

Typology of Morphosyntactic Parameters 2017

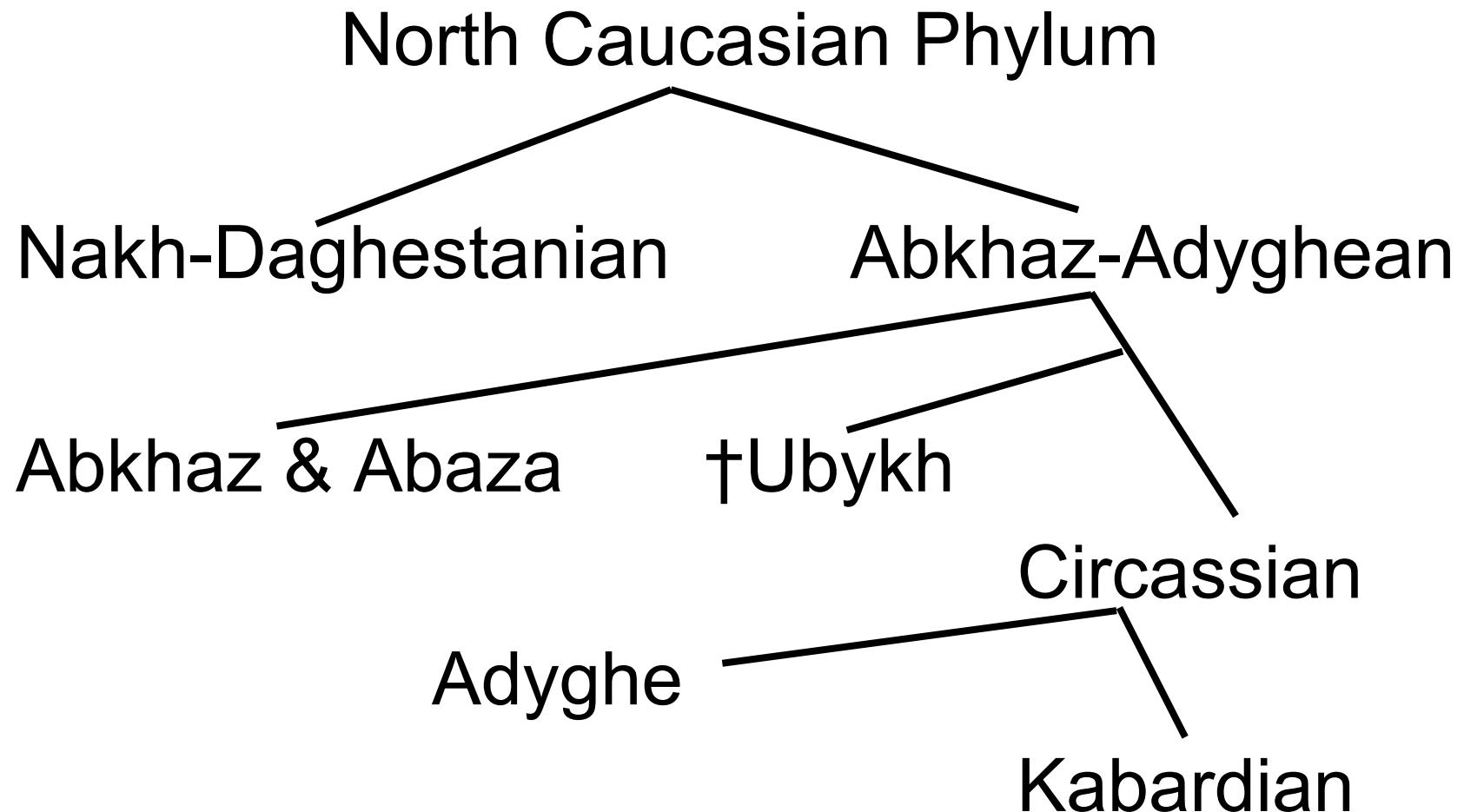
Moscow, 25-27 October 2017

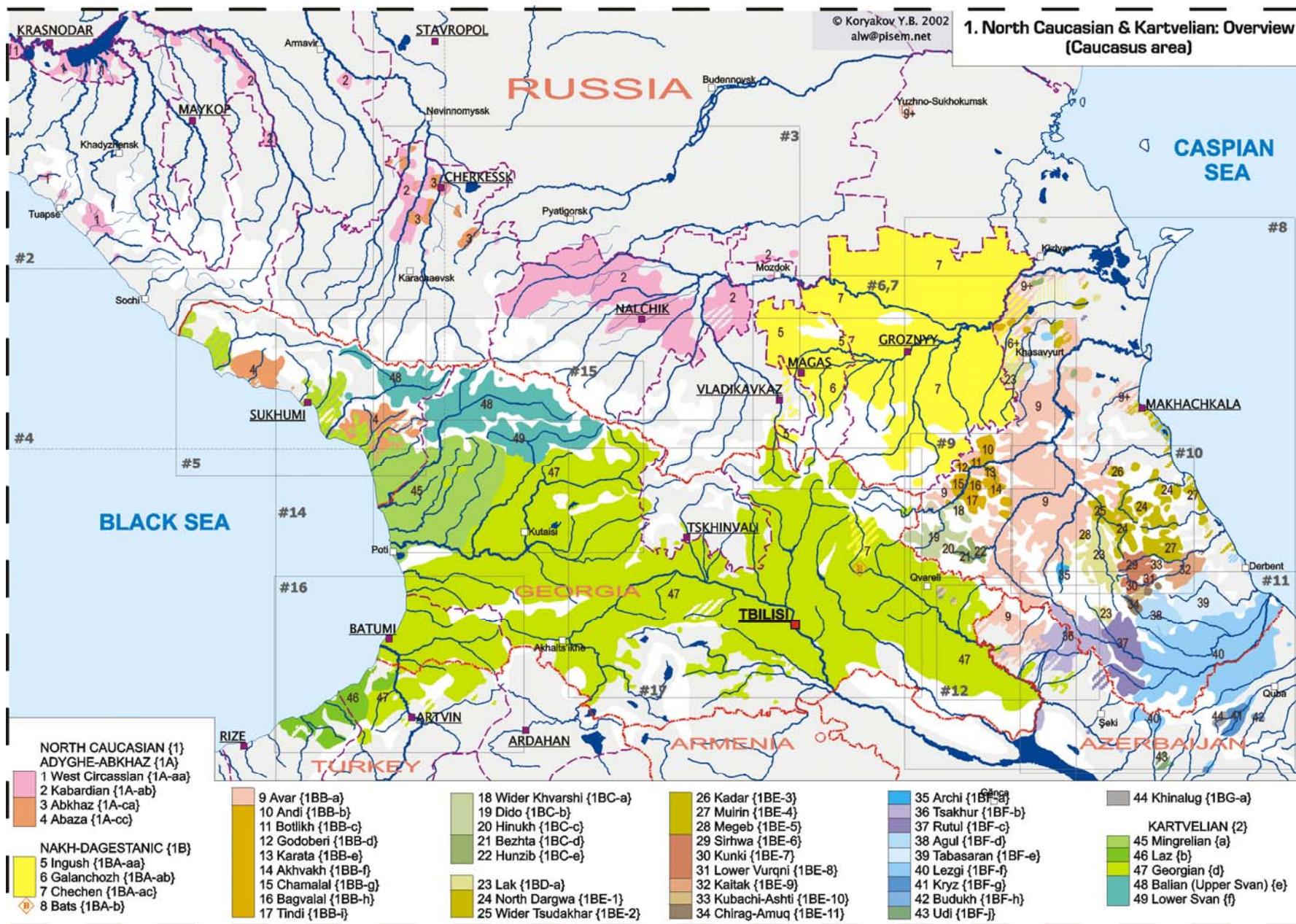
Circassian directional markers and the typology of inverse

