EXPRESSIVE MORPHOLOGY IN YUCATEC MAYA[1]

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ABSTRACT [139 WORDS]

This paper presents the range of expressive morphology that exists in Yucatec Maya showing how a careful analysis of expressive derivations can contribute to our understanding of the interaction between morphemes, roots and stems in this language. Roots in Yucatec Maya can only be categorized in broad classes since derivation is very productive and one root can derive a number of stems that belong to different word classes. Analysis of spontaneous and elicitation data suggests that the creative process of expressive words in Yucatec Maya is constrained as much by phonology or morphosyntactic rules as it is by semantics. In this paper I address the issue of how expressive morphology triggers expressivity based on phonological, morphological and syntactic processes but also on pragmatic features of use.

KEY WORDS

Expressive morphology, roots, reduplication, ideophone, pragmatics, Yucatec Maya

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INTRODUCTION

In the linguistic literature, attention to expressive morphology has been quite limited and mostly oriented towards formal description. In English for instance, the various studies that have looked at expressive morphology essentially focused on morpho-phonological rules (Aronoff, 1976; McCarthy, 1981; Zwicky & Pullum, 1987). Such studies aimed mainly at identifying specific morpho-phonological contexts that would allow expressive derivations. Very few studies however have been examining the pragmatic environment or the semantics of the use of the expressive lexicon/grammar. When such an interest arose, is was often about non-Indo-European languages (Digemanse, 2011a; Haviland, ms.; Le Guen, 2011, 2012; Nuckolls, 1995a, 1999; Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz, 2001a inter alia). This difference is at the same time local and structural: expressive morphology is not encountered in all speech genres and not all languages show a similar productivity. If expressive morphology in English or French is closer to languages games (often restricted to specific type of speakers, e.g. street or children talk) (Zwicky & Pullum, 1987), it is much more widespread in other languages such as in Siwu for instance where ideophones are used to talk about the five senses (Digemanse, 2011a). From a typological perspective, the range of expressive words in the lexicon and the possibilities offered by expressive morphology is not only greater in Yucatec Maya than in many Indo-European languages but it is also more widespread in various speech genres.

This paper is divided as follows. The first section presents the general characteristics of expressive morphology, as opposed to plain grammar. Section 2 offers an overview of expressive morphology in Yucatec Maya and some data relevant to this language. The following sections detail various expressive derivations for adjectives (section 3), a special suffix *–áankil* that can derive adverbs and verbs (section 4), verbal compounds (section 5) and ideophones (section 6). The final discussion focuses on how and why speakers use expressive morphology and it details some features of expressiveness in discourse.

1. WHAT IS EXPRESSIVE MORPHOLOGY?

In the study of language as a system, many authors have argued that two contrastive types of lexicon and grammar should be considered: a descriptive (or plain) lexicon/grammar and an 'expressive' one (Anttila, 1977; R. W. Brown, 1955; Dingemanse, 2011; Nuckolls, 1995b, 1999; Tufvesson, 2011). The main difference between these two types lies in that the first is more objective, referring to the propositional truth, while the expressive dimension implies some involvement and emotive response from the speaker (Foolen, 1997). Along with propositional truth, an expressive word or grammatical construction conveys the speaker's stance on the narrated event (Nuckolls, 1995b) and is often more depictive than descriptive (Digemanse, in press).

1.1 PLAIN VS. EXPRESSIVE GRAMMAR

Several linguistic features allow us to distinguish plain from expressive words and grammar (they are summarized in Table 1 below).

At the *phonological level*, the expressive lexicon presents specificities that differ from language to language but are nonetheless identifiable against the typical or more regular word(s) form(s) (e.g. change in the place of articulation of initial or final consonants of syllables in English, see Fudge (1970)). In the plain lexicon, the link between form and meaning is ideally opaque or arbitrary (Saussure, 1995). The expressive lexicon, on the other hand, frequently makes productive use of sound symbolic strategies to motivate the link between a word and its referent (Hinton, Nichols, & Ohala, 1994; Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz, 2001b).

At the *grammatical level*, expressive morphology is generally orthogonal to plain grammar and close to language game (Zwicky & Pullum, 1987). Expressive grammar is often more detached syntactically, less arbitrary and more iconic, using lengthening (usually of vowels) and processes of reduplication. While plain grammar makes a full use of linearization (i.e. using series of words to express an idea), expressive grammar on the other hand is condensed, tending to package multiple dimensions into a single word.

At the *semantic* level, the expressive vocabulary often presents some analogy to visual modes of expression in being semiotically less symbolic and more iconic (Perniss, Thompson, & Vigliocco, 2010). Very often, expressive words carry a multimodal semantics (P. Brown, 2011; Dingemanse, 2011; Tufvesson, 2011). The plain lexicon is ideally more semantically context independent while expressive words' meaning is contingent upon the context of utterance.

At the *pragmatic* level, expressive grammar implies more involvement from the speaker. With expressive words or grammar, a speaker is able (or forced) to express his or her personal stance. Consequently, plain and expressive lexicon or grammar are not performed or used in the same interactional contexts. Various studies on ideophones (see Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz, 2001a) point out that a private or more relaxed interactional context promotes the use of these words (rural vs. urban setting has also been proposed as a criterion). Additionally, expressive words can be used more creatively to refer to actions or things (i.e. they are not strictly subjected to propositional truth).

Table 1 summarizes the different criteria presented above.

Table 1: main features that differentiate plain from expressive grammar

Plain grammar	Expressive grammar
Morphosyntax	
Regular morpho-syntax	**Specific morpho-syntax** more detached (syntactically) less arbitrary, more iconic (e.g. lengthening, reduplication)
Morphosemantics	
linearly distributed make use of linearity characteristic of language	**condensed** package of multiple semantic layers
Semantic	
symbolic (semantics is ideally not context-dependent) Jakobson, Saussure theory of the sign as distant from the signified	**context bound** meaning is contingent of the context of utterance
Lexical semantic	
Arbitrary opaque link between form and meaning	**Sound symbolic** make use of sound symbolic productive strategy (vowel and last consonant meaning in Maya)
Pragmatic level	
Minimal involvement	**More involvement** - personal stance of the speaker - private vs. public interaction - rural vs. urban context

1.2 MORPHOSEMANTICS

One main feature of expressive morphology is the addition of an element to the stem. This new morphological component also modifies the meaning of the stem, adding (or blending) a new semantic layer to the original meaning of the base root. This process is here referred to as 'morphosemantics.' The new layer of meaning introduced in the transformed stem is what has been referred to by Kita (1997) as the 'affecto-imagistic dimension.' This dimension allows speakers to use expressive words to refer to sensorial or emotional experiences in a vivid manner often non-available in plain morphology. Regular morphology contrasts with expressive words. In regular morphology the added element usually only modifies the word class, as in (1).

(1) Examples of word class change (adjective to noun and adverb) with no meaning addition in English

	Base (adjective)	Added element *-ness* (noun)	*-ly* (adverb)
(a)	expressive	expressive-ness	expressive-ly
(b)	rough	rough-ness	rough-ly

On the other hand, the new element in expressive morphology introduces a second layer of meaning, often used to express the speaker's stance toward the described event, as in (2), (3) and (4). In English, expressive markers are often swearwords.

(2) Example of expletive infixation in English without word class change (taken from Zwicky & Pullum, 1987)
(a) Un-*fucking*-believable
(b) Abso-*blooming*-lutely
(c) To hell with Kalama-*fuckin*-zoo

(3) Example of iteration with modification in English (deprecative construction borrowed from Yiddish) (taken from Zwicky & Pullum, 1987)
(a) transformations shman-sformations (i.e. "Who cares about transformations?")

(4) Example of use of simple iteration triggering intensification in English (a) and French (b)
(a) It's a big big one
(b) *je viens de quitter Paris, ici i(l) neige i(l) neige i(l) neige hein*
'I just left Paris, here it snows snows snows huh (i.e. it snows a lot, without ceasing)' [natcv_unknown_31.01.2011]

I will show that in Yucatec Maya, expressive derivation not only can modify the status of the root into a particular word class (as in English) but that it adds a new semantic layer. Importantly, the final meaning of the (derived) expressive stems is to some extent predictable. However, this cannot be the sole criterion for identifying the expressive lexicon, for an applicative for instance will predictably derive an intransitive verb into a transitive one. The difference lies in that the final meaning is an addition or a blend of the meaning of the root with the meaning of the derivation pattern. Generally, as pointed out by Kita (1997) the added semantic dimension is more ineffable, often imagistic or affective. What this means is that the final word encodes an impression on which speakers can agree, that does not refer only to a propositional truth but also gives an impression of vividness (that can be imagistic, humoristic, emotional, etc.). From an analytical point of view, what will determine this impressionistic meaning will be how and why speakers use expressive words or grammar. The following section offers examples of such constructions and the final discussion considers the reasons and the interactive contexts in which Yucatec Maya speakers use expressive words.

2. EXPRESSIVE MORPHOLOGY IN YUCATEC MAYA: AN OVERVIEW

2.1. YUCATEC MAYA AND ITS SPEAKERS

The Yucatec Maya language belongs to the Maya family, specifically to the Yucatecan Branch. It is spoken by approximately 800,000 speakers (INEGI, 2010). Yucatec Maya is a tonal language with VOS word order, although a number of focalization and topicalization processes are available (that make word order closer to SVO) (Gutiérrez-Bravo & Monforte, 2011). It is a head-marking ergative language (using set A & B) with split ergativity constrained by aspect. Typical root profile is CVC with very productive inflection and derivation processes (mostly suffixes) (Bricker, Po'ot Yah, & Dzul de Po'ot, 1998; Lois & Vapnarsky, 2006). Tense does

not exist as a grammatical category and temporal information is encoded by a combination of aspect and a large set of temporal deictics.

