

Анафора в ЖЯ

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Background: pronominal systems in SLs

Referents in a discourse are associated with locations in space. For physically present referents, their current locations are generally used; for non-present referents, other locations (often arbitrary) are established as associated with these referents. Pronoun signs then point to these locations.



INDEX_{3a} 'she'



INDEX₂ 'you'



INDEX₁ 'me'

Background: pronominal systems in SLs

First person pronouns in sign languages are usually directed the signer's chest. However, there are exceptions to this, e.g. first person pronouns in Japanese Sign Language (NS) and Plains Indian Sign Language can be directed towards the signer's nose.

a-MARY a-LOC; b-JOHN b-LOC.
'There's Mary and there's John'

a-IX(Mary) LOVE b-IX(John).
'She loves him'

b-IX(John) EXTREME-DISTASTE-a.
'Hei doesn't like her'



a. 1-IX



b. a-IX (you)



c. a-IX (s/he)

Figure 21.1 ASL personal pronominals (singular)

Background: pronominal systems in SLs

There is evidence that the use of the signing space for pronominal reference may not be universal amongst sign languages.

Kata Kolok prefers use of pointing to fingers on the non-dominant hand rather than to locations in space for reference.

Cambodian Sign Language appears to prefer full noun phrases over pronouns (an influence from politeness strategies in Khmer)

Features on pronouns: Gender

As there is no distinction between masculine and feminine pronouns in ASL and many other sign languages. However, Japanese Sign Language is reported to have gender marking in its pronominal system.

MOTHER_a COOK CAN INDEX_a-I. JSL (Fischer 1996, p. 110)

‘Mother can cook, she can’

(INDEX_a-I simultaneously indicates gender and location)

INDEX_a-I is produced with two hands. While the non-dominant hand articulates the “I” handshape which indicates females in a particular location (“a”), the dominant hand points to this handshape/location.

Features on pronouns: Number

Sign languages generally distinguish singular, dual, and plural forms (both distributive and non-distributive). Many SLs additionally have so-called 'number-incorporated pronouns'. BSL and ASL have pronouns which incorporate numerals and indicate three, four and (for some signers in BSL) five referents.



a. 1-IX-pl (we)



b. a, b-IX-dual (you two)



c. a-c-IX-pl (they)



d. a, b, c-IX-pl (each of them)

ASL personal pronominals (plural)

Features on pronouns: Person

Если коротко, то всё сложно. В принципе ЖЯ способны недвусмысленно отсылать к неограниченному числу референтов:

a. a-GOVERNOR TELL-b b-SENATOR c:e-IX(they) SHOULD c:e-LEAVE.

‘The governor_i told the senator_j that they_k should leave’

b. a-GOVERNOR TELL-b b-SENATOR b:d-IX(they) SHOULD b:d-LEAVE.

‘The governor_i told the senator_j that they_{j,k} should leave’

c. a-GOVERNOR TELL-b b-SENATOR a:b-IX(they) SHOULD a:b-LEAVE.

‘The governor_i told the senator_j that they_{i,j} should leave’

Features on pronouns: Person

1. No person distinction at all (Lillo-Martin and Klima 1990, McBurney 2002)?
2. SL pronouns simply point to their referents gesturally (Liddell 2003)?
3. First vs Non-first distinction (Meier 1990)?

Последний вариант, кажется, наиболее консенсусный.

Role shift

Engberg-Pedersen (1993), working on Danish Sign Language, divides role shifting into three separate phenomena:

- *shifted reference*, i.e., the use of pronouns from a quoted sender's point of view, especially the use of the first-person pronoun to refer to somebody other than the quoting sender;
- *shifted attribution of expressive elements*, i.e., the use of the signer's face and/or body posture to express the emotions or attitude of somebody other than the sender in the context of utterance;
- *shifted locus*, i.e. the use of the sender locus for somebody other than the signer or the use of another locus than the locus for the signer



WIFE

SAY



(_aSHIFT) YOU

FINE

Referential shift (ASL)

Role shift

Both panels show the verb LOOK-AT and, in both, the signer's face is used to express the woman's (subject's) point of view. However, the verb agreement is different.



a. She looked at him arrogantly
(woman's point of view) (DSL)



b. She looked at him arrogantly
(man's point of view) (DSL)

Background: reflexive pronouns in SLs

Reflexive pronouns make use of the same deictic system as personal pronouns, but they have a different phonological form, involving a distinct handshape or orientation.

