

1 Introduction

In **West Circassian** (or Adyghe; Northwest Caucasian), a morphologically ergative polysynthetic language, **reflexives**:

- (i) are expressed via an affix on the predicate
- (ii) are subject oriented

Contra to previous analyses of similar morphology cross-linguistically (Pesetsky 1995; Labelle 2008; Schäfer 2008; Sportiche 2014; Ahn 2015), this affix cannot be treated as the exponent of Voice⁰, a de-transitivizing operator, or the morphological reflex of the external argument.

Main claim:

- The reflexive affix marks **agreement with a bound anaphor**.
- Subject orientation is ensured by **licensing via Voice_R**, per Labelle (2008); Ahn (2015); cf. Sportiche's (2014) HS head.
- Given the range of possible antecedents, **Voice_R does not introduce the antecedent**, but selects for *v*P and triggers movement of the antecedent to Spec, VoiceP.
- The syntactic properties of Voice_R limit the set of possible antecedents to **the highest DP in the verbal theta-domain (*v*P)**.

Implications:

- Expansion of the typology of subject oriented anaphors.
- Support for Ahn's (2015) locality-based account of subject orientation.
- Subject orientation is epiphenomenal to the locality conditions on reflexive licensing ⇒ subjecthood plays no role in defining distribution of anaphors.
- Voice_R singles out the highest nominal in *v*P as the antecedent (≈ the deep subject). ⇒ reflexives cannot be used as a diagnostic for surface subjecthood (cf. Caponigro and Polinsky 2011:79).

Roadmap: 2 Background on clause structure; 3 Reflexive and reciprocal agreement; 4 Locality conditions on reflexive binding; 5 The syntax of reflexive Voice_R; 6 Implications: subjecthood and syntactic ergativity; 7 Conclusion.

2 Background on West Circassian

Data: Unless otherwise indicated, from the Temirgoy dialect (the basis of the literary standard); collected by the author in the Khatazhukay rural settlement and Maykop (Republic of Adyghea, Russia) in fall 2017 and summer 2018.

2.1 Polysynthesis

Agglutinating morphology, head marking, pro-drop, and free word order:

- (1) *səqəpfarjəvələv^wəv*

sə- qə- p-f- a-r- jə- vɛ- lɛv^wə -v
1SG.ABS- DIR- 2SG.IO+BEN- 3PL.IO+DAT- 3SG.ERG- CAUS- see -PST

'He showed me to them for your sake.' (Korotkova and Lander 2010:301)

2.2 Case and agreement

- Agreement morphology follows ergative pattern

- (2) a. **ABS(O)- APPL- ERG(A)-**

w- a-de- s- š'aɸ
2SG.ABS- 3PL.IO+COM- 1SG.ERG- bring.PST

'I brought you with them' (Rogava and Keraševa 1966:160)

- b. **ABS(S)- APPL-**

wə- q- a-fe- k^wəɸ
2SG.ABS- DIR- 3PL.IO+BEN- go.PST

'You went for them.' (Rogava and Keraševa 1966:138)

- IO agreement is bundled with an applicative prefix, e.g. *de-* 'COM', *fe-* 'BEN'

- Two core cases:

-r (absolutive) = subject of intransitive verb, theme of transitive verb

-m (oblique) = agents of transitive verbs and applied objects (+ possessors and complements of postpositions)

- (3) a. *mə pšaše-r dax-ew Ø-qa-š^we*

this girl-ABS beautiful-ADV 3ABS-DIR-dance

'This girl(S) dances well.'

- b. sabəj-xe-m ha-xe-r Ø-q-a-λeβ^wə-β
child-PL-OBL(=ERG) dog-PL-ABS 3ABS-DIR-3PL.ERG-see-PST
'The children(A) saw the dogs(O).'
- c. žeg^wə-m sə-qə-Ø-š'ə-š^wa-β-ep
wedding-OBL(=IO) 1SG.ABS-DIR-3SG.IO-LOC-dance-PST-NEG
'I didn't dance at the wedding.'

3 Reflexive and reciprocal agreement

Reflexive and reciprocal binding is expressed morphologically via the replacement of one of the ϕ -agreement prefixes with zə- 'REFL' or ze(re)- 'REC'.¹

- (4) a. š^wə- t- λeβ^wə-β 'We saw you(pl).'
2PL.ABS- 1PL.ERG- see -PST
- b. zə- t- λeβ^wə-β 'We saw ourselves.'
REFL.ABS- 1PL.ERG- see -PST

In West Circassian, reflexive and reciprocal morphology marks agreement with a syntactically active bound anaphor.

Contrast with:

- (i) de-transitivizing reflexive/reciprocal morphology in e.g. Hebrew (Reinhart and Siloni 2005), Passamaquoddy, Japanese and Chichewa (Bruening 2004)
- (ii) free-standing reflexive/reciprocal pronouns in e.g. English

3.1 The morphological position changes to reflect bound argument

(5) ABS(S) > IO

- a. wə- zə- f- je- že -ž'ə-β
2SG.ABS- REFL.IO- BEN- DAT- read -RE -PST
'You studied for yourself.'
- b. te λešə tə- ze- fe- χ^wə -β
we strong 1PL.ABS- REC.IO- BEN- become -PST
'We became strong for each other.'

