

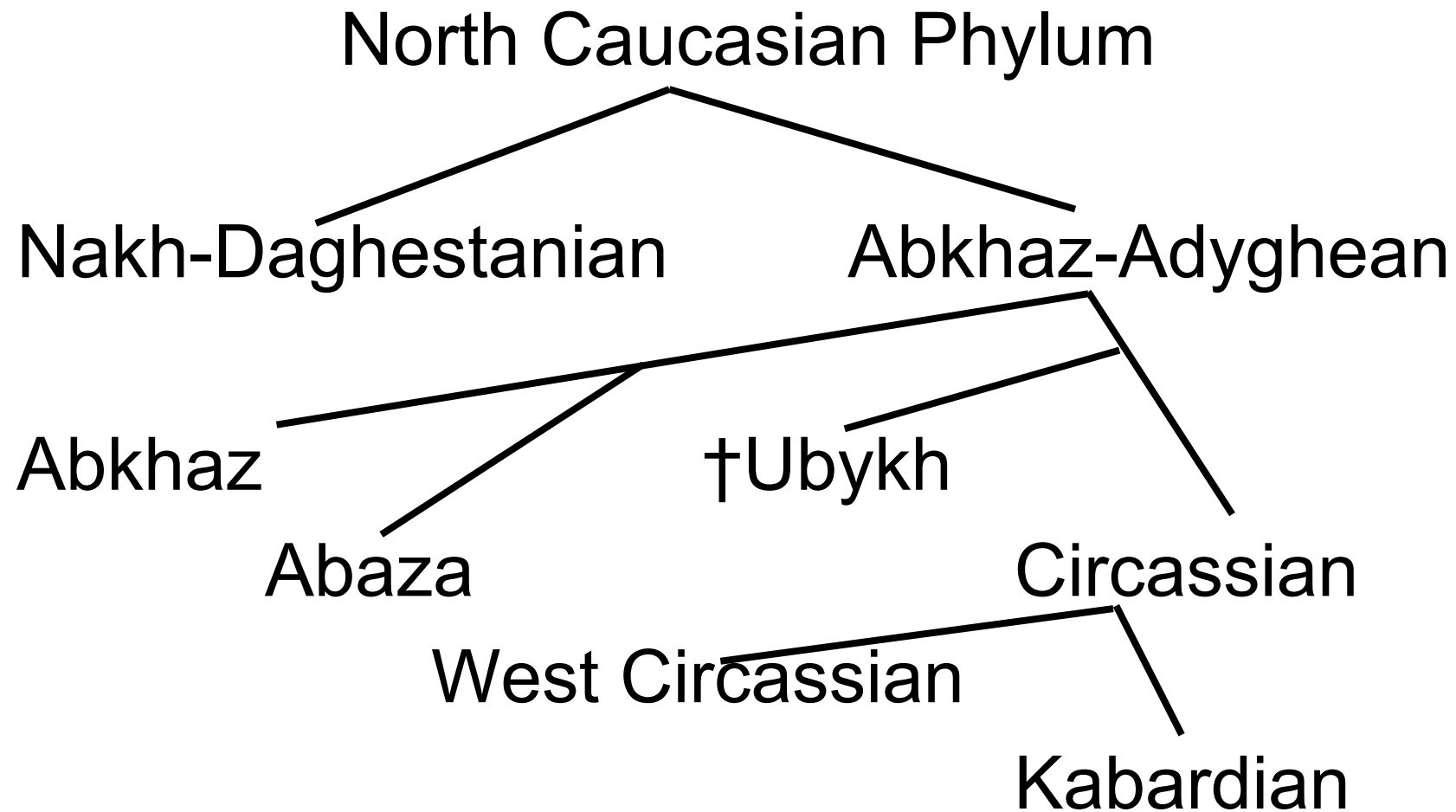
19th International Morphology Meeting, Vienna, 6-8 February 2020