The ASL reflexive pronoun can be used when the object of a plain verb is coreferential with the subject:

a-JOHN LIKE a-SELF
'John likes himself'

This pronoun can be marked for person (first and nonfirst) and number (singular and plural) in BSL

and ASL and is directional in the same way that other personal pronouns are,



a. MYSELF (ASL)



b. HIMSELF (ISL)

Reflexive forms of agreeing verbs

The reflexive form of an agreeing verb usually has its starting point in the neutral space and the final point associated with the argument which is reflexivized.

BOY IX-A TEA POUR-A [RSL]

‘The boy pours tea to himself.’



First person reflexive form of the verb LOOK (NGT).



I help myself (ISL)

Reflexive forms of agreeing verbs

In RSL and NGT, however, the reflexive could be optionally used together with the reflexivized form of the verb:

- BOY IX-A TEA SEBA POUR-A [RSL]
'The boy pours tea to himself.'
- BOY IX-A ZELF LOOK-A [NGT]
'The boy looks at himself.'

Moreover, it is possible to use a non-agreeing form (dictionary form) of the agreeing verb with a reflexive pronoun both in RSL and NGT:

- BOY IX-A TEE SEBA POUR [RSL]
'The boy pours tea to himself.'
- BOY IX-A TEE ZELF POUR [NGT]
'The boy pours tea to himself.'

In spoken languages reflexives are often used with physical activities connected to the body such as “to wash oneself”, “to shave oneself”, but in sign languages those activities are never expressed by a verb with a reflexive pronoun. Rather, they are made on the signer’s body without any additional means of expressing reflexivity.

Глаголы типа *бриться*, *мыться* в ЖЯ реализуются на теле говорящего, иконически выражая рефлексивное значение

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

RSL as well as Russian has a nominal reflexive pronoun and a possessive reflexive pronoun. The nominal reflexive pronoun is a non-agreeing sign probably derived from the sign PERSON.



Nominal reflexive SEBA (RSL).

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

SEBA is optionally accompanied by pointing which could be analyzed as pointing agreement.

a. BOY PAINT SEBA [RSL]

‘The boy paints himself.’

b. *BOY PAINT SEBA+IX-A [RSL]

c. BOY IX-A PAINT SEBA+IX-A [RSL]

d. BOY IX-A PAINT SEBA [RSL]

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

Possessive reflexive SVOJ is non-agreeing as well, but, just like SEBA, it is optionally accompanied by pointing (or even a plain possessive pronoun), which serves as agreement marker.

a. BOY PAINT SVOJ FACE [RSL]

‘The boy paints his own face.’

b. *BOY PAINT SVOJ+IX-A FACE [RSL]

c. BOY IX-A PAINT SVOJ+IX-A/
SVOJ+POSS-A FACE [RSL]

d. BOY IX-A PAINT SVOJ FACE [RSL]



Possessive reflexive svor (RSL).

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

SEBA and SVOJ are subject-oriented:

BOY IX-A GIRL IX-B SELF+IX-A/*IX-B TELL [RSL]

‘The boy tells the girl about himself/*herself.’

BOY IX-A GIRL IX-B SVOJ+IX-A/*IX-B LIFE TELL [RSL]

‘The boy tells the girl about his own life/*her own life.’

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

Different informants used nominal reflexives very differently:

- Optionality of reflexives:

a. IX-1 PAINT SEBA [RSL]

b. IX-1 PAINT IX-1 [RSL]

‘I paint myself.’

a. BOY IX-A PAINT SEBA [RSL]

b. BOY IX-A PAINT IX-A [RSL]

‘The boy paints himself.’

a. BOY PAINT SEBA [RSL]

b. BOY [role-shift] PAINT IX-1 [RSL]

‘The boy paints himself.’

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

For other informants it is impossible to use a plain pronoun instead of the nominal reflexive. However, some of them can omit reflexives in particular contexts:

- a. IX-1 LOOK-1 SEBA [RSL]
b. IX-1 LOOK-1 [RSL]
'I looked at myself.'
- IX-1 TELL BOUNDARIES-A [RSL]
'I tell about him in some detail.'
- IX-1 TELL SEBA [RSL]
'I tell about myself.'
- (46) IX-1 TELL BOUNDARIES-1 [RSL]
'I tell about myself in some detail.'
- (47) BOY IX-A PAINT SEBA [RSL]
'The boy paints himself.'
- (48) BOY IX-A PAINT BOUNDARIES-A [RSL]
'The boy paints himself in some detail.'

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

One person (from Murmansk) showed a very different system. In her variety of RSL the nominal reflexive is an agreeing sign: it changes orientation to agree with the referent's location:

BOY IX-A PAINT SEBA-A [RSL]

'The boy paints himself.'



