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Résumé de l'article

Dans ce bref article j'essaie d'analyser des constructions statives à sens passif en quechua, partant de l'idée qu'il n'y a pas seulement deux types de chaîne dans la représentation syntaxique d'une phrase, des chaînes -A (= argument) et des chaînes -Ā (= opérateur), mais aussi un troisième type : des chaînes formées par prédication. L'analyse représente une amélioration substantielle des analyses antérieures, et nous amène à une perspective préliminaire sur les propriétés formelles des chaînes prédicatives.

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A NOTE ON PASSIVE-LIKE STATIVES IN QUECHUA*

Pieter Muysken

In Quechua there are constructions which superficially resemble passives. An example is (1a), which roughly corresponds to (1b) :

(1) a. xwan — pa [$_{NP}$e] suwa — sqa — n — mi ka — ni
Juan GE rob NOM 3 AF be 1
'I have been robbed by Juan.'
b. I was robbed by John.

The two constructions share three characteristics :

(2) a. The subject of the copula receives no independent lexical thematic role.
b. The object of the transitive lexical verb is missing.
c. There is a coreference relation between the subject of the copula (a small *pro* identified by the agreement marking of the copula) and the empty object *NP* of the lower verb.

There are reasons however, given in Lefebvre & Muysken (1982), for not analyzing the construction in (1a) in the same way as (1b), in spite of the similarities.

* This article hopes to be an example of the type of free and imaginative exploration of alternatives in the analysis of binding facts that characterized Judith Mc A'Nulty's work. Her exceptional modesty and generosity is illustrated by the fact that, during the ALNE/NELS 13 meeting in 1982, she scheduled her own paper at the time that a fire drill was planned. In the confusion resulting from this, part of the paper, one of her last contributions to the field, was lost in the presentation.

The research for this presentation was supported in part by WOTRO (The Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research), and was done conjointly with Claire Lefebvre of UQAM.

First of all, (1a) is bi-clausal and contains two subject markers :

(3) [e] (-n) s] (-ni) s]
3 1

If the empty object position would be *NP*-trace, the matrix subject could not bind it (as it does in English) because of principle *A* of the binding theory (Chomsky, 1981). The lower subject, *xwan-pa,* coindexed with *-n* in (1a) and (3), would intervene.

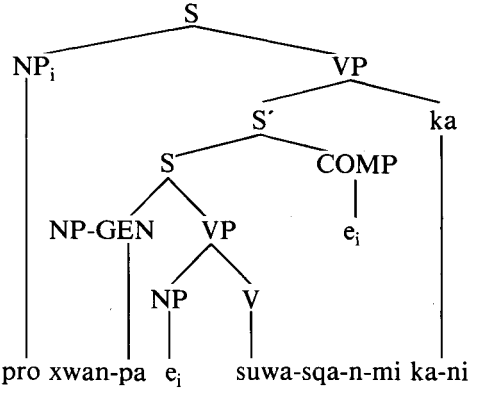
Second, there is no evidence that the lexical verb cannot assign Case. Consider (4) :

(4) xwan — pa qulqi suwa — sqa — n mana allin — chu
Juan GE money steal NOM 3 not good NEG
'That Juan has stolen the money is not good.'

Here we find the same structure and the same form of the subordinate verb, but also a case-marked object. This suggests that the nominalized verb is a case assigner in all instances, and that the empty position in the subordinate clause is a variable.

So the fact that there is a main clause subject coindexed with a variable in the domain of another subject led us to the idea that in fact there is something like Move *CASE* here. We suggested the following structure :

(5)



The lower object would first move up to the *COMP* of the complement clause, and then to the subject position of the main clause.

I will refer the reader for details about the earlier analysis to Lefebvre & Muysken (1982), and confine myself to listing a number of problems with that analysis. Note, to begin with, that the analysis does not account for a semantic contrast between (1a) and (1b), namely that the Quechua construction is stative in character. A more appropriate translation might be :

(6) I am in the condition of having been robbed by Juan.

In fact, it is possible to state that condition of an impersonal pro subject, as in (7), where the copula is interpreted existentially rather than predicatively :

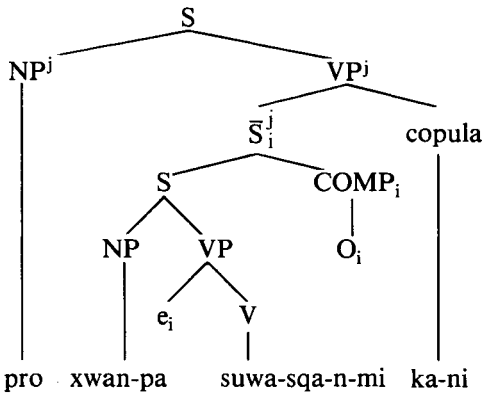
(7) xwan — pa suwa — wa — sqa — n ka — rqa — n
Juan GE steal 1ob NOM 3 be PA 3
'There was the fact that Juan robbed me.'

