

Mirativity in Ch'ol: The Clitic =*ME*

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Following Aikhenvald's (2012) typology of mirative flavors, I propose the Ch'ol (Mayan) enclitic =*ME* is a non-parasitic mirative that expresses the speaker's or addressee's 'unprepared mind' in an assertion. Information does not need to be new or recent. Miratives are typologically associated with evidential markers, especially when they are parasitic on evidentials. Evidentials may participate in 'interrogative flips' where they become addressee-oriented in interrogatives instead of speaker-oriented in languages such as Cheyenne, but associated parasitic miratives cannot participate in a similar flip (Rett & Murray 2013). However, a flip in non-parasitic miratives dependent on sentential mood is a rather contentious subject. I do not propose a mirative flip, but data shows a restriction of use dependent on sentential mood. In interrogatives such as (1), the 'unprepared mind' is consistently speaker-oriented.

- (1) Context: A person passes by a charcoaled tree.
Bajche'=me tyi pujl-i jiñi tye'?
How=**ME** PERF burn.PASS-IV DET tree
'How did that tree burn!?'

On the other hand, in imperative constructions such as (2) the mirative =*ME* has overtones of precaution or warning. Moreover, in combinations with the previously proposed QUD operator enclitic =*KU* (cf. Fernández Guerrero 2018), =*ME* softens commands encoded in imperatives.

- (2) Context: A mother warns her child he should obey her.
Jak'-beñ=oñ=**me**!
Obey-APPL=ABS1=**ME**
'Obey me!'

Following AnderBois's (to appear) treatment of Yucatec Maya *bakáan*, I believe the asymmetry witnessed between declaratives and non-declaratives in regards to the use of the Ch'ol mirative has to do with the kinds of updates that these different sentential moods encode. Specifically, while the declarative has a 'dual update' of the Common Ground and the speaker's individual speaker commitments, non-declaratives have one kind of update: a proposal to update the shared effective preferences $EP_{\{spkr,addr\}}$ for imperatives and a proposal to update the $QUD_{\{spkr,addr\}}$ for interrogatives. I depart from his analysis in that the mirative in Ch'ol does not encode 'revelation', but rather 'unprepared mind.' I use this distinction in mirative flavor to orient the mirative use on the speaker for interrogatives and on the addressee for imperatives.

Works Cited

- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2012). The essence of mirativity. *Linguistic Typology*, 16(3), pp. 435–485.
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