IO→REFL

IO→REC

REFL: ERG > ABS

- (6) zə- š^w-e- s- š'e -n s-λeč'ə-š't
REFL.ABS- 2PL.IO+DAT- 1SG.ERG- sell -MOD 1SG.ERG-can-FUT

'I could sell myself to you (there's nothing else).' (A salesperson joking about their store running out of goods.)

ABS→REFL

3.2 No valency reduction

Antecedent DP must carry case of non-anaphor argument:

(7) ABS(S) > IO:

- a. sabəj-xe-r/*m(ABS) refl(IO) β^wənže-m
child-PL-ABS/*OBL mirror-OBL
Ø- Ø- š'ə- z- e- pλə -ž'ə-x
3ABS- 3SG.IO- LOC- REFL.IO- PRS- look -RE -PL

'The children are looking at themselves in the mirror.'

REFL

- b. sabəj-xe-r/*m(ABS) rec(IO) Ø- z- e- pλə -ž'ə-x
child-PL-ABS/*OBL 3ABS- REC.IO- DAT- look -RE -PL

'The children are looking at each other.'

REC

(8) ERG > IO:

- a. λə-žə-m(ERG) Ø-jə-paʔ^we(ABS) refl(IO) Ø- zə- š'ə- λa -β
man-old-OBL 3SG.PR-POSS-hat 3ABS- REFL.IO- LOC- put.on -PST

'The old man put his hat on himself.' (R&K1966:267)

REFL

- b. (...) a-xe-me(ERG) zanč'-ew rec(IO)
that-PL-PL.OBL direct-ADV
zewəže(ABS) Ø- ze- r- a- ʔ^wete -ž'ə -š'tə -βe
all 3ABS- REC.IO- DAT- 3PL.ERG- tell -RE -IPF -PST

'They certainly told the whole truth to each other.' (R&K1966:274)

REC

REFL: ERG > ABS

- (9) s-jə-pšaše-xe-m/*r(ERG) refl(ABS) z- a- fepa -β
1SG.PR-POSS-girl-PL-OBL/*ABS REFL.ABS- 3PL.ERG- dress -PST

'My daughters dressed themselves.'

REFL

¹ zere- for ergative DPs and causees of a transitive verb; ze- for all other arguments.

Anaphor is usually null, but may be expressed overtly:

- (10) š'ak^we-m(ERG) jež'(IO) tovarə-r
 salesperson-OBL self product-ABS
 Ø- ze- r- jə- š'e -ž'ə -r
 3ABS- REFL.IO- DAT- 3SG.ERG- sell -RE -PST

'The salesperson sold the product to herself.'

REFL

- (11) [zə-m zə-r](IO) š^wə- qə- ze- de- š^we -ž'ə -š't -a
 one-OBL one-ABS 2PL.ABS- DIR- REC.IO- COM- dance -RE -FUT -Q

'Will you(pl) dance with each other?'

REC

Summary:

Reflexive and reciprocal morphemes track agreement with a syntactically active anaphoric pronoun.
 ⇒ Their position within the verbal form can be used to diagnose the syntactic position of the bound pronoun.

4 Locality conditions on reflexive binding

Main generalization:

Reflexives are local subject oriented, i.e. may only be bound by a deep, non-derived subject = the highest argument within *v*P.

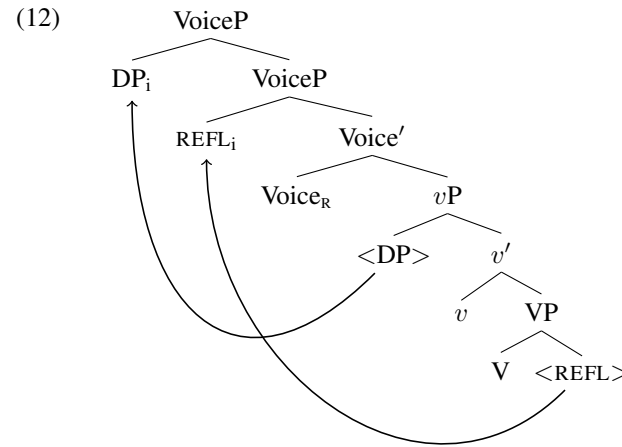
Local subject oriented reflexives are cross-linguistically common: e.g. *se/si* in French and Italian (Rizzi 1986; Labelle 2008; Sportiche 2014, a.o.); *-koL* in Kannada (Lidz 1996, 2001); see also Ahn (2015) and references therein.

Building on Ahn (2015), local subject oriented reflexives must be licensed by Voice_R; cf. Sportiche's (2014) projection HS.

