

# Outline

- Cross-reference puzzles:
  - Structure of intransitive and transitive paradigms
  - Functions of 'Inverse' markers
- Ergativity:
  - Degrees of ergativity in Amguema Chukchi
  - Implications for Case Theory

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**CHUKCHI: CASE STUDIES FROM THE FIELD**

# **CROSS-REFERENCE PUZZLES**

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# Cross-reference markers: intransitive Aorist

S	SG	PL
1	t-...-(yʔe-)k	mət-...-mək
2	∅-...-(yʔ-)i	∅-...-tək
3	∅-...-(yʔ-)i	∅-...-(yʔe-)t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γʔe-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γʔe-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	∅-...-tku-γʔ-i	—	—	∅-...-(γʔe-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γʔe-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γʔe-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γʔe-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	∅-...-tku-γʔ-i	—	—	∅-...-(γʔe-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γʔe-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γʔe-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γʔe-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	∅-...-tku-γʔ-i	—	—	∅-...-(γʔe-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γʔe-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γʔe-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γʔe-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	∅-...-tku-γʔ-i	—	—	∅-...-(γʔe-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γʔe-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γʔe-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γʔe-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	∅-...-tku-γʔ-i	—	—	∅-...-(γʔe-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γʔe-)n	ne-...-ne-t



# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γʔe-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γʔe-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	∅-...-tku-γʔ-i	—	—	∅-...-(γʔe-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γʔe-)n	ne-...-ne-t



# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γ?e-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γ?e-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γ?e-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-tku- <b>tək</b>	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-tku- <b>tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	t-...- <b>ne-t</b>
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	mət-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	∅-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-tku- <b>tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>n</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>ne-t</b>
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	ne-...- <b>ne-t</b>

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	t-...- <b>ne-t</b>
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	mət-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	∅-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-tku- <b>tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>n</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>ne-t</b>
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	ne-...- <b>ne-t</b>



# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e)- <b>n</b>	t-...- <b>ne-t</b>
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e)- <b>n</b>	mət-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e)- <b>n</b>	∅-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-tku- <b>tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>n</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>ne-t</b>
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e)- <b>n</b>	ne-...- <b>ne-t</b>

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	t-...- <b>ne-t</b>
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	mət-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	∅-...-tku-γ?-i	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	∅-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-tku- <b>tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-)i	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>n</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>ne-t</b>
3PL	ne-...- <b>γəm</b>	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	ne-...- <b>ne-t</b>

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	t-...- <b>ne-t</b>
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	mət-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-) <b>i</b>	∅-...-tku-γ?- <b>i</b>	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	∅-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-tku- <b>tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-) <b>i</b>	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>n</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>ne-t</b>
3PL	ne-...- <b>γəm</b>	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	ne-...- <b>ne-t</b>

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	t-...- <b>ne-t</b>
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	mət-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-) <b>i</b>	∅-...- <b>tku-γ?-i</b>	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	∅-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...- <b>tku-tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-) <b>i</b>	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>n</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>ne-t</b>
3PL	ne-...- <b>γəm</b>	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	ne-...- <b>ne-t</b>

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...- <b>γət</b>	t-...- <b>tək</b>	t-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	t-...- <b>ne-t</b>
1PL	—	—	mət-...- <b>γət</b>	mət-...- <b>tək</b>	mət-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	mət-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-) <b>i</b>	∅-...- <b>tku-γ?-i</b>	—	—	∅-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	∅-...- <b>ne-t</b>
2PL	∅-ine-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...- <b>tku-tək</b>	—	—	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>	∅-...- <b>tkə</b>
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γ?-) <b>i</b>	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>n</b>	∅-...-ni- <b>ne-t</b>
3PL	ne-...- <b>γəm</b>	ne-...- <b>mək</b>	ne-...- <b>γət</b>	ne-...- <b>tək</b>	ne-...-(γ?e-) <b>n</b>	ne-...- <b>ne-t</b>

# Cross-reference markers: transitive Aorist

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	t-...-γət	t-...-tək	t-...-(γʔe-)n	t-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mət-...-γət	mət-...-tək	mət-...-(γʔe-)n	mət-...-ne-t
2SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	∅-...-tku-γʔ-i	—	—	∅-...-(γʔe-)n	∅-...-ne-t
2PL	∅-ine-...-tək	∅-...-tku-tək	—	—	∅-...-tkə	∅-...-tkə
3SG	∅-ine-...-(γʔ-)i	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	∅-...-ni-n	∅-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ne-...-γəm	ne-...-mək	ne-...-γət	ne-...-tək	ne-...-(γʔe-)n	ne-...-ne-t