2.2 THE METHODOLOGY

The data presented in this paper were collected according to various methodologies and, consequently, belong to different genres.

Besides conventional elicitations and recording of narratives, I also used systematic tasks such as the sound tasks: the OLG sound task (a set of 35 sounds of object falling, rubbing events, etc.) and the MPI sound task (a set of 22 sounds of natural event, mainly water related). The OLG sound task was created by the author while the MPI sound task was taken from the MPI field-manual (Tufvesson, 2007). The MPI task was run with 5 informants (4 women; 1 man) and the OLG task with 8 informants (4 women; 4 men).

A number of expressive items, especially ideophones, had to be collected only on a notebook due to the extremely informal settings in which they were produced. For this reason, elicitation or more formal context rarely succeeded in making speakers spontaneously produce ideophones.

Additionally, our corpus is also composed of spontaneous, actual natural data recorded from interactions conducted without the presence of the author. These data are extremely important for they reflect actual language use and allow us to capture more informal interactions where expressive morphology is more abundant.

Sources of examples (besides the ones from elicitations) are indicated in brackets at the end of each example as follows: [OLG/MPI.ST_##] for OLG or MPI sound task followed by the number of the stimuli; [narr] for narrative; [conv] for conversation with one or both of the authors; [natcv] for natural conversation and [note] for written data collected on notebook. In all examples, the initials of the speaker are indicated in capitals, as well as the date or the time code (for narrations and recorded conversations).

2.3 ROOTS AND STEMS IN YUCATEC MAYA: THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

There is some debate regarding the status of roots and stems in Yucatec Maya (Bricker et al., 1998; Lucy, 1994) (see Bohnemeyer, 2009; Lois & Vapnarsky, 2006 for a discussion). In this paper, I will follow Lois and Vapnarsky's (2006) classification. One main interest of these authors' classification is to consider various processes in order to identify root classes: phonological and morphosyntactical as well as argument structure. In Figure 1, roots are divided into two main classes: undetermined roots and nominal roots, and each class can derive a number of stems more or less productively.

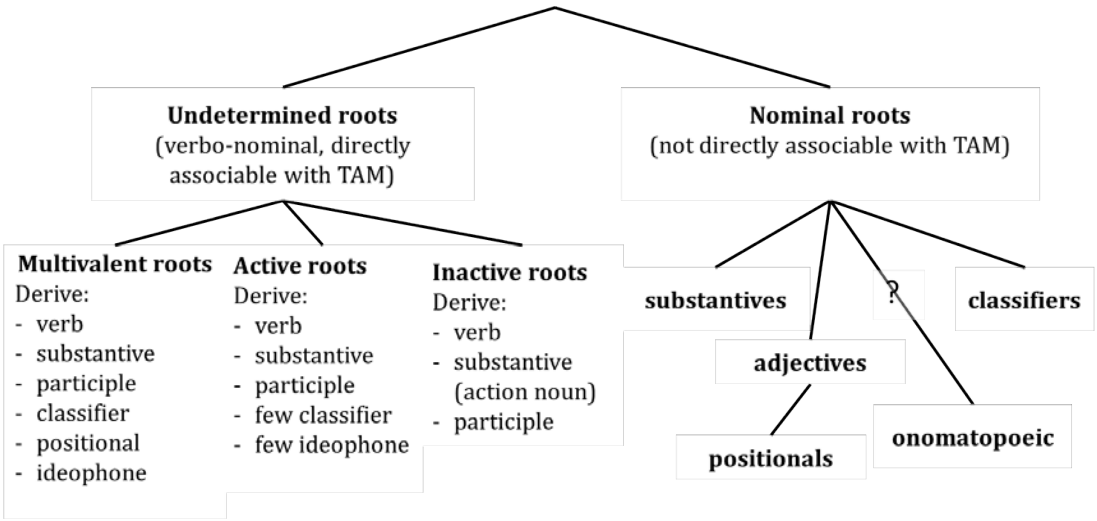

Figure 1: root classes in Yucatec Maya, adapted from Lois and Vapnarsky (2006, p. 106)

In what follows I identify root classes using the following conventions: (mv) for multivalent root, (act) for active root, (inc) for inactive root, (n) for substantive root, (adj) for adjective root and (cls) for classifier root. In addition to Lois and Vapnarsky's categories, two other classes of roots are considered in this paper: positional roots (pos) that are (for the convenience of the argument) considered here a subclass of adjectives and onomatopoeic roots (onom) that are properly formed CVC roots, but happen to be quite limited in terms of what stems they can derive and in their meaning range (mainly relating to sound experience). Also because this paper does not directly address root classification in Yucatec Maya, for convenience onomatopoeic roots are considered a subclass of nominal roots for they are not directly associable with a TAM.

2.4 THE WORD CLASSES OF EXPRESSIVE ITEMS IN YUCATEC MAYA

In the Mayan literature, some expressive type of words have been recognized, called 'affective (roots)' (Bricker et al., 1998; Haviland, ms.; Laughlin, 1988; Maffi, 1990 inter alia; Pérez González, 2009). But these words identified as affective seem to differ among Mayan languages. In Yucatec Maya, Bricker et al. (1998) consider some affective roots but since they do not correspond to the expressive stems considered in this paper I shall not retain this designation.

In Yucatec Maya, expressive words belong to three main word classes: (1) adjective, (2) adverbs and verbal compounds and, (3) ideophones. This paper will divide expressive words in two main categories on the basis of morphosyntactic and semantic features:

1. *Expressives*: Expressive words can predicate (i.e. used as adjective or intransitive verbs). They express a sensation or a spatial distributive pattern but, although they have some sound symbolic properties, they do not present an onomatopoeic dimension. They are adjective, adverbs and verbal compounds.
2. Ideophones. These words are specifically used to describe a sudden action or event (visually) and show onomatopoeic properties (used to describe also the sound of the action or the event). They constitute a specific word class, considered in this paper as

a sub-category of expressives with specific morpho-syntactic properties (see Le Guen, 2012 for detail).

Figure 2 summarizes the various types of expressives considered in this paper.

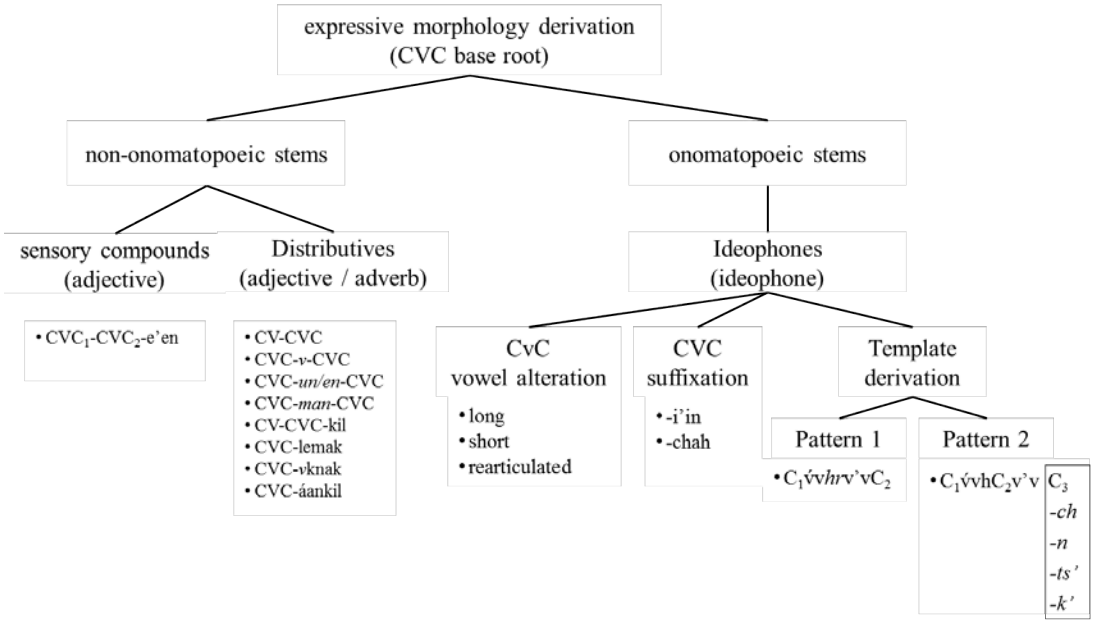

Figure 2: expressive derivations in Yucatec Maya

Although expressive morphology is very productive in Yucatec Maya, three types of restrictions apply:

(1) wordclass association: passive roots and motion verbs (run, dance, etc.) are often not derivable
(2) morpho-phonological profile: roots have to be in a CVC format to derive expressives
(3) semantic association: probably the main rule. In the elicitations conducted with Yucatec Maya informants, some derivations are not accepted by speakers, not because they are impossible (as potential words) but because speakers could not find a concrete example in the world (e.g. something that would correspond to the description *ya'ax-nik-e'en* 'green widespread'). However, as soon as speakers are provided with or think about a plausible example (e.g. a photo of say, green leaves spread out) they accept the word as a possible linguistic symbol that refers to a possible referent in the world

2.5 THE DOMAIN OF EXPRESSIVITY IN YUCATEC MAYA

In English, the expressive vocabulary usually considers specific lexicon such as onomatopoeic words, interjections, swear words, words with emotional content (also called affective words) and some movement words (see Fudge (1970) for a discussion and an essay of categorization). However, in languages that have ideophones, the domain of expressivity can be much broader (Diffloth, 2001 inter alia; Digemanse, 2011b; Nuckolls, 1995a; Samarin, 2001; Tufvesson, 2011; Voeltz & Kilian-Hatz, 2001a).

