

МАРКИРОВАНИЕ ИМЕННОЙ МНОЖЕСТВЕННОСТИ В КАКЧИКЕЛЕ

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В статье описывается маркирование множественного числа в ИГ в языке какчикель. Морфологический показатель множественности присоединяется только к закрытому списку именных основ. В прочих случаях омонимия снимается иначе. В данной статье внимание сконцентрировано на синтаксисе частицы *taq*, которая проявляет свойства «словоизменительного» (inflectional) множественного числа. Показывается, что она не является чисто диминутивной, поскольку занимает другую позицию внутри ИГ и может лицензировать ИГ в аргументных позициях. В отличие от морфологического показателя множественности, частица *taq* факультативна, числовое согласование прилагательного при ней не обязательно, а также она может оказываться внутри композитов. Таким образом, частица *taq* представляет собой пример перехода из диминутивного показателя в показатель множественности.

Ключевые слова: число, множественность, диминутив, словоизменительный, частица, какчикель, согласование.

NOMINAL PLURAL MARKING IN KAQCHIKEL

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This paper describes nominal plural marking in Kaqchikel where only a closed set of nouns can bear a dedicated morphological plural marker. Other means are used for disambiguation elsewhere. I concentrate on the diminutive particle *taq*, which displays properties of non-inflectional plural. I argue that it is not a pure diminutive. Compared to morphological plural, the particle *taq* is optional, does not trigger obligatory agreement on the adjective and occurs inside compounds. I argue that the particle *taq* undergoes a shift from a diminutive marker to a plural marker.

Keywords: number, plural, diminutive, inflectional, particle, Kaqchikel, agreement.

1. Introduction

Languages vary in the obligatoriness of number expression. In some languages the choice between singular and plural form is required, whereas in others, it is optional [Corbett 2000; Mithun 1999]. This difference can be captured as the difference between inflectional and non-inflectional plural; the former represents functional projection of number [Ritter 1995], whereas the latter is a modifier [Wiltschko 2008]. In Kaqchikel, a Mayan language of Kichean branch spoken in Guatemala, only a closed set of nouns have a morphological plural marker.¹ With all other nouns, the interpretation of number has to be resolved using other means.

The goal of this paper is to provide an overview of the possibilities of plural marking in Kaqchikel, concentrating on one particular encoding: the plural form *taq* of the diminutive emphatic particle *ti*. I argue that this particle serves as a plural marker, and its properties are consistent with the status of non-inflectional plural. As the data provided in the following sections show, Kaqchikel plural is definitely lower than the DP level. I compare Kaqchikel plural marking with the plural marking in related Yucatec Maya, as analyzed by Butler [Butler 2011]. In Yucatec Maya, plural marking is non-obligatory and non-inflectional as well, but the marker is claimed to be an adjunct to the entire DP.

In Section 2, I provide a brief description of different means of plural marking in Kaqchikel and give some arguments in favor of its status as restricted morphological plural hosted by the number head. In Section 3, I compare the properties of plural and singular forms of the diminutive particle and their properties with the properties of other nominal adjuncts, primarily adjectives. In Section 4, I discuss the properties of *taq* as a plural marker.

2. Means of plural marking

Only a closed set of nouns have a **morphologically plural form** in Kaqchikel. These are nouns that denote persons (1a), nouns denoting some animals (1b) and also those denoting some important cultural concepts (1c) [Brown et al. 2010; Matzar et al. 1997]. The morphological plural form is the vowel *a* or *i* and glottal stop.

¹ The data analyzed here were collected during the fieldtrip to the village Patzún (Chimaltenango district, Guatemala) in June 2018.

- (1) a. *achin* [man] ‘man’ — *achi’-a’* [man-PL] ‘men’
 b. *chiköp* [animal] ‘animal’ — *chikop-i’* [animal-PL] ‘animals’
 c. *ch’umil* [star] ‘star’ — *ch’umil-a’* [star-PL] ‘stars’

Some adjectives have plural forms as well (2). The plural forms of the adjectives are *-a’q* or *-äq*.