# Grey zones: “Inverse markers”

- [Comrie 1980]: *ne-* is the inverse marker; *ine-* and *-tku* shouldn't be regarded at all
- [Bobaljik 2009]: there isn't an inverse marker in Chukchi, *ne-* is an agreement marker
- [Kibrik 1997] (about Alutor): there are different person-number hierarchies which compete in several cells
- We claim that *ne-*, *ine-* and *-tku* distribution follows a single pattern in modern language, but diachronically they are different, and that's important

# Single pattern: "Subjunctive"

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	m-...-yət	m-...-tək	m-...-(yʔe-)n	m-...-ne-t
1PL	—	—	mən-...-yət	mən-...-tək	mən-...-(yʔe-)n	mən-...-ne-t
2SG	q-ine-...-y-i	q-...-tku-y-i	—	—	q-...-yə-n	q-...-yə-ne-t
2PL	q-ine-...-(yə-)tək	q-...-tku-tək	—	—	q-...-yə-tkə	q-...-yə-tkə
3SG	n-ine-...-(yʔe-)n	ʔən-...-mək	ʔən-...-yət	ʔən-...-tək	n-...-ni-n	n-...-ni-ne-t
3PL	ʔən-...-yəm	ʔən-...-mək	ʔən-...-yət	ʔən-...-tək	ʔən-...-(yʔe-)n	ʔən-...-ne-t



# Single pattern

- There is a person-number hierarchy 1SG > 1PL > 2SG > 2PL > 3SG > 3PL
- *ne-* marks that the Agent is lower in this hierarchy than the Patient (low A)
- *ine-* and *-tku* mark that the Patient is higher than the Agent (high P)
- Those markers compete in several cells, but the pattern is the same for all paradigms

# Single pattern: Perfect

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tɪn	ye-...-tɪne-t
1PL	—	—	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tɪn	ye-...-tɪne-t
2SG	ɣ-ine-...-iyət	ye-...-tku-jyət	—	—	ye-...-tɪn	ye-...-tɪne-t
2PL	ɣ-ine-...-turi	ye-...-tku-turi	—	—	ye-...-tɪn	ye-...-tɪne-t
3SG	ɣ-ine-...-tɪn	ye-...-muri	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tɪn	ye-...-tɪne-t
3PL	ye-...-iyəm	ye-...-muri	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tɪn	ye-...-tɪne-t

# *ne-*: “Itelmen Passive”

- *n-* in Itelmen is a 3PL.A prefix
- But it also occurs in a special “Passive” construction with the change of case-marking. This pattern occurs only with *n-*.

• a. *sillatumx-eʔn*      *kamma*      *n-anjčp-miŋ*  
brother-PL                      1SG                      3PL-teach-1SG.OBJ

‘The brothers taught me.’

• b. *sillatumx-eʔn-k*      *kamma*      *n-anjčp-miŋ*  
brother-PL-LOC                      1SG                      PASS-teach-1SG.OBJ

‘I was taught by the brothers.’

[Volodin 1976: 270], glossed by [Bobaljik ms.]

## *ne-*: “Itelmen Passive”

- *n-* can refer to 3SG.A with this case-marking pattern

• b. *sillatumx-eʔn-k*      *kəmma*      *n-anjčp-miŋ*  
brother-PL-LOC      1SG      PASS-teach-1SG.OBJ

‘I was taught by the brothers.’

• c. *sillatumx-en-k*      *kəmma*      *n-anjčp-miŋ*  
brother-SG-LOC      1SG      PASS-teach-1SG.OBJ

‘I was taught by the brother.’

[Volodin 1976: 270], partly glossed by [Bobaljic ms.]

## *ne-*: “Itelmen Passive”

- This construction is quite popular in Chukotko-Kamchatkan literature; [Fortescue 1997] suggests it as the source of Chukotko-Kamchatkan ergativity
- For us the important thing is that *n-* is associated with passive-like derivation with low Agent. This derivation however does not make the verb formally intransitive
- So we claim that it's natural that *n-* in Chukchi functions as the low.A marker

# *ine-*: Chukchi “spurious” Antipassive

- In several Chukchi dialects *ine-* functions as an Antipassive marker

• a.     *ʔaaček-a*                      *kimitʔə-n*              *ne-nʔetet-ən*  
          young.man-ERG              load-ABS              3PL-carry-3SG/AOR

• b.     *ʔaaček-ət*                      *ine-nʔetet-γʔe-t*              *kimitʔ-e*  
          young.man-ABS.PL              AP-carry-3PL/AOR              load-ERG

‘Young men carried away the load’

[Kozinsky et al. 1988: 652]

# *ine-*: Chukchi “spurious” Antipassive

- In Amguema Chukchi however this derivation is not productive
- The important thing is that with *ine-* as a cross-reference marker case marking doesn't change: it is still normal transitive Ergative-Absolutive marking. That's why this *ine-* is called “spurious” antipassive by [Halle & Hale 1997]