In Yucatec Maya, expressive words and grammar are restricted to the following domains: texture and color (Bricker, 1999; Le Guen, 2011), sensation (tactile) (Le Guen, 2011), sound, movement and manner (Le Guen, 2012). In contrast with many other languages, Yucatec Maya expressive words are not used to describe the domains of emotion (mainly based on compounds or expression with the root *óol* 'vital energy'), taste or odor (Le Guen, (forthcoming)).

3. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Yucatec Maya can have a non-verbal predictive function. This means that, like verbs, they can be inflected for aspect when used with the inchoative. Adjectives typically modify nouns (but not verbs) as an attribute and are usually preposed and sometimes postposed[2] (Bricker et al., 1998, pp. 371–372; Lehmann, 1993, p. 201). Adjectives in Yucatec Maya form a specific class of roots and they can be identified as a word class through two morphosyntactic tests.

a) Adjective can be verbalized, i.e. get an Aspect-Mode marker, with the use of the inchoative
b) To become transitive verbs, adjective roots need the factitive suffix: *-kun-t/s-* or *-kin-t/s-* (chosen according to a vowel disharmony rule)
c) However, while another word class, the positionals (Bohnemeyer & Brown, 2007), also needs the inchoative to be verbalized and the factitive to be transitive, only positional roots can take a positional suffix –v*kbal*

Importantly in Yucatec Maya, adjectives are closer to statives, i.e. they behave as intransitive verbs, and get an ergative marker of the set B (a personal suffix). Note that the third person singular in this construction is sometimes not visible, as in *chak-ø* 'it's red' vs. *mulix-en* 'I have curly hair (lit. I'm curly).' Aspect can be marked with inchoative (present, with a progressive marker and past), as in (5) or (6).

(5) *táan in-chak-tal*
PROG 1A-RED-PRES.INCH[3]
'I'm getting red'

(6) *chak-lah-en*
RED-INCH.CP-1B
'I got red'

[2] When adjectives are postposed, they are statives, i.e. a third person is present but not visible, as in *le ch'upal ki'ichpam-∅-e' ti' yaan tunaayle'* 'the girl, who is pretty, is in her house' vs. *le ki'ichpam ch'upal ti' yaan tunaayle'* 'the pretty girl is in her house.'

[3] Abbreviations used: 1, 2, 3 = first, second, third person; A = person marker of set A; AM = aspect mode; APPL = applicative; B = person marker of set B; CAUS = causative; CLAS = classifier; CONJ = conjunction; CP = completive; DEIC = deictic; DESR = desiderative; DET = determiner; DISTRB = distributive; EVID = evidential; EXIST = existential; FAC = factitive; FOC = focus; GEN = gender marker; HAB = habitual; IC = incompletive; IDPH = ideophone; INAM = inanimate; INCH = inchoative; IND = individualizer; IMP = imperative; INTJ = interjection; MAN = manner; NEG = negation; NOM = nominalizer; ONOM = onomatopoeia; PART = participle; PAS = passive; POS = positional; PP = personal pronoun; PRES = present; PROG = progressive; RED =reduplication; REL = relational; RFLX = reflexive; SUF = suffix; SBJ = subjunctive; TAG = tag; TD = terminal deictic; TERM = terminative; TR = transitive; ? = unknown

When adjectives derive transitive verbs, the person is marked with aspect or mode and an ergative marker of set A (a prefix) while the object is marked with an absolutive marker of set B (a suffix), as in (7).

(7) *t-a-'eek'-kun-s-ah-en*
CP.TR-2A-BLACK/DIRTY-FACT-CAUS-CP.TR-1B
'You dirtied me'

Note that two sets of adjective roots cannot be derived as expressive stems: (1) non-CVC root, such as CVCVC (e.g. *nohoch* 'big,' *chichan* 'small,' *k'omoh* 'bad smell (like rotten fish),' *ch'uhuk*

triggered by this reduplication with infixation is spatial distribution with in-between space between the objects described. However, the perceived space between the objects is specified by the template: CVC-*v(l)*-CVC implies small in-between space while CVC-*en/un*-CvṿC im lies large in-between space.

(12) *k'ix* (n) 'thorn'
k'ix-i(l)-k'ix several thorns on the bark of a tree close to one another
k'ix-un-k'íix several groups of thorns spread over on the bark of a tree

(13) *k'om* (n) 'hole'
k'om -o(l)-k'om le beho' 'the road has many holes distributed with small spaces in between'
k'om -en-k'óom le beho' 'the road has many holes distributed with large spaces in-between'

(14) *lem* (mv) 'shiny, sparkle, bright visual event'
lem-un-léem 'shiny distributed with large spaces in-between' (e.g. several soldiers with shiny swords to their belts)

The CVC-man-CvṿC reduplication. This distributive seems to suggest that only very few objects are present in the scene (i.e. a lot of empty spaces between entities), as in (15), (16) and (17).

(15) *ts'íit* (mv) 'stick out'
ts'it-man-ts'íit 'very few thin sticking out entities distributed here and there' (e.g. standing corn in a field)

(16) *p'éel* (clas) 'inanimate entities'
p'el-man-péel 'very few inanimate entities distributed here and there' (e.g. last few jicara in a jicara tree)

(17) *tak'* (mv) 'stick, adhere'
tak'-man-táak' 'very few entities stuck distributed here and there' (e.g. few star fruits on the branch of a tree, few moth on a large wall)

3.2 SUFFIXES

Two constructions with suffixes are considered: the CVC-lemak that suggests a tactile experience, as in (18) and (19) and the CVC-*v*knak that also implies a tactile experience but with an idea of an unbounded pattern, as in (20) and (21). Both examples are presented with the same roots OP' 'break' and K'IX 'thorn.' In the CVC-*v*knak construction, the vowel is in vocal harmony.

(18) CVC-lemak with *'op'* (mv) 'break'
'op'lemak 'easily broken (tactile/body experience)' (e.g. dried tortilla crushed by hand)

(19) CVC-lemak with *k'ix* (n) 'thorn'
k'ixlemak 'stinging (tactile/body experience)'
(e.g. having a small piece of wood in the eye)

(20) CVC-*v*knak with *'op'* (mv) 'break'
'op'oknak 'easily broken (tactile/body experience with unbounded pattern)' (e.g. light bulb crushed with the fingers)

(21) CVC-*v*knak with *k'ix* (n) 'thorn'
k'ixinak 'stinging (tactile/body experience with unbounded pattern)'
(e.g. rubbing the fur of a wild boar)

3.3 COMPOUNDS

The compound considered in this section was described extensively in Bricker (1999) while referring to secondary set of colors terms. Still, it is not limited to colors and can encode other sensations, the reason why it was named 'sensory compound' by Le Guen (2011). This particular compound is built as a three-part construction as follow:

SLOT 1	SLOT 2	SUFFIX
CVC_1	- CVC_2 -	- *e'en*
(limited set of sensory roots)	(open slot for various classes of roots)	(fixed suffix only found in sensory compound)

As with other expressive constructions, sensory compounds suggest two layers of meanings, each layer corresponding to each root. The first layer relates to visual, textural and/or tactile sensation, depending mainly on the sensory roots used in slot 1. Slot 1 roots belong to a limited set that consists of the five basic color terms, temperature terms and a few other terms such as *háan* 'clear', *sáas* 'clear, transparent,' etc. If compounding is productive with the color terms it is much less so with the latter roots. Slot 2 is not restricted and can be filled with various classes of roots, although multivalent roots are by far the most productive. The only limitation, as in other constructions, seems to be meaning compatibility between the compounded roots. Finally, the suffix *–e'en* is fixed and seems to imply that the overall meaning of the compound is a blending of the two roots' meaning. Such a construction allows speakers to describe a percept in complex (often multimodal or dynamic) way. Consider the possible compounds with the term 'red' (22a-e), all used by several speakers to describe a unique stimulus (a picture of a fireplace with embers). Examples (23) to (27) are formed with temperature adjective roots, *síis* 'cold from (23) to (26) and *k'íin* 'warm/hot' in (27).

(22) *chak* (adj) 'red'
(a) with the root *hul* (mv) 'beam'
chak-hul-e'en 'red-beaming'
(b) with the root *t'ab* (mv) 'light up'
chak-t'ab-e'en 'red-lighting up'
(c) with the root *hop'* (mv) 'start'
chak-hop-e'en 'red-starting to fire up'
(d) with the root *hup* (mv) 'dry out'
chak-hup-e'en 'red-drying/fading out'

(e) with the root *nik* (pos) ‘spread out, fallen without order’
chak-nik-e’en ‘red-spread out’

(23) *síis-nul-e’en* *inw-u’uy-ik* *in-mach’-ik* *yeelo*
cold-bruise-SUF 1A-feel-TR.IC 1A-grab-TR.IC ice
‘I feel (that) ice is cold-bruise when I touch it’

(24) *síis-bal-e’en* *le baat-o’*
cold-?-SUF DET-hail-TD
‘The hail is very cold’

(25) *síis- -e’en* *le baat-o’*
cold-?-SUF DET-hail-TD
‘The hail is very cold (in very little pieces of ice)’

(26) *le* *ruuda-* *síis-pak’-e’en* *t-u-pach inw-ich*
DET herb.of.grace-TD very cold-stone-SUF FOC-3A-back 1A-eye
The he b f g ace i (feel) e c ld/f en n he le f m e e

(27) *k’íin-t’ab-e’en* *le chúuk* *te’ k’íich-o’*
warm-light.up-SUF DET embers DEIC brazier-TD
‘The embers in the brazier [usually a small plate put under the hammock] are (feels) hot-lighting up [i.e. he a e ligh ened , none a e black]

3.4 SYNTAX

As any other adjectives in Yucatec Maya, expressive words can be used in attributive adjectival construction, as in (28) or in predicative adjectival construction, as in (29) and (30).

