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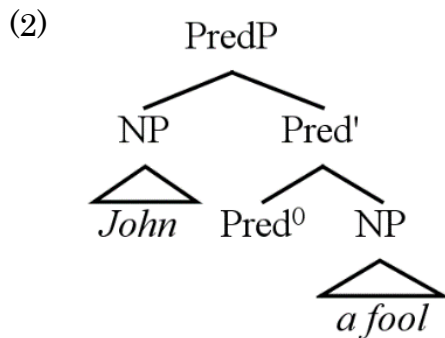pakasyanova@gmail.com

NON-VERBAL PREDICATION IN CHUKCHI

1. Preliminary Assumptions

1.1. Typology of Intransitive Predication [Stassen 1997]

EVENT (ACTION/STATE)	**nə**-sejw-**iɣəm** (ST-walk-NP.1SG) 'I walk'
PROPERTY-CONCEPT	**n**-erme-**jɣəm** (ST-strong-NP.1SG) 'I am strong'
CLASS-MEMBERSHIP	ənpənasɣə-**jɣəm** (old.man-NP.1SG) 'I am an old man'
LOCATIONAL	ɣəm jara-k (I.ABS house-LOC) 'I am at home'

1.2. Small Clauses and Predication Relation [Bowers 1993]

(1) a. I consider [$_{SC}$ John handsome]

    b. Mary considers [$_{SC}$ John a fool] and [$_{SC}$ Bill a wimp]

    c. Ja$_i$ budu [$_{SC}$ t$_i$ vračom] 'I will be a doctor'

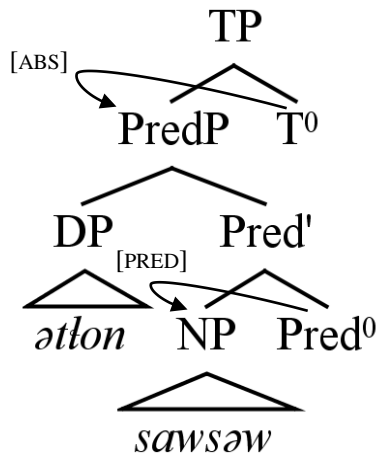(2)

1.3. Case Percolation [Matushansky 2008; 2010]

· Case is a realization of a feature bundle
· Head assigns Case features to its complement
· More than one Case feature can be assigned to one term through percolation
· Case percolation can be blocked
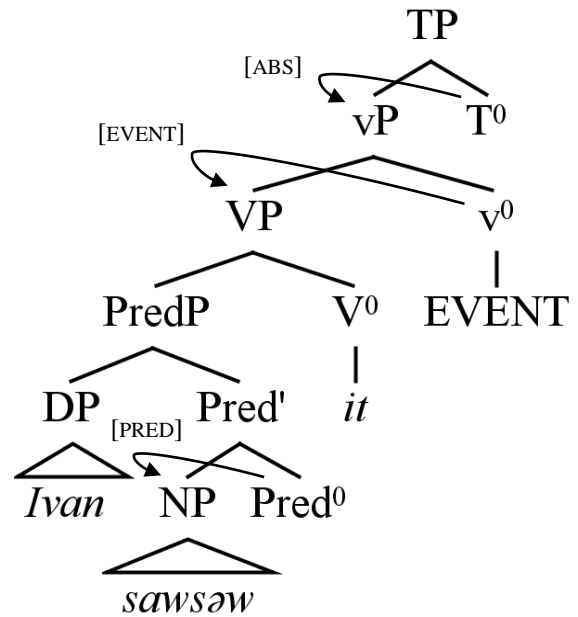
2. Nominal Predication

Nominal predicate appears in absolutive or equative case.

(3) a. ətɬon   sawsəw
      he.ABS reindeer.herder
      'He is a reindeer herder.'

    b. Ivan   sawsəwa-no   n-it-qin
      Ivan   reindeer.herder-EQU ST-be-ST.3SG
      'Ivan is a reindeer herder.'

    c. ɣəm   sawsəwa-jɣəm
      I.ABS   reindeer.herder-NP.1SG
      'I am a reindeer herder.'

(4) a.

TP
[ABS]
PredP T⁰
DP Pred'
  [PRED]
ətłon NP Pred⁰
sawsəw

b.

TP
[ABS]
[EVENT]
vP T⁰
VP v⁰
PredP V⁰ EVENT
DP Pred' *it*
  [PRED]
Ivan NP Pred⁰
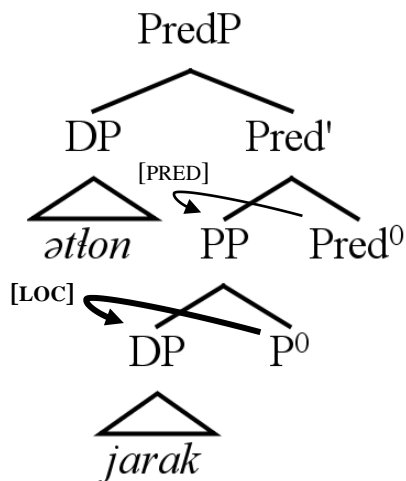*sawsəw*

(5) Vocabulary Insertion Rules

    a. [EVENT, PRED] → EQU

    b. [ABS] → ABS

3. Locative Predication

Postpositions block Case percolation.