- |              |            |                                   |
|--------------|------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>yənan</i> | <i>yəm</i> | $\emptyset$ - <i>ine-tʔu-yʔ-i</i> |
| YOU.ERG      | I.ABS      | 2/3.S/A-INV-see-TH-2/3SG.S        |
| ‘You see me’ |            |                                   |

- However pronouns are usually dropped

## *ine-*: Chukchi “spurious” Antipassive

- Antipassive marker may be used in such cells of the paradigm because it makes the first person participant to leave the direct object position (only in verbal marking)
- We don't want the first person to be marked as a Patient: it's too shameful
- Alternative view: we want the first person to be marked in prefix



# *-tku*: Chukchi “spurious” Antipassive

- *-tku* is also an Antipassive marker, but it functions a little bit differently: the object often is obligatory dropped with this marker
- |                 |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ʔattʔə-n</i> | <i>nə-jyu-tku-qin</i>   |
| dog-NOM.SG      | STAT-bite-ITER-STAT.3SG |
| 'A dog bites.'  |                         |
- In Amguema Chukchi *-tku* is used regularly only as a verbal plurality marker which doesn't change the case marking

# *ine-* and *-tku*: Chukchi “spurious” Antipassive

- So it's only natural that *-tku* functions just like *ine-* but refers to first person plural, not singular
- Looking at the Aorist paradigm we even can suggest that *ine-* can be glossed as 1SG.O and *-tku* as 1PL.O
- Can this be called “Inverse” marking?

# Inverse marking?

- In other languages, Inverse marker switches the position of Agent and Patient:

Plains Cree:

- *ni-wāpam-ā-w*

1-see-DIR-3

'I see him/her' (direct)

- *ni-wāpam-ikw-w*

1-see-INV-3

's/he sees me' (inverse); from [Zúñiga 2006: 2]

# Inverse marking?

- In Chukchi: *ine-* and *-tku* switch the suffix from P to A
- In Habitual paradigm *ine-* is used with the same function, but wider. Habitual makes one-placed predicates; the cross-reference morpheme is suffix

# Inverse marking? Habitual

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	n-ine-...-iyəm	n-ine-...-iyəm	n-ine-...-iyəm	n-ine-...-iyəm
1PL	—	—	n-ine-...-muri	n-ine-...-muri	n-ine-...-muri	n-ine-...-muri
2SG	n-ine-...-iyət	n-...-tku-jyət	—	—	n-ine-...-iyət	n-ine-...-iyət
2PL	n-ine-...-turi	n-...-tku-turi	—	—	n-ine-...-turi	n-ine-...-turi
3SG	n-ine-...-qin	n-...-muri	n-...-iyət	n-...-turi	n-ine-...-qin	n-ine-...-qine-t
3PL	n-...-iyəm	n-...-muri	n-...-iyət	n-...-turi	n-...-qin	n-...-qine-t

# Inverse marking? Habitual

- We suggest that it's due to Habitual semantics: it tends to be associated with Agent, not with Patient
- Low Agent zone is left without *ine-* because of the paradigm symmetry
- Compare Perfect: it also makes one-placed predicates, but there's no *ine-* there and suffixes refer to Patient

# Inverse marking? Perfect

A \ O	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG	3PL
1SG	—	—	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tin	ye-...-tine-t
1PL	—	—	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tin	ye-...-tine-t
2SG	ye-ine-...-iyət	ye-...-tku-jyət	—	—	ye-...-tin	ye-...-tine-t
2PL	ye-ine-...-turi	ye-...-tku-turi	—	—	ye-...-tin	ye-...-tine-t
3SG	ye-ine-...-tin	ye-...-muri	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tin	ye-...-tine-t
3PL	ye-...-iyəm	ye-...-muri	ye-...-iyət	ye-...-turi	ye-...-tin	ye-...-tine-t

# Conclusion

- So modern Chukchi cross-reference system includes passive-like and antipassive-like morphemes together, and they compete in several cells, following some person-number hierarchy
- Different origins of the markers is the reason for their different behavior in modern Chukchi
- *ine-* function as the Inverse marker at least at the Habitual paradigm



# CHUKCHI: CASE STUDIES FROM THE FIELD

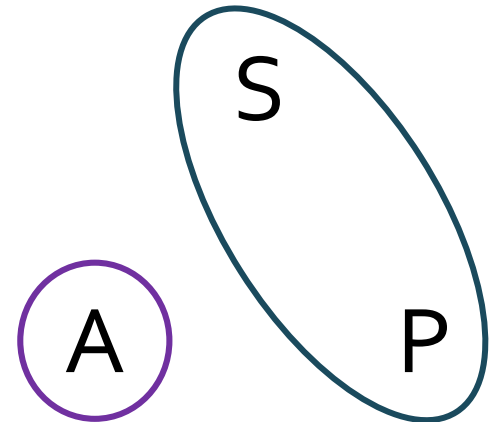
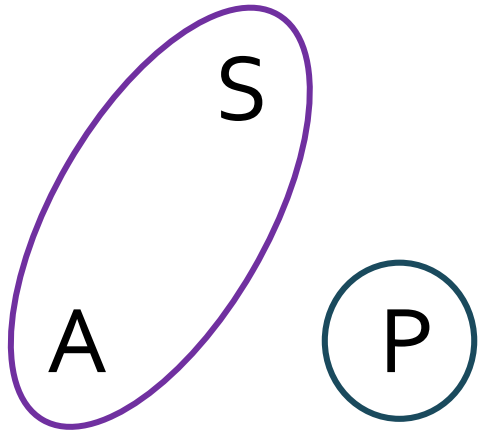
# ERGATIVITY

