Non-canonical inverse in Circassian languages

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The canonical inverse

“a type of transitive person marking system presenting three essential characteristics”:

• role-neutrality of person markers;
• ambiguity resolution by means of obligatory dedicated markers (direct and inverse);
• no valency/transitivity change.
The canonical inverse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>agent</th>
<th>patient</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3prox</th>
<th>3obv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIR</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIR</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>INV</td>
<td></td>
<td>DIR</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The canonical inverse

The referential hierarchy (Silverstein 1976, DeLancey 1981, Zúñiga 2006 etc.):

SAP > 3proximate > 3obviative
SAP > 3rd person pronoun > human > animate > inanimate
A>P: direct marking
P>A: inverse marking
The canonical inverse

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.’
The canonical inverse

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

a. *ni*-sēkih-ā-w
   1-frighten-DIR-3
   ‘I frighten him.’ role neutrality

b. *ni*-sēkih-ikw-w
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   ‘He frightens me.’

of person markers
The canonical inverse

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

a. *ni-sēkih-ā-w*  
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   ‘I frighten **him**.’ role neutrality

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   1-frighten-INV-3  
   ‘**He** frightens me.’ of person markers
The canonical inverse

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

a. \textit{ni-sēkih-ā-w}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item 1-frighten-\textsc{dir}-3
   \end{itemize}
   ‘I frighten him.’ \hspace{1cm} direct 1$>$3

b. \textit{ni-sēkih-ιkw-w}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item 1-frighten-\textsc{inv}-3
   \end{itemize}
   ‘He frightens me.’ \hspace{1cm} inverse 3$>$1
The canonical inverse

I present a case from Circassian (Northwest Caucasian) languages which can be considered a highly non-canonical instance of inverse.
The Circassian languages

North Caucasian Phylum

Nakh-Daghestanian  Abkhaz-Adyghean

Abkhaz & Abaza  †Ubykh  Circassian

Adyghe                  Kabardian
North-West Caucasian languages
Adyghe
Adyghe

Kabardian
Sources of data

• Examples from Temirgoy and Bzhedugh dialects of Adyghe and Besleney and Kuban dialects of Kabardian elicited during fieldtrips to the Republic of Adygheya in 2004-2016.

• A small corpus of oral narratives (mainly for Besleney Kabardian).

• Annotated published texts in Standard Adyghe.
Typological characteristics

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

Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

sə-ʔə-zer-a-xʷə-č’erə-mə-ʔetə-č’ə-ʔ’-ə-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 – absolutive  
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 (elicited)

\textit{sa- \textsuperscript{a}q\textsubscript{a}-zer-a-x\textsuperscript{w}e-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{c}}er\textsubscript{\textcircled{c}}-m\textsubscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{c}}}-tet\textsubscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{c}}}-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{c}}e-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{c}}}-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{c}}}-\textsuperscript{\textcircled{\textcircled{c}}}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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\end{itemize}
Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

sə-ğə-zer-a-xʷə-ç’erə-mə-ṭeṭə-č’ə-ž’-a-r
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Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

sə-qwə-zer-a-xwə-č’erə-mə-ṭetə-č’ə-ž’-ə-r

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Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

`sə-qə-zer-a-xʷə-č’erə-mə-τeta-č’ə-ž’-a-r`

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

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Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

sə-getOrElse-ə-xʷə-č’erə-mə-τetə-č’ə-ž’-a-r
1SG.ABS-CISL-REL.FCT-3PL.IO-BEN-LOC-NEG-tie-ELAT-RE-PST-ABS

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Polysynthesis

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

\[ sa-\textcolor{blue}{qə}-\textcolor{blue}{zer}-\textcolor{blue}{a}-x^w\textcolor{red}{erə}-mə-\textcolor{blue}{tetə}-\textcolor{blue}{č’ə}-\textcolor{red}{ž’}-a-r \]

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

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The cislocative preverb

• $qe$- $\sim$ $qa$- $\sim$ $q(ə)$- (the vowel depends on the morphophonological environment);
• one of the most frequently occurring morphemes in the Circassian languages;
• occupies the slot immediately following the absolutive cross-referencing prefixes;
• fairly polyfunctional with different uses spanning the entire “derivation $\sim$ 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)

\[se \quad sədewəš’tew \quad ?epə?eʁʷ\]

1SG \quad how \quad help

\[sə-qə-ʃʷ-fe-χʷə-ʃ’t?\]

1SG.ABS-\textbf{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-ẑʷ-ke-ʁλe̠z’`
1SG.ABS-3PL.IO-LOC-2PL.ERG-CAUS-look(IMP)

‘(you all) let me look at them!’

abs – absolutive  io – indirect object  
caus – causative  loc – locative preverb  
erg – ergative  pl – plural  
imp – imperative  sg – singular
Cross-referencing prefixes

Adyghe (textual example)

\( s-a-\text{č’}e-\hat{\text{w}}-\text{ke}-p\lambda e\text{ž’} \)

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

‘(you all) let me look at them!’

abs – absolutive
caus – causative
**erg** – ergative
imp – imperative
io – indirect object
loc – locative preverb
pl – plural
sg – singular
Cross-referencing prefixes

Adyghe (textual example)

\textit{s-a-č’e-žw-ke-pλež’}

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

‘(you all) let \textbf{me} look at them!’