(6) a. ətłon   jara-k   (wa-rkən)
    he.ABS house-LOC be-IPFV
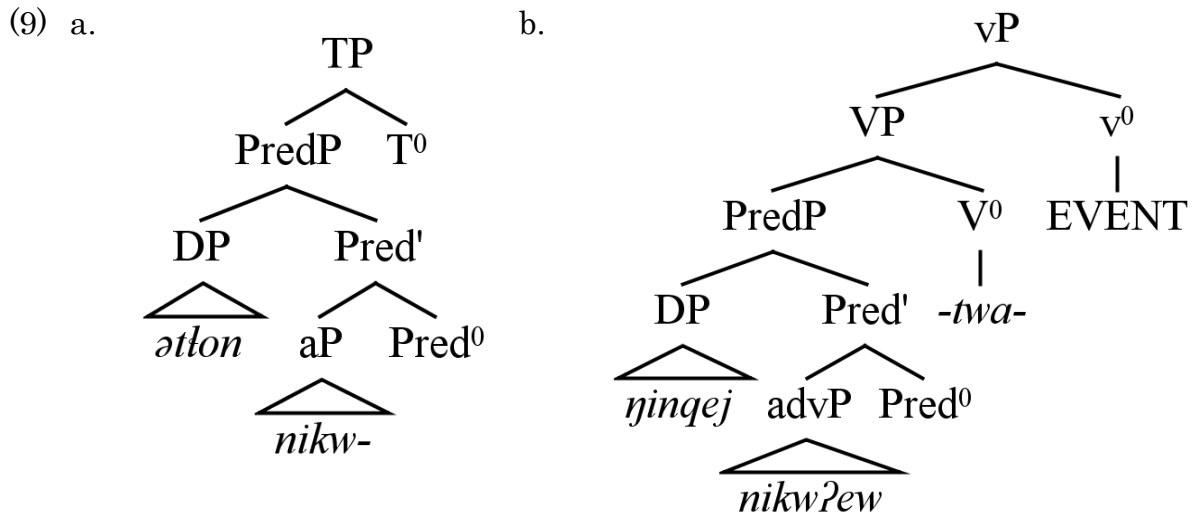   'He is at home'

    b.

PredP
DP Pred'
  [PRED]
ətłon PP Pred⁰
[LOC]
DP P⁰
jarak

(7) wəkwə-k   ewəsa
    stone-LOC   under
    'under the stone' [Muravyova 2001: 322]

4. Adjectival Predication

4.1. Percolation: Extension of the Analysis

(8) a. ətłon   n-ikwə-qin
        he.ABS   ST-tall-ST.3SG-PL
        'He is/was tall.'

    b. ŋinqej   n-ikw-ʔew   ra-twa-ʔa iɣər   jep   nə-siwtə-qin
        boy   ST-tall-ADV FUT-be-TH today yet   ST-short-ST.3SG
        'The boy will be tall but now he is short.'

(9) a.   b.

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          TP                              vP
         /  \                            /  \
      PredP  T⁰                        VP    v⁰
      /   \                           /  \    |
    DP    Pred'                    PredP   V⁰ EVENT
    /\    /  \                     /   \   |
  ətłon  aP  Pred⁰              DP    Pred' -twa-
         /\                     /\    /  \
       nikw-                 ŋinqej advP Pred⁰
                                    /\
                                 nikwʔew
```

4.2. Adjectival and verbal $n(ə)$-

Adjectival and stative verbal predicates differ in where $n(ə)$- can occur

(10) a. mes-**n**-ikwə-qin
        APPR-ST-tall-ST.3SG
        'He is rather tall.'

    b.***nə**-mes-ikwə-qin
        ST-appr-tall-ST.3SG

    c. mes-**nə**-łejwə-qin
        APPR-ST-walk-ST.3SG
        'He can walk a little.' (e.g. about a baby)

    d. **nə**-mes-łejwə-qin
        ST-APPR-walk-ST.3SG
        'He is walking a little.' (e.g. about a baby in a particular situation)

Prefix $n(ə)$- can be inserted in two different positions:

  · within aP or advP (delimits the set of possible categories of the root)
  · in the domain of functional projections above vP (marks tense/aspect)

5. Problems of the Analysis

5.1. Prefix *n(ə)-* is absent in comparative constructions. Converbs, not adjectives?

(10) ətɬon   tumɣə-k   əpnə-ŋ   wa-ɬʔə-n
      he.ABS   friend-LOC   old-ADV   be-ATR-ABS
      'He is older than [his] friend.' [Muravyova et al. 2001: 314]

(11) tʔətɬʔe-n   taŋ-ɬajwə-ŋ   nʔeɬ-ɣʔ-i
      sick.man-ABS   GOOD-walk-ADV   become-TH-2/3SG.S
      'The sick man became capable of walking.' [Nedjalkov 1994: 338]

5.2. *n(ə)-*-doubling

(12) […] nə-ɬɣi-nə-mejəŋ-qin   ʔəttʔə-n

           ST-INTS-ST-big-ST.3SG dog-ABS

      '… really big dog.'[Muravyova et al. 2001: 248]

6. Conclusion

- Unified analysis of non-verbal predication in Chukchi
- Case is determined by both Pred^0 and the structure above PredP (percolation)
- P^0 is a barrier for Case percolation
- Same mechanism can account for adjectival predication, though there are several problems with the stative prefix *n(ə)-* that need further investigation

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 – 1ˢᵗ, 2ᵈ, and 3ᵈ person, ABS – absolutive, ADV – adverbial, APPR – approximative, ATR – attributive, EQU – equative, FUT – future, INTS – intensifier, IPFV – imperfective, NP – nominal predicate, LOC – locative, S – intransitive subject, SG – singular, ST – stative, TH – thematic suffix.

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