

Travaux de Linguistique Romane

Patterns, variants and change:
Through the prism of morphology

ELIPHI

TraLiRo – Morphologie, syntaxe, grammaticographie 5

Collection dirigée par Marc Duval, Franz Rainer et Lene Schøsler

TRALIRO

TRAVAUX DE LINGUISTIQUE ROMANE

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Johannes Schnitzer, Elisabeth Peters (ed.)

Patterns, variants and change:
Through the prism of morphology

Studies in honor of Franz Rainer

ELIPHII

EDITIONS DE LINGUISTIQUE ET DE PHILOGIE

This work was published with the financial support of Vienna University of Economics and Business, Department of Business Communication.



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ISBN 978-2-37276-079-9

EAN 9782372760799

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Franz Rainer (January 2025)

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WIRTSCHAFTSUNIVERSITÄT WIEN

From derivation to inflection and back: Variation and change in the Abaza caritive morphology

Per Franz con ammirazione e riconoscenza

1. Introduction¹

In this article I present a case-study of caritive morphology of Abaza, a polysynthetic Northwest Caucasian language of Russia, which, as I hope to show, is interesting from the perspectives of both synchronic description and diachronic analysis. From a purely synchronic viewpoint, Abaza caritive marker(s) show(s) rather peculiar behaviour, striding the border between stem-based derivation and word- or even phrase-based inflection and creating forms that do not fit straightforwardly into the system of word-classes of the language. Diachronically, as I shall argue, the interspeaker variation that I was able to observe through targeted elicitation during fieldwork, points towards a change in progress, which, while proceeding through familiar pathways of reanalysis and extension, creates the aforementioned peculiar synchronic state.

The structure of the article is as follows. In sections 2 and 3 I shall briefly introduce, respectively, the notion of caritive and the necessary information about Abaza and the materials my investigation is based upon. Section 4 provides the most general overview of the Abaza caritive and its variation. In sections 5 and 6 I shall present my empirical findings, and section 7 will offer a discussion and conclusions.

2. Caritive and caritive morphology

Caritive (synonyms: privative, abessive) is usually understood as a construction denoting a lack or absence of something (Montero Curiel 2015, 1353-1354). A more

¹ This article is based on the presentations I gave at the conference “Caritive Constructions in the Languages of the World” (Institute of Linguistic Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, online, 2020), at the 54th Annual Meeting of the Societas Linguistica Europaea (online, 2021), and at the 20th International Morphology Meeting (Budapest, 2022). I thank the participants of these events for their useful feedback, as well as Viacheslav Chirikba, Yury Lander and Sofia Oskolskaya for their comments on the first version of this article. I express my immense gratitude to all the native speakers of Abaza for their patience and generosity, as well as to Bilal Khasarokov and Ramazan Mkhitse for their organisational support. All faults and shortcomings are mine.

precise typologically-oriented definition is given by Oskolskaya *et al.* (2020, 21-22), cf. also Oskolskaya (2023, 560), where two conditions are proposed, one semantic (the construction describes non-involvement of a participant in a situation) and one syntactic (this non-involvement is expressed as a modifier of another situation, rather than as a main predicate of a sentence). Thus defined, the caritive domain includes both adnominal (e.g. *a man **without** beard*) and adverbial/depictive constructions (*I came **without** money*), but excludes predicates expressing lacking or negated possession (*I **don't** have money*).

Expression of caritive semantics by means of bound morphology is well-attested in the languages of the world (e.g. Stolz *et al.* 2007). Most Western European languages have caritive affixes only for the adnominal function (*a **beardless** man*) and employ prepositions in both adverbial and adnominal domains (see the English examples above), formations like *fearlessly* being highly restricted (as testified by e.g. the infelicitous **I came moneylessly*). However, the adverbial caritive domain can be served by bound morphology just as well, as evidenced by e.g. caritive, also called abessive, cases in the Uralic languages, see the Estonian example in (1).

Estonian (Uralic; Tamm 2011, 861)

- (1) *Ta läks koju mütsi-ta.*
 s/he go.PST.3SG home.ILL hat-CAR
 ‘She went home without a hat.’

Interestingly, a number of diverse languages employ the same caritive morphology for adnominal and adverbial contexts, consider the Erzya examples in (2).

Erzya (Uralic; Hamari 2014, 168–169; glossing adapted)

- (2) (a) *teke potmaks-tomo latk-s va-iñ*
 as_if bottom-CAR gorge-ILL sink-PST.1SG
 ‘(it was) as if I sank into a bottomless gorge.’
- (b) *velat-iñ skal-tomo*
 return-PST.1SG cow-CAR
 ‘I returned without a cow.’

