

Approaching case polysemy from the lexicon:

The case of the Kabardian instrumental

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I. Polysemy of the Circassian instrumental (cf. Serdobol'skaja & Kuznecova 2009):

– instrument

- (1) *jə-ʋe-ʋ^wəšə-ž'-r-jə* *newežə-m* *fjen-č'e*
3SG.ERG-CAUS-dry-RE-CNV-ADD old.woman-OBL hairdryer-INS
'The old woman dried him with a hairdryer.' [SafM_Kolobok_19]

– means

- (2) *se* *kartoške* *tx^wə-č'e* *z-ʋe-ž'-a*
I potatoes oil-INS 1SG.ERG-CAUS-fry-PST
'I fried potatoes in oil.'

– price

- (3) *se* *sweme-š-jə-č'e* *txəl* *qe-s-š'ex^w-a*
I rouble-hundred-LNK-two-INS book DIR-1SG.ERG-buy-PST
'I bought a book for two hundred roubles.'

– language

- (4) *adəye-č'e* *zeč'e* *q-a-x^we-ž^wate*
adyghe-INS all DIR-3PL.IO-BEN-tell(IMP)
'Tell them everything in Adyghe.' [Alib_KM_5_6]

– means of transport

- (5) *ž'ə* *mašjəne-č'e* *zeč'e* *ja-š'e-xe*
now car-INS all 3PL.ERG-drive-PL
'Now they drive everybody by car.' [Tlin_LR_Istorija_20]

– path of motion (prolative)

- (6) *dirjektarə-m* *jə-kabinjet* *karidor=famb^we-m-č'e* *də-k^w-a*
director-OBL POSS-office corridor=wide-OBL-INS 1PL.ABS-go-PST
'We walked to the director's office through a wide hallway.'

– direction of motion (allative)

- (7) *šəwane-r* *meza-m-č'e* *k^w-a*
horseman-ABS woods-OBL-INS gallop-PST
'The horseman galloped towards the woods.'

– area near the source of motion (adelative)

- (8) *aslen* *zəg^were-m* *g^wəb^we-m-č'e* *q-jə-žə-ž'-t*
Aslan something-OBL field-OBL-INS DIR-LOC-run-RE-IPF
'Aslan was running somewhere from the direction of the field.'

– point of application

- (9) *ž'edwə-m* *jə-č'e-č'e* *wə-q-je-mə-že*
cat-OBL POSS-tail-INS 2SG.ABS-DIR-DAT-NEG-take(IMP)
'Don't pull the cat by his tail.'

– standard of evaluation

- (10) *a* *batjanke-xe-m-č'e* *w-jə-łaq^we-xe-r* *jənə-š'e-xe*
DEM shoe-PL-OBL-INS 2SG.PR-POSS-leg-PL-ABS big-too-PL
'Your feet are too big for these shoes.'

– temporal extent

- (11) *jəles* *pšə.k^wə.x-č'e* *ʔ^wex^w* *š'ə-s-š-a*
year sixteen-INS work LOC-1SG.ERG-do-PST
'I worked there for sixteen years.' [Alib_KM_7_12]

– feature

- (12) *jə-ləyavə-č'e* *mə-jən-dəd-wə* *ž'ap.x^wed-wə* *č'ele=blan-wə* *š'ə-t-a*
POSS-height-INS NEG-big-very-ADV such-ADV guy=strong-ADV LOC-stand-PST
'He was a strong guy, not very tall (lit. big by height).' [Alib_AA_Vrata_11]

– reference point

- (13) *de* *xabze-č'e* *də-z-je-k^we-ne*
we tradition-INS 1PL.ABS-REC.IO-DAT-go-FUT
'We will act according to tradition.'

II. Experiment

1) Nouns which resist co-occurrence with the instrumental altogether ('wild animals':
baze 'fly', *baž'e* 'fox' etc.)

2) Nouns co-occurring with a wide range of the meanings of the instrumental ('people',
'speech')

ade 'father':

– allative

- (14) *ade-m-č'e* *r-je-k^we-č'*
father-OBL-INS LOC-DAT-go-ELAT(IMP)
'Turn towards the father!'

– stimulus

- (15) *ade-č'e* *sə-raz*
father-INS 1SG.ABS-satisfied
'I am satisfied with the father.'

– standard of evaluation

- (16) *ade-m-č'e* *a-r* *de^w*
father-OBL-INS this-ABS good
'This is good for the father.'

