1 Introduction

West Circassian (Adyghe): Northwest Caucasian, polysynthetic, ergative alignment, radical pro-drop
Data from the Khatazhukaj rural settlement, Republic of Adygea, Russia, unless otherwise indicated.

Reflexive and reciprocal binding expressed morphologically: personal prefix replaced with prefix for anaphor ($\phi \rightarrow \text{REFL/REC}$)

Puzzle #1: “Backward binding” for reciprocals

1. In an ERG-ABS frame, reciprocal marker $\text{ze(re)}$- replaces the ergative marker (Letuchiy 2010).

Order of prefixes for ERG-ABS frame:

   (1) Theme- Agent- Tense- Root
       we- t- e- $\hat{s}e$
       2SG.ABS- 1PL.ERG- DYN- know

‘We know you.’

Reciprocal: ABS $>$ ERG

   (2) a. to- ze- e- $\hat{s}e$
       1PL.ABS- REC.ERG- DYN- know
       ‘We know each other.’
   b. * ze- t- e- $\hat{s}e$
       REC.ABS- 1PL.ERG- DYN- know

2. In an ERG-IO$_1$-ABS$_1$ frame, reciprocal marker replaces the applied object marker.

Main Claim:

- Despite appearances, reciprocal binding is established via c-command.
- ABS $>$ ERG/IO, because West Circassian is syntactically ergative: DP$_{ABS}$ moves to Spec,TP.

Puzzle #2: Reflexives and syntactic accusativity

In an ERG-ABS frame, reflexive marker $\text{z}@$- replaces the absolutive marker.

Reflexive: ERG $>$ ABS

   (5) Theme- Agent- Root -Tense
       $\text{z}@$- $s$- thač’$@$ -$\hat{s}$
       1SG.ABS- REF.ERG- wash -PST
       ‘I washed myself.’
   b. * $\text{z}@$- $\text{z}@$- thač’$@$ -$\hat{s}$
       1SG.ABS- REF.ERG- wash -PST

Claim #2:

Reflexives are local subject oriented = can only be bound by a non-derived subject.

DP$_{ABS}$ in Spec,TP is derived $\Rightarrow$ cannot bind a reflexive.
2 Reciprocal binding is via c-command

1. In an ABS-IO frame (ABS=agent; IO=theme), reciprocal marker replaces the indirect object marker.

Order of prefixes for ABS-IO frame:

(6) Agent- Theme- Root
    t- jā- pλ@

    ‘We are looking at them.’

Reciprocal: ABS > IO

(7) a. t- z- e- pλ@
    1PL.ABS- REC.IO- DYN- look

    ‘We are looking at each other.’

b. * ze- t- e- pλ@
    REC.ABS- 1PL.IO- DYN- look

2. In an ERG-IO-ABS frame, reciprocal marker replaces the applied object marker.

Reciprocal: ERG > IO

(8) Theme- IO- Agent- Tense- Root
    Ø- ze- t- e- t@

    ‘We are giving it to each other.’

Directionality of reciprocal binding:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{Agent} & \text{IO} & \text{Theme} \\
\text{ERG} & > & \text{IO} \\
\text{ERG} & < & \text{ABS} \\
\text{ABS} & < & \text{IO} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\Rightarrow \text{DP}_{\text{ABS}} \text{ c-commands } \text{DP}_{\text{ERG}} \text{ and } \text{DP}_{\text{IO}}
\]

3 Deriving a high absolutive

- Ergative DP and IO are assigned inherent case by Voice\(^0\) and Appl\(^0\) and remain in-situ within Voice\(^0\) (Legate 2008; Pylkkanen 2008).

- DP\(_{\text{ABS}}\) is assigned structural case by T\(^0\) and raises to Spec,TP to satisfy [EPP].

- Other evidence for high ABS: conditions on parasitic gap licensing (Ershova 2017).

- Previous proposals of high ABS: Bittner & Hale (1996); Aldridge (2008); Coon et al. (2014), a.o.

(9) ERG-ABS frame (2):

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\text{DP(ABS)} \\
\text{T} \\
\text{VoiceP} \\
\text{Voice'} \\
\text{VP} \\
\text{t}
\end{array}
\]

(10) ERG-IO-ABS frame (4):

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\text{DP(ABS)} \\
\text{T} \\
\text{VoiceP} \\
\text{Voice'} \\
\text{ApplP} \\
\text{Appl'} \\
\text{VP} \\
\end{array}
\]
4 Reflexives are local subject oriented

Problem: Reflexives behave as if $D_{PE}$ $c$-commands $D_{ABS}$ \[\text{\textcircled{5}}\].