Apparently, such functional duality leads to caritive formations often showing peculiar constellations of properties striding the inflection-derivation divide, see e.g. Hamari (2014) on Mordvin and Grascenkov (2015) on Turkic and Mongolic. For instance, in Buryat the caritive form can, on the one hand, be used adverbially as a caritive case, example (3a), and, on the other, function as a secondary predicate with overt case concord, example (3b).

Buryat (Mongolic; Grascenkov 2015, 9, 11; transcription and glosses adapted)

- (3) (a) *xor xübüün-güj duula-na*
 choir boy-CAR sing-PRS
 ‘The choir sings without boys.’

- (b) *bi teren-ie tugal-guj-en' medexeb*
 1SG that-ACC calf-CAR-ACC.3 know
 'I know that she is without her calf (lit. I know her calfless).'

Below I shall present and discuss a somewhat similar case from Abaza, a polysynthetic Northwest Caucasian language with only very limited and peripheral case-marking.

3. Basics of Abaza

Abaza (*abáza bəzšá*, ISO 639-3 *abq*) belongs to the Abkhaz-Abaza branch of the Northwest Caucasian (Abkhaz-Adyghean) family and is spoken by ca. 38,000 people (according to Census 2010), mainly in the Abazinskij district of the Karachay-Cherkes Republic in Russia, as well as by ca. 10,000 people in Turkey (Chirikba 2012) (more up-to-date figures are unavailable or unreliable). In Russia, Abaza is one of the official languages of the Karachay-Cherkes Republic and has a written standard and some limited presence in the media, although the actual use of the language is largely restricted to colloquial situations and rural environments. Most speakers living in Russia are bilingual in Abaza and Russian (some also in Kabardian). Even though Abaza is classified by Ethnologue as “stable” rather than “endangered”, similarly to other minority languages of Russia it is under a constant pressure from Russian. The main dialect of Abaza is Tapanta, often considered to be the only “Abaza-proper” variant (see e.g. the genealogical tree of the Abkhaz-Abaza dialects in Chirikba 2003, 14), itself subject to some diatopic variation. Abaza is rather underdescribed; published sources include the grammars by Genko (1955) and Tabulova (1976) (in Russian, neither of them comprehensive), a short sketch by Lomtadidze *et al.* (1989) and a generative account of certain aspects of morphosyntax by O’Herin (2002) (in English).

The data used in this article have been collected during fieldtrips to the villages Inzhich-Chukun in 2019 and Krasnyj Vostok in 2021, as well as through work with a number of speakers from different villages in Cherkessk in 2021 and online in 2022. The varieties spoken in Inzhich-Chukun and a number of neighbouring villages within the Abazinskij district are very close to each other; by contrast, the variety spoken in Krasnyj Vostok, which is located about 50 kilometers to the east of Inzhich-Chukun outside of the Abazinskij district, has a number of distinct features, mainly pertaining to the phonology. Due to the fact that the available Abaza texts do not contain enough representative examples of the caritive, the discussion below is almost entirely based on elicited data of two types: (i) Abaza translations of Russian stimuli and (ii) Abaza examples constructed by myself and presented to speakers for acceptability judgment and translation. All in all, I was able to work with 20 native speakers (7 men and 13 women) originating from five different places, aged from 18 to 73 at the time of elicitation, but most of them over 50 (i.e. born before 1970). Most of the speakers have college or university education, a considerable number of them

being teachers at local schools. In the elicited examples below I schematically provide information about the speaker’s place of origin (el = Elburgan, ic = Inzhich Chukun, kb = Kubina, kv = Krasnyj Vostok, ps = Psyzh), date of birth and gender. Examples from texts are marked “t” and provided with the information about either the place of recording or published source.

Like the other languages of the Northwest Caucasian family (see Hewitt 2005; Arkadiev / Lander 2020; Arkadiev 2023), Abaza is polysynthetic and predominantly morphologically ergative. It shows consistent head-marking, i.e. all arguments in a clause are indexed by prefixal pronominal markers on the verb, and the same pertains to adnominal possessors and complements of postpositions; overt nominals thus cross-referenced lack any case-marking. In addition to pronominal markers, Abaza verbs include affixes expressing valency (causative, numerous applicatives, reflexive and reciprocal), evaluative, aspectual, modal, temporal and spatial meanings, negation, as well as the independent vs. dependent status of predication. Table 1 schematically presents the linear structure of the verbal complex.