\textbf{abs} – absolutive \hspace{1cm} \textbf{io} – indirect object
\textbf{caus} – causative \hspace{1cm} \textbf{loc} – locative preverb
\textbf{erg} – ergative \hspace{1cm} \textbf{pl} – plural
\textbf{imp} – imperative \hspace{1cm} \textbf{sg} – singular
Cross-referencing prefixes

Adyghe (textual example)

\[s-a-č’e-\hat{w}ke-pλež’\]

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

‘(you all) let me look at them!’

abs – absolutive
caus – causative
erg – ergative
imp – imperative

io – indirect object
loc – locative preverb
pl – plural
sg – singular
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)

\[ \text{wə-z-ке-reze-n} ? \]

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

‘Will I make you happy?’

A : ERGative
P : ABSoluteve
Bivalent transitive

Adyghe (textual example)

\( wə-ʐ-ʁe-reze-n? \)

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

‘Will I make you happy?’

A : ERGative

P : ABSoluteve
Bivalent transitive

Adyghe (textual example)

\texttt{wə-z-ke-reze-n?}

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

‘Will I make \textbf{you} happy?’

A : ERGative

P : ABSoluteive
Bivalent intransitive

Adyghe (textual example)
혀-耇-s-a- TextField
2PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-wait(IMP)
‘(you all) wait for me!’

A : ABSolute
P : Indirect Object

dat – dative preverb
Bivalent intransitive

Adyghe (textual example)

ŝʷə-qə-s-a-ž
2PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-wait(IMP)
‘(you all) wait for me!’

A : ABSolute
P : Indirect Object
Bivalent intransitive

Adyghe (textual example)
śʷə-qə-s-a-ž
2PL.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-DAT-wait(IMP)
‘(you all) wait for me!’

A : ABSoluteive  
dat – dative preverb
P : Indirect Object
Cislocative again

Adyghe (textual example)

\[\text{\textit{šʷə-qə-s-a-ž}}\]

2PL.ABS-\textbf{CISL}-1SG.IO-DAT-wait(IMP)

‘(you all) wait for me!’

A : ABSolute\textsuperscript{v} \quad \text{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.

Locutors vs. non-locutors

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

a. ḟə-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
Locutors vs. non-locutors

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

a. \textit{jə-z-o-t}  
\( (3.\text{ABS})3\text{SG.IO-1SG.ERG-DYN-give} \)  
‘I give it to him/her.’  \( 1>3 \)

b. \textit{qə-z-j-e-t}  
\( (3.\text{ABS})\text{CISL-1SG.IO-3SG.ERG-DYN-give} \)  
‘S/he gives it to me.’  \( 3>1 \)
Locutors vs. non-locutors

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

a. ʒə-b-o-t
   (3.ABS)3SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give
   ‘You give it to him/her.’ 2>3

b. ǭ-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 (elicited)

a.  \textit{jə-b-o-t}
   
   \begin{equation}
   (3.\text{ABS})3\text{SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give}
   \end{equation}
   
   ‘You give it to him/her.’  \textit{2>3}

b.  \textit{qə-w-j-e-t}

   \begin{equation}
   (3.\text{ABS})\textbf{CISL}-2\text{SG.IO-3SG.ERG-DYN-give}
   \end{equation}

   ‘S/he gives it to you.’  \textit{3>2}
Locutors only

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

a. \((\ddot{q}\ddot{a}-)w\ddot{a}-z-o-t\)
   \(3.ABS)\text{CISL-2SG.IO-1SG.ERG-DYN-give}\)
   ‘I give it to you.’  \(1>2\)

b. \(\dot{q}\ddot{a}-z\ddot{a}-b-o-t\)
   \(3.ABS)\text{CISL-1SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give}\)
   ‘You give it to me.’  \(2>1\)
Locutors only

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

a. (ǧə-)wə-z-o-t
   (3.ABS)(CISL)-2SG.IO-1SG.ERG-DYN-give
   ‘I give it to you.’ 1>2

b. ǧə-zə-b-o-t
   (3.ABS)CISL-1SG.IO-2SG.ERG-DYN-give
   ‘You give it to me.’ 2>1
Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited):

a. $a-r\ \č’ele-g^were-m\ \ qə-r-jə-tə-k$.  
   DEM-ABS  guy-some-OBL    (3.ABS)CISL-  
   3SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST  
   [How did she get this book?]  
   ‘Some guy gave it to her.’