- (2) *nim* [big] — *nim-a’q* [big-PL]

Those nouns which can bear the plural marker have the projection of number #P [Abney 1987; Bernstein 1991; Ritter 1991; Valois 1991, among others], which creates a new linguistic object selected by D and associated with two values: SINGULAR and PLURAL [Wiltschko 2008: 646]. Taken this way, the difference between the plural in Kaqchikel and the prototypical inflectional plural in English is not the difference between the inflectional and non-inflectional plural. Instead, it amounts to the difference in the selectional properties of Kaqchikel D, which selects #P optionally.

Below, I briefly describe some important properties of the morphological plural. On the one hand, it does not have all the properties of prototypical inflectional plural; on the other, it differs from prototypical non-inflectional plural as well. Therefore, the relationship between prototypical properties and the labels “inflectional” / “non-inflectional” is not straightforward. Below, I consider the following properties: obligatoriness of nominal plural inflection; obligatoriness of agreement; licensing of NPs/DPs; occurrence inside compounds, and the ordering with respect to derivational morphology.

Inflectional plural is obligatory in plural contexts. Consequently, an unmarked form is interpreted as singular in such a system. The morphological plural in Kaqchikel is obligatory for nouns presented above. Accordingly, the singular form of the noun *umül* ‘rabbit’ in the example below, cannot be interpreted as plural.

- (3) *rin n-qa chi nu-wäch ri tz’i’ y ri umul-a’ /*
 I NCMP-like LOC POSS.1SG-eye DEF dog and DEF rabbit-PL

#*umül*

rabbit

‘I like dogs and rabbits.’

#‘I like dogs / the dog and the rabbit.’

Inflectional plural is expected to trigger obligatory agreement [Wiltschko 2008], which is not the case in Kaqchikel. Plural agreement on an adjective within the NP seems to be obligatory, whereas plural agreement on the predicate is optional. Examples (4)–(5) illustrate this. The verb in (4) can have both plural or singular form. In (5), on the contrary, the singular form of the adjective is ungrammatical with either of the two verb forms.

(4) *x-e-n-tzët* / *x-ø-in-tzët* *ri* *nim-a'q* *umul-a'*
 CMP-B.3PL-A.1SG-see CMP-B.3SG-A.1SG-see DEF big-PL rabbit-PL
 'I have seen the big rabbits.'

(5) **x-e-n-tzët* / *x-ø-in-tzët* *ri* *nim* *umul-a'*
 CMP-B.3PL-A.1SG-see CMP-B.3SG-A.1SG-see DEF big rabbit-PL
 'I have seen the big rabbits.'

Another important property attributed to the inflectional plural is its ability to license NPs/DPs in an argument position [Wiltschko 2008: 668]. According to this criterion, the morphological plural in Kaqchikel is inflectional. Plural-marked nouns can appear in argument positions without an additional determiner. This is shown in the example (6) where the determiner *ka'i'-oxi'* 'some' can be freely omitted. In contrast, unmarked plurals have to follow a determiner (7).

(6) *pa jay x-e-qan-äj* *kan (ka'i'-oxi')* *chikop-i'*
 LOC house CMP-B.3PL-stay-STEM PTCL two-three animal-PL
 'There stayed some animals in the house.'

(7) *pa jay x-e-qan-äj* *kan *(ka'i'-oxi')* *tz'i'*
 LOC house CMP-B.3PL-stay-STEM PTCL two-three dog
 'There stayed some dogs in the house.'

The next criterion has to do with plural marking inside compounds. At this stage of research, I do not have enough data to apply this criterion to Kaqchikel; among the attested compounds, none of the non-head roots belongs to the closed set of roots deriving nouns that can bear the morphological plural [Matzar et al. 1997: 108-111].

The criterion of plural marker-derivational morphology order is also difficult to apply in Kaqchikel. Denominal derivation in Kaqchikel is very restricted and does not involve any roots that can be tested [Matzar et al. 1997: 236-239].