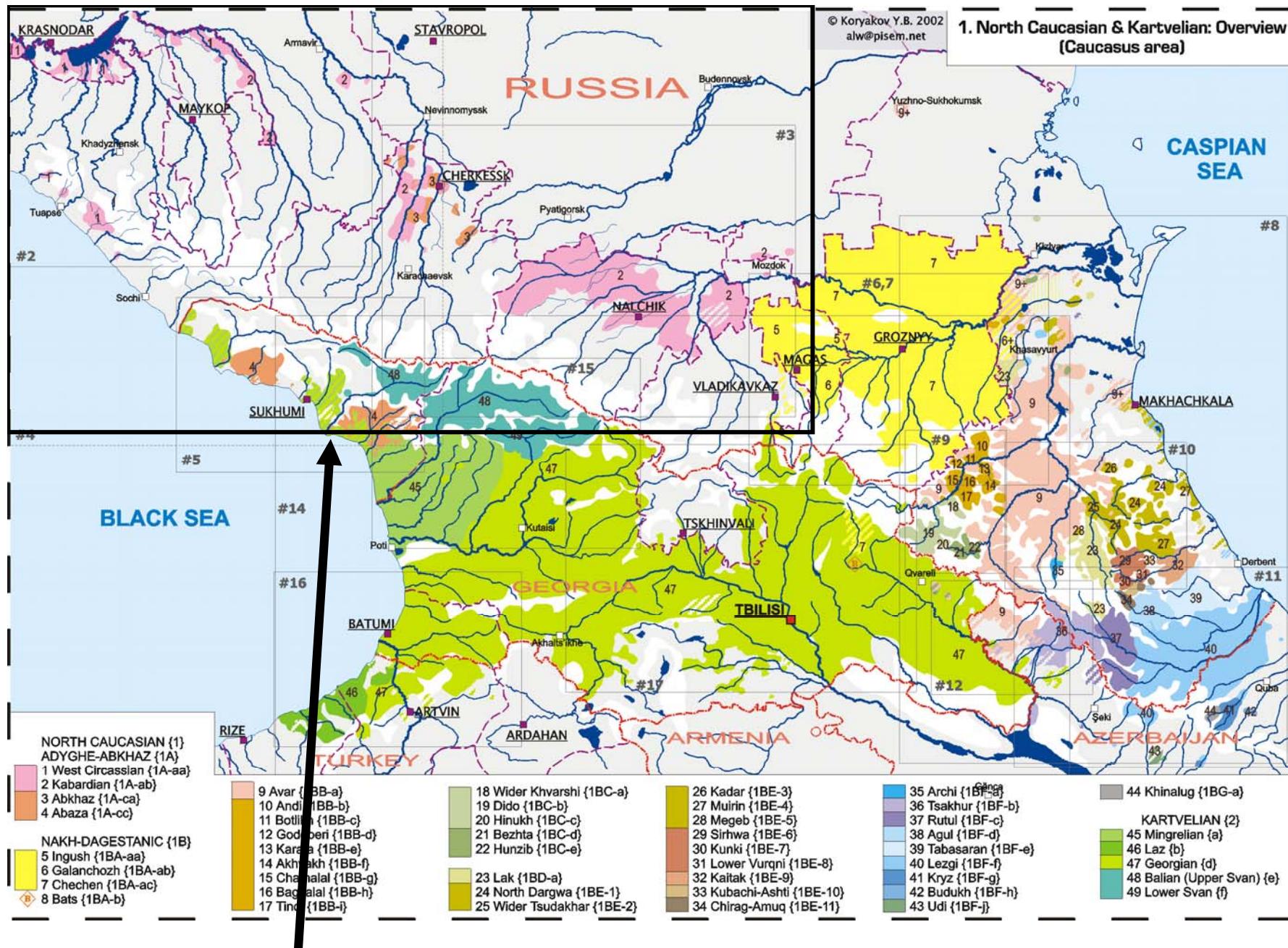
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The Circassian languages