b. $a-r\ \č’ele-g^were-m\ \ r-jə-tə-k$.  
   DEM-ABS  guy-some-OBL    (3.ABS)3SG.IO-  
   3SG.ERG-give-PST  
   [What did she do with the book?]  
   ‘She gave it to some guy.’
3rd person only

Temirgoy Adyghe (elicited):

a.  a-r č’ele-gʷere-m qə-r-jə-tə-κ.
    DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL (3.ABS)CISL-3SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST
    [How did she get this book?]  
    ‘Some guy gave it to her.’  (obv>prox)

b.  a-r č’ele-gʷere-m r-jə-tə-κ.
    DEM-ABS guy-some-OBL (3.ABS)3SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST
    [What did she do with the book?]  
    ‘She gave it to some guy.’  (prox>obv)
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 / protagonistishood etc., see Lomize (2013) on Besleney Kabardian and Kuvshinova (2015) on Bzhedugh Adyghe.
### Interim summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
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<th>2</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>±CISL</td>
<td>–CISL</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>
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).
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)

\( d\dot{\grave{v}} \ a \ k\acute{\text{o}}\text{m}i \ i-t^{h}\gamma? \ n\grave{\gamma} \ m\acute{i}? \)

however 1SG-over LOC person

\( m\acute{\text{\u0103}}-t^{\text{\c{c}}}\text{\text{\u0103}} \ a-\text{d\u0103}\text{\text{\u0103}} \ \nu\acute{\gamma} \ r-a \)

CLF-one NMLZ-big come CISL NON PST-3

‘However, a person greater than me will come.’ (cislocative)
Is it an inverse?

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

nuʔrûmk kómó ɳâ ný mì
2PL ERG 1SG LOC ADD

ɳâ r-ɑ

say INV.NON.PST-3

‘You will also tell me.’ (inverse)
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, e.g. with the benefactive applicative.
Redundancy

Besleney Kabardian (textual examples)

few-č’e  qə-s-xʷe-f-ʃə-ž’!
honey-new  CISL-1SG.IO-BEN-2PL.ERG-make-RE
‘Make me new honey!’

kaše  s-xʷe-p-ʃə-ne.
porridge  1SG.IO-BEN-2SG.ERG-make-FUT
‘You will make porridge for me.’
Redundancy

Besleney Kabardian (textual examples)

few–č’e  ṣə-s-xʷe-f-ṣə-ž’!
honey-new  CISL-1SG.IO-BEN-2PL.ERG-make-RE
‘Make me new honey!’ (2>1 +cisl)

kaše  _s-xʷe-p-ṣə-ne.
porridge  1SG.IO-BEN-2SG.ERG-make-FUT
‘You will make porridge for me.’ (2>1 –cisl)
Relation to (in)transitivity

• Even more importantly, the canonical inverse is a hallmark of highly transitive verbs or constructions:
Relation to (in)transitivity

• Even more importantly, the canonical inverse is a hallmark of highly transitive verbs or constructions: Direct and inverse “markers do not appear on intransitive verbs” (Jacques & Antonov 2014: 302).

• However, in Circassian the cislocative is always optional with transitive verbs with an ergative A and an absolutive P.
Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

\( s\-\lambda e\w^{w}\-a \quad \text{I saw him/her} \quad 1 > 3 – \text{CISL} \)
Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

$s \text{-} \text{le} \text{̱w} \text{-} a$  I saw him/her  $1 > 3$ – CISL

$\omega \text{-} s \text{-} \text{le} \text{̱w} \text{-} a$  I saw you  $1 > 2$ – CISL
Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

s-λekʰʷ-a  I saw him/her  1 > 3 – CISL
wə-s-λekʰʷ-a  I saw you  1 > 2 – CISL
sə-p-λekʰʷ-a  You saw me  2 > 1 – CISL
Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

\( s-\lambda eκ^w-a \) I saw him/her \( 1 > 3 \) –CISL

\( wə-s-\lambda eκ^w-a \) I saw you \( 1 > 2 \) –CISL

\( sə-p-\lambda eκ^w-a \) You saw me \( 2 > 1 \) –CISL

\( s-jə-\lambda eκ^w-a \) S/he saw me \( 3 > 1 \) –CISL
Relation to (in)transitivity

• By contrast, the cislocative prefix is **obligatory** with the “inverse” combination of subject (S/A) and **indirect object** — with ditransitive and intransitive verbs alike.
Relation to (in)transitivity

Besleney Kabardian (elicited)

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 (Kumakhov 1971: 294)

a.  \textit{s-j-e-że}  
    \text{1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-DYN-wait}  
    ‘I am waiting for him/her.’ 1>3 –CISL

b.  \textit{*(qə-)s-e-ž\textemdash e}  
    \text{(3SG.ABS)CISL-1SG.IO-DYN-wait}  
    ‘S/he is waiting for me.’ 3>1 +CISL
Relation to (in)transitivity