– specification

- (17) *ade-č'e* *jə-šəpχ^w*
father-INS POSS-sister
'paternal sister'

3) Nouns co-occurring with just one meaning of the instrumental ('instruments', 'containers', 'substances', 'food', 'clothes'):

taxonomic class 'instrument' -> meaning 'instrument'

- (18) *ʒəde-m-č'e* *pχe* *jə-q'ət-a*
ax-OBL-INS wood 3SG.ERG-split-PST
'He was chopping wood with an ax.'

taxonomic class 'food' -> meaning 'means'

- (19) *š'e-č'e* *z-jə-ve-fe-č'-a*
milk-INS RFL.ABS-3SG.ERG-CAUS-drink-ELAT-PST
'He had some milk' (lit. 'he made himself drink by means of milk').

4) Nouns regularly combining with several meanings of the instrumental

4.1. Nouns which due to their lexical semantics are compatible with heterogeneous semantic roles ('cattle', 'body parts')

'cattle'

- exchange equivalent

- (20) *mel-xe-r* *ž'em-č'e* *q-jə-χ'w'ež'-a*
sheep-PL-ABS COW-INS DIR-3SG.ERG-exchange-PST
'He exchanged the sheep for a cow.'

- means of transport

- (21) *a-r* *šə-č'e* *qe-k'w-a*
DEM-ABS horse-INS DIR-go-PST
'He arrived on horseback.'

'body parts'

- instrument

- (22) *ʔa-č'e* *q-jə-wəbəd-a*
hand-INS DIR-3SG.ERG-catch-PST
'He/she caught it with his/her hand.'

- point of application

- (23) *ledaqe-č'e* *s-je-wədeč'-a*
heel-INS 1SG.ABS-DAT-hurt-PST
'I hurt my heel.' (lit. "by/at my heel")

- beneficiary (standard of evaluation)

- (24) *ne-xe-m-č'e* *a* *mera-k'w-e-r* *ʔaze-k'w'e*
eye-PL-OBL-INS DEM berry-ABS good
'These berries are good for your eyes.'

4.2. Nouns combining with several connected meanings of the case ('time', 'space'):

'time'

- temporal extent

- (25) *max'w'e-č'e* *sə-nesə-ne*
day-INS 1SG.ABS-get-FUT
'It will take me one day to get there.'

- temporal distance

- (26) *č'ale-r* *ʔales-č'e* *qe-k'w'e-ž'-ə-ne*
guy-ABSyear-INS DIR-go-RE-FUT
'The guy will return in a year's time.'

- temporal location

- (27) *č'əmax'w'e-č'e* *x'w'ab-wə* *z-a-x'w'ape*
winter-INS warm-ADV RFL.ABS-3PL.ERG-dress
'People dress warmly in winter.'

III. A case study: Nominal stems denoting space + the instrumental case marker

'forest' / 'field' / 'river' / 'sea' / 'village' / 'town' / 'road' / 'bridge' / 'side' + *-č'e*

Meanings:

• prolativ (moving along a given trajectory, cf. (6))

- (28) *q'wehə-r* *turcəje-m* *xə-m-č'e* *k'w-a*
ship-ABS Turkey-OBL sea-OBL-INS go-PST
'The ship sailed to Turkey by sea.'

- (29) *qale-m* *nes nah* *psənč'e* *mez-č'e* *wə-k'w'e-n-č'e*
town-OBL to more quick forest-INS 2SG.ABS-go-POT-INS
β'wəneβ'wə *ž'əle-m-č'e* *nah-r-jə*
road-ADV village-OBL-INS more-CNV-ADD

'It's quicker to get to the town through the forest than through the neighboring village.'

• allative (moving towards the landmark, cf. (7))

- (30) *se* *s-λeβ'w-a* *aslen* *mezə-m-č'e* *q-jə-č'-r-jə*
I 1SG.ERG-see-PST Aslan forest-OBL-INS DIR-LOC-go.out-CNV-ADD
psə-m-č'e *zerə-k'w-a-r*
river-OBL-INS REL.FCT-go-PST-ABS

'I saw Aslan go from the direction of the forest towards the river.'

- (31) *mə* *mašjəne-r* *tene* *k'w'e-re?* *psə-m-č'e*
this car-ABS where go-Q river-OBL-INS
'Where does this car go? Towards the river.'

• adelative (moving from the direction of the landmark, cp. (8))

- (32) *mezə-m-č'e* *λə-g'w'ere* *šwə* *qə-r-je-x-t*
forest-OBL-INS man-certain horseman DIR-LOC-DAT-go.down-IPF
'A horseman was approaching from the direction of the forest.'

- (33) *tene* *š'ə-ʔe* *s-j-ade*
where LOC-be 1SG.PR-POSS-father
a-r *ž'əle-m-č'e* *q-jə-č'-ə-ž'-a* *q'wedje*
DEM-ABS village-OBL-INS DIR-LOC-go.out-RE-PST just
'Where is dad? He just came from the direction of the village.'

