



REFLEXIVITY IN AMGUEMA CHUKCHI

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OUTLINE

- Reflexivity in Lexicon and Syntax
- Binding domain
- Possessive reflexive
- Protection puzzle

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LEXICON AND SYNTAX

- **The Lex-Syn Parameter** [Reinhart, Siloni 2005]:
UG allows thematic arity operations to apply in the lexicon or in the syntax.
- **Reflexivization Bundling:**
 - $[\theta_i] [\theta_j] \rightarrow [\theta_i - \theta_j]$, where θ_i – external θ -role.
 - $\text{wash}_{\text{acc}} (\text{Agent}, \text{Theme}) \rightarrow \text{wash} (\text{Agent-Theme})$

LEX-SYN IN AMGUEMA CHUKCHI

- Lexicon: detransitivization

(1) a. ənan ətʰon iʰyətew-ni-n
3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS wash-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O

'She washed him/*herself.'

b. ətʰon iʰyətək-wʔ-i
3SG.ABS wash-TH-2/3SG.S

'She washed.'

- Syntax: *sinitkin uwik* / *sinit-uwik* 'lit. oneself's body'

REFLEXIVIZATION BUNDLING

- Lexical restrictions: *ʔyətewnin* ~ *ʔyətekwʔi* 'wash' vs. *ʔʉnin* ~ **ʔʉyʔi* 'see'
- Proxy reading:

(2) a. Abramovič *ʔyət.ek-wʔ-i*
A.ABS wash-TH-2/3SG.S

'Abramovich washed.'

b. Abramovič-na *sinit-kin* *uwik* *t-ʔyət.ewə-n*
A.-AN.ERG self-REL body.ABS.SG 1SG.S/A-wash-3SG.O

'Abramovich washed himself.'



LEX-SYN IN AMGUEMA CHUKCHI

	Detransitivization	Anaphoric expression <i>sinitkin</i> <i>uwik</i>
Lexically restricted	yes	no
Targets only Ag-Th verbs	yes	no
Allows proxy-reading	no	yes
Parameter-setting	Lexicon	Syntax

REFLEXIVITY IN SYNTAX

- Meets CBT conditions [Chomsky 1981]

(3) a. qora-γənretə-†?-a_i ətton_{*i/k} anjʔa-ne-n
reindeer-guard-ATR-ERG 3SG.ABS praise-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
'The reindeer herder praised him.'

b. qora-γənretə-†?-a_i [sinit-kin uwik]_{i/*k} anjʔa-ne-n
reindeer-guard-ATR-ERG self-REL body.ABS praise-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O
'The reindeer herder praised himself.'

BINDING VS. COREFERENCE

- Can be bound by quantificational subject → binding

(4) wanewan mikə-ne_i ʔən-anjʔa-ʔa-n [sinit-kin uwik]_{i/*k}
NEG.NFUT who-AN.ERG LOW.A-praise-TH-3SG.O self-REL body.ABS
'No one praises herself'.

BINDING DOMAIN

- Minimal clause containing the anaphor and a subject

(5) a. Maša-na_i n-iw-qin [_{CP} inqun Zina-na_j
M.-ERG ST-say-ST.3SG that Z.-ERG
teŋ-u n-ine-ɬyə-qin [sinit-kin uwik]_{*i/j/*k}]
good-EQU ST-INV-consider-ST.3SG self-REL body.ABS
'Masha says that Zina_j admires herself.'

BINDING DOMAIN

- Minimal clause containing the anaphor and a subject

(5) b. Petja-na_i rə.ɣjuʃ.ew-ni-n Vasja_j
P.-ERG teach-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O V.ABS
[PRO_j teŋ-u ʃəŋə-k [sinit-kin uwik]_{*i/j/*k}]
good-EQU consider-INF self-REL body.ABS
'Petja taught Vasja_j to admire himself.'

ANAPHOR VS. PRONOUN

- Ergative subject binds absolutive object → *sinitkin uwik*
- Non-absolutive arguments:

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(6) a. $\gamma\text{əm}\text{ə-ka-}\gamma\text{t}\text{ə}$ $\text{t}\text{ə-rkur}\text{ə-ne-t}$ kenti-t
1SG-OBL-DAT 1SG.S/A-buy-3SG.O-PL candy-ABS.PL

b. $\text{senet-owek-et}\text{ə}$ $\text{t}\text{ərkur}\text{ənet}$ kentit

c. $\% \text{senet-et}\text{ə}$ $\text{t}\text{ərkur}\text{ənet}$ kentit

'I bought myself candies.'