(28) *chak-ch'a’ay-e'en* *u-kaal* *le x wáay-o’*
red-bloody-SUFF 3E-neck DET GEN with-TD
‘The neck of the witch was bloody-red’ (talking about a witch that separates her head from her body) [narr.xts’éek_DC_00:55]

(29) *le k’i’ik’* *teno’* *po* *hach* *tun-chooh,*
DET blood PP1 INTJ very PROG.3E-hang.down

-u’p’áat- *sakpile’en-en!*
TERM thus TERM-3E leave-PAS but white-pale-SUFF-3A
‘My blood was pouring and it ceased eventually but I was pale’ [nat.conv-T-L_2008-06-19]

(30) *le su-sul-kil* *nook’-o’*
DET RED-soft-SUFF cloth-DET
‘The soft piece of cloth’

Adjectives can also be used in inchoative constructions with a habitual aspect, as in (31) and a perfective aspect, as in (32).

(31) *hach* *k-uy-e'-sam-e'en-tal* *de* *walkil-a'*
very HAB-3A-black-?-SUFF-INCH CONJ TIME.ADV-TD
'It's getting red-black [special color at dusk] at this time (of the day)'

(32) *ax-aknak-chah* *inw-oot'-e'*
wart/verruca- E E. FF-INCH.CP 1A-skin-TD
'My skin got full of warts [known through tactile experience with an idea of an unbounded pattern]'

3.5 PRAGMATIC USE

Why should these adjectives be considered expressive? Expressiveness does not only arise from form, that tends to blend two meanings in one word, but also from specific contexts of use.

Sensory compounds for instance do more than just refer to color and texture or temperature and sensation. What the use of a sensory compound does in conversation is to suggest the image of a whole event, not just to qualify the color or the temperature. For instance, to refer to the leg of a trapped animal, one speaker used the term *chakhots'e'en* 'red-drawn out.' The color term does only refer to the color and the texture but also the action that led to it, namely the effort the animal made to try to escape the trap, injuring its skin and scratching it until it bled, hence the red color. Examples (22a-e) not only refer to the color of the fireplace but also provide an interpretation of the event (e.g. if the fire is firing up or fading out).

Although distributives point to differences in the in-between space between entities, they do not state it in terms of metric space but rather in an impressionistic way used strategically by the speaker to produce evocative images. Consider the following examples recorded in natural interaction by the author. The first example is extracted from a conversation with a woman who is explaining to the author how she and her family were afraid during the time when it was said that strangers were entering villages to steal children's organs. She said that they were so afraid that they would stay up at night and would sit next to each other on the doorstep, as in (33).

(33) *tak'atak'* *kul-ukbal-o'on* *t-u-hool* *in-naayl-o'on*
CVC-c-CVC.stuck POS.seated-1Bpl FOC-3A-hole 1A-house-1Apl
'We were seated close to one another on the doorstep' [note_WCC_2008]

In this example, the woman uses the CVC-*v*(l)-CVC template with the root TAK' 'stick' implying the meaning 'being stuck with small interval space.' What the construction suggests is the image of various people seated on a doorstep so close to one another (because they were afraid) that there was little (or even no) space between the bodies.

In the second example, a young man is telling a group of men (including the author) what he recently witnessed at the local authority's house *(presidente municipal)*. The *presidente* receives supplies from the government he is supposed to distribute for free. Instead, he stocks them in his house and dispenses them in time of election, or just sells them. In order to convey the abundance of those packages in the authority's house, the speaker says that the packages were:

(34) *tuk-en-túuk‘* ‘piled up here and there with large internal space’ [note_SAM_2008]

In this example, there is no real interest in metric precision while describing the disposition of the packages. Instead, the idea suggested by the construction is that there were a lot of packages piled-up all over in such a way that one could pass among them (the sentence was also accompanied by a gesture showing the height of the package).

4. THE TEMPORAL DISTRIBUTIVE *–ÁANKIL*

This section is dedicated to the examination of the morphosyntax and use of the suffix *–áankil*, here qualified as a temporal distributive. Because of the versatility of Yucatec Maya morphosyntax, derived stems with *–áankil* (or *–áan-t-*) can turn out to be adverbs, intransitive verb, or transitive verb (when use with the applicative –t-). The interest of examining one suffix is to show first, how a root with the same morphological profile can be used in different slots and hence fall into various word class and second, that it is not the form *per se* that triggers an expressive meaning but also the context of use.

4.1 ADVERBIAL USE

Adverb is a not an easy category to define in Yucatec Maya (as in many other languages). As a basic definition an adverb modifies the verb. A number of other roots (mainly verbo-nominals) can also be used to modify verbs and hence be syntactically treated as adverbs. In this paper, I focus on one construction with *–áankil*.

Distributive suffixes such as *–áankil* trigger the idea of temporal distribution, more precisely that an event is potentially repeated again and again. This suffix can be applied to a number of roots and because of its syntactic position the root functions as an adverb, as in (35). Importantly, and it is one of the main criteria to distinguish adverbs from ideophones (see below), adverbs never occur with an aspect on the verb they are modifying.

(35) *tak’-(a)l-áankil u-bin (l)e máak-o’*
stick-DISTRB 3A-go DET people-TD
‘The man goes in a sticky fashion over and over again [e.g. walking (discretely) his back on a wall]’

4.2 VERBAL USE

As mentioned in Bricker et al. (1981, p. 352), a number of roots (besides adjectives) can be suffixed with *–áankil* and can function as intransitive verbs: nominal root, as in (36) or even onomatopoeic roots, for instance *’o’* ‘making the sound “o”’ as in (37). Note that the nominalizer suffix *–(i)l* is necessary in this case.

(36) *te'* *k-u-naah-áankil* *x* *Ha’azil*
LOC HAB-3A-house-distr.temp IND name.of.village
‘he keeps housing in Ha’azil’

(37) *le paal-o'* *tak* *u-cheeh* *k-u-seen* *'o'-o'-(n)áankil*
DET child-TD DESR 3A-vomit HAB-3A-very ONOM-RED-DISTRB
'The child wants to vomit, he keeps doing "o'" "o"'

New verbal stems can be transitivitized with the use of an applicative, as in (38) and (39).

(38) *chen* *k-u-máan* *u-poch'-l-áan-t* *máak*
only HAB-3A-pass 3A-insult-NOM-DISTRB people
'He just goes around insulting people (on and on)'

(39) *(ka' t-u)* *ho'os-l-áan-t(-ah)* *u-baraha-o'ob* *bin*
CONJ CP.TR-3A take.out-NOM-DISTRB-APPL(CP.TR) 3A-card-PL EVID

t-u-hay-o'o *bin* *yok'* *e* *nuxi'* *tuunch-o'*
CP.TR-scatter-PL EVID on DET great stone-TD
'(And he) took the cards out, they say, scattered them on the big (flat) stone, they say' [narr.kuchhoolnah_DLUC_05:47]

4.3 PRAGMATIC USE

Bricker et al. (1998) consider the stems with the suffix *–bal* and *–áankil* as expressing affects. Their justification for this label is based on Laughlin (1988)'s analysis that affect words bring more vividness. In this paper, I consider expressives as having a similar effect but not just because of their form, that potentially trigger more vividness, but also and crucially because of the way they are used in discourse. For instance, the example presented in Bricker et al. (1998: 352) *táan uyits'áankil* 'it is oozing' is not especially expressive (or affective to follow their nomenclature) for it is the way Yucatec Maya speaker would typically talk about things oozing. On the other hand, we notice a more strategic uses of the same suffix in examples (37), (38) and (39).

In example (37), the same situation could have been described as 'the child wants to vomit.' But the speaker chooses to use the suffix *–áankil* (reinforced by the intensifier *seen*) to express the repetitive action and, from it, to infer incontrollable symptom of the child wanting to vomit. The vividness of the expression comes in part from the onomatopoeic root *o'* but also from the repetitive (almost at infinitum) action described in the root. The same applies to example (38) that describes a man who 'just goes (on and on) insulting people.' The same event could have been described as *kumáan poch'ik máak* 'he goes around insulting people.' The use of the suffix *–áankil* here reinforces the image of the man going on insulting people one after the other. Finally, the use of the temporal distributive in example (39) taken from a narrative, helps suggesting the image of the man distributing the cards one after the other (also suggesting that it takes some time to do it). Here too we note a strategic use of the suffix since it would have been possible to preserve the same expression (without the distributive) to describe the same action. In this case however, the image of distributing the card would have to be inferred (there are cards so they have to be scattered) and hence less vivid.

In conclusion, it is not the suffix by itself that suggests vividness but its use to depict a particular action, especially with regard to other possible or more usual ways of describing this action.

5. VERBAL COMPOUNDING

5.1 FORM

In verbal compounds, we notice again two semantic layers as the co-verb helps either narrowing down or complementing the meaning of the second verb providing a more imagistic dimension to the description of the action. The profile of the verbal compound can be summarized in Figure 3. Bohnemeyer (2003) suggests that the first root expresses the manner of the event while the second encodes the process conducted. In verbal compounds, generally the first root gets a high tone while the second can be either short or long.