Borrowing non-canonical inverse between Kabardian and Abaza

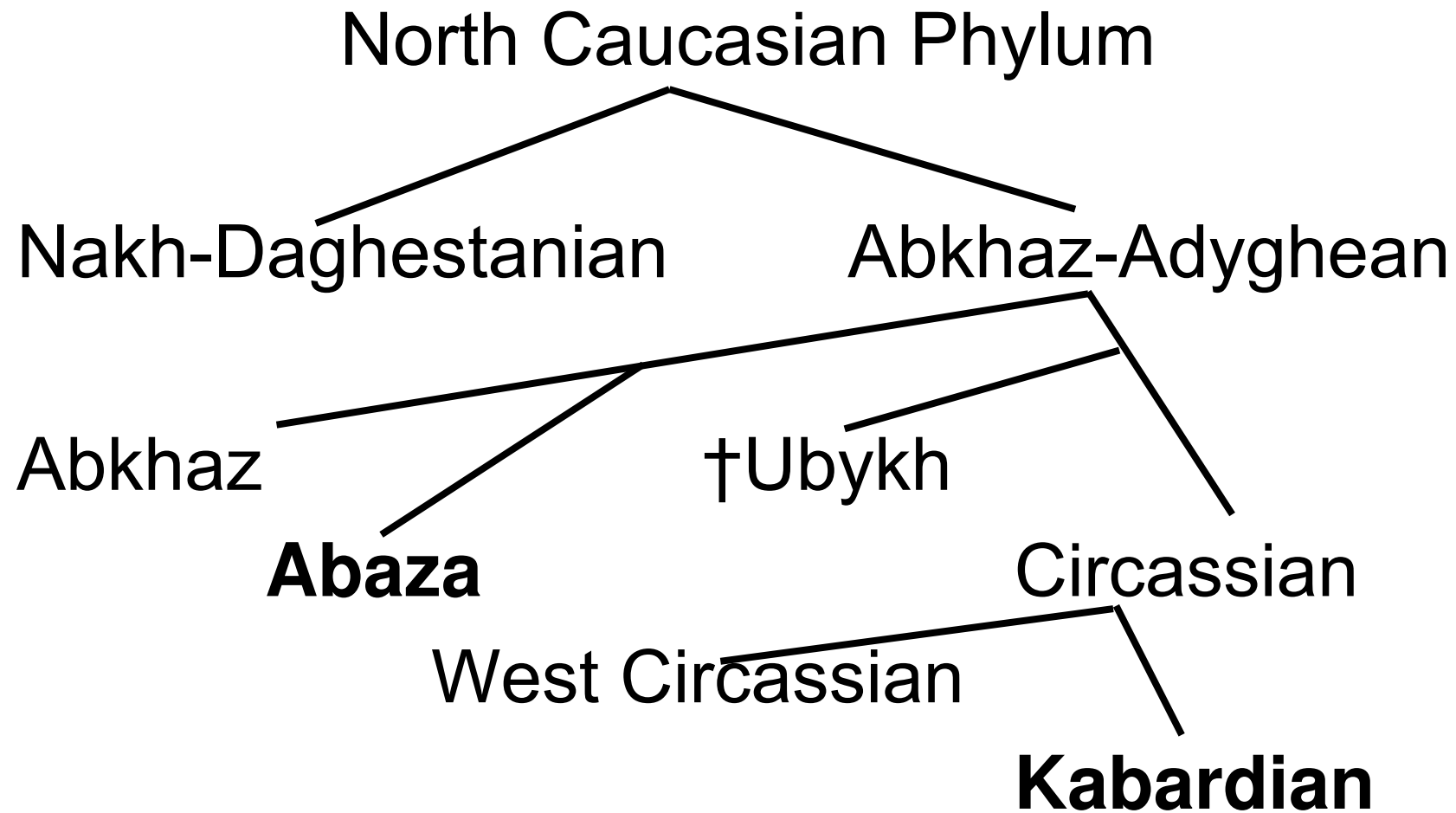
Peter M. Arkadiev

Institute of Slavic Studies of the Russian
Academy of Sciences / Russian State
University for the Humanities, Moscow /
Vilnius University

