

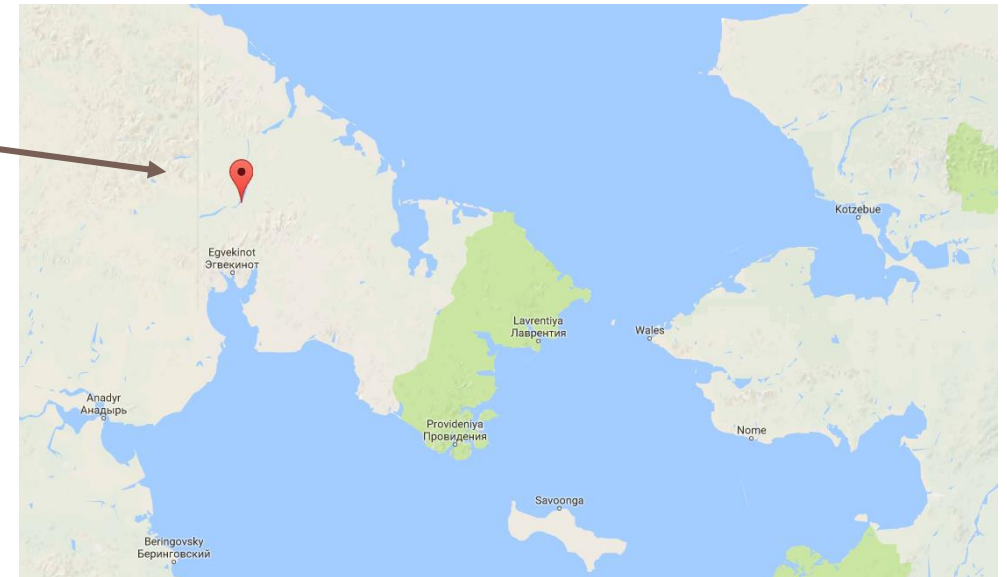
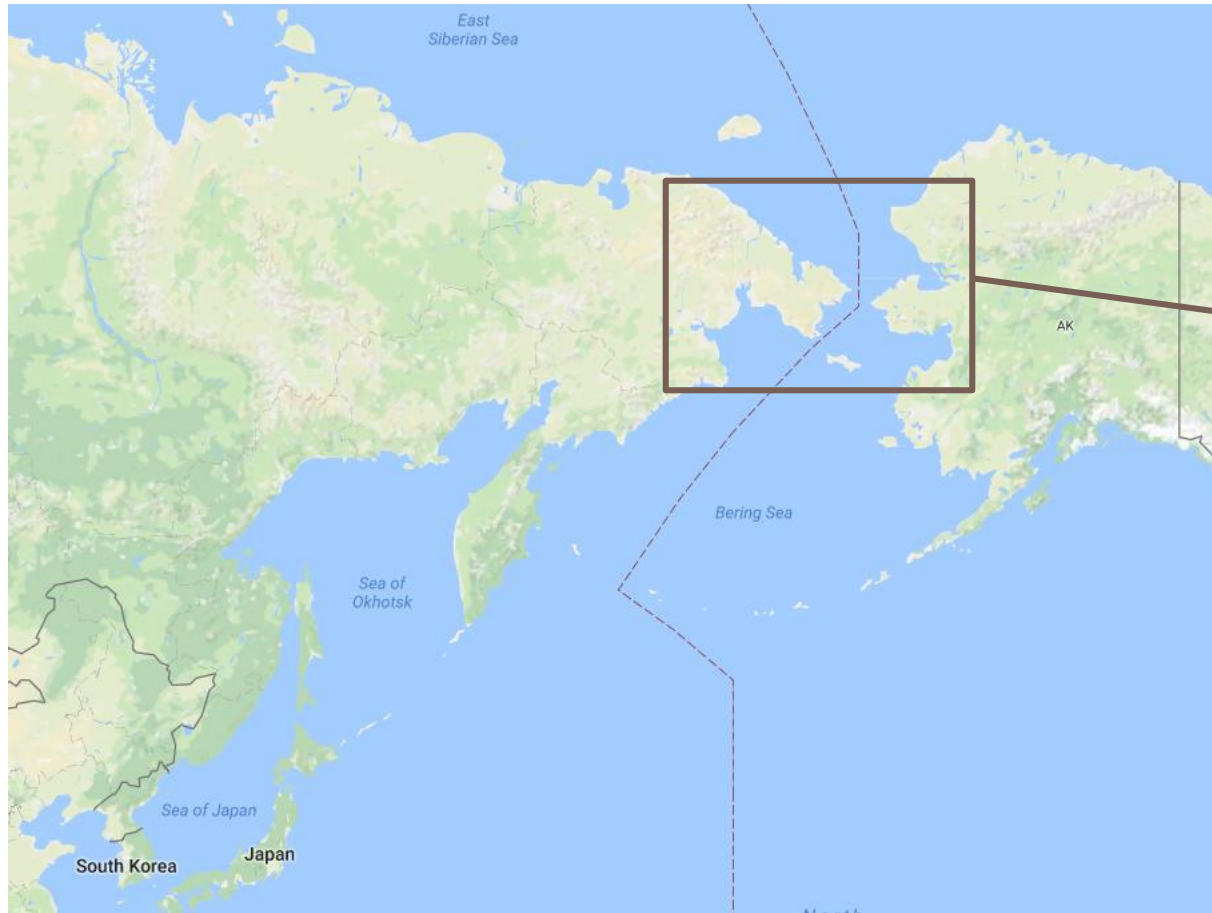
# *SINIT* IN CHUKCHI

