

**Lo que ves *no* es lo que hay:
Una perspectiva maya sobre la anáfora de complemento nulo**

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1 Introducción

- Hoy: enseñanzas del Chuj para la *Anáfora de Complemento Nulo* (ACN).
 - fenómeno en el cual parece faltar el complemento clausal (CP) o preposicional (PP) del verbo, como por. ej.:
- (1) **Contexto:** Alguien está hablando de un análisis polémico de la ACN.
 - a. Estás de acuerdo? (=NCA)
 - b. Estás de acuerdo **con lo que están diciendo?**

Tres opciones analíticas para el estatus del “elemento silencioso”:

1. ACN = PP/CP elidido.
 - Usualmente no considerado, desde Hankamer and Sag 1976
2. ACN = nada; es una alternancia de (in)transitividad (Shopen 1972, 1973; Grimshaw 1979; Napoli 1983, 1985; Xiang et al. 2019)
 - un poco como ‘comer’ puede alternar en (in)transitividad
3. ACN = un pronombre nulo; *pro* (Depiante 2001, 2019; Cinque 2004)

Propuesta principal: El chuj demuestra evidencia contra 1. and 2., y a favor de 3.

Plan:

§2–Antecedentes §3–ACN en Chuj §4–Implicaciones translingüísticas

2 Antecedentes sobre el Chuj

2.1 Datos y metodología

- Idioma maya de la rama q’anjob’aleana (Kaufman 1974, Law 2014).
- 70,000-80,000 hablantes (Piedrasanta 2009; Buenrostro 2013), sobre todo en Huehuetenango (Guatemala) y Chiapas (México).
- Dos dialectos principales: San Mateo Ixtatán y San Sebastián Coatán.
- Los datos provienen de trabajo de campo sobre el Chuj de San Mateo Ixtatán.
- Metodología basada en contextos e impulsada a través de hipótesis teóricos (Matthewson 2004; Davis et al. 2014; Bochnak and Matthewson 2020).

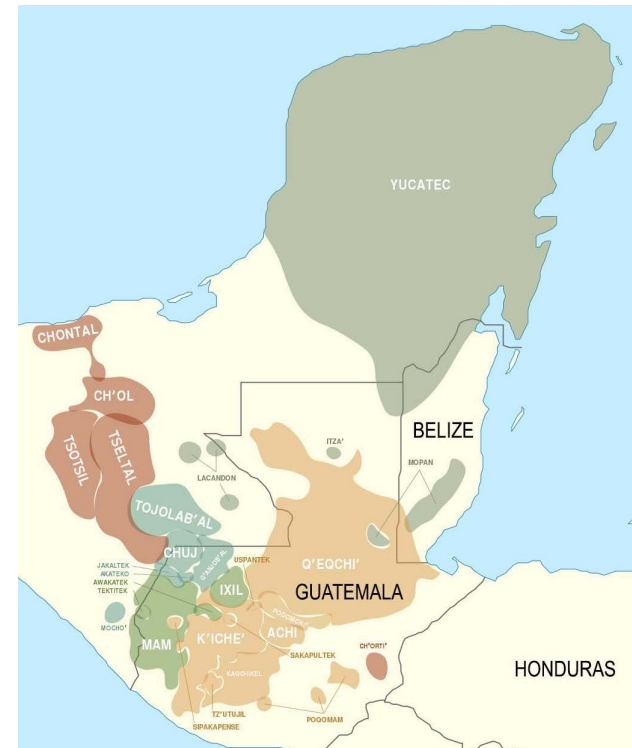


Figure 1: Idiomas mayas (basado en Law 2014, p. 25)

2.2 Razgos gramaticales básicos del Chuj

- Ergativo-absolutivo, marcación de núcleo; véase ERG y ABS:

(2) Ix-ach-w-il-a'.
 PFV-ABS2S-ERG1S-ver-VT
 'I saw you.'

- Orden básico VOS en contextos discursivos neutros; 3era persona ABS nula:

(3) Ix-Ø-y-il [o nok' tz'i'] [s ix unin].
 PFV-ABS3-ERG3-ver CLF perro CLF.F niño
 'La niña vio al perro.'

- Crucialmente para nosotros, se macan alternancias de transitividad:

(4) *Verbo transitivo*
 ASP-ABS-ERG-RAÍZ-{sufijos}-VT/VTD

(5) *Verbo intransitivo*
 ASP-ABS-RAÍZ-{sufijos}-VI/IRR

- Los sufijos de categoría destacan expresamente alternancias de transitividad.
- Estos sufijos de categoría son sensibles al tiempo-aspecto y/o a la clase subyacente de raíz que tiene el complejo verbal (Coon 2019).

(6) *Sufijos de categoría en el Chuj de San Mateo Ixtatán*

Tipo de verbo	Raíz/aspecto	Sufijo	Glosa
Transitivo	Raíz trans., cualquier asp.	-a', -o', -u'	VT
	Raíz no trans., cualquier asp.	-ej	VTD
Intransitivo	Cualquier raíz, no-futuro	-i	VI
	Cualquier raíz, futuro	-ok	IRR

- Tres de estos cuatro sufijos de categoría (VT, VI, IRR) se eliminan en algunos contextos fonológicos (Royer 2022); véase por. ej., (2) vs (3).