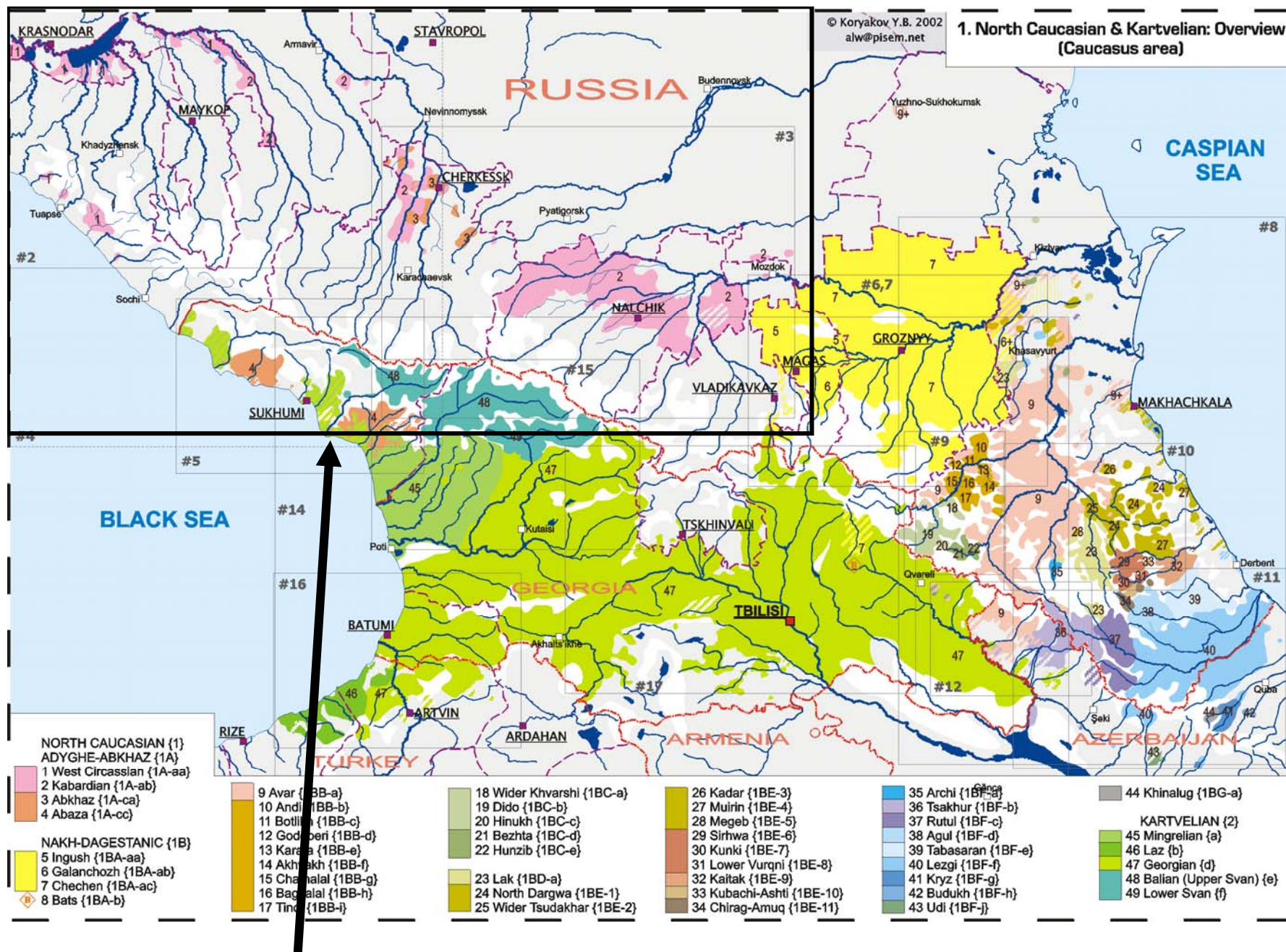
The Northwest Caucasian languages



The Northwest Caucasian languages

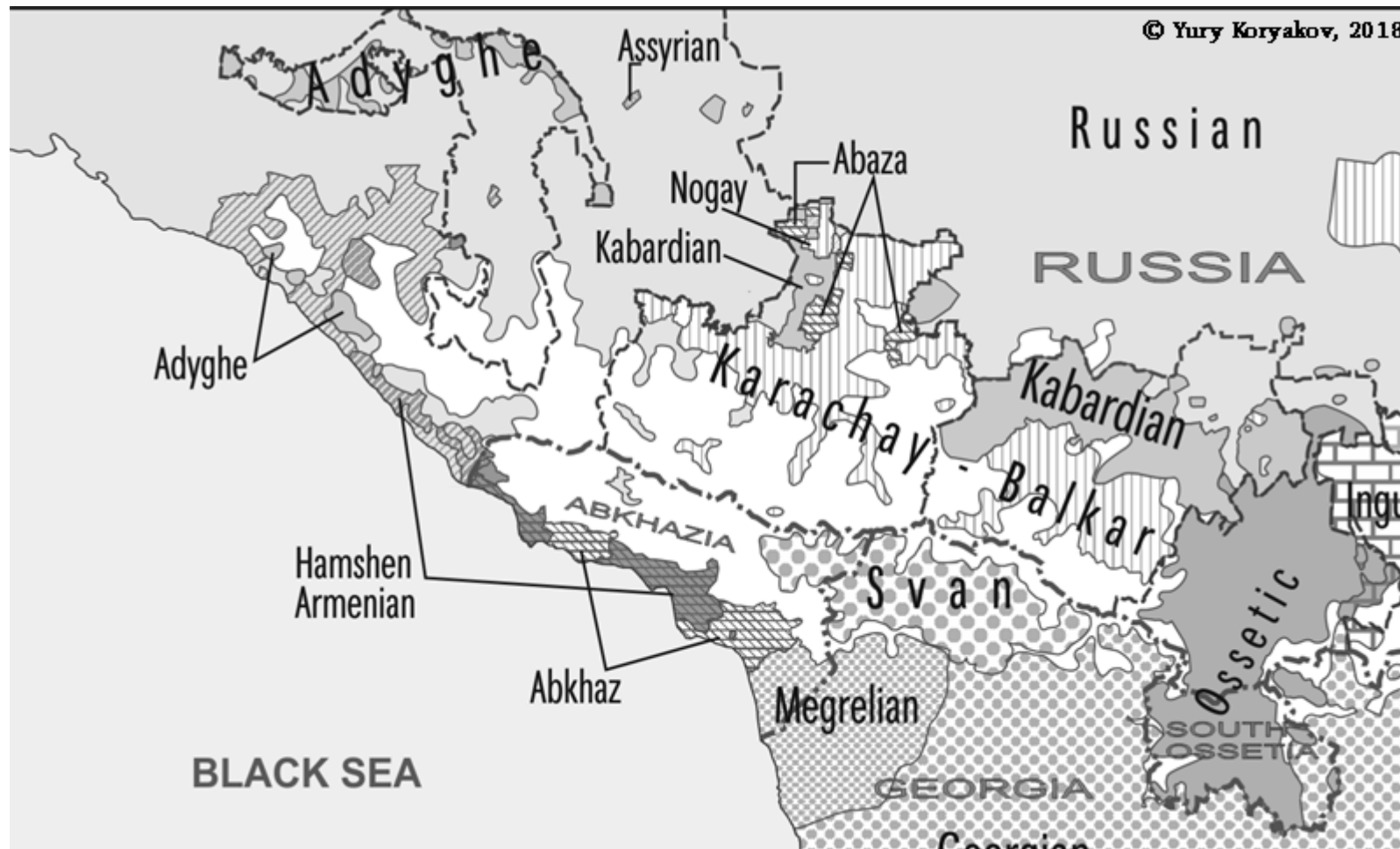




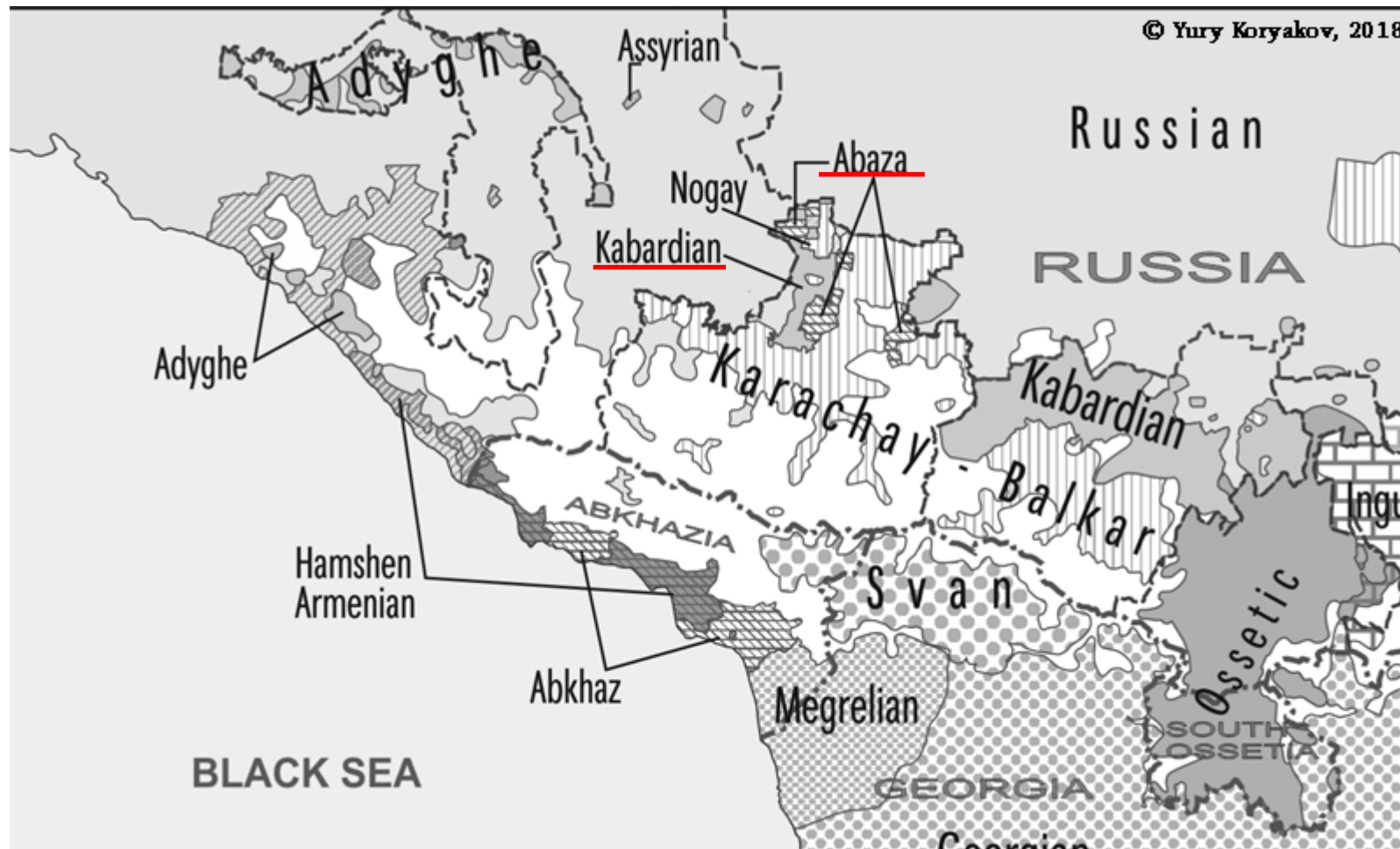


North-West Caucasian languages

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The Northwest Caucasian languages

- Kabardian:
 - more than 500 thousand speakers;
 - Russian republics of Adygeya, Karachay-Cherkesia and Kabardino-Balkaria.

The Northwest Caucasian languages

- Kabardian:
 - more than 500 thousand speakers;
 - Russian republics of Adygeya, Karachay-Cherkesia and Kabardino-Balkaria.
- Abaza:
 - ca. 35 thousand people;
 - several compact districts in Karachay-Cherkesia.

The Northwest Caucasian languages

- rich consonantism and poor vocalism
- polysynthesis
- morphological ergativity:
 - both indexing and flagging in Kabardian;
 - only indexing in Abaza;
- very little distinction between major parts of speech

(Smeets 1984, Kumakhov & Vamling 2009, Testelelets ed. 2009, Lander & Testelelets 2017, Arkadiev & Lander to appear)