Thus far, I conclude that there are two main properties that differentiate the plural marking in Kaqchikel from the prototypical inflectional marking: the restriction to a closed set of nouns and non-obligatoriness of verbal agreement.

Accordingly, the morphological plural meets the criteria on inflectional plural, minus the optionality of verbal agreement.

However, most Kaqchikel nouns do not bear the plural marker discussed so far. Consequently, there have to be some other means of number marking.

One of such means is a **numerical** construction, which forces the plural interpretation on the NP/DP.

- (8) *x-e-n-tzët* *ri* *oxi'* *ru-chaq'* *María*
 CMP-B.3PL-A.3SG-see DEF three POSS.3SG-younger.sister Mary
 'I've seen Mary's three younger sisters.'

Further still, nouns that are compatible with morphological plural marking can appear in the plural or numberless form in a numerical construction. The analysis of number marking in numerical constructions is beyond the scope of this paper.

- (9) *x-in-tzët* *ri* *oxi'* *umul-a'* / *umül*
 CMP-A.1SG-see DEF three rabbit-PL rabbit
 'I've seen the three rabbits.'

Another way to express plurality is the **plural affix on the verb**. Consider example (10), where the only marker of the plurality of the plates is the agreement marker on the verb.

- (10) *Fátima* *x-e-r-paxij* *ri* *läq*
 Fatima CMP-B.3PL-A.3SG-break DEF dish
 'Fatima has broken the plates.'

However, plural agreement on the verb is also optional in most cases [Henderson 2009].² Examples (4)–(5) above show that even plural-marked DPs do not obligatorily trigger verbal agreement. Now compare (10) and (11); the latter may still have a plural interpretation.

² Obligatory plural agreement is beyond the scope of this paper; I address the reader to Henderson's work [Henderson 2009]. The main idea is that plural agreement is obligatory for 1st and 2nd person arguments and animate plural subjects (both ergative and absolutive).

- (11) *Fátima x-u-paxij ri läq*
 Fatima CMP-A.3SG-break DEF dish
 ‘Fatima broke the plate / the plates.’

Another means of expressing plurality is a **relative clause** with the agreeing copula, which can be considered as an instance of plural verbal agreement. As example (12) shows, such marking is also optional.

- (12) *ri (e) ki-chaq’ re xtan-i’ re’*
 DEF 3PL POSS.3PL-younger.sister DEM.PR girl-PL DEM.PR.EMPH

x-e-b’e pa tijob’äl
 CMP-B.3PL-go LOC school
 ‘These girls’ sisters went to school.’

Finally, the **diminutive / emphatic particle** in its **plural form *taq*** is another way of expressing plurality. This is the particle discussed in this paper.

- (13) *pa jay x-e-qan-äj kan taq tz’i’*
 LOC house CMP-B.3PL-stay-STEM PTCL DIM.PL dog
 ‘There stayed some dogs in the house.’

The grammars give only a superficial description of *taq*. One of the grammars simply calls it a “diminutive / affective plural particle” [Matzar et al. 1997: 62] Another grammar gives a brief comment: “If one wishes to emphasize the plurality of these [which do not have morphological plural forms – P.P.] nouns a separate **plural particle *taq*** can be added before the noun” [Brown et al. 2010: 150].

However, the data below show that this particle develops some properties of a genuine plural marker.

3. Semantic and syntactic properties of the diminutive particles *ti* and *taq*

The aim of this section is to investigate semantic and syntactic properties of *taq*. First, I ask the question whether *taq* is simply the plural form of the diminutive *ti* or a special plural particle. Next, the particles *ti/taq* have to be compared with adjectives, as they have similar plural forms and are placed within one and the same domain of the NP. In this section, I consider the following properties: semantic restrictions on *taq* (which are due to its status as a diminutive marker), the place of *ti* and *taq* within the NP, agreement within the NP/DP, and their behavior within compound words.

3.1. Semantic preferences

A number of properties, discussed in the sections below, distinguish *taq* from the singular diminutive *ti*. However, *taq* still has properties as a diminutive marker. Consider the following examples with the adjective *-wit* ‘small’ which requires the diminutive particle.