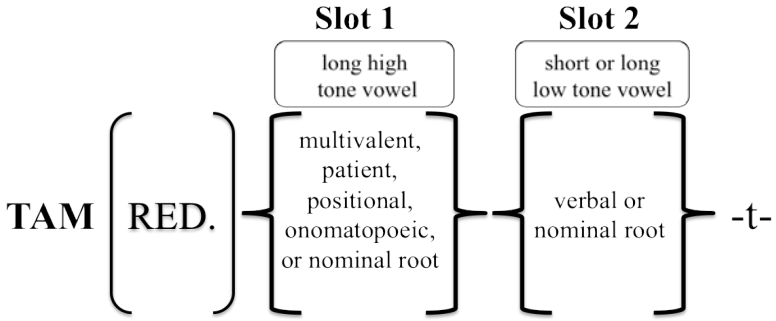

Figure 3: verbal compounds profile in Yucatec Maya

Typically, the first root slot can be filled by multivalent root as in (40) and (41), patient root, as in (42), active roots, as in (43), positional as in (44) and (45), an onomatopoeic root as in (46) or an adverb (e.g. *táanil* 'in front'). Verbal compounds can be found with a nominal root as the first root. It seems that only adjectives cannot be used in these compounds. The first root can also be reduplicated in a CV- form, suggesting the repetition of the action, as in (42) and (45). The second verb can be either a verbal root, as in (40 to 42) or a nominal root as in (45) and has a broader meaning. As with any compound in Yucatec Maya, the applicative –t-, is necessary for transitivization, as in (40 to 46).

(40) *ka'* *t-u-ch'a* *bey-a'* *ka'* *t-u-mach-eh*
CONJ CP.TR-3A-take MAN-TD CONJ TR.CP-3A-grab-SBJ

ka' *t-u-hóots'-pay-t-ah*
CONJ CP.TR-3A-draw.out-extract-APPL-CP.TR
'And he took it like this, and he grabbed it, then he drew it out-extracted' [narr.balche_DC_12:16]

(41) *ka'* *t-u-táak'-lah-t* *u-chi'* *le* *máak-o'*
CONJ CP.TR-3A-stick-slap-APPL 3A-mouth DET people-TD
'And he stick-slapped the guy in the face'

(42) *le chan péepem-o' t-u-pe-péek-xíik'-t-ah*
DET small butterfly-TD CP.TR-3A-RED- -fly-APPL-CP.TR
'The small butterfly flapped his wings (in a strong fashion)'

(43) *chen k-u-ts'íib-hats'-t-ik yóok' e pak'-o'*
only HAB-3A-write-whip-APPL-IC.TR on DET wall-TD
'What he does is writing on the wall in whipping it (with a small object)'

(44) I: *kux e bara-o'*
INTJ DET bar-TD

xS: *sáam in-túuts'-luk'-t-eh*
ADV 1A-stretch.out- allo -APPL-SBJ
'I : so what about the pan ? [i.e. is there some left ?]'
'xS : I already swallow it up ! [lit. in a stretch out fashion]' [note_SCC_2012.08.06]

(45) *chen k-u-wa-wal-chi' (l)e' padre-o'*
only HAB-3A-RED-straight.up-mouth DET priest-TD
'The priest only tells nonsense [lit. his mouth goes standing up]'

(46) *sahak-chah (l)e paal-o' ka' t-u-ts'i-kis-t u-bah*
afraid-INCH.CP DET child-TD CONJ CP.TR-3A-ONOM-fart-APPL 3A-RFLX
'The child got afraid and *ts'i'*-farted [i.e. making farts that sound like *ts'i'*]'

5.2 PRAGMATIC USE

As for the other expressive forms describe above, the pragmatic use of verbal compounds is decisive to its expressiveness. Because of their particular forms, verbal compounds describe basically two actions or one complex action in one word.

Consider example (40) for instance, taken from a narrative. In this example, a man is about to take out the claw of a jaguar's paw. One could have correctly (but less expressively) say *ka' tuhoseh* 'and he took it away/extracted.' Following, Bohnemyer (2003)'s analysis, the use of *hots'* 'draw out' focuses on the manner the claw is extracted from the paw while *pay* 'pull, extract' emphasizes the process, i.e. the type of movement the man is performing to do so (i.e. lean back; note that the same verb is used to describe drawing water from a well).

In example (44), taken from a natural conversation, the woman says that she ate the bread. However, instead of just saying that (*tinhantah* 'I ate it'), she chose to use a verbal compound that combines the positional root *tuts'* 'stretch out' that describes the form of her neck would have taken (the manner) and the root *luk'* 'swallow' that denotes how she want her interlocutor to think she ate the bread (the process). The combination of both roots is expressive in the sense it describes both the neck and the action, but the pragmatic use is critical too because the description of the speaker does not correspond to the reality. Instead, it is an imagistic description used to suggest that she ate the bread rapidly (the compound suggests a sudden action) but also not considering that others would have liked to eat the bread as well (the use of *sáam* 'already' comes to sustain this interpretation). In this sense, she strategically use the compound to render her action humorous and, at the same time putting emphasis on

her lack of social consideration hoping the humorous effect would diminish her social fault. It should be underlined that the woman while uttering this sentence smiled and simultaneously shrugged her shoulder (as a sign of shame).

In example (46), the use of the onomatopoeic root *tsi'* 'rapid and high pitch sound' helps narrowing down the meaning of the root *kis* 'fart' to describe, in a funny way, how the child farted because of fear. Here the use of *tsi'* corresponds on the one hand to the small size of the child and the fact that he probably contracted his buttocks, because of the fear, producing the high pitch sound of the fart.

In verbal compounds, although the description of the percept (i.e. the action) is more transparent than other expressive forms, it also depends on its pragmatic use. In other words, how much the description corresponds to the action (in terms of propositional truth) or is more figurative.

6. IDEOPHONES

Ideophones constitute a novel class of stems never considered before in the Yucatec Maya literature (see Le Guen, 2012). They are stems identifiable morphologically and syntactically and can be derived from several types of roots: onomatopoeic, active, multivalent and positional roots. Although less productively, inactive, nominal and adjectival roots can also derive ideophones.

Crucially ideophones, although they have an onomatopoeic character, are distinct from mere sound imitation, onomatopoeia or interjection. *Sound imitation* does not involve existing morphemes in the language. In other word, it is very hard to write sound imitation (e.g. *pfffffff* could be the closest way to write the sound of someone blowing a candle). Although *onomatopoeias* are close to sound imitation, they often make use of the existing morphemes of the language and are more conventionalized. Good examples of onomatopoeia are imitation of animals' cry (e.g. *kikiriki* used to imitate the sound of the roster) or ways of calling animals (e.g. *kus kus kus* to call little dog in Yucatec Maya). Crucially onomatopoeia and sound imitation only describe sound while ideophone suggest also some imagistic representation. Finally, *interjections* (also called expletives) are words that are part of the lexicon (i.e. making use of morphemes), often conventionalized but used to comply with a specific indexical function (see Ameka, 2006; Kockelman, 2003) which is not always present in ideophones.

Ideophones describe events in a multimodal way encompassing three features at once (and often indistinguishable): sound, movement and suddenness. They are typically produced with a change of voicing (breathy voice), a bit louder (depending on the level of involvement of the speaker) and are usually more phonologically isolated in the sentence.

Morphologically, roots derive ideophones according to three types of derivation: vowel alteration (section 6.1), suffixation (section 6.2) and derivation templates (section 6.3). In ideophones, the two layers of meaning a provided on the one hand by the meaning of the root and on the other hand by the meaning of the derivation template. Syntactically, ideophones precede either the verb with an aspect, a citative or a pause (usually at the end of an utterance) (section 6.4).

6.1 VOWEL ALTERATION

When roots derive ideophones with vowel alteration, the meaning of the vowel change is added to the meaning of the root. The meaning is iconically mapped on the length of the vowel as follows:

– short vowels suggest a short or quick event or sound
– long low-toned vowels (sometimes phonologically lengthened) suggest a long event or sound
– rearticulated vowels suggest an event in two part or a staccato event or sound

Interestingly, although potentially available in Yucatec Maya, high tone vowel change has not been encountered in the database.

The following examples are taken from the results of the OLG sound task run with 7 informants in Kopchen.

C_1vC_2 (short vowel) for short sound/event. In the following examples, we notice that the vowel of the root is reduced to a short vowel, even when the root is with a high tone originally, as in (49), hence we can talk about a derivation process. As with any other expressive words, the two meanings (of the root and of the derivation) add up, blend or redefine each other. The meaning of the root derived in an ideophone with a short vowel, implies a short event/sound.

(47) *p'uch* (mv) 'beat'
p'uch p'uch p'uch 'hits on wood (high and low pitch), hits on an iron pot'

(48) *t'in* (mv) 'tighten'
t'in t'in t'in 'hits on wood (high and low pitch), hits on an iron pot'

(49) *t'óoh* (tr) 'strike, hit'
t'oh t'oh t'oh 'hits on wood (high and low pitch), hits on an iron pot'

C_1vvC_2 (long low toned) for long sound/event. When a root derives an ideophone with a long vowel, the meaning of the derivation implies an extended duration of the event described by the meaning of the root. In (50), (52) and (53) the roots TSAH (mv) 'fry,' WOH (mv) 'to loose' and TS'EH 'chip, crack' are with short vowels and get lengthened when derived into an ideophone while in (51) the root CHE'EH (n) 'laugh/noisy' is rearticulated and becomes long.

Typically, in addition to the long vowel, speakers also tend to iconically map the sound of the word onto the duration of the event in phonologically lengthening the vowel, as in (50) and (52). Obviously, the meaning of the root should in principle be compatible with an event that lasts in time.

(50) *tsah* (mv) 'fry'
tsaa:::::h 'sound of water on embers'

(51) *cheeh* *kih* *úuch* *u-pul-ik* *lu'um* *ich* *kareetya*
IDPH.noisy[6] CIT CONJ 3A-throw-TR.IC earth in wheelbarrow
'*cheeh* it said when he throw some earth in the wheelbarrow' [note_DC_2008.08.10]

[6] Glosses of roots that derive ideophones are only provided to give a broad meaning of the root.