The Northwest Caucasian languages

The general West Caucasian verbal template
(Arkadiev & Lander to appear):

prefixes					root	suffixes				
argument structure zone				pre-stem elements	stem (Σ)				endings	
absolutive	subordinators	applicatives and indirect objects	ergative	preradical negation	causative	root	aspectual, modal and evaluative operators	temporal operators	suffixal negation	illocutionary operators or subordinators
1	1	>1	1	1	1 or 2	may be complex	>1	>1	1	>1

Sources of data

- Abaza data comes from the Tapanta dialect as spoken in the village of Inzhich-Chukun (Abazinsky district, Karachay-Cherkesia) collected during fieldtrips organized by the Higher School of Economics and Russian State University for the Humanities in 2017-2019.
- Kabardian data comes from fieldwork in Adygeya in 2011-2016 and published sources.

Verbal person marking

Polypersonalism:

- up to four (or even five) participants can be expressed by means of person-number(-gender) prefixes;
- facilitated by a rich system of semantically specialized applicative prefixes.

Verbal person marking

Polypersonalism:

- pronominal prefixes come in the order
Absolutive - Indirect object(s) - Ergative
- in Abaza, all prefixes are normally overt;
- in Kabardian, 3rd person absolutive and some 3rd person indirect object prefixes are null.

Verbal person marking

- Polypersonalism in Kabardian (Besleney dialect, textual example):

Ø-t-x^w-a-r-jə-ke-ŝ-a

3.ABS-1PL.IO-BEN-3PL.IO-DAT-3SG.ERG-CAUS-do-PST

‘He had them make it for us.’

ABS - absolutive

BEN - benefactive

CAUS - causative

DAT - dative applicative

ERG - ergative

IO - indirect object

Verbal person marking

- Polypersonalism in Kabardian (Besleney dialect, textual example):

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Verbal person marking

- Polypersonalism in Abaza (textual example)

j-ŝə-z-j-á-s-h^w-p̣

3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-BEN-3SG.M.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-say-
NPST.DCL

‘I will tell this to him about you.’