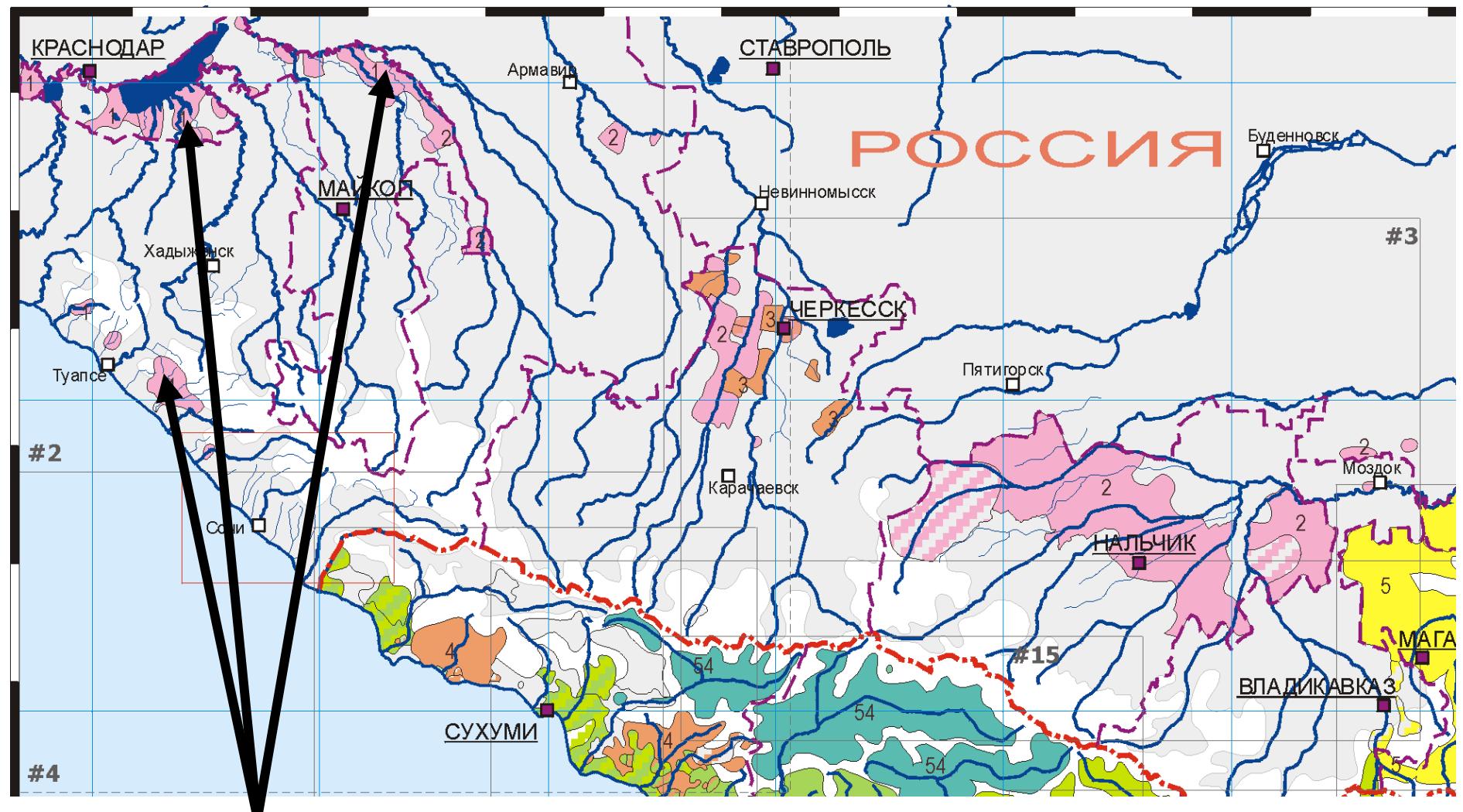




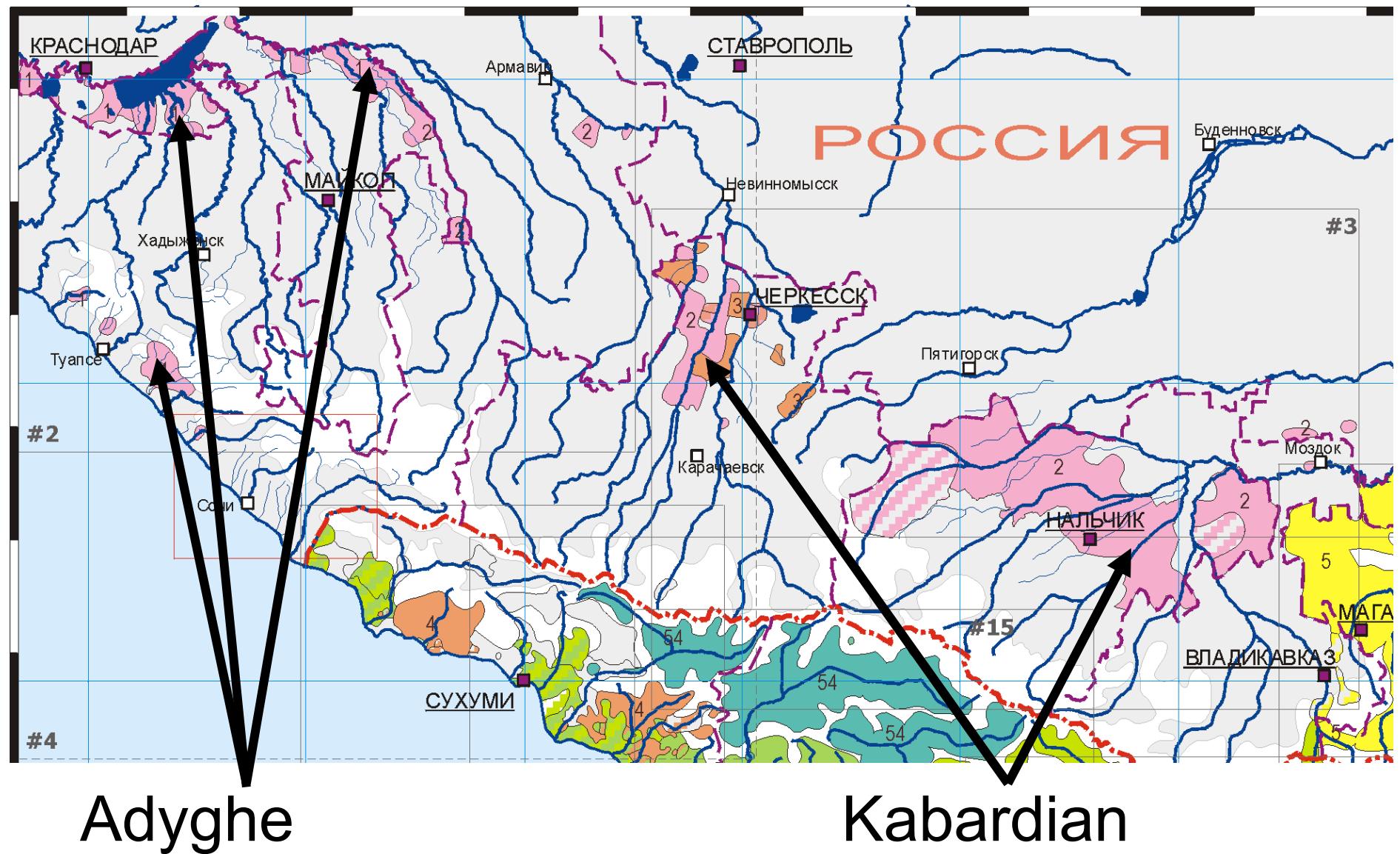


North-West Caucasian languages





Adygea



Typological characteristics

- rich consonantism & poor vocalism
- polysynthesis
- morphological ergativity in both case marking and verbal indexing
- very little distinction between major parts of speech