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Polina Kasyanova (NRU HSE, Moscow)

HUJI: Grammaticalization 2018

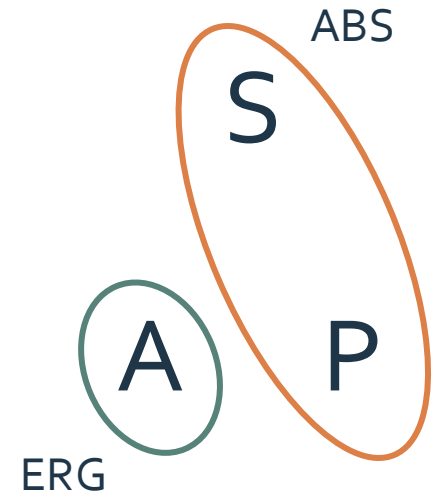
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Data were collected in 2016-2017 during fieldtrips to Amguema, Chukotka AO

# Chukchi Language

- Chukchi > Chukotko-Kamchatkan family
- Polysynthesis:
  - indexing of both A and O
  - incorporation
  - vague boundaries between parts of speech
- **Ergative-absolutive** in case-marking
- **Pro-drop** language
- **Free** word order



# Phonological Word in Chukchi

- Vowel harmony: two sets of vowels and <ə>
- If a root or an affix contains a «+» vowel, all vowels in a phonological word switch to «+»

-	e	i	u
+	a	e	o

a. *tipʔejŋe-k*

sing-INF

'to sing'

b. *tepʔajŋa-ŋŋo-k*

sing-INCH-INF

'to begin to sing'

# Ergative vs. Absolutive

(1) a.  $\gamma\text{əm}$   $t\text{ə-pkir-}\gamma\text{ʔe-k}$

I.ABS 1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S

'I came.'

b.  $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$   $t\text{ə-re-tejkə-}\eta\text{ə-n}$

I-ERG 1SG.S/A-FUT-make-FUT-3SG.O

'I will do it.'

# Ergative vs. Absolutive

(1) a.  $\gamma\text{əm}$   $t\text{ə-pkir-}\gamma\text{?e-k}$

I.ABS 1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S

'I came.'

c. \* $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$   $t\text{ə-pkir-}\gamma\text{?e-k}$

I-ERG 1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S

Expected meaning: 'I came.'

## Intensifier *sinit* 'by.oneself'

- (2) a.  $\gamma\text{əm}$       ***sinit***       $\text{tə-pkir-}\gamma\text{ʔe-k}$   
I.ABS      by.oneself      1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S  
'I came by myself!'
- b.  $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$       ***sinit***       $\text{tə-re-tejkə-}\eta\text{ə-n}$   
I-ERG      by.oneself      1SG.S/A-FUT-make-FUT-3SG.O  
'I will do it by myself!'

## Intensifier *sinit* 'by.oneself'

(2) a.  $\gamma\text{əm}$       **sinit**       $\text{tə-pkir-}\gamma\text{?e-k}$   
I.ABS      by.oneself      1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S  
'I came by myself!'

c.  $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$       **sinit**       $\text{tə-pkir-}\gamma\text{?e-k}$   
I-ERG      by.oneself      1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S  
'I came by myself!'

**OK**



## Word Order: S<sub>ABS</sub>

- (3) a.     $\gamma\text{əm}$     **sinit**    t-ənn-u- $\gamma\text{?e-k}$   
         I.ABS    by.oneself    1SG.S/A-fish-EAT-TH-1SG.S
- b.     $\gamma\text{əm}$     tənnuy $\text{?ek}$     **sinit**
- c.    **sinit**     $\gamma\text{əm}$     tənnuy $\text{?ek}$
- 'I caught/ate the fish by myself.'

**NB!** Intransitive predicate

## Word Order: “S<sub>ERG</sub>”

- (4) a.     $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$     **sinit**    t-ənn-u- $\gamma\text{ʔe-k}$   
         I-ERG            by.oneself    1SG.S/A-fish-EAT-TH-1SG.S
- b. ?? $\gamma\text{əmnan}$     tənnuyʔek    **sinit**
- c. \***sinit**             $\gamma\text{əmnan}$             tənnuyʔek

‘I caught/ate the fish by myself.’