Note the presence here of a first person object marker, which is absent in (1a). We will return to this problem in the discussion below.

In addition to the semantic inadequacy of our analysis, there is a formal problem. By what kind of chain are the positions related? Clearly the first part of the chain is an $\overline{A}$-chain, linking the case-marked variable with the *COMP* position, and the second part is an A-chain, linking the subject position to COMP. In the earlier paper we noted this problem, but suggested that in Quechua the contrast between A and $\overline{A}$ positions may not exist at a more abstract level, where we only have *CASE* and $\overline{CASE}$ positions. As I will show below, however, there are crucial differences between A and $\overline{A}$ positions in Quechua, even when they are both case-marked. Therefore our earlier analysis is untenable in its present form.

The analysis that I would like to propose here accounts for both of these problems; assume two chains, as in (8) :

(8)



This analysis preserves the insight form the earlier paper that the gap in the lower clause is an $\overline{A}$-bound variable, but avoids postulating that this variable is bound from an A-position in the matrix clause. In fact, I claim that the complement clause is linked to the subject through a predication chain, marked with *j* superscripts. The point where the two chains are connected is the $\overline{S}$ node, to which the referential index *i* of the $\overline{A}$-chain percolates from COMP, which contains an abstract operator here (cf. Williams, 1980).

The linking between the subject position and the empty object is hence indirect. How does this solve the semantic problem noted before, however? Notice that (8) is in fact the ordinary subject-predicate structure that we find in copular sentences. Examples are given in (9) :

(9) a. pidru — n ka — ni
Pedro AF be 1
'I am Pedro.'

b. macha — sqa — n ka — nki
drink NOM AF be 2
'You are drunk.'

I will assume that the subject is assigned a thematic role structurally in this type of example, perhaps in the following way :

(10) In a configuration ... NP ... [$_{VP}$ X] copula ..., assign the thematic role «is a X» to NP.

Perhaps (10), could be presented in a more modular fashion by separating the general idea that a subject gets a thematic role from its predicate from the more specific copular «is a» rule, but for right now I will leave it at the

formulation in (10). Notice in passing that this idea conflicts with the general statement about passives given in (2a) that there is no independent role for the subject.

Given this overall analysis, two more points need to be cleared up : (a) what evidence is there that there is really an empty operator in (8) linked to an empty category; (b) what evidence is there for the distinction between A and $\overline{A}$ positions in Quechua, where both are marked for case? Consider first the evidence for operator-binding. Suppose the structure for (1a) is something like (11) :

(11) NP_i [$_{\overline{S}}$ ... pro_i ...] ka-ni

This structure would be a simple resumptive pronoun structure, where the pronoun would be a zero element, perhaps marked on the verb. In fact it is possible to mark first and second person objects on the verb, as in (12) :

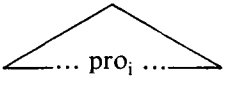
(12) xwan suwa — wa — rqa — n
Juan rob 1ob PA 3
'Juan robbed me.'

Forms such as (12), however, permit us to test the resumptive pronoun hypothesis immediately, and the result leads to ungrammaticality :

(13) * xwan — pa suwa — wa — sqa — n — mi ka — ni
Juan GE rob 1ob NOM 3 AF be 1
'I am such that Juan robbed me.'

For reasons as yet unclear, to be frank, it is not possible to predicate a clause containing a personal pronoun of an element with the same referential index. Hence the contrast between (7) and (13). It will remain a matter for further research how the compounding of predication and binding can block (13). A first possibility that comes to mind is (14) :

(14) a. NP^j S^j



b. j = i
c. *[... i ...]$_i$

In (14a) the general configuration of (13) is presented, where (14b) follows from the identity of the pronominal features, and (14c) represents the general *i*-within-*i* condition. The application of *i*-within-*i* to the analysis I propose, (8), is blocked by the fact that it is the head of the clause, the abstract operator, that carries the index in (8), while in (14) there is no abstract operator.

There is no abstract operator in (13)-(14) because the object marking *-wa-* in (13) absorbs the case and theta features assigned to the object position of the verb, and the variable bound by the operator needs to be marked for case.