• Cross-linguistically, inverse markers can be sensitive to the relation between the Agent and the Recipient of ditransitive verbs (Malchukov et al. 2010: 44–45), but in such languages ditransitive verbs show secundative alignment (R=P).
Relation to (in)transitivity

• Itonama (isolate, Bolivia; Crevels 2010: 685, 693):

\[ \text{sih-k’i-ma-doh-ne upa’u} \]

1PL.EX-INV-hand-bite-ASP dog

‘The dog bit us on the hand.’ (monotrans.)
Relation to (in)transitivity

• Itonama (isolate, Bolivia; Crevels 2010: 685, 693):

\[ \text{sih-k'i-ma-doh-ne} \quad \text{upa'u} \]
1PL.EX-INV-hand-bite-ASP \quad \text{dog}

‘The dog bit us on the hand.’ (monotrans.)
Relation to (in)transitivity

• Itonama (isolate, Bolivia; Crevels 2010: 685, 693):

\[ \text{sih-}k'i\text{-ma-doh-ne upa'u} \]
1PL.EX-INV-hand-bite-ASP dog

‘The dog bit us on the hand.’ (monotrans.)

\[ \text{wase'wa sih-k'i-maki pilata} \]
yesterday 1PL.EX-INV-give silver

‘Yesterday they gave us money.’ (ditrans.)
Relation to (in)transitivity

- Itonama (isolate, Bolivia; Crevels 2010: 685, 693):

  *sih-*\textit{k’i}-ma-doh-ne\quad upa’u

  1PL.EX-INV-hand-bite-ASP\quad dog

  ‘The dog bit us on the hand.’ (monotrans.)

  *wase’wa\quad sih-*\textit{k’i}-makï\quad pilata

  yesterday\quad 1PL.EX-INV-give\quad silver

  ‘Yesterday they gave us money.’ (ditrans.)
Relation to (in)transitivity

But Circassian languages show consistent **indirective** alignment with the role of indirect object clearly distinct from that of the absolutive.
Towards a diachronic explanation

- As mentioned above, the change from cislocative (‘hither’) to inverse is a well-attested historical development (Jacques & Antonov 2014: 312–313).
- Moreover, this development seems to naturally explain the sensitivity of the Circassian “inverse” to the role of the indirect object.
Towards a diachronic explanation

The extension of the cislocative prefix to inverse person-role configurations should occur most naturally in the context of verbs of transfer with first or second person recipients as well as with verbs denoting activities directed at a non-affected object, such as contact, speech or perception, which are encoded as bivalent intransitives in Circassian.
Towards a diachronic explanation

• Cf. partly similar patterning of ‘hither’ and ‘thither’ markers with transfer verbs in geographically close Georgian and Ossetic.
Towards a diachronic explanation

• Georgian (Vogt 1971: 173)

  a. *mi*-v-s-čer-e čeril-i.
     TRAL-1.SBJ-3.IO-write-AOR letter-NOM
     ‘I wrote him a letter.’

  b. *mo*-m-čer-a čeril-i.
     CISL-1SG.IO-write-AOR.3SG.SBJ letter-NOM
     ‘He wrote me a letter.’

TRAL - translocative ‘thither’
Towards a diachronic explanation

• Georgian (Vogt 1971: 173)

a. *mi*-v-s-çer-e çeril-i.
   **TRAL**-1.SBJ-3.IO-write-AOR letter-NOM
   ‘I wrote him a letter.’ (1>3)

b. *mo*-m-çer-a çeril-i.
   **CISL**-1SG.IO-write-AOR.3SG.SBJ letter-NOM
   ‘He wrote me a letter.’ (3>1)

TRAL - translocative ‘thither’
Towards a diachronic explanation

• Iron Ossetic (Thordarson 2009: 68)

a. ʌəz  a-rvəs-t-on  wəm-ɑen činəg.
   I:NOM   TRAL-send-PST-1SG  he-DAT   book
   ‘I sent him a book.’

b. wəy  ærba-rvəs-t-a  mæn-ɑen činəg.
   he:NOM  CISL-send-PST-3SG  I-DAT   book
   ‘He sent me a book.’
Towards a diachronic explanation

- Iron Ossetic (Thordarson 2009: 68)

a. αez a-rvəs-t-on wəm-æn činəg.
   I:NOM TRAL-send-PST-1SG he-DAT book
   ‘I sent him a book.’  (1>3)

b. wəy ærba-rvəs-t-a mæn-æn činəg.
   he:NOM CISL-send-PST-3SG I-DAT book
   ‘He sent me a book.’  (3>1)
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


References


References


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Thank you for your attention!