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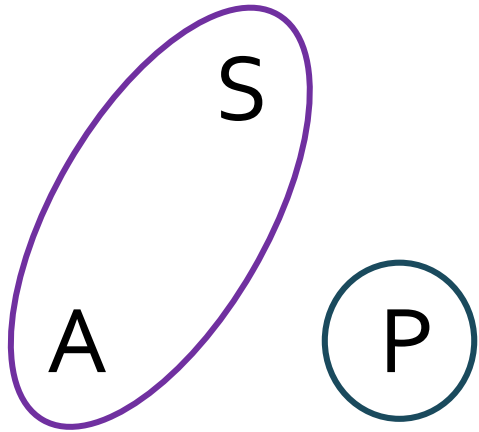
Polina Kasyanova

[pakasyanova@gmail.com](mailto:pakasyanova@gmail.com)

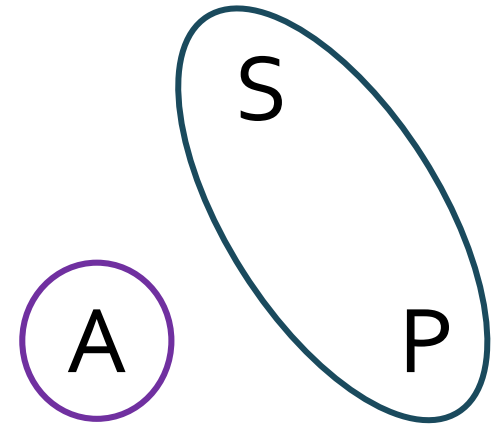
# Alignment



# Alignment

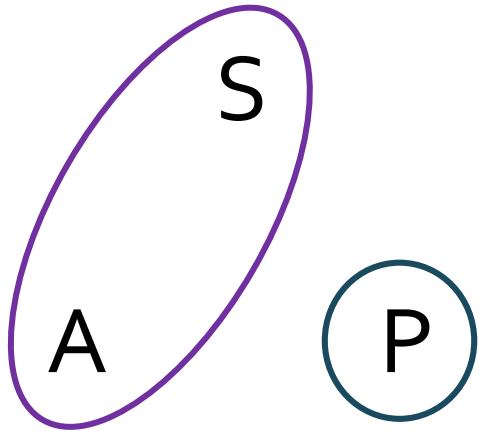


Nominative-accusative

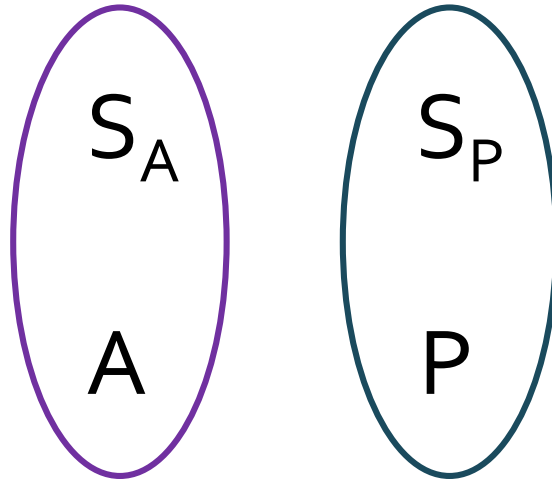


Ergative-absolutive

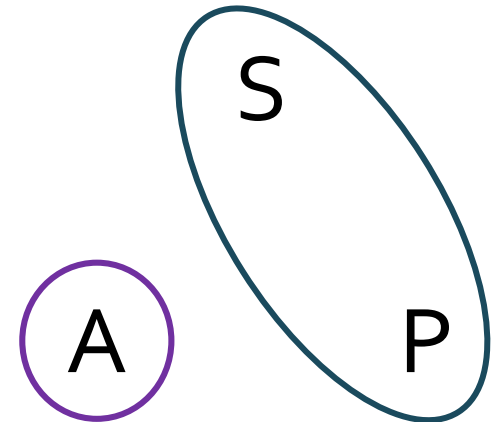
# Alignment



Nominative-accusative



Fluid S-marking

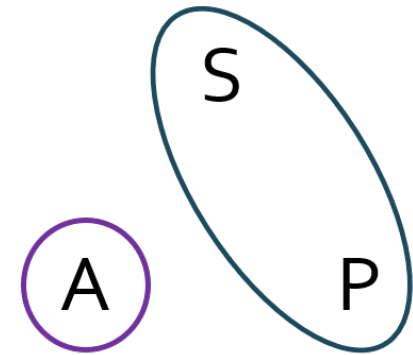


Ergative-absolutive

# Case Marking

(1) a. **ənəy-ŋawjoɫ-a**      jəkəryə-səko-ɣtə      ɣe-npətkəntew-ɸin      **rəswa-ɸyə-n**  
s/he.INC-COUSIN-ERG    mouth-IN-DAT      PF-squash-PF.3SG      larva-SING-ABS  
'Her cousin has squashed a gadfly's larva into her mouth'

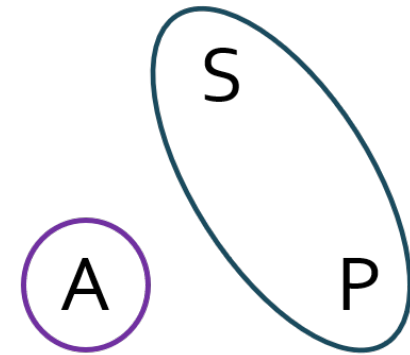
b. **rəswa-ɸyə-n**      nə-sasa-qen  
larva-SING-ABS    ST-tasty-ST.3SG  
'The gadfly's larva is tasty'



Ergative-absolutive

# No Fluid-S Marking

- (2) a. **retem**                      γ-eret-ḫin  
roof.of.yaranga.ABS.SG PF-fall-PF.3SG  
b. γe-retem-eret-ḫin  
PF-roof.of.yaranga-fall-PF.3SG  
'The roof of (his/her) yaranga fell down.' [unaccusative]
- (3) a. **ekkək**              nə-miysiret-qin  
son.ABS.SG ST-work-ST.3SG  
b. \*n-eeke-miysiret-qin  
ST-son-work-ST.3SG  
'(His/her) son works.' [unergative]



Ergative-absolutive

# Ergativity

- Morphological ergativity **vs.** Syntactic ergativity
- If there is a split,
  - bound pronominal affixes will be accusative
  - case-marking on free forms will be ergative [Dixon 1979: 92]