- (14) *k-e'-a-kaxaj* *pe ka'i'* *xara *(taq)* *wit*
 CMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give PTCL two cup DIM.PL small
 ‘Give me two small cups.’

Although the particle *taq* can follow a prepositional adjective (and in fact, it is what it normally does by default) (15), it is impossible with the adjective *-wit*. The latter cannot be separated from the diminutive. Compare examples (15) and (17). The placement of *taq* between the adjective and the noun is impossible with *-wit*, (16). It is however possible with other adjectives.

- (15) *k-e'-a-ya-'* *pe la ko'öl taq xnakät*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS little DIM.PL onion
 ‘Give me those little onions.’

- (16) *k-e'-a-ya-'* *pe la taq wit xnakät*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS DIM.PL small onion
 ‘Give me those small onions.’

- (17) **k-e'-a-ya-'* *pe la wit taq xnakät*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS small DIM.PL onion
 Intended meaning: ‘Give me those small onions.’

Another order possible for other adjectives is with *taq* preceding both the noun and the postposed adjective. But this order is still ungrammatical with *-wit* (18), because it violates the requirement that the diminutive particle has to be adjoined immediately.

- (18) **k-e'-a-ya-'* *pe la taq xnakät wit*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS DIM.PL onion small
 Intended meaning: ‘Give me those small onions.’

In sum, the use of *taq* with the adjective *-wit* shows its function as a diminutive marker, not as a pluralizer. I hypothesize that this function is restricted and lexicalized.

3.2. Diminutive particles *ti* (*taq*) and their place in the NP structure

The diminutive particle *ti* (19), as well as its plural form (20), appear within the NP, after the determiners and numerals (21).

- (19) *t-a-loq-o'* *chw-e* *jun ti uq*
 IMP.B.3-A.2SG-buy-STEM LOC.POSS.1SG-DAT one DIM skirt
 'Bye me a skirt, please.'

- (20) *Fátima x-e-r-paxij ri taq / *taq ri läq*
 Fatima CMP-B.3PL-A.3SG-break DEF DIM.PL DIM.PL DEF dish
 'Fatima has broken the little plates.'

- (21) *t-a-kaxaj pe ka'i' taq / *taq ka'i' qupib'äl*
 IMP.3-A.2SG-give PTCL two DIM.PL DIM.PL two knife
 'Give me two little knives.'

The situation with the order of these particles, adjectives and nouns is more complicated, because the adjectives can either precede or follow the head noun.

The particles *ti* and *taq* can precede pronominal adjectives (22)–(23), as well as postnominal ones (24)–(25).

- (22) *ri tijonel x-u-k'ut-u' ri ti jebël xtän*
 DEF teacher CMP-A.3SG-show-STEM DEF DIM nice girl
 'The teacher presented the very pretty girl.'

- (23) *k-e'-a-ya-' pe la taq ko'öl xnakät*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS DIM.PL little onion
 'Give me that little onions.'

- (24) *ri tijonel x-u-k'ut-u' ri xtän ti jebël*
 DEF teacher CMP-A.3SG-show-STEM DEF girl DIM nice
 'The teacher presented the very pretty girl.'

- (25) *k-e'-a-ya-' pe la xnakät taq ko'öl*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS onion DIM.PL little
 'Give me that little onions.'

Although both *ti* and *taq* can precede nouns modified by postnominal adjectives (26)–(27), only *taq* can be inserted between pronominal adjectives and nouns (28)–(29).