Assuming that the general problem of how to demonstrate the presence of an abstract operator is solved, we still have to argue that there is a crucial distinction between case-marked A and $\overline{A}$ positions in Quechua. The argument I would want to put forward involves two steps : (i) show that are in fact differences between 'verbal' nominalizations and 'nominal' nominalizations, while both are case-marked, (ii) show that 'nominal', but not 'verbal' nominalizations, can occur in A positions, and that this difference explains their differences in syntactic behavior.

The two differences between nominal and verbal nominalizations are shown in (15)-(18) :

(15) a. [xwan — pa wasi ruwa — sqa — n — ta] yacha — ni
Juan GE house build NOM 3 AC know 1
'I know that Juan has built a house.'

b. [xwan wasi — ta ruwa — sqa — n — ta] yacha — ni
Juan house AC build NOM 3 AC know 1
'I know that Juan has built a house.'

(15a) and (15b) show that in object position both a nominal (with genitive and zero object marking) and a verbal (with nominative and *-ta* object marking) nominalization can occur. (For the distinction between the two types of nominalizations, see Lefebvre & Muysken, 1982). The same is not true in subject position, however :

(16) a. [xwan — pa wasi ruwa — sqa — n] allin — mi
Juan GE house build NOM 3 good AF
'That Juan has built a house is good.'

b. * [xwan wasi — ta ruwa — sqa — n] allin — mi
Juan house AC build NOM 3 good AF
'That Juan has built a house is good.'

In subject position only the nominal structure, (16a), can occur.

We can explain this asymmetry by assuming that all argument positions are nominal in Quechua, and that *-ta* marking permits Quechua verbal nominalizations to be predicated of an empty object position. Nominative marking, which results from case assignment, not from case checking, like *-ta* marking, would not permit a clause to be predicated of an empty *NP* position. Evidence for this asymmetry between *-ta* and nominative with respect to predication is provided by contrasts such as :

(17) a. pay — ta_i runa — ta_i riqsi — rqa — ni
he AC man AC know PA 1
'I knew him as a man.'

b. * pay-qa runa mana chay-ta ruwa-n-man ka-rqa-n-chu
he TO man not that AC do POT be PA 3 NEG
'He as a man would never do that.'

In fact it is fairly easy to form predications through marking both elements with the *-ta* corresponding to the object, but not with the subject. This is again support for the idea that object clauses when verbal can be predicated of an empty *NP* position.

A similar contrast, relating to the extractability out of complement clauses, can be explained in the same way. In Lefebvre & Muysken (1982) we noted, but had no explanation for, the fact that long distance extraction is possible out of nominal nominalizations in object position, but not out of verbal nominalizations. Consider (18), which parallels the examples in (15), but now with an extracted subject :

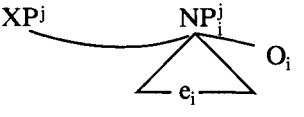
(18) a. pi - qpa - ta - n_i yacha-nki [e_i wasi ruwa - sqa - n - ta -]
who GE AC AF know 2 house build NOM 3 AC

'Who do you know has built a house?'

b. * pi - ϕ - ta - n_i yacha - nki [e_i wasi - ta ruwa - sqa - n - ta]

Example (18a), in which a genitive subject has been extracted out of a nominal complement, is grammatical, but the equivalent (18b), where a nominative subject has been extracted out of a verbal complement, is not.

Suppose we look at long distance extraction as in (18) in terms of predication, much in the same way that we have analyzed (1a), but with the difference that the extracted phrase here is predicated of the complement clause :

(19) 

In (19), which corresponds to (18a), we have a gap bound by an abstract operator, the index of which percolates to the whole constituent node. This constituent itself is the subject of a predication chain, co-superscripted with the 'extracted' element in the $\overline{A}$-position. As in the case of (1a), referential identity of the gap and the higher extracted element is created through the compounding of two chains, an $\overline{A}$-chain and a predication chain. In this analysis, the contrast between (18a) and (18b) follows. Since verbal complements can never function as subjects in a predication chain and are never in an A-position, long distance extraction out of them is impossible. Notice that the mechanism for predication in (18a)-(19) is co-case marking, just as in predication structures such as (17).

The discussion of the examples in (15)-(18) supports the idea that in Quechua there is a distinction between A-positions and $\overline{A}$-positions, and to the systematic use of the construct of predication chain in the analysis of Quechua grammar. What remains to be established are the precise properties of predication chains.

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APPENDIX WITH ABREVIATIONS IN GLOSSES

GE	genitive
NOM	nominalizing affix
3	third person subject
AF	affirmative particle
1	first person subject
NEG	negating particle
1ob	first person object
PA	past tense
2	second person subject
AC	accusative
TO	topic marker
POT	potential mood

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