(Smeets 1984, Kumakhov & Vamling 2009,
Testelec ed. 2009, Lander & Testelets 2017)

Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

sə-ɡə-zər-a-xʷə-č'era-mə-łetə-č'ə-ž'-a-r

1SG.ABS-CISL-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-NEG-tie-
ELAT-RE-PST-ABS

‘that they could not untie me from there’

abs – absolute

ben – benefactive

cisl – cislocative preverb

elat - elative

io – indirect object

loc – locative preverb

neg - negation

pl - plural

pst – past

re - refactive

rel.fct – factive relativization

sg - singular

Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

sə-ɟə-**zer**-a-xʷə-č'era-mə-ṭetə-č'ə-ž'-a-**r**

1SG.ABS-CISL-**REL.FCT**-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-NEG-tie-
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pl - plural

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rel.fct – factive relativization

sg - singular

Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

sə-ɟə-zər-a-xʷə-č'era-**mə**-tətə-č'ə-ž'-a-r
1SG.ABS-CISL-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-**NEG**-tie-
ELAT-RE-PST-ABS

‘that they could **not** untie me from there’

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Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

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Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

sə-ɟə-zər-a-xʷə-č'ərə-mə-**tətə**-č'ə-ž'-a-r
1SG.ABS-CISL-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-NEG-**tie**-
ELAT-RE-PST-ABS

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pst – past

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rel.fct – factive relativization

sg - singular

Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

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1SG.ABS-**CISL**-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-**LOC**-NEG-tie-
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The cislocative preverb

- *qe-* ~ *qa-* ~ *q(a)-* (the vowel depends on the morphophonological environment);
- one of the most frequently occurring morphemes in the Circassian languages;
- occupies the slot immediately following the absolute cross-referencing prefixes;
- fairly polyfunctional with different uses spanning the entire “derivation ~ inflection” continuum.

The cislocative preverb

- The basic meaning: orientation towards the deictic center (origo), in the simplest case towards the speaker.

Adyghe:

če ‘run (away)!’ vs. **qa**-če ‘run here!’

pλe ‘look (there)’ vs. **qa**-pλe ‘look here!’

The cislocative preverb

- In this talk: non-spatial uses in polyvalent verbal forms

Adyghe (textual example)

se *sədewəš'tew* *?epə?eKʷ*

1SG how help

sə-qə-šʷ-fə-χʷə-š'?

1SG.ABS-**CISL**-2PL.IO-BEN-become-FUT

‘What kind of aid can I become for you?’

Cross-referencing prefixes

- three persons, two numbers;
- no distinctions of gender or clusivity;
- most 3SG prefixes null;
- three sets of prefixes mainly distinguished by their position in the wordform:
ABSolute Indirect Object ERGative
- indirect objects are introduced by applicative prefixes.

Cross-referencing prefixes

Adyghe (textual example)

s-a-č'e-ž^w-ke-pλež'

1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-2PL.ERG-CAUS-look(IMP)

'(you all) let me look at them!'

abs – absolute

io – indirect object

caus – causative

loc – locative preverb

erg – ergative

pl – plural

imp – imperative

sg – singular

Cross-referencing prefixes

Adyghe (textual example)

s-a-č'e-**žʷ**-ke-pλež'

1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-**2PL.ERG**-CAUS-look(IMP)

'(**you all**) let me look at them!'

abs – absolute

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'(you all) let **me** look at them!'

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s-**a-č'e-**z̊-ke-pλež'

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'(you all) let me look **at them!**'

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Verb classes

- Circassian languages encode (in)transitivity morphologically by means of the choice of cross-referencing prefixes.
- Polyvalent verbs can be both **transitive** (with an ERG prefix) and **intransitive** (without an ERG prefix).

Smeets (1992)

Bivalent transitive

Adyghe (textual example)

wə-z-be-reze-n?

2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-glad-POT

‘Will I make you happy?’

A : ERGative

P : ABSolute

Bivalent transitive

Adyghe (textual example)

wə-z-be-reze-n?

2SG.ABS-**1SG.ERG**-CAUS-glad-POT

‘Will **I** make you happy?’