		“preverbs”								“stem”					“endings”				
-12	-11	-10	-9	-8	-7	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5	+6	+7
absolutive	subordinators, negation	repetitive	potential, involuntary	applicatives	directional preverbs	locative preverbs	indirect object	ergative	negation	causative	sociative	root	directional suffixes	event operators	plural	aspect, tense	negation	past tense, modality	subordinators, force, emphasis

Table 1: The Abaza verbal template

By contrast, the nominal morphology of Abaza is rather impoverished. Nouns inflect for possession by means of the same set of prefixes as is used for the indexing of indirect objects in verbs (e.g. *s-an* ‘my mother’), as well as for definiteness (prefix *a-*, e.g. *a-phwəs* ‘the woman’), indefiniteness (suffix *-k*, also used as a numeral ‘one’; e.g. *phwəs-k* ‘a woman’), and plural (suffix *-kwa*, e.g. *á-maša-kwa* ‘(the) holes’; human nouns also take the suffix *-ča*, often combined with *-kwa*, e.g. *j-ájš’-ča-kwa* 3SG.M.PR-brother-HPL-PL ‘his brothers’). There is neither core nor locative case-marking, the only case-like suffixes being the instrumental *-la*, the adverbial *-ta* and the caritive to be discussed below. Demonstrative pronouns inflect distinctly from nouns, with e.g. special forms for plural (cf. *awəj* ‘that’ vs. *awát* ‘those’), and have locative forms with the suffix *-la*.

An important feature of Abaza nominal morphosyntax is the so-called *nominal complex*, a compound-like structure consisting of the head noun and its non-referential modifiers such as adjectives, numerals and nouns denoting material or origin (see Lander 2017 on the nominal complex in the related West Circassian). The nominal complex, even if sometimes consisting of several prosodic domains (as indicated by stress), forms a single unit for the purposes of inflection, i.e. the possessive and definite prefixes attach to its leftmost constituent, while the suffixes of plurality and case occur on its rightmost element, which is often an adjective, see example (4a). The only inflectional suffix occurring on the head noun is the human plural marker *-ĉa*, in contrast to the general plural marker, which always attaches to the whole complex, see example (4b). (In the examples here and below, the components of the nominal complex will be separated by an en-dash [-]).

Abaza²

- (4) (a) *jə-nbž'ás^w-bzəj-ĭ*
 3SG.M.PR-friend-good-INDF
 'a good friend of his' (t_ic)
- (b) *a-bəzša-dərəš^w-ĉa-dəw-k^{ra}*
 DEF-language-scientist-HPL-big-PL
 'the great linguists' (t_Abzashta)

The boundaries between nominals and verbs in Abaza are quite permeable. First, there are productive derivational affixes, such as the causative prefix *r-* and the inchoative suffix *-χa*, which can attach to nominals and turn them into verbs, see example (5). Second and even more importantly, in principle any nominal can occur in the predicative position without a copula and take the appropriate morphology, i.e. the absolutive personal prefixes and the TAM-suffixes occurring with stative verbs, as shown in example (6).

- (5) *h-an-ĉət-χa* *asqan*
 1PL.ABS-REL.TMP-adolescent-INC time
 'when we became adolescents' (t_ic)
- (6) *sará s-an d-adəg'á-b*
 1SG 1SG.PR-mother 3SG.H.ABS-Circassian-NPST.DCL
 'My mother is Circassian.' (t_ic)

With this information in mind, we can now turn to the Abaza caritive.

4. The Abaza caritive: an overview

Abaza has two caritive suffixes, *-da* and *-d(a)?a*, whose treatment in the descriptions (if they are mentioned at all) is somewhat controversial. Judging by the data in the Abaza-Russian dictionaries (e.g. Tugov 1967), the suffix *-da* attaches to nouns and

² Hereafter, I won't indicate the language name 'Abaza' in the examples.

yields caritive adjectives (e.g. *bž'ə* 'voice' → *bž'ə-da* 'silent'), while the latter can be further turned into adverbials by means of the suffix *-ʔa* (*bž'ə-da* 'silent' → *bž'ə-da-ʔa* 'silently'), and none of these formations is particularly productive. Genko (1955, 118, 120-121) speaks about the "caritive case" with the suffix *-dʔa*, indicating that it arose from the caritive adjectives in *-da* by the addition of the locative suffix *-ʔa*³. The later and more detailed grammar by Tabulova (1976, 60-61, 79), however, treats *-da*, *-dʔa* and *-daʔa* as variants of a "derivational" morpheme forming caritive nouns (e.g. *nĉa* 'god' → *nĉada* 'atheist'), adjectives and adverbials. As will be shown below, the actual situation is quite complex and is evidently in flux, revealing a state of transition from a more conservative system close to that described by Genko (1955), which was published posthumously based on the materials collected in 1920-ies and early 1930-ies, to a more innovative system.