3 La anáfora de complemento nulo en Chuj

3.1 Dos posturas sobre la ACN

- La anáfora de complemento nulo (ACN):

(7) **Contexto:** Alguien está hablando de un análisis polémico de la ACN.
 a. Estás de acuerdo? (=NCA)
 b. Estás de acuerdo **con lo que están diciendo?**

- **Importante:** En contraste a otras expresiones “ausentes”, la ACN no requiere de un antecedente sintáctico explícito (distinto p. ej. al “sluicing”).

→ Seguimos trabajos previos en tomar este hecho como indicación que la ACN ≠ elipsis; no es supresión bajo identidad (Depiante 2019).

(8) *Dos propuestas analíticas para la ACN*

- El complemento de un verbo ACN es un pronombre nulo (*pro*) (Depiante 2001, 2019; Cinque 2004)
- Los verbos ACN no tiene complementos; es decir que son formalmente intransitivos (Shopen 1972, 1973; Grimshaw 1979; Napoli 1983, 1985; Xiang et al. 2019: 11; see Culicover and Jackendoff 2005, 2012).

→ Para los proponentes de (8-b), los verbos ACN son comparables a los verbos como ‘comer’.

3.2 Evidencia de (8-a) a través del Chuj

- Recuerdan que el Chuj señala explícitamente alternancias de transitividad.

- **Consecuencia:** perfecto para testear la (in)transitividad de verbos ACN:

(9) Ix-Ø-a-tak'-a' [to tz-ach-b'at k'atzitz].
 PFV-ABS3-ERG2S-aceptar-VT COMP IPFV-ABS2S-ir leña
 'Aceptaste que ibas a cortar leña.'

- **Importante:** Este verbo no puede tomar complementos nominales.

(10) *Ix-Ø-in-tak' nok' tz'i'.
 PFV-ABS3-ERG1S-aceptar CLF perro
Int: 'Acepté el perro.' (p. ej., 'Acepté tener al perro en mi vida.')

(11) *Ix-ach-in-tak'-a'.
 PFV-ABS2S-ERG1S-aceptar-VT
Int: 'Te acepté.'

- **Propuesta (8-a):** Si los verbos ACN en Chuj involucran *pro*:
 - **Predicción 1:** El verbo debería llevar caso ERG.
 - **Predicción 2:** El verbo debería llevar el sufijo de cat. transitivo (VT).
- **Propuesta (8-b):** Si los verbos ACN en Chuj no llevan ningún complemento (i.e., involucran alternancias de transitividad):
 - **Predicción 1:** El verbo no debería llevar caso ERG.
 - **Predicción 2:** El verbo debería llevar el sufijo de cat. intransitivo (VI).
- **Resultado:** El Chuj nos proporciona evidencia a favor de la propuesta (8-a):

(12) Hayik' ix-Ø-w-al t'ay-ach to
 cuando PFV-ABS3-ERG1S-decir PREP-ABS2S COMP
 tz'-ach-b'at k'atzitz, ix-Ø-[a]-tak'-[a'].
 IPFV-ABS2S-ir leña PFV-ABS3-ERG2S-aceptar-VT
 'Cuando te pedí de ir a cortar leña, aceptaste.'

(13) Contexto: El jefe de Axul siempre de la nuevas tareas, y Axul se ha quejado con Malin de ello. De repente, Malin ve que el jefe de Axul le está pidiendo hacer otras tareas. Malin le pregunta:
 ¿Tom ix-Ø-[a]-tak'-[a]?
 PREG PFV-ABS3-ERG2S-aceptar-VT
 '¿Aceptaste?'

Conclusión provisional: la ANC (por lo menos en Chuj) involucra un *pro*.

3.3 Why is NCA not ellipsis?

- We followed previous work in assuming that NCA ≠ ellipsis of PPs/CPs.
- Evidence that led previous work to assume this also goes through in Chuj.
- **Evidence 1:** No need for a linguistic antecedent to license NCA (Hankamer and Sag 1976); unexpected if NCA complements involved ellipsis.
 → Chuj NCA does not require a linguistic antecedent:

(14) **Context provided to speaker:** Some politician is spurting a bunch of lies. In this case, can you ask your friend:
 ¿Tom tz-Ø-a-mek'-a'?
 YNQ IPFV-ABS3-ERG2S-agree-TV
 'Do you agree?'
Answer: Yes.

- **Evidence 2:** Impossible to sub-extract out of complements of NCA verbs; unexpected if NCA complements were complex, elided constituents.

(15) No sub-extraction in NCA (English)

- Which films did she refuse to see and which films did she agree to <see _ > ? (=sub-extraction out of ellipsis site)
- *Which films did she refuse to see and which films did she agree? (=no sub-extraction out of NCA)

→ The same is true for Chuj:

- (16) a. ¿Mach pelikula maj-Ø-s-tak'-laj
 which movie NEG.PFV-ABS3-ERG3-accept-NEG
 b'at waj Xun to tz-Ø-y-il winh...
 DIR.go CLF Xun COMP IPFV-ABS3-ERG3-see he
 'Which movie did Xun not accept to see...'
 b. ... *y mach pelikula ix-Ø-s-tak' winh?
 and which movie PFV-ABS3-ERG3-accept he
Intended: '...and which movie did he accept?'