## Word Order: “S<sub>ERG</sub>”

- (4) a. [γəm-nan **sinit**]                      t-ənn-u-γʔe-k  
         I-ERG                      by.oneself                      1SG.S/A-fish-EAT-TH-1SG.S
- b. ??γəmnan                      tənnuyʔek                      **sinit**
- c. \***sinit**                      γəmnan                      tənnuyʔek

‘I caught/ate the fish by myself.’

## Two DPs: $S_{ABS}$ and $DP_{ERG}$

(5) a. (ətʃon) (ənan) **sinit** Ø-puture-ɣʔ-i  
s/he.ABS s/he.ERG by.oneself 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S

'She danced by herself.'

b. \* ətʃon ənan Ø-puture-ɣʔ-i  
s/he.ABS s/he.ERG 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S

Expected meaning: 'She danced by herself.'



# Interim Summary

- DP + **sinit**:

- (DP<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit V<sub>TR</sub>
- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) sinit V<sub>INTR</sub>

Free word order

- DP + PRON<sub>ERG</sub> + **sinit**:

- (?DP<sub>ERG</sub>) [PRON<sub>ERG</sub> sinit] V<sub>TR</sub>
- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) [PRON<sub>ERG</sub> sinit] V<sub>INTR</sub>

Rigid word order

# Interim Summary

- DP + **sinit**:

- (DP<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit V<sub>TR</sub>

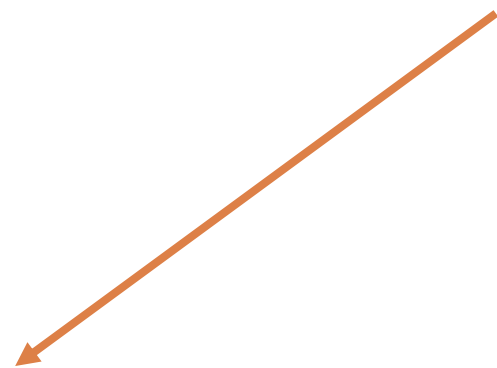
- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) sinit V<sub>INTR</sub>

- DP + PRON<sub>ERG</sub> + **sinit**:

- (?DP<sub>ERG</sub>) [(PRON<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit] V<sub>TR</sub>

- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) [(PRON<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit] V<sub>INTR</sub>

DP<sub>ERG</sub> + **sinit** + V<sub>INTR</sub>



# *Sinit* and Diminutive

- Diminutive **-qeɟ/-qaj**: small size and/or amelioration

(8) ɣənan      sinit-qej      qə-ʔu-ɣə-n  
you.ERG    by.oneself-DIM    2.S/A.SUBJ-look-IRR-3SG.O  
'Look for it by yourself [, sweetheart].'



# Pronominal series: PRON<sub>ERG</sub>-se.qaj

- (9) a. (ətʃon) **ənən-se.qaj** Ø-ityətek-wʔ-i  
s/he.ABS s/he.ERG-by.onself.DIM 2/3SG.S/A-wash-TH-2/3SG.S  
'She washed by herself.'
- b. \* ətʃon-se.qaj Ø-ityətek-wʔ-i  
s/he.ABS-by.onself.DIM 2/3SG.S/A-wash-TH-2/3SG.S  
Expected meaning: as in (9a).

NB! \*Vera-se.qaj / \*Vera-na-se.qaj

# Pronominal series: PRON<sub>ERG</sub>-se.qaj

SG

PL

1<sup>st</sup> person

γəm.nan-se.qaj

mo.rγə.nan-se.qaj

2<sup>nd</sup> person

γə.nan-se.qaj

to.rγə.nan-se.qaj

3<sup>rd</sup> person

ə.nan-se.qaj

ə.rγə.nan-se.qaj

# Grammaticalization

- DP + **sinit**:

- (DP<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit V<sub>TR</sub>

- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) sinit V<sub>INTR</sub>

Stage 1

- DP + PRON<sub>ERG</sub> + **sinit**:

- (?DP<sub>ERG</sub>) [(PRON<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit] V<sub>TR</sub>

- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) [(PRON<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit] V<sub>INTR</sub>

Stage 2

# Grammaticalization

- DP + PRON<sub>ERG</sub> + **sinit-qej**:

- (?DP<sub>ERG</sub>) [(PRON<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit-qej] V<sub>TR</sub> Stage 3
- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) [(PRON<sub>ERG</sub>) sinit-qej] V<sub>INTR</sub>

- DP + PRON<sub>ERG</sub>-**se.qaj**:

- (DP<sub>ERG</sub>) PRON<sub>ERG</sub>-se.qaj V<sub>TR</sub> Stage 4
- (DP<sub>ABS</sub>) PRON<sub>ERG</sub>-se.qaj V<sub>INTR</sub>



Вэлынкықун 'thank you'