A : ERGative

P : ABSolute

Bivalent transitive

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wə-z-ke-reze-n?

2SG.ABS-1SG.ERG-CAUS-glad-POT

‘Will I make **you** happy?’

A : ERGative

P : ABSolute

Bivalent intransitive

Adyghe (textual example)

ጀʷə-qə-s-a-ž

2PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-wait(IMP)

'(you all) wait for me!'

A : ABSolute dat – dative preverb

P : Indirect Object

Bivalent intransitive

Adyghe (textual example)

şʷə-qə-s-a-ž

2PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-wait(IMP)

'(you all) wait for me!'

A : ABSolute

dat – dative preverb

P : Indirect Object

Bivalent intransitive

Adyghe (textual example)

ʂʷə-qə-s-a-ʐ

2PL.ABS-CISL-**1SG.IO-DAT**-wait(IMP)

‘(you all) wait **for me!**’

A : ABSolute

dat – dative preverb

P : Indirect Object

Cislocative again

Adyghe (textual example)

ʂʷə-qə-s-a-ž

2PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-wait(IMP)

‘(you all) wait for me!’

A : ABSolute dat – dative preverb

P : Indirect Object

Cislocative again

The use of the cislocative prefix {*qV-*} is conditioned by the values of the person features in polyvalent verbs.

Kumaxov (1971: 253-254), Testelec (1989), Lomize (2013), Kuvšinova (2015)

Locutors vs. non-locutors

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

a. *jə-z-o-t*

(3.ABS)3SG.IO-1SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘I give it to him/her.’ 1>3

b. *qə-z-j-e-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-1SG.IO-3SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘S/he gives it to me.’ 3>1

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‘S/he gives it to me.’ **3>1**

Locutors vs. non-locutors

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

a. *jə-b-o-t*

(3.ABS)3SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘You give it to him/her.’ 2>3

b. *qə-w-j-e-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘S/he gives it to you.’ 3>2

Locutors vs. non-locutors

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

a. *jə-b-o-t*

(3.ABS)3SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘You give it to him/her.’ 2>3

b. *qə-w-j-e-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘S/he gives it to you.’ 3>2

Locutors only

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

a. *qə-wə-z-o-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-2SG.IO-1SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘I give it to you.’ 1>2

b. *qə-zə-b-o-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-1SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘You give it to me.’ 2>1

Locutors only

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a. *qə-wə-z-o-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-2SG.IO-1SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘I give it to you.’ 1>2

b. *qə-zə-b-o-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-1SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘You give it to me.’ 2>1

3rd person only

Besleney Kabardian (Lomize 2013: 225)

a. *a-bə a-r č'ele-gʷere-m*
DEM-OBL DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL

r-jə-t-a
(3.ABS)(3SG.IO)DAT-3SG.ERG-give-PST
‘He gave it to some guy.’

b. *a-bə a-r č'ele-gʷere-m*
DEM-OBL DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL

qə-r-jə-t-a
(3.ABS)CISL-(3SG.IO)DAT-3SG.ERG-give-PST
‘Some guy gave it to him.’

3rd person only

Besleney Kabardian (Lomize 2013: 225)

- a. *a-bə a-r č'ele-gʷere-m*
DEM-OBL DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL
r-jə-t-a
(3.ABS)(3SG.IO)DAT-3SG.ERG-give-PST
'He gave it to some guy.' **Prox > Obv**
- b. *a-bə a-r č'ele-gʷere-m*
DEM-OBL DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL
qə-r-jə-t-a
(3.ABS)**CISL**-(3SG.IO)DAT-3SG.ERG-give-PST
'Some guy gave it to him.' **Obv > Prox**

3rd person only

- The labels “proximate” and “obviative” stand for not yet fully understood relations between 3rd person referents in discourse, having to do with differential activation / topicality / protagonisthood etc., see Lomize (2013) on Besleney Kabardian and Kuvšinova (2015) on Bzhedug Adyghe.

Interim summary

object	1	2	3prox	3obv
subject				
1		+CISL	-CISL	-CISL
2	+CISL		-CISL	-CISL
3prox	+CISL	+CISL		-CISL
3obv	+CISL	+CISL	+CISL	

Interim summary

object subject	1	2	3prox	3obv
1		+CISL	-CISL	-CISL
2	+CISL		-CISL	-CISL
3prox	+CISL	+CISL		-CISL
3obv	+CISL	+CISL	+CISL	

The cislocative is used when the object is not lower than the subject on the hierarchy
1, 2 > 3prox > 3obv

Is it an inverse?

- Inverse markers in the languages of the world are sensitive precisely to the relative prominence of subjects and objects in polyvalent constructions (Zúñiga 2006; Jacques & Antonov 2014).
- The affinity of the Circassian cislocative to inverse markers has been pointed out already in Testelec (1989, 2003: 57–64).