Voice_R selects for *v*P and attracts two arguments to its specifier:

- the highest DP in *v*P → local subject orientation²
- the reflexive pronoun → syntactically active anaphor

Semantically, Voice_R imposes co-identity on the two arguments in its specifiers.



Contrast with **reciprocals**, which are general anaphors bound by a c-commanding antecedent within the A-domain (TP).

(13) **Reflexive versus reciprocal distribution:**

Predicate type	Binding directionality	
	Reflexives	Reciprocals
3-place transitive	ERG>IO	ERG>IO
Transitive w/demoted agent	*IO>ABS/*ABS>IO	ABS>IO
Unergative w/applied object	ABS>IO	ABS>IO

Generalization #1: Reflexive binding possibilities in three-place predicate:

- a. [_{vP} DP(ERG) ... [_{AppIP} DP(IO) ... [_{VP} **REFL**(ABS) ...
 ✓antecedent *antecedent
- b. [_{vP} DP(ERG) ... [_{AppIP} **REFL**(IO) ... [_{VP} DP(ABS) ...
 ✓antecedent *antecedent

²Cf. Ahn (2015), where the highest DP in *v*P moves to Spec.PredP immediately above VoiceP.

(14) **Theme- IO- Agent-**
z_i/*j- a_j- fe- s_i- thač'ə -ɸ
REFL.ABS- 3PL.IO- BEN- 1SG.ERG- wash -PST

- a. 'I washed myself for them.'
b. * 'I washed them for themselves.'

ERG > ABS
***IO > ABS**

(15) **Theme- IO- Agent-**
Ø_j- zə_i/*j- fe- s_i- thač'ə -ɸe -x
3ABS- REFL.IO- BEN- 1SG.ERG- wash -PST -PL

- a. 'I washed them for myself.'
b. * 'I washed them for themselves.'

ERG > IO
***ABS > IO**

Cf. reciprocals can be bound by an ABS theme in three-place predicate:

(16) **Theme- IO- Agent-**
tə- zə- f- jə- š'a -ɸ
1PL.ABS- REC.IO- BEN- 3SG.ERG- bring -PST
'S/he brought us together (lit. to each other)'

ABS > IO

Generalization #2: Reflexive binding with demoted agent: **IO > ABS**

[_{vP} [_{AppIP} DP(IO) ... [_{VP} **REFL**(ABS) ...
✓antecedent

Ergative "demotion" in potential construction: ERG→IO(BEN)

(17) a. č'ale-xe-m bukva-xe-r Ø- a- λeɸ^{wə}-xe -r -ep
boy-PL-OBL letter-PL-ABS 3ABS- **3PL.ERG-** see -PL(ABS) -PRS -NEG

'The boys do not see the letters.'

Baseline

b. č'ale-xe-m bukva-xe-r Ø- a- fe- λeɸ^{wə}-xe -r -ep
boy-PL-OBL letter-PL-ABS 3ABS- **3PL.IO- BEN-** see -PL(ABS) -PRS -NEG

'The boys cannot see the letters.' (Letuchiy 2010:335)

Potential:ERG→IO

Demoted ergative agent still binds reflexives:

(18) **Theme- IO(<ERG)-**
zə- s- fe- λeɸ^{wə}-š't -ep
REFL.ABS- 1SG.IO- BEN- see -FUT -NEG

'I won't be able to see myself.'

REFL: IO(ERG) > ABS

Cf. reciprocals – absolutive theme (derived subject) binds demoted ergative: **ABS > IO**

(19) **Theme- IO(<ERG)-**
a-xe-r Ø- zə- fe- λeɸ^{wə}-xe -r -ep
that-PL-ABS 3ABS- **REC.IO-** BEN- see -PL(ABS) -PRS -NEG

'They hate each other (lit. cannot see each other)'

REC: ABS > IO(ERG)

Generalization #3: Reciprocal and reflexive binding patterns match when highest DP in *vP* also c-commands the anaphor at the level of TP.

- Transitive verb with applied object: **ERG > IO**
- Unergative verb with applied object: **ABS > IO**

a. [_{vP} DP(ERG/ABS) ... [_{AppIP} **REFL/REC**(IO) ... **ABS > IO**
✓antecedent

b. [_{vP} **REFL/REC**(ERG/ABS) ... [_{AppIP} DP(IO) ... ***IO > ABS**
*antecedent

Transitive three-place predicate: **ERG > IO** for both reflexives and reciprocals.

(20) a. Ø- qə- z- e- t- tə -ž'ə -ɸ
3ABS- DIR- **REFL.IO-** DAT- 1PL.ERG- give -RE -PST

'We gave it to ourselves.'

REFL:ERG > IO

b. te(ERG) wəne-xe-r Ø- zə- fe- t- šə -ɸ
we house-PL-ABS 3ABS- **REC.IO-** BEN- 1PL.ERG- do -PST

'We built houses for each other.' (Arkadiev et al. 2009:67)

REC:ERG > IO

Unergative verbs with applied object: **ABS > IO** for both reflexives and reciprocals.