- (26) *ri tijonel x-u-k'ut-u' ri ti xtän jebël*
 DEF teacher CMP-A.3SG-show-STEM DEF DIM girl nice
 'The teacher presented the very pretty girl.'
- (27) *k-e'-a-ya-' pe la taq xnakät ko'öl*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS DIM.PL onion little
 'Give me that little onions.'
- (28) **ri tijonel x-u-k'ut-u' ri jebël ti xtän*
 DEF teacher CMP-A.3SG-show-STEM DEF nice DIM girl
 Intended meaning: 'The teacher presented the very pretty girl.'
- (29) *k-e'-a-ya-' pe la ko'öl taq xnakät*
 IMP-B.3PL-A.2SG-give-STEM PTCL DEM.DIS little DIM.PL onion
 'Give me that little onions.' (= (15))

Although these particles can precede adjectives, as well as nouns, they cannot appear in an NP twice. With *ti*, that could be tested with a postposed adjective, and the result is ungrammatical (30).

- (30) **t-a-loq-o' chw-e jun ti uq ti käq*
 IMP.B.3-A.2SG-buy-STEM LOC.POSS.1SG-DAT one DIM skirt DIM red
 Intended meaning: 'Buy me a red skirt, please.'

With *taq*, both potential structures are ungrammatical.

- (31) **pa qa-jardin e k'o taq ko'öl taq umul-a'*
 LOC POSS.1PL-garden 3PL EX DIM.PL little.PL DIM.PL rabbit-PL
 Intended meaning: 'There are small rabbits in our garden.'
- (32) **pa qa-jardin e k'o taq umul-a' taq ko'öl*
 LOC POSS.1PL-garden 3PL EX DIM.PL rabbit-PL DIM.PL little.PL
 Intended meaning: 'There are small rabbits in our garden.'

In sum, the particles assume different positions in a noun phrase, depending on number. That suggests that the particle *taq* does not belong to the same category as its singular counterpart.

3.3. Particles *taq* and *ti* within compounds

Another property that distinguishes *taq* from *ti* is the difference in their behavior within compound words. In example (33), the particle *taq* can be successfully inserted into the compound word *ruwi' jay* 'roof'. The usage of the particle here does not entail that the houses are small, in other words, it is not diminutive.

- (33) *la tzik'in-a' x-ø-ki-b'än k-achoch*
 DEM.DIS bird-PL CMP-A.3SG-E.3PL-make POSS.3PL-home.PSD
ch-ki-xe' la ru-wi' taq jay
 LOC-POSS.3PL-under DEM.DIS POSS.3SG-hair.PSD DIM.PL house
 'That birds constructed their nests under the roofs (*of small houses).'

In contrast to (33), in (34), the singular *ti* cannot intervene between the two parts of the same compound word, either with the diminutive meaning, or without it.

- (34) *la tzik'in-a' x-ø-ki-b'än k-achoch*
 DEM.DIS bird-PL CMP-A.3SG-E.3PL-make POSS.3PL-home.PSD
*ch-u-xe' la ru-wi' (*ti) jay*
 LOC-POSS.3SG-under DEM.DIS POSS.3SG-hair.PSD DIM house
 'That birds constructed their nests under the roof (of a small house).'

Thus, we see that the plural particle *taq* seems to be closer to the head-noun than the singular *ti* in that it can stand between the adjective and the noun and can be inserted into a compound word.

3.4. Particle *taq* and adjectives: similarities and differences

In this section, the particles *ti/taq* are compared with adjectives. There are two reasons for such a comparison. First, *ti/taq* and adjectives have similar morphological realization of plurality. Second, they share the closest position to the noun head in the hierarchical structure of the Kaqchikel DP/NP.

Adjectives are pluralized with *-a'q/-äq* [Matzar et al. 1997: 154], so, the forms are just quite similar. However, that does not imply that the particles and adjectives represent the same category.

Another criterion has to do with the position within the DP/NP. Although *taq* and adjectives are the closest elements to the head noun in the NP, there is also a positional difference between them, something that has already been discussed in Section 3.1.

First, the particle *taq* cannot be postpositional.

- (35) *Fátima x-e-r-paxij ri taq läq / *läq taq*
 Fatima CMP-B.3PL-A.3SG-break DEF DIM.PL dish dish DIM.PL
 'Fatima broke the big plates.'

Second, plural marking on adjectives is optional (36), whereas for *ti/taq* it is obligatory (37).