→ Compare with **sluicing** (i.e., *wh*-movement followed by clausal ellipsis; see Ranero (2021) for Mayan):

- (17) a. Ix-Ø-s-pol anh seboya winhaj Pab'lu [**yet'**
PFV-ABS3-ERG3S-cut CLF onion CLF Pab'lu with
k'en kuchilub'].
CLF knife
'Pab'lu cut the onion with the knife.'
- b. ¿ [**Tas yet'**] ix-Ø-s-pol anh seboya
what with PFV-ABS3-ERG3S-cut CLF onion
winhaj Pab'lu?
CLF Pab'lu
'With what did Pab'lu cut the onion?'

– (17-b) has 'pied-piping with inversion': *wh*-item and preposition 'with' are inverted, which only ever occurs in cases of extraction.

- (18) Ix-Ø-s-pol anh seboya waj Xun, pero machekel
PFV-ABS3-ERG3-cut CLF onion CLF Xun, but unknown
[**tas yet'ok**]₁ < ... ____ ... >.
what with
'Xun cut onions, but I don't know what with.'

– (18) also has 'pied-piping with inversion': *wh*-item and preposition 'with' are inverted, which only ever occurs in cases of extraction.

– This means extraction out of an elided complement is possible in Chuj.

– And thus that NCA in (16) ≠ ellipsis.

4 Crosslinguistic implications

• To recapitulate, NCA is not ellipsis, so two analytical alternatives:

- (19) a. Simplex syntax (i.e., null pronoun)
b. Nothing at all (i.e., (in)transitivity alternations)

• We argued for (19-a) through Chuj.

However, how broadly should we interpret the NCA results in Chuj?

• This question speaks to the issue of doing cross-linguistic comparison.

(20) *Interpreting the results of Chuj NCA*

- a. **Stronger conclusion:** NCA *universally* = simplex syntax.
b. **Weaker conclusion:** NCA *in Chuj* = simplex syntax.

• If (20-a) is right, it implies the following (and nothing more needs to be said):

- (21) **Stronger conclusion**
Chuj reveals the underlying syntax of NCA across all languages.

• If (20-b) is right, it implies the following:

- (22) **Weaker conclusion**
The syntax of NCA varies; i.e., it is parameterized.

• More needs to be said about (22). Let's do so.

• Chuj learners are exposed to data showing that the complement of NCA verbs involves simplex syntax (19-a) as opposed to nothing at all (19-b).

(23) **Rich pragmatic context:**

¿Tom tz-Ø-a-mek'-a'?
YNQ IPFV-ABS3-ERG2S-agree-TV
'Do you agree?'

- No such evidence is available to e.g., English acquirers.
- Assume that Chuj learners posit NCA = simplex syntax, but learners of other languages do not have evidence to do so.
- In other words, the default for learners is to posit that NCA = nothing at all.

(24) **Cross-linguistic variation in NCA?**

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | NCA = simplex syntax (19-a) | (Chuj) |
| b. | NCA = nothing at all (19-b) | (English; default) |

- If we adopt the weaker conclusion and thus proposed that (24) is on the right track, how would we **formalize** this cross-linguistic variation?

In a nutshell, what would be the locus of this parametric variation?

- Here's an attempt:

(25) **Parameterizing NCA**

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------------------|--------------------|
| a. | NCA verbs don't undergo valency alternations | (Chuj) |
| b. | NCA verbs undergo valency alternations | (English; default) |

- **Question:** What would constitute independent evidence supporting (25)?
- **One answer:** we would expect that verbs that participate in NCA could not undergo valency / transitivity alternations in Chuj.

→ This is not borne out; NCA verbs **do** alternate in valency, which the language signals overtly.

- NCA verbs can be antipassivized:

- (26) Ix-Ø-tak'-w-i ix Malin.
 PFV-ABS3-accept-AP-IV CLF Malin
 'Malin responded.'

- NCA verbs can appear in the Agent Focus construction Aissen (2017):

- (27) ¿Mach ix-Ø-tak'-an tz-Ø-s-xik' k'atzitz?
 who PFV-ABS3-accept-AF IPFV-ABS3-ERG3-chop log
 'Who accepted to chop logs?'

- Moreover: there *do* exist roots in Chuj that occur strictly in transitive or intransitive frames (Hopkins 2012; Coon 2019; see also Haviland 1994).

- (28) a. Ix-ach-wa'-i.
 PFV-ABS2S-eat.general-IV
 'You ate.'
- b. Ix-Ø-ko-chi' nok' chib'ej.
 PFV-ABS3-ERG1P-eat CLF meat
 'We ate the meat.'

→ This is unlike e.g., 'eat' in English.

Result: The weaker interpretation of the Chuj results faces a challenge: what would the locus of the variation be?

Conclusion:

Chuj reveals the universal syntax of Null Complement Anaphora:
 NCA = null *pro*.

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