- Morphological ergativity > Syntactic ergativity

# Ergativity: where to look at?

- Argument encoding (e.g. case marking)
- Cross-reference/agreement
- Coreference in coordinated clauses
- Control in nonfinite clauses
- **A'-extraction:** relativization + constituent questions



## West Greenlandic

(4) a. miiqqa-t [ <sub>-ABS</sub> sila-mi [ pinnguar-tu-t ]

child-PL.ABS [ <sub>-</sub> outdoors-LOC play-REL.INTR-PL ]

'the children who are playing outdoors' [Bittner 1994: 55]

b. miiqqa-t [ Junna-p <sub>-ABS</sub> paari-sa-i ]

child-PL.ABS [ Junna-ERG <sub>-</sub> look.after-REL.TR-3SG.PL ]

'the children that Junna is looking after' [Bittner 1994: 55]

c. \*angut [ <sub>-ERG</sub> aallaat tigu-sima-sa-a ]

man.ABS [ <sub>-</sub> gun.ABS take-PRF-REL.TR-3SG.SG ]

Int. meaning: 'the man who took the gun' [Bittner 1994: 58]

## West Greenlandic

(4) c. \*angut [ <sub>-ERG</sub> aallaat tigu-sima-sa-a ]

man.ABS [ <sub>-</sub> gun.ABS take-PRF-REL.TR-3SG.SG ]

Int. meaning: 'the man who took the gun' [Bittner 1994: 58]

d. angut [ <sub>-ABS</sub> aallaam-mik tigu-**si**-sima-su-q ]

man.ABS [ <sub>-</sub> gun.INS take-**AP**-PRF-REL.INTR-3SG.SG ]

'the man who took the gun' [Bittner 1994: 58]

**Antipassivization:** ERG > ABS, ABS > OBL

AMGUEMA CHUKCHI DATA

# Coordination

- Accusative pattern (S=A):
  - Oleg Volkov killed Laura Palmer and  $\emptyset_S$  left.
- Ergative pattern (S=P):
  - #Oleg Volkov killed Laura Palmer and  $\emptyset_S$  left.
- Neutral Pattern (S=P or S=A):
  - Oleg Volkov saw Laura Palmer and left.