Based on the data I was able to collect, I tentatively distinguish between three patterns of caritive formation in Abaza, whose features are schematised in (7) – (9) below.

(7) The 'conservative' pattern (five speakers):

- (a) *-da* and *-dʔa* are clearly distinguished;
- (b) *-da* forms caritive adjectives and behaves as a stem-based derivational marker;
- (c) *-dʔa* forms caritive adverbials and behaves as a phrase-based case marker.

(8) The "innovative" pattern (nine speakers):

- (a) *-dʔa* alone is productively used, *-da* being attested only vestigially;
- (b) *-dʔa* functions both as a case marker and as a caritive adjectivaliser.

(9) The "transitional" pattern (six speakers):

- (a) in the function of the derivational adjectivaliser, speakers with different degrees of consistency allow free variation between *-da* and *-dʔa*;
- (b) in the function of the caritive case marker, only *-dʔa* occurs (with the exception of one of the youngest speakers, who shows free variation in all contexts).

Given that the pool of native speakers I was able to consult is far from being representative, I can report only a number of very tentative observations regarding the possible sociolinguistic correlates of the observed patterns. First, the mean year of birth of the speakers showing the "conservative" pattern is 1960, none of them being born after 1968, while the mean age of birth of the speakers showing the innovative pattern is 1972. However, of the two eldest speakers (both born in 1949), neither shows a consistent "conservative" pattern. Second, the "transitional" pattern is particularly well

³ An alternative etymology is advanced by Lomtatidze (2011, 116), who links the cognate suffix *-qa* in the Ashkharywa dialect of Abaza to the root of the locational verb. These two etymologies, however, in fact do not contradict each other, since the verbal root can underly the *-ʔa/-qa* element both in the caritive case and in the locative forms of demonstratives.

attested in the geographically isolated village of Krasnyj Vostok, where it is attested also with the youngest speakers. Still, even if inconclusive from a sociolinguistic perspective, the relative chronology of the patterns appears straightforward from the point of view of internal reconstruction and is corroborated by Genko's materials coming from the speakers born in the end of the 19th century. In the following, I shall present a detailed description of the morphosyntax of the Abaza caritive, starting with the "conservative" pattern in section 5 and proceeding with the deviations from it in section 6.

5. The "conservative" pattern

As mentioned above, the hallmark of the "conservative" pattern is the consistent formal distinction between the adnominal and adverbial caritives, as shown in examples (10a–b).

- (10) (a) *sabəj-da* 'childless'
 (b) *sabəj-dʔa* *čpš'ará* *h-ca-d*
 child-CAR vacation 1PL.ABS-go-DCL
 'We went on vacation without children.' (kv1974f)

The adnominal caritive is expressed by the suffix *-da*, which has all the properties of a derivational morpheme. First, it attaches only to common nouns, being generally disallowed with proper names and pronouns, as well as with nominals containing any determiners or markers of referentiality such as possessive prefixes, the definite prefix *a-* or the indefinite suffix *-k*. Likewise, it normally cannot take into its scope any modifiers such as adjectives or numerals. The resulting forms in *-da* behave as adjectives that can either occur adnominally within the nominal complex or as predicates. In the adnominal function, caritive adjectives in *-da* usually occur after the noun, like other adjectives, example (11a), and thus attach the inflectional suffixes pertaining to the whole complex, such as the indefinite *-k*, example (11b), general plural *-kʷa*, example (11c), and instrumental *-la*, example (11d).

- (11) (a) *a-ž-čʰwá-da*
 DEF-COW-HORN-CAR
 'the cow without horns' (kv1954f)
 (b) [*ʃʷəčʷʰəš-pčá-da*]-*k* *d-ʃa-j-d*
 man-beard-CAR-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-COME-DCL
 'A beardless man came.' (kv1961m)
 (c) *a-[cəgʷ-qʷš-da]-kʷa* *g'-pšʒa-m*
 DEF-cat-fur-CAR-PL NEG.EMP-beautiful-NEG
 'Cats without fur are ugly.' (ps1953f)
 (d) *aslán* *j-[čə-čəqʷá-da]-la* *d-ʃa-j-χ-d*
 Aslan 3SG.M.PR-horse-tail-CAR-INS 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-COME-RE-DCL
 'Aslan returned on his tailless horse.' (ps1953f)

In the predicative position, caritive forms in *-da* can occur either on their own, as in example (12a), or as a part of the nominal complex, example (12b), in both cases taking the appropriate verbal morphology, including aspectual and evaluative affixes, example (12c).