(36) *rin x-in-tzeqej ri nim / nim-a'q taq ab'äj*
 I CMP-A.1SG-raise DEF big big-PL DIM.PL stone
 'I rose the big stones.'

(37) *a José x-u-kamisaj ka'i' taq / *ti äk'*
 CLF.M Jose CMP-A.3SG-kill two DIM.PL DIM chicken
 'Jose killed two little chickens.'

To sum up, the data in this section show that the plural form of the diminutive particle *taq*, although occasionally preserving its diminutive functions, shifts to some other category. Its positional properties differ both from the singular diminutive *ti* and those of adjectives.

4. "Plural" properties of *taq*

So far, I have established that the particle *taq* is categorically distinct from the prototypical diminutive and does not pattern with adjective-like adjuncts either. It could be a perfect candidate for the role of a non-inflectional-plural marker. In this section, I use the tests proposed by Wiltschko to determine the categorial status of *taq* [Wiltschko 2008].

4.1. Categorial status of *taq*

In contrast to inflectional plural, non-inflectional plural is optional. That is exactly what we see in the occurrences of *taq*.

(38) *x-e-n-tzët ri (taq) ru-nimal chuqa'*
 CMP-B.3PL-A.1SG-see DEF DIM.PL POSS.3SG-elder.sister and

ri (taq) ru-chaq' xta María
 DEF DIM.PL POSS.3SG-younger.sister CLF.F Mary
 'I've seen elder and younger sisters of Mary's.'

The optionality of verbal agreement is not a good criterion here, as it does not distinguish *taq* from genuine morphological plural. Nonetheless, agreement within the noun phrase is not trivial. As example (36) above shows, the adjective does not have to agree in number with the noun. Contrastingly, the adjective has to agree with morphologically-marked plurals, as it was shown in Sec-

tion 2, (4)–(5). However, the situation becomes more complicated as soon as *taq* and the morphological plural co-occur. Independently of the presence of the morphological plural, the presence of *taq* makes agreement optional.

- (39) *x-e-n-tzët ri nim-a'q / nim taq umul-a'*
 CMP-B.3PL-A.1SG-see DEF big-PL big DIM.PL rabbit-PL
 'I have seen the big rabbits.'

These facts suggest that the morphological plural and *taq* are not in complementary distribution. Accordingly, they are not instances of the same category. That also predicts that the particle *taq* cannot substitute for the morphological form. Indeed, examples where the noun from the closed set of obligatory plurals appears unmarked and is preceded by *taq* are ungrammatical.

- (40) *x-in-tzët ri taq xtan-i' / *xtän*
 CMP-A.1SG-see DEF DIM.PL girl-PL girl
 'I've seen the girls.'

Finally, *taq* can license plural NPs. The crucial fact is that the NPs with plural *taq* do appear in the argument positions without any other determiners.

- (41) *pa jay x-e-qan-äj kan taq tz'i'*
 LOC house CMP-B.3PL-stay-STEM PTCL DIM.PL dog
 'There stayed some dogs in the house.'

In contrast, the singular diminutive particle does not seem to develop the same properties. Example (42) with a specific singular NP is ungrammatical, either bare or with *ti*. An appropriate way to express this is in (43). In exactly the same context, an NP with *taq* is fully acceptable, (44).

- (42) ??*a José x-u-kamisaj (ti) äk'*
 CLF.M Jose CMP-A.3SG-kill DIM chicken
 Intended meaning: 'Jose killed a (little) chicken.'

- (43) *a José x-u-kamisaj jun ti äk'*
 CLF.M Jose CMP-A.3SG-kill one DIM chicken
 'Jose killed a little chicken.'

- (44) *a José x-u-kamisaj taq äk'*
 CLF.M Jose CMP-A.3SG-kill DIM.PL chicken
 'Jose killed little chickens.'

Thus, the particle *taq* is a representation of the non-inflectional plural in Kaqchikel. On the one hand, it is optional and makes agreement within the NP optional, too. On the other hand, it can license noun phrases in argument positions.