# Coordination

(5) a.  $\eta j n q e j - e_i$  winren-ni-n                       $\text{ənpənas} \chi \text{ə} - n_j$        $\text{ənk} \text{?am}$        $\emptyset_{i/*j}$        $\emptyset - \text{ekwet} - \chi \text{?} - i$   
boy-ERG    help-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O    old.man-ABS.SG    and                      2/3.S/A-leave-TH-2/3SG.S

'The boy helped the old man and left'.

b. # $\text{ət} \text{?ə} \chi - e_i$       ren-ni-n                       $\text{ənn} e e n_j$                        $\text{ənqo}$        $\emptyset_{i/*j}$        $\emptyset - \text{wi} \text{?et} - \chi \text{?} - i$   
father-ERG    bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O    fish.ABS.SG    then                      2/3.S/A-rot-TH-2/3SG.S

#'The father brought fish and spoiled.'

Int. meaning: 'The father brought a fish and it spoiled'.

# Coordination

- (5) a.  $\eta j n q e j - e_i$  winren-ni-n                       $\text{ənpənas} \chi \text{ə} - n_j$        $\text{ənk} \text{ʔam}$        $\emptyset_{i/*j}$        $\emptyset - \text{ekwet} - \chi \text{ʔ} - i$   
boy-ERG    help-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O    old.man-ABS.SG    and                      2/3.S/A-leave-TH-2/3SG.S

'The boy helped the old man and left'.

- b. # $\text{ət} \text{ʔə} \chi - e_i$       ren-ni-n                       $\text{ənn} e e n_j$        $\text{ə} n q o$        $\emptyset_{i/*j}$        $\emptyset - \text{wi} \text{ʔet} - \chi \text{ʔ} - i$   
father-ERG    bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O    fish.ABS.SG    then                      2/3.S/A-rot-TH-2/3SG.S

#'The father brought fish and spoiled.'

Int. meaning: 'The father brought a fish and it spoiled'.

Accusative pattern (S=A)

# *Wh*-questions

- Ergative pattern:  $S = P \neq A$
- Ergative cannot undergo *wh*-extraction with a gap
- **Chukchi**: neutral pattern ( $S = P = A$ )

# Wh-questions

(6) a. meŋin            Ø-jet-γʔ-i  
          who.ABS.SG 2/3.S/A-come-TH-2/3SG.S

b. jetγʔi            meŋin

‘Who came?’ [S]

(7) a. rʔenut            γənan            Ø-ret-γʔe-n  
          what.ABS.SG you.ERG 2/3.S/A-bring-TH-3SG.O

b. γənan            rʔenut            retyʔen

c. γənan            retyʔen            rʔenut

‘What did you bring?’ [P]



# Wh-questions

(8) a. mikə-ne      kentit      ren-ni-ne-t  
      who-AN.ERG    candy-ABS.PL    bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL

b. kentit      mikəne      renninet

c. kentit      renninet      mikəne

'Who brought the candies?' [A]

# Wh-questions

(8) a. mikə-ne      kentit      ren-ni-ne-t  
      who-AN.ERG    candy-ABS.PL    bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL

b. kentit      mikəne      renninet

c. kentit      renninet      mikəne

'Who brought the candies?' [A]

This is not enough!







# Control of Diminutive Suffixes

- Ergative pattern:  $S = P \neq A$
- **Chukchi:**
  - diminutive/augmentative affixes can attach to predicates
  - ergativity is observed in the NP control of diminutive/augmentative suffixes attached to the verb; **these are not triggered by A at all**

# Control of Diminutive Suffixes

(10) a. meŋin      Ø-jet-qe.et-γʔ-i

who.ABS.SG 2/3.S/A-come-DIM.VB-TH-2/3SG.S

'Who (a small/nice one) came?'

b. ətʃʔa-ta      ommasajpə-qa.an-ne-n      eekək

mother-ERG hug-DIM.VB-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O son.ABS.SG

'Mother hugged her little son.' / ʔ'(Small/lovely) mother hugged her son.'

c. eekke-te      ommasajpə-qa.an-ne-n      ətʃʔa

son-ERG hug-DIM.VB-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O mother.ABS.SG

'The little son hugged his mother.' / ʔ'The son hugged his (small/lovely) mother.'

# Control of Diminutive Suffixes

(10) a. *menjin*      Ø-jet-qe.et-γʔ-i

who.ABS.SG 2/3.S/A-come-DIM.VB-TH-2/3SG.S

Neutral pattern

'Who (a small/nice one) came?'

b. *ətʃʔa-ta*      *ommasajpə-qa.an-ne-n*      *eekək*

mother-ERG hug-DIM.VB-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O son.ABS.SG

'Mother hugged her little son.' / ʔ'(Small/lovely) mother hugged her son.'

c. *eekke-te*      *ommasajpə-qa.an-ne-n*      *ətʃʔa*

son-ERG hug-DIM.VB-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O mother.ABS.SG

'The little son hugged his mother.' / ʔ'The son hugged his (small/lovely) mother.'