ABS - absolutive

BEN - benefactive

DAT - dative applicative

DCL - declarative

ERG - ergative

IO - indirect object

M - masculine

N - non-human

Verbal person marking

- Polypersonalism in Abaza (textual example)

j-ŝə-z-j-á-s-h^w-p

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ABS - absolutive

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DCL - declarative

ERG - ergative

IO - indirect object

M - masculine

N - non-human

Verbal person marking

- Two types of polyvalent verbs:
 - transitive (Erg, Abs)
 - intransitive (Abs, IO)
- Ditransitive verbs take Erg, IO and Abs.

Smeets (1992), O'Herin (2002), Letuchiy (2013)

Verbal person marking

- Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

sə-b-ew-h transitive

1SG.ABS-2SG.ERG-PRS-carry

‘You (sg) are carrying me.’

Verbal person marking

- Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

sə-b-ew-h

transitive

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‘You (sg) are carrying me.’

s-j-e-ž-a-š intransitive

1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-DAT-wait-PST-DCL

‘I waited for him/her.’

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‘You (sg) are carrying me.’

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1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-DAT-wait-PST-DCL

‘I waited for him/her.’

Verbal person marking

- Abaza (elicited)

wə-l-bá-ṭ

transitive

2SG.M.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-see(AOR)-DCL

‘She saw you (man).’

AOR - aorist (perfective past)

F - feminine

Verbal person marking

- Abaza (elicited)

wə-l-bá-t

transitive

2SG.M.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-see(AOR)-DCL

‘She saw you (man).’

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wə-l-bá-t

transitive

2SG.M.ABS-3SG.F.ERG-see(AOR)-DCL

‘She saw you (man).’

hə-j-pšá-t

intransitive

1PL.ABS-3SG.M.IO-look(AOR)-DCL

‘We looked at him.’

AOR - aorist (perfective past)

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Verbal person marking

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Verbal person marking

- Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):
 \emptyset -*f-e-s-t-a-s* ditransitive
 3.ABS-2PL.IO-DAT-1SG.ERG-give-PST-DCL
 ‘I gave it to you (pl).’

Verbal person marking

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∅-*f*-*e*-*s*-*t*-*a*-*ŝ* ditransitive

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Verbal person marking

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- Abaza (elicited):

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3SG.N.ABS-2PL.IO-1SG.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL

‘I gave it to you (pl).’

Directional prefixes

- All Northwest Caucasian languages have complex systems of spatial marking in the verb.
- Among the various meanings expressed are the deictic 'hither, towards the speaker' (**cislocative**) and 'thither, from the speaker' (**translocative**).

Directional prefixes

	Kabardian	Abaza
cislocative	$\dot{q}(V)$ -	$\text{ʕ}(a)$ -
translocative	$n(V)$ -	$n(a)$ -

Directional prefixes

- In Kabardian, directional prefixes occupy the slot immediately following the Absolutive.

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- In Kabardian, directional prefixes occupy the slot immediately following the Absolutive.
- In Abaza, directional prefixes normally occur closer to the stem, after the applicative complexes.

Directional prefixes

- Kabardian (Besleney dialect, textual example):

wə-qə-čə-h-a

2SG.ABS-CISL-LOC-go.in-PST

wəne-m

house-OBL

‘You came into the house.’

CISL - cislocative

LOC - locative applicative

OBL - oblique case

Directional prefixes

- Kabardian (Besleney dialect, textual example):

*wə-**qə**-čə-h-a*

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wəne-m

house-OBL

‘You came into the house.’

CISL - cislocative

LOC - locative applicative

OBL - oblique case

Directional prefixes

- Abaza (textual example):

čə-r-zə-na-hə-r-χa-rnəs

RFL.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-TRAL-1PL.ERG-CAUS-turn-PURP

‘for us to turn ourselves towards them’

PURP - purposive

RFL - reflexive

TRAL - translocative

Directional prefixes

- Abaza (textual example):

*čə-r-zə-**na**-hə-r-χa-rnəs*

RFL.ABS-**3PL**.IO-**BEN**-**TRAL**-1PL.ERG-CAUS-turn-PURP

‘for us to turn ourselves towards them’

PURP - purposive

RFL - reflexive

TRAL - translocative

Non-canonical inverse

- Kabardian has integrated the directional prefixes into its person paradigms of polyvalent verbs with indirect objects in a fashion reminiscent of inverse marking.

Kumakhov (1971: 253-254), Testeleets (1989), Arkadiev (to appear)

Non-canonical inverse

- The **cislocative** is used whenever the indirect object is higher than the ergative or absolutive subject on the person hierarchy $1 > 2 > 3$, or when a 3rd person IO is more topical than a 3rd person subject.
- The **translocative** is used in $1 > 2$ combinations.