4.2. The place of the adjunction

On the base of criteria given in the previous section, I argue that the particle *taq* is a non-inflectional plural marker in Kaqchikel. It is optional and can be inserted into compound words. Moreover, it is categorially distinct from the morphological plural, which is obligatory, does not occur in compounds, and triggers obligatory agreement of the adjectives within the NP/DP.

The plural marker can be merged at different points within the DP [Wiltchko 2008]. For instance, the plural in Halkomelem is merged at the root level [Wiltchko 2008], whereas the plural in Yucatec Maya is merged at the DP level [Butler 2011]. Although Yucatec Maya is related to Kaqchikel, the analysis with the plural marker merging at the DP is incompatible with Kaqchikel data. I argue that it adjoins to the nP (or NP).

Following the analyses cited here, I propose the representation of the DP as in (I). In this representation, the root functions as a syntactic category which is not associated with categorial information [Marantz 1997]; *n* is a categorizing head, #P is the projection of number and DP is the highest projection responsible for referential characteristics of the phrase.

(I) DP > #P > nP > root

Recall the properties of *taq* that were discussed in Section 3. First, *taq* is always closer to the head-noun than numerals and determiners. This means that it is somewhere lower than the DP. Second, *taq* can precede pronominal adjectives, which means that it is not higher than the nP, if one accepts the presence of this projection in syntax [Marantz 1997]. Finally, it cannot be adjoined to the root, as its usage is restricted to nominals. Consequently, it cannot be lower than the nP. This means that it is merged exactly at the nP level, or in more common terms, at the level of the projection of the lexical head N.

4.3. Plural from diminutive

Before proceeding to my conclusions, I would like to make the point that Kaqchikel represents a system where a non-inflectional plural marker develops from a diminutive particle. Such development is not widespread, but there are some cross-linguistic parallels to the expression of number by diminutives.

A possible parallel is in Kambaata (Cushitic), where singulative and diminutive meanings are expressed by the same marker [Treis 2008: 137-144].³ Another example is found in Asmat (Trans-New Guinea), where only diminutives but not regular nouns distinguish number [Derzhanski 2003].

Although the grammaticalization of diminutives into plural markers is far from common, such a shift is not groundless. Plural marking, as well as diminutive marking have properties of both inflection and derivation, falling somewhere in between. Both can be analyzed as adjoined modifiers that do not influence the category of a word [Wiltschko 2008: 669-670]. Thus, Kaqchikel provides an example of the interaction between plural and diminutive markers which share their properties cross-linguistically.

5. Conclusions

In this paper, I have presented some evidence in support of the approach according to which plural marking across languages is not categorially identical. Furthermore, I showed that the variation is attested not only across languages, but also within a single language. Kaqchikel represents such a system; there is a closed set of nouns that have inflectional plural hosted in the head of number projection, while all other nouns can be pluralized with the non-inflectional plural particle *taq*. Compared to morphological plural, the particle *taq* is optional, does not trigger obligatory agreement on the adjective and occurs inside of compounds.

On the surface, this particle is a plural form of the diminutive particle. However, unlike a diminutive, it has a different position within the NP/DP and can license NPs/DPs. I argue that it has shifted from a diminutive to a non-inflectional plural marker which is merged at the NP level.

The data presented here offer an example of shift from diminutive particle to a plural marker. Such developments can shed light on the interaction between plural and diminutive marking.

Abbreviations

1-3 — person; A — ergative agreement; B — absolutive agreement; CLF — classifier; CMP — complete; DAT — dative; DEF — definiteness; DEM — demonstrative; DIM — diminutive; DIS — distal; EMPH — emphatic; EX — existential particle; F — feminine; ICMP — incomplete; IMP — imperative; IRR — irrealis; LOC — locative; M — masculine; PL — plural; POSS — possessor; PSD — possessed form; PTCL — particle; PR — proximal; SG — singular; STEM — special verbal stem.

³ I am grateful to Lisa Bylinina for this reference.

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Статья поступила в редакцию 20.11.2018

The article was received on 20.11.2018

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