(21) a. **ABS(S)- IO-**
wə- zə- f- je- že -ž'ə -ɸ
2SG.ABS- **REFL.IO-** BEN- DAT- read -RE -PST

b. *zə- p- f- je- že -ž'ə -ɸ
REFL.ABS- 2SG.IO- BEN- DAT- read -RE -PST

'You study for yourself.'

REFL:ABS > IO | *IO > ABS

Cf. reciprocals show same binding pattern:

- (22) a. **ABS(S)-** **IO-**
 da š^wə- č'ə- **ze-** tje- k^wəwe -ž'ə -re -r
 what 2PL.ABS- RSN- **REC.IO-** LOC- yell -RE -PRS -ABS
- b. *da **ze-** č'ə- š^wə- tje- k^wəwe -ž'ə -re -r
 what **REC.ABS-** RSN- 2PL.IO- LOC- yell -RE -PRS -ABS
- ‘Why are you yelling at each other?’ **REC:ABS>IO|*IO>ABS**

Summary of distribution:

- Reflexive *zə-* is local subject oriented – can only be bound by highest DP in *vP*.
- Reciprocal *ze(re)-* is not local subject oriented – can be bound by any c-commanding DP in TP.

Implications:

- Reflexive binding is established via *vP* without reference to the full clause structure ⇒ reflexives cannot be used as a diagnostic for surface subjecthood.
- In previous literature on local subject oriented anaphors, the antecedent must be both the deep and surface subject (see e.g. discussion in Ahn 2015:200-217).
- West Circassian shows that the antecedent need not be the surface subject – e.g. a demoted ergative agent, – confirming an implicit prediction of Ahn’s (2015) analysis.

5 The syntax of Voice_R

The analysis: Reflexive binding is mediated via Voice_R, per Ahn (2015).

Desiderata:

1. Local subject orientation.
2. The presence of a syntactically active bound pronoun; cf. analysis of French *se* as the external argument (Pesetsky 1995) or Voice⁰ (Labelle 2008).
3. Productivity: not limited to naturally reflexive verbs, like Russian *-sja* (Schäfer 2008), or to intrinsically transitive verbs, like French *se* (Sportiche 2014).

Voice_R selects for *vP* and attracts two arguments to its specifier:

- the highest DP in *vP* → local subject orientation
- the reflexive pronoun → syntactically active anaphor

Semantically, Voice_R imposes co-identity on the two arguments.

Implementation:

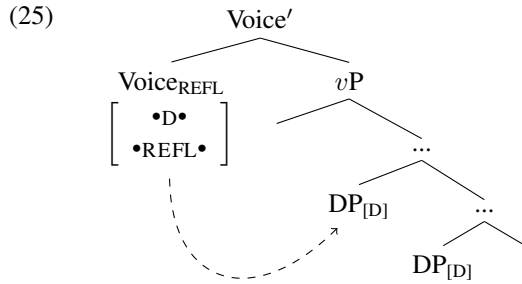
- Structure-building (movement-triggering) probe features per Heck and Müller (2007); Müller (2010): [**F**]
- Per Georgi and Müller (2010); Müller (2010); Martinović (2015), probe features are hierarchically ordered, e.g.: [**F** >> **G**]
- In a hierarchical feature ordering, only the leftmost/highest unchecked feature is visible for syntactic operations.
- Licensee goal features as in Minimalist Grammars (Stabler 1997, 2010; Keenan and Stabler 2003; Lecomte and Retoré 1999, 2001, a.o.).
- Locality conditions on movement (Chomsky 1995, a.o.): A probe with feature [**F**] must attract the highest goal in its c-command domain with the matching feature [F] or [+F+].
- All probe and licensee features must be checked.

The two components of reflexive syntax:

(23) **Reflexive Voice_R:** [**D** >> **REFL**]

(24) **Syntactically active reflexive pronoun:** [D; +REFL+]

Deriving local subject orientation: only the highest DP in *v*P can be an antecedent per locality conditions on movement:

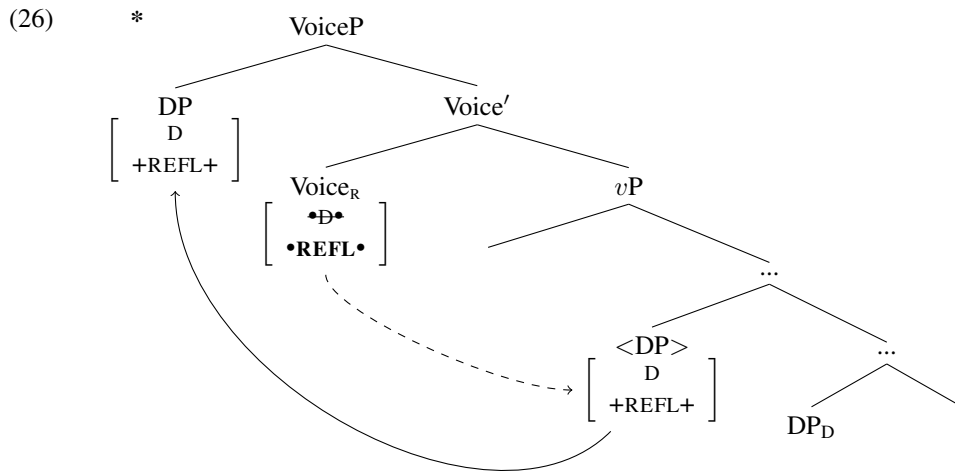


⇒ subject orientation is reduced to locality conditions on movement.

