

### Pronoun + intensifier *sinit* → pronominal series

Chukchi is an ergative-absolutive language in case marking (1).

- (1) a.  $\gamma\text{əm}$        $t\text{ə-pkir-}\gamma\text{?e-k}$   
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.'
- 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.'

However, if a pronoun is followed by *sinit*, ergative case is acceptable in intransitive clauses (2c).

- (2) a.  $\gamma\text{əm}$       *sinit*       $t\text{ə-pkir-}\gamma\text{?e-k}$   
I.ABS      by.onself      1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S  
'I came by myself.'
- b.  $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$       *sinit*       $t\text{ə-re-tejkə-}\eta\text{ə-}$   
I-ERG      by.onself      1SG.S/A-FUT-make-FUT-3SG.O  
'I will make it by myself.'
- c.  $\gamma\text{əm-nan}$       *sinit*       $t\text{ə-pkir-}\gamma\text{?e-k}$   
I-ERG      by.onself      1SG.S/A-come-TH-1SG.S  
'I came by myself.'

Word order in Chukchi is free with a tendency towards SOV and (pro)nominal arguments are often dropped. When the subject of an intransitive clause is marked with absolutive, various word orders are possible (3). The same holds for transitive clauses, in which the subject bears ergative case marker.

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

However, the order of ergative marked pronoun and *sinit* is rigid. It is impossible to separate one from another as they form a constituent (4).

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

- b. <sup>??</sup>γəmnan tənnuyʔek sinit  
 c. \*sinit γəmnan tənnuyʔek  
 ‘I caught/ate the fish by myself.’

Moreover, in presence of *sinit*, it is possible to have two DPs within one intransitive clause, one in absolutive and another one in ergative (5). This pattern also suggests that *sinit* is responsible for case assignment.

- (5) a. ətʎon (ənan) sinit Ø-puture-γʔ-i  
 s/he.ABS s/he.ERG by.oneself 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S  
 ‘She danced by herself.’  
 b. \*ətʎon ənan Ø-puture-γʔ-i  
 s/he.ABS s/he.ERG 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S  
 Expected meaning: ‘She danced by herself.’

So far, the examples showed only pronouns. Nominal subjects in intransitive clauses cannot attach ergative even followed by *sinit* but they can be followed by a pronoun in ergative.

- (6) a. Vera sinit Ø-puture-γʔ-i  
 Vera.ABS by.oneself 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S  
 b. \*Vera-na sinit Ø-puture-γʔ-i  
 Vera-ERG by.oneself 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S  
 c. Vera [ənan sinit] Ø-puture-γʔ-i  
 Vera.ABS s/he.ERG by.oneself 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S  
 ‘Vera danced by herself.’

There is a diminutive suffix *-qej/-qaj* in Chukchi, whose form depends on the overall vowel harmony of the word<sup>1</sup>.

- (7) a. ənjɪw-qej  
 uncle-DIM.ABS  
 ‘[dear] uncle’ [-VH]  
 b. wonnə-qaj  
 spoon-DIM.ABS  
 ‘a [tiny] spoon’ [+VH]

<sup>1</sup> Chukchi has six phonetic vowel segments: [i], [e], [a], [o], [u] and [ə]. Depending on the presence of the vowel harmony prosody (+VH), some of them are realized as below:

-VH	[i]	[e]	[u]
+VH	[e]	[a]	[o]

The suffix attaches to *sinit*, which gives rise to amelioration (8).

- (8) a. ətɫon (ənan) sinit-qej ø-puture-ɣʔ-i  
 s/he.ABS s/he.ERG by.oneself-DIM 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S  
 ‘She [the lovely one] danced by herself.’
- b. ɣənan sinit-qej qə-ɪʔu-ɣə-n  
 you.ERG by.oneself-DIM 2.S/A.SUBJ-look-IRR-3SG.O  
 ‘Look for it by yourself [, sweetheart].’

Finally, the pronominal series was formed. The diminutive suffix changed to *-qaj* conforming to the [+VH] harmony established by the ergative suffix of pronoun. Intensifier *sinit* was reduced to *-se-* and also experienced a change in vowel, i.e. [i] → [e]. Thus, pronoun + ERG + *sinit* + DIM constitute one phonological word. The cumulative affix *-se.qaj* does not attach to pronouns in absolutive (9b) or nouns (9c).

- (9) a. (ətɫon) ənan-se.qaj ø-ɪɣətək-wʔ-i  
 s/he.ABS s/he.ERG-by.oneself.DIM 2/3SG.S/A-wash-TH-2/3SG.S  
 ‘She washed by herself.’
- b. \*ətɫon-se.qaj ø-ɪɣətək-wʔ-i  
 s/he.ABS-by.oneself.DIM 2/3SG.S/A-wash-TH-2/3SG.S  
 Expected meaning: as in (9a).
- c. \*Vera-se.qaj / Vera-na-se.qaj ø-puture-ɣʔ-i  
 Vera.ABS-by.oneself.DIM / Vera-ERG-by.oneself.DIM 2/3SG.S/A-dance-TH-2/3SG.S  
 Expected meaning: ‘Vera danced by herself.’

The table shows the whole pronominal series:

	SG	PL
1 <sup>st</sup> person	ɣəmnan-se.qaj	moryənan-se.qaj
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	ɣənan-se.qaj	toryənan-se.qaj
3 <sup>rd</sup> person	ənan-se.qaj	əryənan-se.qaj

I propose the following grammaticalization path:

Stage 1:

- transitive: (DP.ERG) + *sinit*  
 intransitive: (DP.ABS) + *sinit*

Stage 2:

- transitive: (<sup>?</sup>DP.ERG) [(PRON.ERG) + *sinit*]  
 intransitive: (DP.ABS) [(PRON.ERG) + *sinit*]

Stage 3:

transitive: (<sup>?</sup>DP.ERG) [(PRON.ERG) + *sinit-qej*]

intransitive: (DP.ABS) [(<sup>?</sup>PRON.ERG) + *sinit-qej*]

Stage 4:

transitive: (DP.ERG) PRON.ERG-*se.qaj*

intransitive: (DP.ABS) PRON.ERG-*se.qaj*

I could not find any examples with **DP.ERG**. Thus, I do not know if it is possible to express two DPs marked with the same case in this construction, but I hope to get the relevant examples today.

### List of Glosses

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
A	subject of a transitive predicate
ABS	absolute
DIM	diminutive
EAT	consume [lexical affix]
ERG	ergative
FUT	future
IRR	irrealis
O	object of a transitive predicate subject of an intransitive
S	predicate
SG	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TH	thematic affix