Is it an inverse?

- The diachronic development of cislocative markers into inverse markers is well-documented in various languages (Jacques & Antonov 2014: 312).

Is it an inverse?

Hakhun Tangsa (Sino-Tibetan, India; Boro 2017: 342)

dŷ a kámí i-t^hγ? nŷ mi?
however 1SG-over LOC person
mŷ-t^hə a-dûŋ vŷ r-a
CLF-one NMLZ-big come **CISL.NON.PST-3**
'However, a person greater than me will come.'

Is it an inverse?

Hakhun Tangsa (Sino-Tibetan, India; Boro 2017: 342)

nuʔrûm kámá *ŋà* *ný* *mì*
2PL ERG 1SG LOC ADD

ŋâ r-a

say INV.NON.PST-3

‘You will also tell me.’

Is it an inverse?

The properties of the Circassian cislocative are in fact quite remote from the “canonical” inverse as defined by Jacques & Antonov (2014).

Redundancy

- The Circassian *cislocative* is in most cases redundant, because the mapping between person features and grammatical roles is fully indicated by the position of cross-referencing prefixes (apart from the combinations of several 3rd person arguments).

Redundancy

- In many cases the use of the cislocative with “inverse” mappings of persons and roles is optional or even inappropriate, e.g. with the benefactive applicative.

Standard Kabardian (Kumaxov 1971: 310)

s-x^w-jə-p-a-ŷ / ?sə-qə-x^w-jə-p-a-ŷ

(3.ABS)1SG.IO-BEN-3SG.ERG-bring.up-PST-DCL

‘S/he brought him/her up for me.’

Redundancy

- By contrast, in the “canonical” direct-inverse systems person markers are not specified for role and the information about mapping is provided by the direct/inverse markers themselves.

Redundancy

Plains Cree (Algonquian, Canada; Zúñiga 2006: 76)

- a. *ni-sēkih-ā-w*
1-frighten-DIR-3
‘I frighten him.’
- b. *ni-sēkih-ikw-w*
1-frighten-INV-3
‘He frightens me.’

Redundancy

Plains Cree (Algonquian, Canada; Zúñiga 2006: 76)

a. *ni-sēkih-ā-w*

1-frighten-**DIR**-3

‘I frighten him.’ **direct 1>3**

b. *ni-sēkih-ikw-w*

1-frighten-**INV**-3

‘He frightens me.’ **inverse 3>1**

Relation to (in)transitivity

- Even more importantly, while the “canonical” inverse is a hallmark of highly transitive verbs or constructions, in Circassian the cislocative is always optional precisely with transitive verbs with an ergative A and an absolute P.

Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

$s\text{-}\lambda e \mathcal{E}^w a$ I saw him/her 1 > 3 – CISL

Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

$s\text{-}\lambda e \kappa^w\text{-}a$	I saw him/her	$1 > 3$ -CISL
$w\partial\text{-}s\text{-}\lambda e \kappa^w\text{-}a$	I saw you	$1 > 2$ -CISL

Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

s-λeκʷ-a I saw him/her 1 > 3-CISL

wə-s-λeκʷ-a I saw you 1 > 2-CISL

sə-p-λeκʷ-a You saw me 2 > 1-CISL

Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

s-λeɪw^w-a I saw him/her 1 > 3-CISL

wə-s-λeɪw^w-a I saw you 1 > 2-CISL

sə-p-λeɪw^w-a You saw me 2 > 1-CISL

s-jə-λeɪw^w-a S/he saw me 3 > 1-CISL

Relation to (in)transitivity

- By contrast, the **cislocative prefix** is obligatory with the “inverse” combination of subject and **indirect object** — with ditransitive and intransitive verbs alike.

Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (fieldwork)

a. *(*qə-)jə-z-o-t*

(3.ABS)3SG.IO-1SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘I give it to him/her.’ 1>3 –CISL

b. **(qə-)z-j-e-t*

(3.ABS)CISL-1SG.IO-3SG.ERG-DYN-give

‘S/he gives it to me.’ **3>1 +CISL**

Relation to (in)transitivity

Standard Adyghe (Kumaxov 1971: 294)

a. *s-j-e-že*

1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-DYN-wait

‘I am waiting for him/her.’ 1>3 –CISL

b. *(*qə-*)*s-e-že*

(3SG.ABS)**CISL**-1SG.IO-DYN-wait

‘S/he is waiting for me.’ 3>1 +CISL

Conclusions

- The Circassian cislocative prefix $\{qV-\}$ shares with the “canonical” inverse markers the factors conditioning its occurrence as well as a common diachronic origin.

Conclusions

- However, the “inverse” uses of the Circassian cislocative differ from the “canonical” inverse in two important respects:
 - it is almost fully redundant;
 - it is not sensitive to transitivity.