(52) *ti'* *yaan-en* *t-u-chi'* *k'áak'* *bey-a'*
FOC EXIST-2B FOC-3A-mouth fire MAN-TD

woo::h *k-u-lúub-l* *in-k'ilk'ab*
IDPH.loose HAB-3A-fall-NOM 1A-sweat

'(when) I'm near the fireplace like this, *woo::h* falls my sweat [i.e. heavy drops of sweat]' [note_SCC_06.08.08]

(53) *ts'eeh* *ken* *lúub-uk* *hum-p'ée* *ooya*
IDPH.crack CONJ fall-SBJ one-CLAS.INAM pot
'*ts'eeh* would do a pot when falling' [note_LPB_18.08.08]

C_1v'vC_2 (rearticulated) for sound/event with an internal division. Again, the division of the vowels in ideophones with rearticulated vowel suggests the internal division of the event described by the meaning of the root. Examples (54) to (56) were produced by J., an expert hunter that described several ways/sounds of animals walking on dry leaves.

The various roots used are from different classes: TSOH 'crush' (55) and SO'OH 'hoarse (56), hollow' are onomatopoeic root while TSAH (mv) 'fry' (54) (also in 50 above) is a multivalent root.

(54) *tsa'ah* *bey* *u-máan* *haleeb wáa raton*
IDPH.fry MAN 3A-pass paca or rat
'*tsa'ah*, it's how the paca or a rat passes' [conv_JCC-DC_22.08.08]

(55) *tso'oh* *bey* *u-máan* *kitam, haaleb, kéeh*
IDPH.crush MAN 3A-pass jabali paca deer
'*tso'oh*, is how jabali, paca or deer pass' [conv_JCC-DC_22.08.08]

(56) *so'oh* *bey* *u-máan* *weech*
IDPH.crush MAN 3A-pass armadillo

ma'ik *endas* *u-bin* *u-soh-chal-áankil*
CONJ random 3A-go 3A-c! h
'*so'oh* is how goes the armadillo, because it goes (in a) random (fashion), it goes crushing again and again' [conv_JCC-DC_22.08.08]

6.2 SUFFIX

A second way in which roots can derive ideophones is suffixation. The two most common suffixes found in our database both imply the description of an event with internal repetitive features.

C_1vC_2-chah *for an event with internal repetitive features*. The suffix *–chah* (homophonous with the completive inchoative) suggests an internal repetition of an event. Examples (57) to (59) are answers to the OLG and MPI sounds tasks while (60) is taken from a discussion with a hunter regarding sounds and ways of walking of animals in the forest.

The various roots used are from different classes: K'O' 'loop' is a nominal root, BOK' 'stir, mix, beat' and BOH 'knock hollow' are multivalent and SOP' that means 'pile up' but refers to an arrangement of thin materials easily crushable (e.g. like dry leaves or herbs) is a positional root. In all examples, the suffix *–chah* adds the idea of a movement with internal repetition. Speakers are also free to use a secondary iconic process to suggest the repetition of the event itself: iteration, as in (60).

(57) *k'o'* (n) 'loop'
k'o'ochah sound or image of tipping lid on iron pot [OLG.ST_34]

(58) *bok'* (mv) 'stir, mix, beat'
bok'chah sound of footsteps in the water/in the mud [MPI.ST_19]

(59) *boh* (mv) 'knock hollow'
bohchah sound of someone walking with high-heel on a firm surface [OLG.ST_25]

(60) *le noom-o' sop'chah sop'chah k-u-bin*
DET partridge-TD IDPH.pile.up IDPH HAB-3A-go
'The partridge goes *sop'chah sop'chah*' [conv_JCC-DC_22.08.08]

C_1vC_2-i'in for event with internal repetitive features. The suffix *–i'in* seems to present the same meaning as *–chah*. However, it seems that there is a sound-symbolic effect, namely the use of a /i/ in the suffix *–i'in* suggests a more rapid repetition that the /a/ in *–chah*.

(61) *ch'eb* (pos) 'incline'
ch'ebi'in sound or image of tipping lid on iron pot [OLG.ST_34]

(62) *k'uy-i'in k'uy-i'in u-máan le ch'upal-o'*
IDPH.twist IDPH.twist 3A-pass DET girl-TD
'*k'uyi'in k'uyi'in* passes the girl (i.e. twisting her butt)'

6.3 DERIVATION TEMPLATES

Finally, the last way in which roots can derive ideophones is according to specific and quite complex templates. Two main templates have been identified: C_1v̩vhrv'vC_2 and C_1v̩vhC_2v'vC_3. Although the former is fixed, the latter presents various sub-templates declined according to the change of the last consonant.

Template 1 C_1v́vhrv'vC_2 for rapid motion. In template 1, the root gets a /hr/ infix, a sound combination found nowhere else in Yucatec Maya. Additionally, as in other ideophonic templates, the first vowel is with a high tone while the second (in vocal harmony) is rearticulated.

The meaning implied by template 1, depending on the meaning of the root derived, is rapid motion. In (63), the movement of the mouse described with the positional root HUTS' 'a Figure moving toward, near or behind a Ground' with the ideophone derivation reinforces the image of the haste of the mouse to hide being the jar. In (64), the speaker is describing (in a funny way) how his grandmother used to hit the

children on the head if they were being too loud while they were eating. The speaker chooses to use two roots derived according to the same template (template 1). Both roots, NÓOT' (mv) 'hard contact, e.g. gnawing bones)' and WICH' (mv) 'whip,' refer to a beating/whipping event. The derivation in template 1 suggests the rapid unfolding of the event but also the suddenness or unexpected aspect of the hitting, in this case, from the perspective of the children. Finally, in (65), extracted from a narrative, the speaker imitates the sound of a character snoring. However, she does not produce a sound imitation but use instead an ideophone derived from the root HOTS' (mv) 'remove a large figure from a ground' to suggest the idea of a lot of air going out of the mouth of the character. Once again, in this example, the ideophone is used strategically to convey an auditory and an imagistic impression at the same time. Paralinguistic tools were also used during the production of the utterance, namely voice effect and gestures (not recorded), but see Le Guen (2012) for examples.

(63) *húuhru'uts'* *ka'ah* *bin* *le ch'o'o'* *t-u-paach* *le p'uul-o'*
IDPH.place.near CONJ go DET rat-TD LOC-3B-back DET jar-TD
'*húuhru'uts'* went the rat behind the jar' [note_LPB_15.09.10]

(64) *nóohro'ot'* *u-háats'-a'al* *u-ho'ol* *le* *paal-a'* *u-p'uch*
IDPH.gnaw 3A-hit-PAS 3A-head DET child-TD 3A-beat

u-ho'ol *yéetel che'* *wáa* *yéetel* *ak'* *wíihri'ich'* *kih*
3A-head with wood or with vine IDPH.whip CIT
'*nóohro'ot'* she hit the head of the children, she beat their heir with (a piece of) wood or with a vine (it would) says: *wíihri'ich'*" [note_Elis_03.09.08]

(65) *hóohro'ots'* *hóohro'ots'* *hóohro'ots'* *k-u-nóok'* *bin*
IDPH.remove IDPH IDPH HAB-3A-snore EVID
'*horots', horots', horots'* he snores, they say' [narr. molchi_DLUC_03:09]

Template 2 C_1ývhC_2v'vC_3 for contact events. In this template, a /h/ is infixed before the second consonant of the root. The last consonant is fixed and gives its specific meaning to the template. As in template 1, the first vowel is high toned and the second (in vocal harmony) is rearticulated. Template 2 has a general meaning which broadly suggests 'contact event.' The change of the third consonant (C_3) gives a more specific meaning that goes as follow:

- *-ch*: contact/interaction between objects
- *-n*: ways/sounds of falling
- *-ts'*: inserting interaction

As an example of the productive aspect of this derivation, consider the three derivations with the same root TUK' (mv) 'twist, dislocate' (ex. 66 to 68) by the same speaker (ICM).

	final stem	**examples of event**
(66)	*túuhk'u'uch*	'tree creak, hairclip closing, etc.'
(67)	*túuhk'u'un*	'stone falling on the ground'
(68)	*túuhk'u'uts'*	'knife stabbing a pig, piston entering into a cylinder, male penis entering a female sex'

The following examples (69), (70) and (71) present the same derivations with the root HUP' (mv) 'prick, puncture; entering a Figure in a firm Ground.'

	final stem	**examples of event**
(69)	*húuhp'u'uch*	movement of someone entering his hand in water, person stepping in the mud
(70)	*húuhp'u'un*	a thick piece of wood entering someone's foot stepping on it
(71)	*húuhp'u'uts'*	a plug entering a socket, piece of wood entering a hole just fitted to its size

As with any expressive derivation, the meaning of some derivations has to be compatible with the meaning of specific roots. Positional root and roots that can take the -*v*kbal suffix are particularly fitted to template 2–n that describes falling events. Note that this template (2-n) implies a finite event with no possible repetition. It is iconic in that the last syllable cannot be repeated. In (72) and (73) the idea is to suggest the sound of the child falling on the ground. However, the ideophone is not limited to sound imitation but also conveys an image through the meaning of the root. With the same pattern and in a similar utterance, in (72) with the use of the positional root *haw* 'facing upward' a Yucatec Maya listener understands that the child felt on his back while in (73) with the use of the positional root *noh* 'facing downward,' the child felt on his face.

(72) *háahwa'an* *ka'ah* *lúub* *le* *chan* *paal-o'*
IDPH.face.up CONJ fall DET small child-TD
'*háahwa'an* fell the small child' (BMY) [the child felt face up, on his back]

(73) *nóohko'on* *ka'ah* *lúub* *le* *chan* *paal-o'*
IDPH.face.down CONJ fall DET small child-TD
'*nóohko'on* fell the small child' [the child felt face down]

6.4 SYNTAX

Syntactically, ideophones differ from adverbs or adjectives in that they do not predicate of any nominal or verbal phrase. Because ideophones are at the extreme end of the expressive scale, they stand alone semantically but also formally in being syntactically isolated. Ideophones always appear before an aspect (the main difference with adverbs), a citative or in final position in the sentence/utterance.