Ensuring c-command between antecedent and reflexive before movement:

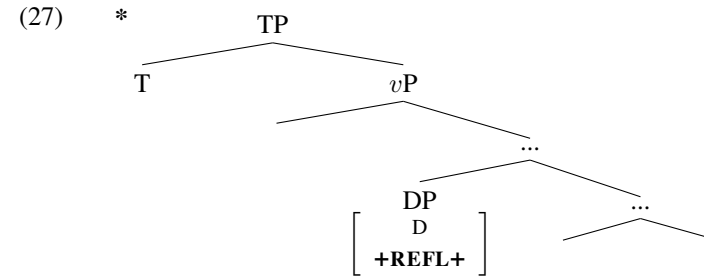
the antecedent DP must c-command the anaphor to satisfy ordered feature checking.

Otherwise, [•REFL•] on Voice_{REFL} remains unchecked.



Ensuring co-occurrence of Voice_R and reflexive pronoun, i.e. that the reflexive is local subject oriented: both [•REFL•] on Voice_R and [+REFL+] on the reflexive pronoun must be checked.

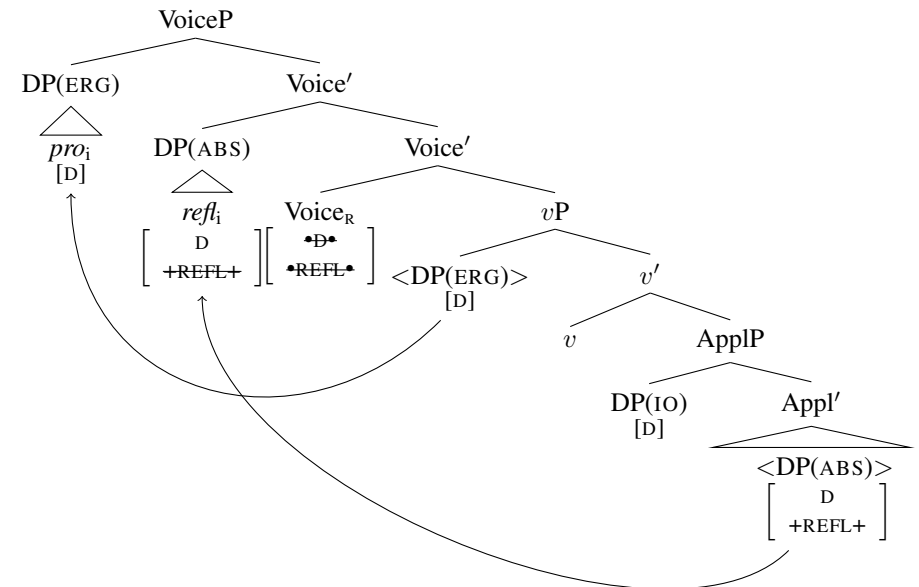
⇒ a reflexive pronoun without Voice_R is ungrammatical:



Sample derivations:

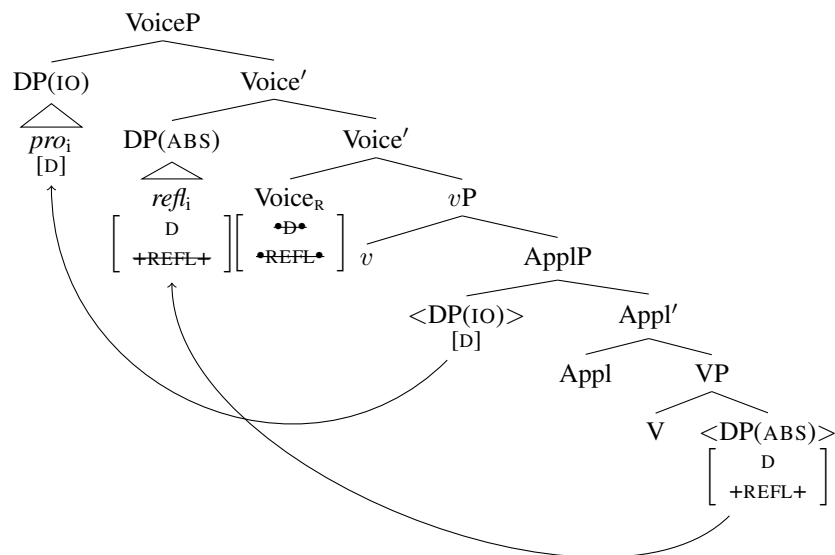
(28) **Three-place predicate (ERG-IO-ABS): ERG > ABS; *IO > ABS:**

1. DP(ERG) moves to check [•D•] on Voice_R.
2. DP(ABS) moves (tucks in) to check [•REFL•] on Voice_R and [+REFL+] on DP(ABS).