Conclusions

- From the typological point of view, the Circassian cislocative is a highly peculiar inverse, or probably not an inverse at all.
- In the context of predominantly ergative morphosyntax of the Circassian languages, the cislocative behaves in a somewhat nominative-accusative fashion (sensitivity to S+A vs. IO).

References

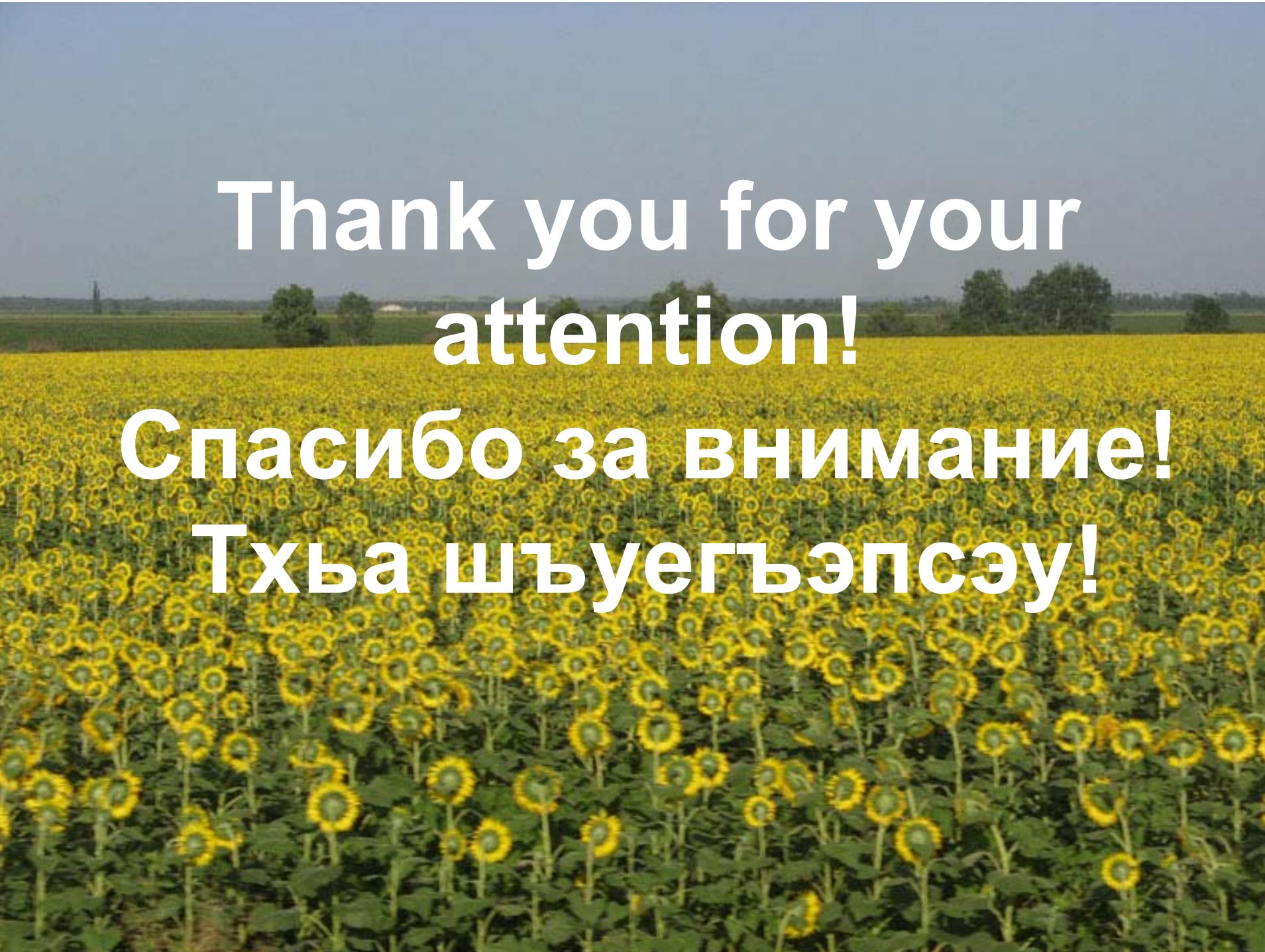
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Acknowledgments

- native speakers of Circassian languages
- Yakov Testelets, Yury Lander, Grigory Lomize
- Russian Science Foundation,
grant #17-18-01184

A wide-angle photograph of a sunflower field. The foreground is filled with numerous sunflowers, their bright yellow petals and green stems creating a dense, textured pattern. In the middle ground, the field extends to a distant horizon where a few small buildings and trees are visible against a clear, pale blue sky.

Thank you for your
attention!

Спасибо за внимание!
Тхъа шъуегъэпсэу!