Reflexive pronouns in RSL

Some other informants use the agreeing SEBA differently. It is restricted to verbs POUR (tea), GIVE and BUY.

a. BOY IX-A TEA POUR-A SEBA2-A [RSL]

‘The boy pours tea to himself.’

b. *BOY IX-A PAINT SEBA2-A [RSL]

‘The boy paints himself.’

Moreover, it can be used in a pronominal context:

COAT NOT-NEED. GIVE SEBA2-A [RSL]

‘I do not need this coat. I will give it to you, for your own use.’

Reflexive pronouns in RSL

Different reflexive strategies in RSL.

Informants	non- agreeing reflexive SEBA	true agreeing reflexive SEBA	BOUNDARIES	Reflexive agreement without SEBA	SEBA2 (pronominal agreeing sign)	personal pronouns
5 from Omsk	+	-	+	+	-	+
3 from Rostov and Moscow	+	-	+	+	+	-
1 from Murmansk	+/-	+	-	-	-	-

Optionality of reflexives in SLs

1. In RSL, NGT, ASL, and Croatian Sign Language (Alibašić Ciciliani & Wilbur 2006) reflexive pronouns are attested, but they are optional and can be substituted by a plain pronoun (pointing).
2. Abstract semantic indexes are overtly expressed in SLs.
3. As plain pronouns in SLs are unambiguous, they can be used instead of reflexive pronouns

Why SLs make use of reflexives?

1. Reflexive pronouns are borrowed from the surrounding spoken language.
2. Reflexive pronouns are used to express the bound-variable reading in co-argument contexts.

RSL and Russian vs. NGT and Dutch.

	Possessive reflexive	Agreeing reflexives	Subject orientation	Emphatic reflexives
RSL	+	-	+	-
Russian	+	+/-	+	-
NGT	-	+	+	+
Dutch	-	+	+	+

Bound-variable reading in RSL

No VP-ellipsis:

IX-1 CAR BUY, POSS-1 BROTHER TOO CAR BUY [RSL]

‘I bought the car and my brother did too.’

b. *IX-1 CAR BUY, POSS-1 BROTHER TOO [RSL]

IX-1 SEBA PAINT, POSS-1 BROTHER TOO SEBA PAINT [RSL]

‘I paint myself, my brother also paints himself.’

(113) IX-1 SEBA PAINT, POSS-1 BROTHER TOO IX-1 PAINT [RSL]

‘I paint myself, my brother also paints me.’

(114) *IX-1 SEBA PAINT, POSS-1 BROTHER TOO [RSL]

Quantifier scope test

[Context: There are a few girls and a boy in the class]

ONLY BOY IX-A PAINT SEBA [RSL]

‘Only the boy paints himself.’

Interpretations:

1. Only the boy paints himself, while the girls do not paint themselves.
2. Only the boy paints himself, while the girls do not paint him.
3. The boy paints himself only (not anyone else)

Quantifier scope test

[Context: there are some children in the class. They are painting.]

a. ALL PAINT SEBA [RSL]

b. ALL PAINT SEBA+IX-A IX-B IX-C [RSL]

c. ALL PAINT SEBA IX-PL [RSL]

‘All children paint themselves.’

d. ALL PAINT IX-A IX-B IX-C [RSL]

e. ALL PAINT IX-PL [RSL]

f. ALL PAINT BOUNDARIES-A BOUNDARIES-B BOUNDARIES-C [RSL]

g. ALL PAINT BOUNDARIES-PL [RSL]

‘??Every child paints other children.’ or ungrammatical.

[Context: The family sits around the table. They are going to drink some tea.]

a. EACH TEA SEBA POUR-A POUR-B POUR-C [RSL]

b. EACH TEA SEBA POUR-PL [RSL]

‘Everybody pours tea for themselves.’

Emphatic use of reflexive pronouns in SL

gromit3a play poss3a toy drill. drill++. stuck. self3a spin-around [BSL]

‘Gromit was playing with a toy drill. He was drilling. The drill got stuck, and he himself spun around.’

sister self telephone c-o [ASL]

‘My sister will call the company herself.’

LDA in ASL

LOWEL_i FEEL SELF_i / PRONOUN_i INTELLIGENT

Lowel think that he/self is intelligent (Lillo-Martin 1995)

SENATE_i PERSUADE WORKER_j SELF_{i,j} WILL PAY TAX HIGH

Senate persuaded the worker that it_i/he_j will pay high taxes.

MARY_i THINK JOHN_j KNOW PEDRO_k LIKE SELF^{*i,*j,k..}

Mary_i thinks that John_j knows that Pedro_k likes himself^{*i,*j,k.}

Literature

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