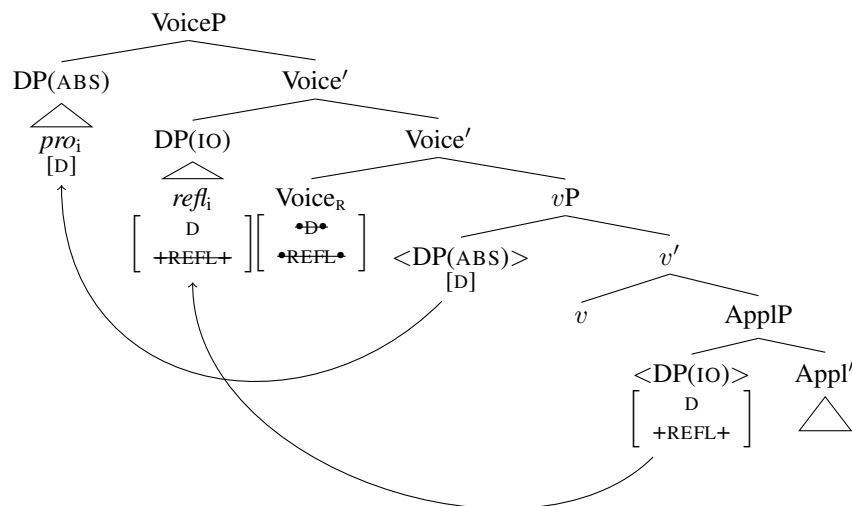
(29) **Transitive with ‘demoted’ agent: IO > ABS; *ABS > IO:**

1. DP(IO) moves to check [\bullet D \bullet] on Voice_R.
2. DP(ABS) moves to check [\bullet REFL \bullet] on Voice_R and [+REFL+] on DP(ABS).



(30) **Unergative w/applied object: ABS(S) > IO; *IO > ABS(S):**

1. DP(ABS) moves to check [\bullet D \bullet] on Voice_R.
2. DP(IO) moves to check [\bullet REFL \bullet] on Voice_R and [+REFL+] on DP(IO).



Summary:

- The distribution of reflexives is conditioned by Voice_R, which merges immediately above vP, reducing possible antecedents to the **highest DP in vP**.
- Locality conditions on Voice_R predict that reflexives must be bound by the highest nominal in vP, but that nominal need not be a surface subject.
 - See Appendix A for further evidence.

6 Implications: subjecthood and syntactic ergativity

Reflexives must be bound within VoiceP \Rightarrow reflexive binding is only sensitive to structural prominence within vP, not the full clause.

Implications:

- Reflexive binding is not a reliable subjecthood diagnostic in West Circassian; cf. Caponigro and Polinsky (2011:79).
- This explains mismatches in directionality of binding between reflexives and reciprocals.

Reflexives vs reciprocals: in a transitive verb (ERG-ABS), reflexive and reciprocal prefixes replace ϕ -agreement morphemes of opposite arguments.

(31)	Theme(ABS)-	Agent(ERG)-			
a.	ŝ ^w ə-	t-	λeβ ^w ə	-β	Baseline ERG-ABS
	2PL.ABS-	1PL.ERG-	see	-PST	‘We saw you(pl).’
b.	zə-	t-	λeβ ^w ə	-β	ABS → REFL
	REFL.ABS-	1PL.ERG-	see	-PST	‘We saw ourselves.’
c.	te-	zere-	λeβ ^w ə	-β	ERG → REC
	1PL.ABS-	REC.ERG-	see	-PST	‘We saw each other.’

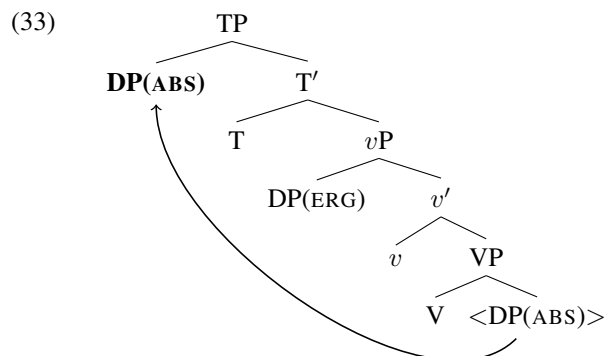
The reciprocal morpheme *zere-* is agreement with an anaphor in the ergative position – antecedent triggers absolutive agreement and must be absolutive case-marked:

(32)	mə sabəj-xe-r/*m(ABS)	rec(ERG)	Ø-	tje-	zere-	βe-	fe	-ž’ə	-βe	-x
	this child-PL-ABS/*OBL		3ABS-	LOC-	REC.ERG-	CAUS-	fall	-RE	-PST	-PL
	‘These children made each other fall over.’									
										REC:ABS > ERG

Explanation: The absolutive theme undergoes movement to Spec,TP, c-commanding the ergative agent.