Non-canonical inverse

- Standard Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

Ø-qə-w-jə-t-a-ŝ

3.ABS-CISL-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST-DCL

‘S/he gave it to you.’ 3>2

Non-canonical inverse

- Standard Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

Ø-*qə*-w-jə-t-a-ŝ

3.ABS-CISL-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST-DCL

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- Standard Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

Ø-*q̇ə*-*w-jə-t-a-ŝ*

3.ABS-CISL-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST-DCL

‘S/he gave it to you.’ 3>2

Ø-*q̇ə-zə-b-ew-t*

3.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-2SG.ERG-PRS-give

‘You (sg) give it to me.’ 2>1

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- Standard Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

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3.ABS-CISL-2SG.IO-3SG.ERG-give-PST-DCL

‘S/he gave it to you.’ 3>2

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3.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-2SG.ERG-PRS-give

‘You (sg) give it to me.’ 2>1

Non-canonical inverse

- Standard Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

sə-n-w-ew-že

1SG.ABS-TRAL-2SG.IO-PRS-wait

‘I am waiting for you.’

1>2

Non-canonical inverse

- Standard Kabardian (Kumakhov ed. 2006):

*sə-**n**-w-ew-ž̑e*

1SG.ABS-**TRAL**-2SG.IO-PRS-wait

‘I am waiting for you.’

1>2

Non-canonical inverse

object subject	1	2	3prox	3obv
1		TRAL	∅	∅
2	CISL		∅	∅
3prox	CISL	CISL		∅
3obv	CISL	CISL	CISL	

Non-canonical inverse

- Basically the same pattern is found in the fieldwork data from Abaza, both elicited and textual.

Non-canonical inverse

- Abaza (elicited):

j-ʕa-wá-l-t-ṭ

3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3SG.F.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL

‘She gave it to you (man).’ 3>2

Non-canonical inverse

- Abaza (elicited):

j-ʁa-wə-l-t-ṭ

3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3SG.F.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL

‘She gave it to you (man).’ 3>2

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- Abaza (elicited):

j-ʁa-wǎ-l-t-ṭ

3SG.N.ABS-CISL-2SG.M.IO-3SG.F.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL

‘She gave it to you (man).’ 3>2

h-na-w-pšǎ-ṭ

1PL.ABS-TRAL-2SG.M.IO-look(AOR)-DCL

‘We looked at you (man).’ 1>2

Non-canonical inverse

- Abaza (elicited):

*j-**ʕa**-wǎ-l-t-ṭ*

3SG.N.ABS-**CISL**-2SG.M.IO-3SG.F.ERG-give(AOR)-DCL

‘She gave it to you (man).’ 3>2

*h-**na**-w-pšǎ-ṭ*

1PL.ABS-**TRAL**-2SG.M.IO-look(AOR)-DCL

‘We looked at you (man).’ 1>2

Non-canonical inverse

- Abaza (textual examples):

h-an

d-ʕa-s-çʕa-t

1PL.IO-mother

3SG.H.ABS-CISL-1SG.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL

‘My mother asked me.’

3>1

Non-canonical inverse

- Abaza (textual examples):

h-an

*d-**ɬa**-s-çɬa-t*

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3SG.H.ABS-**CISL**-1SG.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL

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1PL.IO-mother 3SG.H.ABS-**CISL**-1SG.IO-ask(AOR)-DCL

‘My mother asked me.’ 3>1

s-na-wə-ça-pš-əj-t

1SG.ABS-TRAL-2SG.M.IO-LOC-look-PRS-DCL

‘I look at you (man).’ 1>2

Non-canonical inverse

- Abaza (textual examples):

h-an *d-**ɬa**-s-çɬa-t*

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‘My mother asked me.’ 3>1

*s-**na**-wə-çə-pš-əj-t*

1SG.ABS-**TRAL**-2SG.M.IO-LOC-look-PRS-DCL

‘I look at you (man).’ 1>2

Non-canonical inverse

object subject	1	2	3prox	3obv
1		TRAL	∅	∅
2	CISL		∅	∅
3prox	CISL	CISL		∅
3obv	CISL	CISL	CISL	

A case of pattern borrowing

- Pattern borrowing:
“re-shaping of language-internal structures” when “it is the patterns of distribution, of grammatical and semantic meaning, and of formal-syntactic arrangement .. that are modeled on an external source” without transfer of phonological substance (Matras & Sakel 2007: 829–830).

A case of pattern borrowing

- The use of the cislocative prefix in person paradigms is a feature Kabardian shares with its close relative West Circassian, which has never been in close contact with Abaza.

Kumakhov (1971: 253-254), Arkadiev (to appear)

A case of pattern borrowing

- The inverse-like uses of directional prefixes are not attested in Abkhaz, a close relative of Abaza spoken on the other side of the Caucasian range and not in contact with Kabardian.