Before an Aspect-Mode. In contrast with adverbs that modify the verb, ideophones are syntactically detached or separated from the verb by the presence of an aspect. However, this difference, which makes them contrast with the adverbs (see example (35) above), is only visible with the habitual aspect as in (74) taken from an actual utterance by a woman distributing cakes. With a completive aspect the difference between adverb as in (75) and ideophones as in (76) disappears.

(74) *Teen-e',* *k-in-máan* *in-t'ox-e* *le* *pastel-o',*
PP-TD AM-1A-pass 1A-DISTRB-SBJ DET cake-TD
kaada *k-in-ch'-ik* *hum-p'éel-e'* *chaas,*
every.time AM-1A-take-TR one-CLAS.INAM-TD IDPH.hand.mvt

chohk'o'on *chok'o'on* *k-u-bin* *t-in-chi'*
IDPH.insert IDPH HAB-3A-go FOC-3A-mouth
'As for me, I distribute the cakes, every time I take one *chaas, chaas; chohk'o'on, chok'o'on* they go into my mouth' [note_SCC_24.07.08]

(75) *túuhts'u'un* *ka'ah* *bin* *le kiib-o'*
IDPH.strecht.out CONJ go.3B DET candle-TD
'*túuhts'u'un* went the candle' [note_ICM_31.08.08]

(76) *seeba'an* *ka'ah* *bin* *t-in-chi'*
ADV.fast CONJ go.3B FOC-3A-mouth
'It went fast into my mouth'

Use of citative. As in various languages of the world, ideophones are introduced or preceded by a citative. In Yucatec Maya the direct citative is used mainly for direct quotation but also has the broader function of quoting a piece of reality, that is, it can be used to quote utterances (Lucy, 1993) but also sounds and even (although more rarely) gestures or body movements. In (77) for instance, we have an actual utterance recorded by the author of a woman talking about her experience while she was sitting on a bench in the city having her back hitching. She explained afterwards (when asked by the author) that she used the root NICH' (mv) 'bite' because the sensation of hitching was as if a little ant was biting her back (see also example (64)).

(77) *kul-ukbal-en* *Kaariyo,* *níich'i'in* *níich'i'in* *kih* *bey-a'*
seat-POS-1B Carrillo IDPH.bite IDPH CIT MAN-TD

pero *m-in-la'ach-ik* *tumen* *su'ulak-en*
but NEG-1A-scratch-TR because ashamed/shy-1B
'I was seated in Carrillo, "*níich'i'in níich'i'in*" it says like this, but I didn't scratched it because I was ashamed/shy' [note_SCC_01.09.08]

Final position in the sentence. The last slot where ideophones are found in Yucatec Maya is before a silence, most likely at the end of an utterance. In (78) (extracted from a narrative) the ideophone derived from the root HOTS' (mv) 'remove' occurs before a silence of almost 1 second. Additionally, the next sentence is started at a higher frequency.

(78) *"he'la'!* *hots'-eh"* *k-y-a'ala'* *bin* *ti'*
DEIC remove-IMP.TR AM-3A-say.PAS EVID PREP

ka' t-u-mach-ah *ka' t-u-kóol-ah* *hóohts'o'on*!
CONJ AM-3E-grasp-CP.TR CONJ AM-3E-pull-CP.TR IDPH.draw.out
"Here it is! Remove it [the claw]" it was said to him, so they say, so he grasped it and he pulled it, *hóohts'o'on*! [narr.baalche_DC_09:36]

6.5 PRAGMATIC USE

The use of ideophones (in their non-reduced, i.e. non-verbal form, see Le Guen (2012)) is inseparable from their pragmatic force. Ideophones, because of their meaning, form and syntactic isolation are especially designed to express events in a vivid way in putting emphasis on their suddenness, as shown in the various examples presented above. It is noteworthy that no ideophone in Yucatec Maya was found to express a slow type of movements or silence (as it is the case in Siwu for instance (Digemanse, in press)). One clue supports the idea of suddenness and unpredictability of the event described: typically, when a speaker uses an ideophone and is asked to repeat his or her utterance, he or she would take the ideophone away from the sentence or replace it with a less expressive form using the same root. For instance if the first sentence is *háahwa'an lúub e paalo'* 'the child felt *háahwa'an* (i.e. felt on its back, face up suddenly)' the repeated sentence would be *hawakbal úuch ulúub e paalo'* 'the boy felt on his back (face up).' Additionally, when speakers are asked to describe the sentence with an ideophone, they generally comment on the rapid unfolding of the event.

In order to give an idea of the elaboration that speakers can reach in using ideophones, consider example (79a-d). This example is a compilation of various utterances with ideophones that were used to describe a similar scene by various speakers in different and successive occasions. Such elaboration is an essential feature of the speech genre of *ba'axal t'aan*, 'joking' (literally 'play on word'), very common in Yucatec Maya daily life. The series of jokes, presented in (79) and based on the use of ideophones, started with a joke of the author toward his host. Coming back from the town of Carrillo Puerto, I went to S.'s house, my host in the village. She asked me if I had seen her husband (Id.), who had also been to town that morning. As a joke, I told her that I just had seen I. (who was not back yet) in company of a tall and attractive woman walking on his side. She reacted to my pin joke with a big laugh and instantly retold it with more refinement adding an ideophone to my expression, presented in (79a). As the joke was repeated over several days, especially when close kin or friends came to visit, it got more and more elaborated, and each time, the description of the walking woman was slightly modified as in (79b to d).

(79) Id. walking with a (virtual) woman to his side

(a) *boh boh boh k-u-bin le ch'upal-o'*
IDPH.hit.hollow IDPH IDPH AM-3ERG-go DET girl-TD

t-u-tséel le Id.-o'
FOC-3ERG-side DET name-TD
'boh boh boh goes the girl on Id.'s side' (SCC)

(b) *teh teh the k-u-bin le ch'upal-o'*
IDPH.crack IDPH IDPH AM-3ERG-go DET girl-TD
'*teh teh teh* goes the girl' (SCC)

(c) *ch'ik ch'ik ch'ik k-u-bin le ch'upal-o'*
IDPH.pin IDPH IDPH AM-3ERG-go DET girl-TD
'*ch'ik ch'ik ch'ik* goes the girl (DCC)

(d) *ch'iki'in ch'iki'in k-u-máan le ch'upal-o'*
IDPH.pin IDPH AM-3ERG-pass DET girl-TD
'*ch'ihk'i'in ch'ihk'i'in* passes the girl (IPM)

(e) *k'ech* *k'ech* *k'ech* *k-u-bin* *le* *ch'upal-o'*
IDPH.tilt IDPH IDPH AM-3ERG-go DET girl-TD
'k'ech k'ech k'ech goes the girl (SCC)

In (79a), the ideophone has a short vowel and is typically used for hitting sounds. The ideophone *boh* is a short vowel ideophonic derivation from the root BOH 'hit something hollow, hit that brings resonance.' In this example, the woman is shown as walking with stiletto heels on a firm hollow surface (like a road for instance). In (79a), the more acoustic side of the event is depicted, insisting, at a second level, on the fact that the woman is wearing stiletto heels (habitually Maya woman in the village wear flip flop[7]). The example (79b) is a variation of (79a) but it introduces a more imagistic component to the acoustic meaning. The ideophone *teh*, derived from the root TEH 'crack' is used to refer to the short hitting sound, but it also conveys the image of a firm surface being almost about to crack under the force of the footsteps of the woman, suggesting a rapid and energetic way of walking, typical of women in the city.

In (79c) a new and more imagistic image of the event is presented. The speakers want to convey the idea that the woman is walking on the earth and that her stiletto heels enter the ground at every step. The root used this time is CH'IK, 'pin, fix in place'. In (79d), speakers elaborate further (79c) adding the suffix *–i'in*, which shows the stiletto heels entering the ground, and twanging at every step. Finally, in line with example (79c), example (79e) uses the ideophone *k'ech*, derived from the root K'ECH 'tilt, twist'. This time, the speaker explicitly wants to convey the idea that the woman is not used to walk with stiletto heels and that her feet twist or tilt at every step. The images presented by the different speakers become more enhanced suggesting information about the identity of the hypothetic woman, the place she is walking in and the viewpoint of the speakers on her. The image in (79e) is quite depreciative indeed: if the woman does not know how to walk with stiletto, she might just be a rural girl who was given western accessories (remember that the joke is addressed to I.'s wife and that she is running the joke). Notice that the ideophone *k'echi'in* would also have been possible (although not used by any of the speakers), to emphasize the broken movement or the shaking of the woman walk. In most examples (79a-d), the presence of ideophones is preferred by speakers to other possible descriptions for it perfectly conveys suddenness and velocity of the woman's footsteps.

7. DISCUSSION

[7] Flip flop are also called *tak'ach* in Maya, a word derived from the ideophone *táahk'a'ach*, built on the root TAK' 'adhe(ence)'. The image conveyed is that of the shoes getting stuck to the ground at every step.

The various constructions presented in this paper show the great degree of productivity of Yucatec Maya roots, in particular multivalent roots. The function of expressive words is to convey meaning as well as the speaker stance regarding the event (s)he wants to describe. For this reason, it is essential to consider when and why people choose to use expressive words.

7.1 ROOTS, STEMS AND EXPRESSIVITY IN YUCATEC MAYA

Before entering in detail into the reasons why speakers use expressive morphology, it seems essential to stress that Yucatec Maya speakers have an ample range of possibilities to express similar ideas. If we consider that the main idea resides in the meaning of the root, Yucatec Maya offers several choices as to how a concept can be expressed or, more precisely, how the realization of this concept (i.e. the percept) will be linguistically described. This choice is provided by possible expressive derivations of Yucatec Maya.