Spatial construction X (=trajector) Y-č'e (=landmark) V (=verb of movement):

- (34) *de* (=X) *mez-č'e* (=Y) *də-k'w-a* (=V)
we forest-INS 1PL.ABS-go-PST
'We went through the forest.'
- (35) *de* (=X) *mezə-m-č'e* (=Y) *də-k'w-a* (=V)
we forest-OBL-INS 1PL.ABS-go-PST
'We went towards the forest.'
- (36) *de* (=X) *ž'əle-m-č'e* (=Y) *də-qe-k'w-a* (=V)
we village-OBL-INS 1PL.ABS-DIR-go-PST
'We came from the direction of the village.'

Choice of interpretation:

- Prolative vs. allative/adelative:

Obligatory additional marking of the lexeme with the oblique/definiteness marker *-m* in case of the allative/adelative meanings: (30)–(33), (35), (36)

– Allative vs. adelative:

Additional markers on the predicate in case of the adelative meaning:

1. Directive suffixes:

- (37) *a.bə jə-šha q-jə-ʔat-r-jə q-jə-leɸ^w-a*
 DEM.OBL POSS-head DIR-3SG.ERG-raise-CNV-ADD DIR-3SG.ERG-see-PST
psə-m-č'e bɹwə χ^wəš'e qə-zer-jə-bəbə-č'ə-r
 river-OBL-INS bird flock DIR-REL.FCT-LOC-fly-ELAT-ABS
 'He raised his head and saw a flock of birds fly (lit.: fly out) from the side of the river.'

2. Deictic prefix *qe-* 'hither' (cf. (36)):

- (38) *zarjəne šhanɸ^wəbʒe-m dje š'ə-t-wə mezə-m-č'e pʎe-t*
 Zarina window-OBL at LOC-stand-ADV forest-OBL-INS look-IPF
a bɸ^wə-m-č'e jade qe-χ^we-n x^wje
 DEM side-OBL-INS POSS+father DIR-go-POT must
 'Zarina was standing near the window and looking in the direction of the forest:
 her father must have been coming from that side.'

3. Refactive/reditive affix *-ž'ə*:

- (39) *asʎen zəg^were-m g^wəbɸe-m-č'e q-jə-ž'ə-ž'-t*
 Aslan something-OBL field-OBL-INS DIR-LOC-run-RE-IPF
 'Aslan was running from the direction of the field.'

Abbreviations:

ABS – absolutive, ADD – additive, ADV – adverbial, CAUS – causative, CNV – converb, DAT – dative prefix, DEM – demonstrative, DIR – directive prefix, ELAT – relative, ERG – ergative, FUT – future tense, IMP – imperative, INS – instrumental, IO – indirect object, IPF – imperfective past, LNK – linker, LOC – locative prefix, NEG – negation, OBL – oblique case, PL – plural, POSS – possessive, POT – potential/masdar, PR – possessor, PST – past tense, Q – question, RE – reffective, REC – reciprocal, REL.FCT – factive relativization, RFL – reflexive, SG – singular

List of lexemes used in the experiment:

	Lexeme	translation	taxonomic class
1	č'əmax ^w e	winter	time
2	max ^w e	day	time
3	jəʎes	year	time
4	bəze	fly	animals
5	baž'e	fox	animals
6	He	dog	animals
7	šə	horse	cattle
8	ž'em	cow	cattle
9	bjel	spade	instrument
10	ž'əde	ax	instrument
11	ž'exampχe	broom	instrument
12	mafe	fire	natural force/object
13	ž'əbɸe	wind	natural force/object

14	q ^w edame	branch	natural force/object
15	ʔalmeq	bag	container
16	mešek ^w ə	sack	container
17	č'ale	boy	people
18	ade	father	people
19	q ^w e	son	people
20	dəše	gold	substance
21	ɸ ^w əč	iron	substance
22	psə	water	substance
23	pšax ^w e	sand	substance
24	wəz	grass	substance
25	ž'ane	dress	clothes
26	bγəpəx	belt	clothes
27	š'e	milk	food
28	lə	meat	food
29	haləɸ ^w ə	bread	food
30	ž'əle	village	space
31	mez	forest	space
32	g ^w əbɸ ^w e	field	space
33	psə	river	space
34	dəpɔ	wall	space
35	bže	door	space
36	g ^w əš'əʔe	word	speech
37	wered	song	speech
38	g ^w ə	heart	body parts
39	Fe	(sheep)skin	body parts
40	ze	tooth	body parts
41	šhac	hair	body parts
42	šhe	head	body parts
43	Ne	eye	body parts
44	Pe	nose	body parts
45	lədaqe	heel	body parts
46	dame	shoulder	body parts
47	ʔe	hand	body parts
48	ʔaš'eʔəm	fist	body parts
49	laq ^w e	foot	body parts
50	labže	hoof, claw	body parts

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