[Comrie 1979; Polinskaja, Nedjalkov 1987;  
Polinsky 1994, 2016; Dunn 1999]

# Relativization

- Ergative pattern: ban on  $A'$ -extraction of ergative subjects
- **Chukchi**: contrastive pattern ( $S \neq P \neq A$ )
  - S: active  $\#?$ -suffixed participle
  - P: passive *jo*-suffixed participle
  - $A > S$ : antipassivization + active  $\#?$ -suffixed participle

# Relativization: $\text{ʔ}$ -suffixed participle

- (11) [  $\_\_$ <sub>i</sub> pəkɪrə- $\text{ʔ}$ ]-e      ɲin.qej-e<sub>i</sub>    ren-ni-ne-t      kenti-t  
[ arrive-ATTR]-ERG    boy-ERG    bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL    candy-ABS.PL  
'The boy who came brought candies.' [S]

# Relativization: $\text{ʔ}$ -suffixed participle

- (11) [ \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> pəkirə- $\text{ʔ}$ ]-e      ɲin.qej-e<sub>i</sub>    ren-ni-ne-t      kenti-t  
[ arrive-ATTR]-ERG    boy-ERG    bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL    candy-ABS.PL

'The boy who came brought candies.' [S]

- (12) \*[ɲinqej-e    \_\_\_<sub>i</sub>    rə-sem-aw- $\text{ʔ}$ ə]-n      kojɲə-n      nə-teŋ-qin  
[boy-ERG      TR-break-CS-ATTR]-ABS.SG    cup-ABS.SG    ST-good-ST.3SG

Int. meaning: 'The cup which the boy broke was good.' [P]

# Relativization: †ʔ-suffixed participle

- (13) a. \* [ \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> kojŋə-n      rə-sem-aw-†ʔə]-n              ŋin.qej<sub>i</sub>      Ø-γənt.ek-wʔ-i  
[      cup-ABS.SG TR-break-CS-ATTR]-ABS.SG    boy.ABS.SG    2/3.S/A-run.away-TH-2/3.SG.S
- b. [ \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> kojŋə-n-sem-aw-†ʔə]-n              ŋin.qej<sub>i</sub>      Ø-γənt.ek-wʔ-i  
[      cup-TR-break-CS-ATTR]-ABS.SG    boy.ABS.SG    2/3.S/A-run.away-TH-2/3.SG.S
- ‘The boy who broke the cup ran away.’ [A]

# Relativization: †ʔ-suffixed participle

- (13) a. \* [ \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> kojŋə-n      rə-sem-aw-†ʔə]-n              ŋin.qej<sub>i</sub>      Ø-γənt.ek-wʔ-i  
[      cup-ABS.SG TR-break-CS-ATTR]-ABS.SG    boy.ABS.SG    2/3.S/A-run.away-TH-2/3.SG.S
- b. [ \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> kojŋə-n-sem-aw-†ʔə]-n              ŋin.qej<sub>i</sub>      Ø-γənt.ek-wʔ-i  
[      cup-TR-break-CS-ATTR]-ABS.SG    boy.ABS.SG    2/3.S/A-run.away-TH-2/3.SG.S
- ‘The boy who broke the cup ran away.’ [A]

Intransitive participle (S)

# Relativization: *jo*-suffixed participle

(14) \*pəkɪr-jo(-ta)            ɲin.qej-e    ren-ni-ne-t            kenti-t  
arrive-TR.PTCP(-ERG)    boy-ERG    bring-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O-PL    candy-ABS.PL

'The boy who came brought candies.' [S]

(15) ɲinqej-e    rə-sem-aw-jo            kojɲə-n            nə-teŋ-qin  
boy-ERG    TR-break-CS-TR.PTCP    cup-ABS.SG    ST-good-ST.3SG

'The cup which the boy broke was good.' [P]

# Relativization: *jo*-suffixed participle

- (16) a. ʔorawetʔa-ta ɲotqen weem-qej penko-jo-ta                    ɣəm na-jʔo-ɣəm  
man-ERG            this            river-DIM.ABS    jump.over-TR.PTCP-ERG    I.ABS    LOW.A-overtake-1SG.O  
'The man who jumped over this brook overtook me.' [A]

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b. ɲotqen jara-ɲə            tajkə-jo            ʔorawetʔa-ta / \*ʔorawetʔa-n iɣər  
this            house-ABS.SG    make-TR.PTCP    man-ERG            /    man-ABS.SG    today

nəmnəmə-k    nə-nəmə.twa-qen

village-LOC    ST-live-ST.3SG

‘Nowadays the man who build this yaranga lives in the village.’ [A]



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'Nowadays the man who build this yaranga lives in the village.' [A]

Transitive (internally-headed) participle

# Relativization: negative participles

- (17) [ \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> ʔon-jetə-ʔə]-n                      ʔorawetʔa-n<sub>i</sub> jʔarat                      unmək                      wane  
[       NEG-come-NEG-ATTR]-ABS    man-ABS.SG                      particularly                      too.much                      NEG.NFUT  
mən-ʔatsa-ʔa-n  
1PL.S/A.SUBJ-wait.for-TH-3SG.O