A case of pattern borrowing

- Abkhaz (elicited):

s-aš'a *a-ɥnəḱa* *a-ɥəza*

1SG.IO-brother DEF-home DEF-friend

d-aa-j-ga-jt

3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3SG.M.ERG-bring(AOR)-DCL

‘My brother brought a friend home.’

A case of pattern borrowing

- Abkhaz (elicited):

s-aš'a *a-ɥnəḱa* *a-ɥəza*

1SG.IO-brother DEF-home DEF-friend

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s-aš'a

1SG.IO-brother

d-(#aa-)bə-χ^wa-pš-wa-jt

3SG.H.ABS-(#CISL)-2SG.F.IO-LOC-
look-PRS-DCL

‘My brother is looking after you (woman).’

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- Abkhaz (elicited):

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3SG.H.ABS-(#CISL-)2SG.F.IO-LOC-
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‘My brother is looking after you (woman).’

A case of pattern borrowing

- The quasi-inverse use of the cislocative is recorded in all grammars of Kabardian, while for Abaza this phenomenon is not yet recognized and is conspicuously ignored by existing sources (e.g. Genko 1955, Tabulova 1976, Lomtaticidze et. al. 1989, O'Herin 2002).

A case of pattern borrowing

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A case of pattern borrowing

- Abaza has been in close contact with Kabardian for several centuries.
- Most speakers of Abaza also know and use Kabardian.
- It is common for Abaza men to marry Kabardian women, who then to learn Abaza.
- Abaza has numerous lexical and some morphological borrowings, as well as morphosemantic calques, from Kabardian (Xaratokova 2011).



The Kabardian-speaking Khabez



The Abaza-speaking Inzhich-Chukun



A case of pattern borrowing

- In their inverse-like uses, the Abaza deictic prefixes mirror not only the function, but also the position of their Kabardian models.

A case of pattern borrowing

- In their inverse-like uses, the Abaza deictic prefixes mirror not only the function, but also the position of their Kabardian models.
- While in the spatial meanings the Abaza deictic prefixes follow the applicatives, in the inverse-like function they precede them.

A case of pattern borrowing

- Abaza (textual examples):

j-rə-z-ʕá-ʕ-ga-ṭ

3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-CISL-1PL.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL

‘We brought it to them.’ (deictic)

A case of pattern borrowing

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d-ʕa-rə-z-çʕa-t

3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL

‘Then he asked them.’ (inverse-like)

A case of pattern borrowing

- Abaza (textual examples):

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3SG.N.ABS-3PL.IO-BEN-CISL-1PL.ERG-carry(AOR)-DCL

‘We brought it to them.’ (deictic)

d-ʕa-rə-z-çʕa-t

3SG.H.ABS-CISL-3PL.IO-BEN-ask(AOR)-DCL

‘Then he asked them.’ (inverse-like)

A case of pattern borrowing

- Kabardian:

Abs	Deictic, Inverse	Appl	Erg	Root
-----	---------------------	------	-----	------

- Abaza (reconstructed):

Abs	Appl	Deictic	Erg	Root
-----	------	---------	-----	------

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Abs	Deictic, Inverse	Appl	Erg	Root
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A case of pattern borrowing

- Kabardian:

Abs	Deictic, Inverse	Appl	Erg	Root
-----	---------------------	------	-----	------

- Abaza (attested):

Abs	Inverse	Appl	Deictic	Erg	Root
-----	---------	------	---------	-----	------

- Abaza (reconstructed):

Abs	Appl	Deictic	Erg	Root
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Conclusions

- Abaza has borrowed a typologically non-trivial inverse-like use of deictic verbal prefixes on the model of Kabardian, its distant relative.

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- This case of pattern borrowing is interesting because:
 - it involves two genealogically related polysynthetic languages with complex templatic morphology;
 - it shows contact-induced replication of a typological rarity;
 - its result is not just functional extension of an affix but a creation of a new slot in a morphological template as well.

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- This case of pattern borrowing is interesting because:
 - it involves complexification on both paradigmatic and syntagmatic dimensions;
 - this complexification is “gratuitous”, since as a result of borrowing no functional gap is filled, and neither has the Abaza person marking become more transparent.

ŝəzɪ^wádaχat!



An aerial photograph of a town nestled in a valley. The town is surrounded by green hills and fields. In the background, there are more hills and a body of water. The sky is clear and blue.

them fjæpsew!

ŝəzɪ^wádaχat!

Thank you!

them fjæpsew!

ŝəzʱwádaχat!



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