situation as bounded, but is here called perfect since the situation always holds current relevance or is a perfect or result unless specified otherwise by a temporal operator.

158: the class of intransitive stative verbs conflates two senses generally taken care of by different word classes in languages that have the category adjective: they oscillate between a change of state and a stative reading. Welders calls these verbs 'inchoative verbs'.

p. 228, from haspelmath: the inchoative member of an inchoative/causative verb pair is semantically similar to the passive of the causative (the stick was broken), but it crucially differs from it in that the agent is not just unexpressed; rather the situation is conceived as of occurring without an agent, spontaneously.

are antipassives limited to activities??
nimarinaq?

pax: better example to use than sach for inaq form which actually could have conform an intransitive verb.

since they can't get their temporal sense from TAM, maybe they can get it from adverbs?

For every test:
trans on
intrans naq
pass on
pass naq
normal antipassives in all TAM configurations