In order to give an example of this productivity, take the idea of pricking. How many forms does English allow to express this idea in a single word that would be a derivation of the root PRICK? Not too many: to prick (verb), pricking (participle), prickly (adjective), etc. In English a more efficient way to modify the concept is to use intensifiers or synonyms. In contrast, Yucatec Maya has pre-encoded sets of derivations for specific percepts realizations. Consider an event that involves the idea of pricking. Say speakers would choose the root *hup'* 'prick, a figure entering a firm ground.' Using expressive derivations, Yucatec Maya offers many ways to describe this idea, some of which are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Some examples of expressive derivation productivity in Yucatec Maya with the root HUP'

Form	Maya sentence	English gloss or example
Reduplication	*tun hu-hup'-t-ik*	'he is pricking several times'
Distributives	*hup'-u-hup'*	'pricked things here and there close to one another' (e.g. many needles on a canvas)
	k-u-hup'-en-húup'-tal upool nohoch máak wáa kuk'iinal upool	'the head of old people get pricked when they have headaches (i.e. in several places on the skull)'
Adjective	*hu-hup'-kil*	e.g. a place where there a lot of sharp things
	hup'-lemak	e.g. sensation of touching a Cocklebur-type fruit (that has a lot of small thorns)
Sensory compound	*chak-hup'-e'en*	'a red entity in which the red goes intensifying towards the center' (e.g. a recent scar)
Verbal compounds		
- with verbal root	*tun-hu-hup'-chuy-t-ik*	'he is sewing in a rapid fashion (i.e. pricking-sewing)'
- with nominal root	*tun-hup'-k'ab-t-ik*	'he pricked it with the hand' (e.g. like washing recently cooked

		corn *(k'u'um)*)
Positional	*hup'-ukbal*	'in a positional of being pricked' (e.g. a thorn that entered the skin and cannot be extracted easily)
With áankil	*tun-hup'-l-áankil inwok*	'it is pricking my foot over and over' (e.g. having a small stone in the shoe that stabs the foot at every step)
Ideophones		
- template 1	*húuhru'up' kih inwok*	'*húuhru'up'* said my foot' (e.g. like a sudden and violent pain in the leg (i.e. like something pricking the leg muscle)
- template 2ch	*húuhp'u'uch úuch káacha' e k'ancheo'*	'the chair broke: *húuhp'u'uch*' (i.e. image and sound of a wood chair breaking and falling apart into pieces)
- template 2n	*húuhp'u'un kuhu'up'ul uchim kaax*	'*húuhp'u'un* is pricked the chicken's craw' (to allow air to liberate the craw) (i.e. image and sound of something a figure entering a tight ground)

As Table 2 shows, there are many conventionalized forms in Yucatec Maya to express the realization of a concept. Some forms are less expressive than others. For instance, *hup'ukbal* 'in a state of prickiness' encodes less features than *húuhp'u'un* 'the image and sound of a figure entering suddenly into a tight ground.' This availability to use a variety of derivations provides Yucatec Maya speakers with a range of options. The question is: when and why do speakers choose to use one form or another?

7.2 WHEN AND WHY DO PEOPLE CHOOSE TO USE EXPRESSIVE WORDS?

Based on a careful ethnography of speech conducted by the author since 2008 looking at expressivity in Yucatec Maya, it seems that the informality of the interactional context is crucial to trigger or allow the use of expressive words. One way to range interactional contexts into levels of (in)formality is to consider speech genres. Formality is closely related to fixed or ritualized forms of speech. Hence ritual or political discourses can be placed at the formal end of the speech genre continuum while informal conversations and personal narratives can be localized at the other end. In particular, personal narratives, because they are meant to express the speaker's stance as (s)he is relating a personal experience, are the place where more expressive words are found. The fact that Yucatec Maya speakers praise the addition of humoristic elements to personal narratives (in order to make them more interesting and worth listening to) is an additional motivation for the use of expressive words. Personal narratives then tend to resemble humorous genre like *ba'axal t'an* lit. 'play on word,' i.e. jokes.

Table 3 considers only some Yucatec Maya speech genres (Bricker, 1974) and the degree to which types of expressive words can be used or not. The analysis is based on several hours of transcribed video recorded data, a careful ethnography conducted

and an examination of published texts (Hanks, 1993, 1996; Vapnarsky, 2003, 2007 inter alia). However, this table remains impressionistic since no careful quantitative study has been attempted.

Table 3: Distribution of expressive forms according to speech genres*

		reduplication, distributives (including *–áankil*)	**sensory compounds**	**verbal compounds**	**ideophones**
More formal	ritual discourses *(payal-chi', reesar, etc.)*	-	-	+	none
	political discourse	-	-	-	none
	respectful discourse, blessing *(ki' ki' t'aan, pul kili'ich t'aan)*	-	-	+	none
	request (for objects and actions) *k'áat-ba'al*	-	-	-	none
	poetry	+	+	+	+
	conversation, chitchat *(tsikbal)*	+	+	+	+
	kweento (narratives, myths)	+	-	-**	-
	Personal narratives	+	+	+	+
less formal	humorous genres *(báaxal t'aan)*	+	-	+	+

*The sign (–) implies that the form is less likely to be found (however not impossible) while the sign (+) implies it is more likely or more frequent. ** (Bohnemeyer, 2003)

7.3 SOME FEATURES OF EXPRESSIVENESS

This section details some features that are usually correlated with the use of expressive lexicon or grammar in Yucatec Maya.

Informality of interactional contexts is a key feature of expressivity. As a general tendency, the more people feel at ease with their interlocutors, the more expressive words they tend to use. This is especially true for ideophones. Although conducting participant ethnography and constant video recordings, it has been very difficult for the author to be able to record ideophones in their informal production. Mostly, they were written on the spot on a small notebook. On the other hand, reduplication, distributive and sensory compounds are much more widespread in various speech genres, although less likely to be use in more formal settings. Verbal compounds,

because they can encode a variety of features, are more likely to appear in any speech genre.

From Table 3 it is clear too that the degree of grammaticalization seems to be correlated with the use of expressivity and the informality of contexts of use. The tendency is as follows: the more morpho-syntactically integrated a word is, the more it tends to be used in a wider range of contexts. For ideophones, Digemanse (in press) proposes a cross-linguistic analysis that shows how grammaticalization of ideophones tends to reduce their expressiveness, that is, turns them into more descriptive signs and therefore less depictive. This tendency is evidenced in Yucatec Maya if we consider the expressive lexicon as a whole.

Pragmatic force based on creative reference is also decisive to generate expressiveness. Creative reference can be defined as the way a speaker plays with the link between the referent and the linguistic expression (s)he uses to refer to it. In deixis this phenomenon is common. For instance, on a Mexican market any woman would be addressed as *reina!* ('queen') even if she has no royal origin. To achieve expressiveness, speakers will rely on a similar process, that, they will get out of their way to bend the propositional truth to refer to a percept in an imagistic way. This is particularly true in the genre 'play on words' (hence the name). Additionally, expressive forms such as verbal compounds or ideophones seem to add a dimension of suddenness to the event described, making it a motivation for their use.

Finally, another feature of expressivity is the more or less obligatory, at least preferred, recourse to multimodal production. Two main features of multimodality are considered here: prosody and gesture.

As far as prosody goes, the less grammaticalized expressive words allow more places for prosodic articulation, e.g. vowel lengthening, voice quality changes, etc. Prosody modification is almost absent in distributive and sensory compounds. It is, on the other hand, virtually obligatory in ideophones. Ideophones, especially templates 1 and 2, besides their peculiar phonological profile, are usually produced with voice effects. It seems that the long high-toned vowel provides a neat place for prosodic marking. In verbal compounds for instance, the only possible place of articulation for prosodic marking is the first root of the compound (e.g. *ka' tuxí::kp'uchtah!* Lit. 'and he beat-split it').

Gestures frequently accompany Yucatec Maya speech. Among the many gestures produced we note a greater number of pointings and iconic gestures (Le Guen & Pool Balam, 2012). In the case of expressive morphology, iconic gestures that depict the action described verbally are frequent. Overall, gestures are more common and more iconic when used to depict action than things. What the gesture describes varies according to two factors. First, what aspect the speaker chooses to encode. For instance in verbal compounds the gesture can describe either the manner (i.e. the meaning of the first root) or the process (i.e. the meaning of the second root). Second, the meaning of the gesture might be either redundant with the stem's meaning (i.e. encode the same action described verbally) or complementary to it (i.e. describe another element of the event). Le Guen (2012) for Yucatec Maya and Pérez González (2012) for Tseltal show that the gestures produced with ideophones usually encode the meaning of the template. Actually, as it turns out, gesture analysis provides a productive way to elicit derivation meanings. However, a more systematic study still needs to be done with expressive morphology in Yucatec Maya.

7.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper shows that Yucatec Maya expressive morphology is highly productive. Due to this productive character it is however not always easy to give the precise or exhaustive number of the existing expressive forms. Because expressive words index the stance of the speaker along with propositional truth (Nuckolls, 1995a) and because expressive words are contextually bounded (in term of meaning and recognition) they are not used profusely in certain contexts or speech genres. But crucially, the productive character of expressive morphology allows speakers to coin new terms and/or to use expressive form in a creative way.

Obviously, more work is needed in linguistic in general to examine expressive morphology. One main limitation has been the speech genres mainly examined by linguistics (mainly elicitation and narratives). Since expressives are not easily accessible without a deep ethnographical integration, we can only advocate for more in-depth ethnography of speech in order to contribute to a more comprehensive typology of lexicon and grammar in languages of the world.

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