Previous proposals for high absolutive: Bittner and Hale (1996); Manning (1996); Baker (1997); Aldridge (2008); Coon et al. (2014); Yuan (2018).

Proposed clause structure for a transitive (ERG-ABS) verb:



Other support for high ABS: conditions on parasitic gap licensing (Ershova 2018, 2019).

7 Conclusion

Reflexive morphology in West Circassian:

- expresses agreement with a syntactically active bound anaphor
- is licensed by specialized Voice_R
- syntactic properties of Voice_R limit set of possible antecedents for reflexives to the highest nominal in *vP*

The antecedent for reflexives:

- is not constrained in terms of theta-role (need not be an external argument)
- is not limited to a particular structural position (e.g. Spec,*vP* or Spec,ApplP)
- does not need to correspond to the surface subject in Spec,TP

Broader implications:

- Conditions on local subject orientation makes no reference to subjecthood, confirming the idea that subjecthood is not a primitive (see e.g. Harley 1995; Bobaljik and Jonas 1996; McCloskey 1997).

- Reflexive binding is not a reliable subjecthood diagnostic – may only be used to diagnose structural prominence within *vP*.
- In contrast, reciprocal binding provides evidence for high absolutive, i.e. structural syntactic ergativity.

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Appendix A Further predictions of Voice_R analysis

Prediction: Any nominal may serve as an antecedent for a reflexive, as long as it is the highest nominal in *vP*.

Confirmed by:

- synthetic causative constructions
- unaccusative verbs with applied objects

A.1 Antecedents in synthetic causatives

Prediction: In a synthetic causative construction, with recursive embedding of *vP*'s, both the causer and causee can be an antecedent, depending on which *vP* is selected by Voice_R.

[_{vP1} DP-Causer(ERG) ... [_{vP2} DP-Causee(IO) ... [_{vP} REFL(ABS) ...
 ✓antecedent ✓antecedent

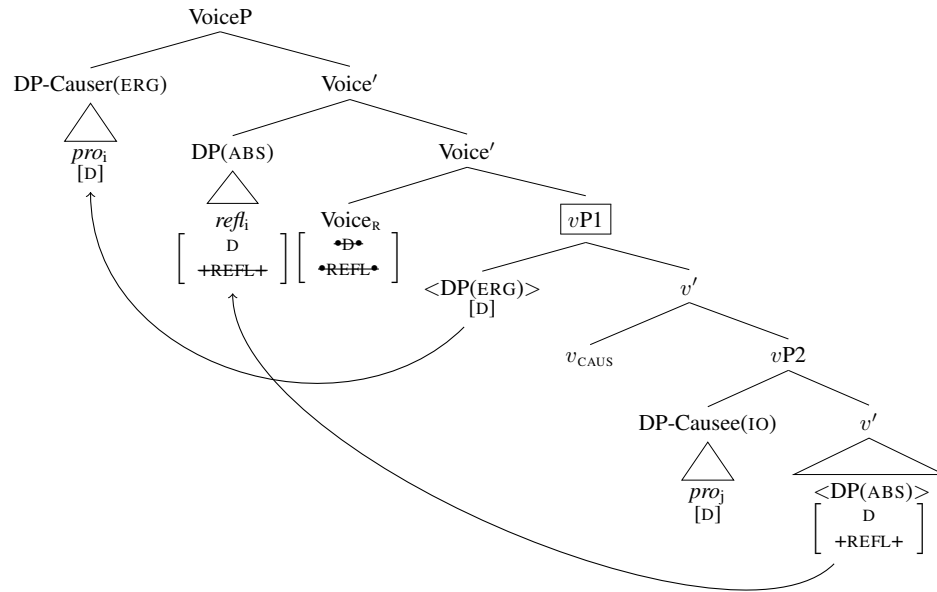
(34) a. §^{wə} ze- s- e- λe^{wə} -ž'ə
 good REFL.ABS- 1SG.ERG- PRS- see -RE