'We do not really wait for the man who did not come.' [S]

- (18) ɲinqay-ti<sub>i</sub>    [miry-e                      \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> ʔon-anja-ʔə]-t                      Ø-jet-yʔe-t  
boy-ABS.PL    [grandfather-ERG                      NEG.PFV-praise-ATTR]-ABS.PL                      2/3.S/A-come-TH-2/3SG.S  
ətʃa-ytə  
mother-DAT

'The boys that were not praised by their grandfather came to their mother.' [P]

# Relativization: negative participles

- (19) a. \* $\eta$ eekkeqej<sub>i</sub> [kuke- $\eta$ ə \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> †on $\eta$ -maʔe-†ʔə]-n Ø- $\gamma$ əntek-wʔ-i  
girl.ABS.SG [pot-ABS.SG NEG.PFV-wipe-ATTR]-ABS.SG 2/3.S/A-run.away-TH-2/3SG.S
- b.  $\eta$ eekkeqej<sub>i</sub> [ \_\_\_<sub>i</sub> †on $\eta$ -koka-maʔe-†ʔə]-n Ø- $\gamma$ əntek-wʔ-i  
girl.ABS.SG [ NEG.PFV-pot-wipe-ATTR]-ABS.SG 2/3.S/A-run.away-TH-2/3SG.S
- 'The girl who had not washed the pot ran away.' [A]

Ergative pattern

# Ergativity in Amguema Chukchi

	'Chukchi'	Amguema Chukchi
Case-marking	ergative	ergative
Agreement	accusative/mixed	accusative
Coordination	neutral	accusative
Control in purpose clauses	neutral	(accusative/neutral)
Wh-questions	neutral	neutral
Control of diminutives	ergative	neutral
Relativization (declaratives)	ergative/contrastive	not applicable
Relativization (negative)	ergative	ergative

# IMPLICATIONS FOR CASE THEORY

# Case Theory

- Inherent Case Theory:
  - ergative case is assigned by  $v$  in Spec,  $vP$
  - agent  $\theta$ -role is assigned to the external argument
- Dependent Case Theory:
  - NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub> are in the same domain
  - NP<sub>1</sub> c-commands NP<sub>2</sub>
  - case feature of NP<sub>1</sub> is valued as ergative

# Case Theory

- Inherent Case Theory:
  - ergative case is assigned by  $v$  in Spec,  $vP$
  - agent  $\theta$ -role is assigned to the external argument
- **ICT's Prediction:**
  - ergative case may not appear on derived subjects
  - e.g. subject of applicativized unaccusative verb

# Locative Alternations

- Chukchi is an ergative language that
  - **does not**, apparently, have a productive morphological applicative that combines with unaccusatives,
  - but it does have inchoative and **locative alternations**



# Locative Alternations

- (20) a. *ɲewəsqe-te* kuke-ɲə jərʔen-ni-n mimʔ-e  
girl-ERG pot-ABS.SG fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O water-ERG  
'The girl filled the pot with water.'
- b. kuke-ɲə Ø-jərʔet-ɣʔ-i mimʔ-e  
pot-ABS.SG 2/3.S/A-fill-TH-2/3SG.S water-ERG  
'The pot filled with water.'
- c. *mimʔ-e* kuke-ɲə jərʔen-ni-n  
water-ERG pot-ABS.SG fill-3SG.A.3.O-3SG.O  
'Water filled the pot.' / '(S/he) filled the pot with water.'

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Either 'water' or 'pot'  
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Either 'water' or 'pot'  
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'Pot' cannot  
incorporate into the  
verb 'fill' in (20c)





# Applicative of Unaccusative

- (22) a. qeryə.sʔə-n      Ø-sim.et-γʔ-i  
window-ABS.SG    2/3.S/A-break-TH-2/3SG.S  
'The window broke.'
- b. ŋinqeɟ-e      γe-n-sim.ew-ɸin      qeryə.sʔə-n      (wəkʷ-a)  
boy-ERG      PF-TR-break-PF.3SG    window-ABS.SG    (stone-ERG)  
'The boy broke the window (with a stone).'
- c. wəkʷ-a      γe-n-sim.ew-ɸin      qeryə.sʔə-n  
stone-ERG    PF-TR-break-PF.3SG    window-ABS.SG  
'The stone broke the window.' / '(S/he) broke the window with a stone.'

# Conclusion

- Ergativity manifests itself in case-marking
- Relativization:  $S \neq A = P$
- Syntax of negative participles is organized on an ergative basis
- Drift towards accusativity under Russian influence (?)
- Data go against the prediction, derived from the ICT
- DCT seems to account for the data