ANAPHOR VS. PRONOUN

- Ergative subject binds absolutive object → *sinitkin uwik*
- Non-absolutive arguments:
 - PERS.PRON + CASE
slight asymmetry between 1/2 and 3 person pronouns
 - *sinituwik* + CASE
 - %*senetetə* (self-DAT) 'for oneself'

Not like in Telqep [Dunn 1999: 134-135]

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Separation: use a derivation from a numeration that puts the variables on different argument structure grids (e.g. PP) [Reuland 2001]

POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE

- Possessive reflexive *sinit-kin* (self-REL)
- 'General' reflexive is a combination of possessive reflexive and a body expression

POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE

- Minimal **finite** containing the anaphor and a subject

(7) Petja-na_i rə.ɣjuʦ.ew-ni-n Vasja_j
P.-ERG teach-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O V.ABS
[PRO_j teŋ-u ʦəŋə-k [sinit-kin saket.tomyə-n]_{?i/j}]
 good-EQU consider-INF self-REL sister-ABS
'Petja_i taught Vasja_j to admire his _{i/j} sister.'

POSSESSIVE REFLEXIVE

- Subject-oriented

Not like in Telqep [Dunn 1999: 134-135]

(8) a. $\text{\textethron}\text{t}\text{\textethron}\text{y}\text{-a}_i$ $\text{r}\text{\textethron}\text{j}\text{p}\text{\textethron}\text{.an-ne-n}$ $\text{aaka-yt}\text{\textethron}_j$ $\text{sinit-kin}_{i/*j/*k}$ $\text{ir}\text{\textethron}\text{-n}$
father-ERG dress-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O son-DAT self-REL coat-ABS.SG

'Father_i put his_{i/*j/*k} coat on his son_j.'

b. $\text{\textethron}\text{t}\text{\textethron}\text{y}\text{a}_i$ $\text{r}\text{\textethron}\text{j}\text{p}\text{\textethron}\text{annn}$ $\text{aakayt}\text{\textethron}_j$ $\text{\textethron}\text{-in}_{i/j/k}$ $\text{ir}\text{\textethron}$

'Father_i put his_{i/j/k} coat on his son_j.'

PROTECTION

- Use a derivation from a numeration containing an element that adds **complexity** to the object argument
- Add an intensifier / body part expression / doubled pronoun, so that the bound pronoun is **protected** by the embedding
- Instead of $\lambda x. V[x, x]$, use $\lambda x. V[x, [Morph\ x]]$ interpreted as $\lambda x. V(x, f(x))$, where $|f(x)| \approx |x|$

PROTECTION

- Use a derivation from a numeration containing an element that **adds complexity** to the object argument and **protects** the bound pronoun by embedding
- Intensifier / body part expression / doubled pronoun etc.
- Instead of $\lambda x. V[x, x]$, use $\lambda x. V[x, [Morph\ x]]$ interpreted as $\lambda x. V(x, f(x))$, where $|f(x)| \approx |x|$

INTENSIFIER *S/N/T* 'BY ONESELF'

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

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

'I came by myself!'

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

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

'I will do it by myself!'

WEIRD PROTECTION

- *sinit-kin uwik* 'INTS-REL body'
- Protect an intensifier by adding a body part expression



DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT

- Koryak: *uvik* + case marker [Жукова 1972: 192-193]
- Alutor: *uvik*, *sininkin/sinin-* [Кибрик, Муравьева, Кодзасов 2000: 282-283]
- Itelmen: *uvik*, pronouns in non-Abs [Володин 1976: 177-178; Volodin 2007]

- Possible bridging context:
ʏəm-nin sinit-kin jaraŋə (1SG-GEN INTS-REL house.ABS.SG)
'my own house'

CONCLUSION

- Reflexivity-licensing strategies in Amguema Chukchi:
 - detransitivization (theta-role bundling in the lexicon)
 - protection by PP (?)
 - redundant protection for *sinitkin uwik*

The absurd does not liberate; it binds.
– Albert Camus