'I love (lit. see good in) myself.' **Baseline: ERG > ABS**

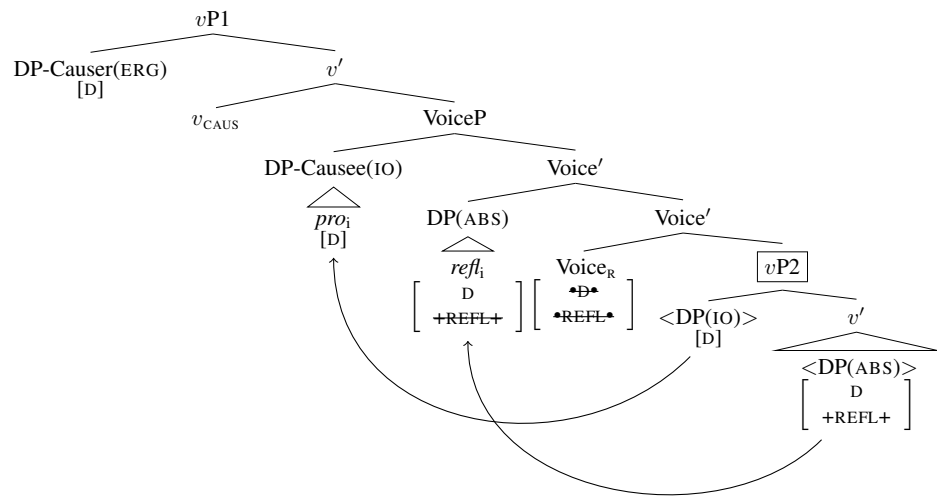
b. §^{wə} zə- s- e- b- ɸe- λe^{wə} -ɸ
 good REFL.ABS- 1SG.IO- DAT- 2SG.ERG- CAUS- see -PST

'You_i made me_j love myself_j/yourself_i.' **CAUS: ERG > ABS | IO > ABS**

(35) Causative: ERG(CAUSER) > ABS – Voice_{REFL} selects for vP1



(36) Causative: IO(CAUSEE) > ABS – Voice_{REFL} selects for vP2



A.2 Unaccusative verbs with applied object

Prediction: In an unaccusative verb with a high applicative, the applied object can bind a reflexive in absolutive theme position.

Two structures available for applicative unaccusatives:

- a. [_{vP} [_{AppIP} DP(IO) ... [_{VP} REFL(ABS) ...]] **IO > ABS**
 ✓antecedent
- b. [_{vP} DP(ABS) ... [_{AppIP} REFL(IO) ... [_{VP} ...]] **ABS > IO**
 ✓antecedent

Unaccusative verbs do not productively combine with high applicatives – only possible for a small set of so-called ‘inverse’ predicates.

(37) A transparent example: *jə- ‘LOC’ + ?e ‘be’ = jə-?e ‘have’*

- a. **zə-** s- jə- ?e -ž’ zepət
REFL.ABS- 1SG.IO- LOC- be -RE always
- b. sə- **z-** jə- ?e -ž’ zepət
 1SG.ABS- **REFL.IO-** LOC- be -RE always

‘I always have myself’

ABS>IO|IO>ABS

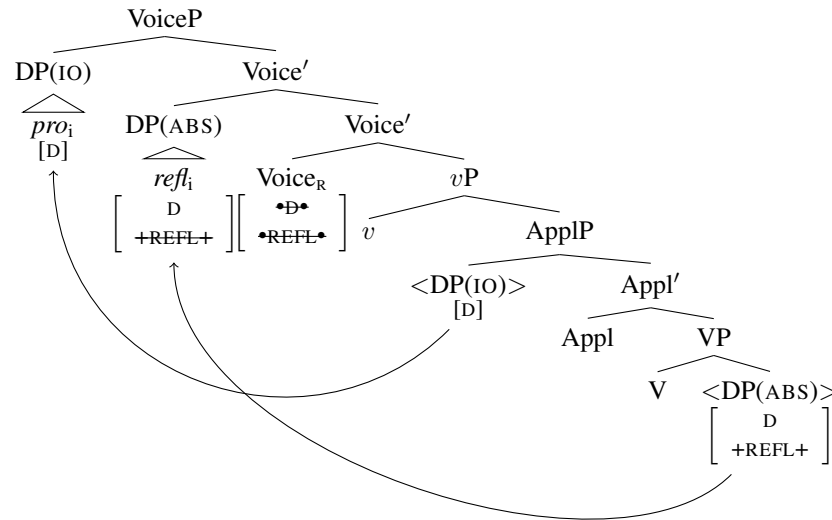
(38) A lexicalized example: *š’ə- ‘LOC’ + B^wəpšə ‘??’ = š’ə-B^wəpšə ‘forget’*

- a. **zə-** s- š’ə- B^wəpšə -ž’ə -B
REFL.ABS- 1SG.IO- LOC- forget -RE -PST
- b. sə- **z-** š’ə- B^wəpšə -ž’ə -B
 1SG.ABS- **REFL.IO-** LOC- forget -RE -PST

‘I forgot about myself (e.g. when serving food).’

ABS>IO|IO>ABS

(39) **Unaccusative w/ applied object: IO > ABS**



Cf. reciprocals allow only ABS > IO:³

- (40) a. tə- ze- š'ə- ɪ^wəpšə -ž'ə -ɪ
 1PL.ABS- REC.IO- LOC- forget -RE -PST
 b. *ze- t- š'ə- ɪ^wəpšə -ž'ə -ɪ
 REC.ABS- 1PL.IO- LOC- forget -RE -PST

'You(pl) forgot about each other.' **ABS>IO|*IO>ABS**

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³Contra Arkadiev et al. (2009:64); Letuchiy (2010:342); a possible source of confusion may be in homophony of reflexive and reciprocal markers in prevocalic environments. See Ershova (2019) for detailed discussion.