Answer: High position of $D_{ABS}$ is derived + reflexives may only be bound by non-derived subjects.

West Circassian reflexive $z\omega$:

1. cannot be used to mark co-reference between two non-subject arguments in an ERG-IO-ABS frame

Reflexive: $^*I O > A B S (o b j e c t)$

(12) $z\omega_j$- $a_j$- fe- $s_j$- tha$\check{c}\omega$- $\bar{\eta}$

REFL.ABS- 3PL.IO- BEN- 1SG.ERG- wash -PST

a. 'I washed myself for them.’

b. * 'I washed them for themselves.’

(13) $\theta_j$- $z\omega_j$- fe- $s_j$- tha$\check{c}\omega$- $\bar{\eta}$

3ABS- REFL.IO- BEN- 1SG.ERG- wash -PST -PL

a. 'I washed them for myself.’

b. * 'I washed them for themselves.’

Compare with reciprocal marking co-reference of IO and ABS(object) in \[\text{\textcircled{4}}\].

2. for an unaccusative verb with high applicative, may replace absolution theme marker \[\text{\textcircled{14}}\]*

*\[\text{\textcircled{14}}\]* is reanalysis: applicative boosts agentive interpretation, unaccusative $\rightarrow$ unergative

Compare with unergative verb \[\text{\textcircled{15}}\]: reflexive cannot replace absolute agent marker.

Reflexive: unaccusative + applicative

(14)

\begin{align*}
\text{Theme-} & \quad \text{IO-} \\
\text{a. } & \quad z\omega- \quad s- \quad \hat{s}^{\omega}e- \quad s'\bar{\eta} \quad \bar{\eta} \\
& \quad \text{REFL.ABS-} \quad 1SG.IO- \quad MAL- \quad \text{freeze} \quad \text{-PST} \\
\text{b. } & \quad \text{? } s\omega \quad q\omega \quad z\omega- \quad \hat{s}^{\omega}e- \quad s'\bar{\eta} \quad \bar{\eta} \\
& \quad 1SG.ABS- \quad \text{REFL.IO-} \quad MAL- \quad \text{freeze} \quad \text{-PST}
\end{align*}

'I froze against my will.’

Reflexive: unergative + applicative

(15)

\begin{align*}
\text{Agent-} & \quad \text{IO-} \\
\text{a. } & \quad z\omega- \quad q\omega \quad s- \quad fe- \quad \hat{s}^{\omega}e2\omega \bar{\eta} \\
& \quad \text{REFL.ABS-} \quad DIR- \quad 1SG.IO- \quad BEN- \quad \text{dance-PST} \\
\text{b. } & \quad s\omega- \quad q\omega \quad z\omega- \quad fe- \quad \hat{s}^{\omega}e2\omega \bar{\eta} \\
& \quad 1SG.ABS- \quad DIR- \quad \text{REFL.IO-} \quad BEN- \quad \text{dance-PST}
\end{align*}

'I danced for myself.’

5 Local subject oriented reflexives in other languages

E.g. se\text{\textcircled{14}}/si in French and Italian (\text{\textcircled{Rizzi}} 1986; \text{\textcircled{Sportiche}} 2014, a.o.); -koL in Kannada (\text{\textcircled{Lidz}} 1996, 2001).

French se (\text{\textcircled{Sportiche}} 2014:104):
Anaphor Binding and Syntactic Ergativity in West Circassian
WCCFL 36, UCLA, 21 April 2018
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Can be bound by a deep subject:
(16) Jean, se se présentera Pierre
Jean to-himself introduces Pierre

Cannot be bound by a derived subject:
(17) * Pierre, se sera présentera Pierre
to-himself will-be introduced

(18) A derived subject cannot bind se (17):

7 Implications
Syntactic ergativity effects in anaphor binding necessitate a structural account.

6 Reflexive Voice
Building on Labelle (2008); Sportiche (2014); Ahn (2015)

- se is a reflex of agreement with a semantically vacuous DP (= without an index)
- Reflexive Voice:
  1. Introduces the external argument
  2. Licenses the reflexive via feature [REFL]
  3. Establishes identity between missing internal argument and external argument

REFL = semantically vacuous DP:

- Triggers agreement and is assigned case like other DPs
  ⇒ accounts for position of z→
- Does not have an index
  ⇒ does not trigger Condition B/C violation when REF moves to Spec;TP.

References
Bittner, Maria & Kenneth Hale. 1996. The structural determination of case and agreement. LI 27. 1–68.
Sportiche, Dominique. 2014. French reflexive se: Binding and merge locality. In Enoch Olad’e Aboh, Maria Teresa Guasti & Ian Roberts (eds.), Locality, 104–137. OUP.