- (12) (a) *sə-nxartá-da-p̄*
 1SG.ABS-work-CAR-NPST.DCL
 ‘I am jobless.’ (ic1968f)
- (b) *s-pa* *d-[sabáj-zʃʷá-da]-b*
 1SG.PR-son 3SG.H.ABS-child-illness-CAR-NPST.DCL
 ‘My son is a healthy child.’ (kv1968f)
- (c) *s-apxʷága-da-məʃʷa-rkʷa-b*
 1SG.ABS-textbook-CAR-DPR-CNT-NPST.DCL
 ‘Unfortunately, I still don’t have textbooks.’ (kv1961m)

Finally, caritive formations in *-da*, like other adjectives, can serve as input to inchoative and causative derivations, see examples in (13).

- (13) (a) *wə-zʃʷa-da-χa-t*, *s-ašʷa!*
 2SG.M.ABS-illness-CAR-INC-DCL 1SG.PR-brother
 ‘Be healthy, my brother!’ (t_AbPo) (a traditional greeting)
- (b) *wə-z-r-axčʷá-da-da?*
 2SG.M.ABS-REL.ERG-CAUS-money-CAR-QH
 ‘Who made you penniless?’ (ps1953f)

One may conclude that the caritive suffix *-da* is a stem-based derivational marker similar to other denominal derivational suffixes of Abaza.

The adverbial caritive (the caritive case) is formed by the suffix *-dʷa*, as shown above in example (10b) and below in example (14). This suffix, as already said above, is historically a combination of the caritive adjectivaliser *-da* with the no longer productive locative suffix *-ʷa*, thus *bžʷə* ‘voice’ → *bžʷə-da* ‘silent’ → [*bžʷə-da*]-*ʷa* ‘silently’. It will be shown, however, that the adverbial caritive is not a mirror-image of the adnominal caritive and can no longer be analysed as a combination of morphemes.

- (14) *a-phʷəspa* *karandaš-dʷa* *d-ʃʷəj-t*
 DEF-girl pencil-CAR 3SG.H.ABS-write-PRS-DCL
 ‘The girl draws without a pencil.’ (ic1957f)

First, on a purely formal side, at least in the subdialect of Krasnyj Vostok this suffix is often pronounced with a voiceless stop /-tʷa/ or even with a glottalised stop /-tʷa/ resulting from the merger of the erstwhile /d/ with the glottal stop. Second, the distribution of the caritive case marker is markedly different from that of the caritive adjectivaliser. While the latter, as has been shown above, only attaches to bare stems of common nouns, the former is acceptable with proper names, example (15a), and pronouns, example (15b), as well as with special plural forms of demonstratives, example (15c), and human nouns, example (15d).

- (15) (a) *aslan muradin-dʔa d-ʕa-j-t*
 Aslan Muradin-CAR 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-come-DCL
 ‘Aslan came without Muradin.’ (kv1974f)
- (b) *sara-dʔa šə-m-ca-n!*
 1SG-CAR 2PL.ABS-NEG-go-PROH
 ‘Don’t go without me!’ (kv1974f)
- (c) *awat-dʔa hə-nɣara j-narza-ta, dahʷra*
 DIST.PL-CAR 1PL.PR-work REL.ABS-finish-ADV success
a-ma-ta j-šʷakʷə-m-gələ-rnəs awa-šə-n
 3SG.IO-have-ADV 3SG.N.ABS-LOC-NEG-stand-PURP can-FUT-PST
 ‘Without them our work could not have been successfully accomplished.’ (t_AbRu)
- (d) *šə-ʕʷza-ča-dʔa š-ʕá-m-jə-n*
 2PL.PR-friend-HPL-CAR 2PL.ABS-CSL-NEG-go-PROH
 ‘Don’t come without your friends!’ (ps1962f)

Moreover, the caritive case suffix takes scope over whole noun phrases, which can include postnominal adjectives, example (16a), possessive prefixes, example (16b), demonstratives, example (16c), and even relative clauses, example (16d).

- (16) (a) [*hʷaspa-cará*]-*tʔa* *čʷáqʷa gʷ-s-zə-pq-wa-m*
 knife-sharp-CAR bread NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-cut-IPF-NEG
 ‘I can’t slice bread without a sharp knife.’ (kv1954f)
- (b) [*šə-hʷaspa*]-*tʔa* *čʷáqʷa gʷ-s-zə-pq-wa-m*
 1SG.PR-knife-CAR bread NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-cut-IPF-NEG
 ‘I can’t slice bread without my knife.’ (kv1954f)
- (c) [*arəj a-hʷaspá*]-*tʔa* *čʷáqʷa gʷ-s-zə-pq-wa-m*
 PROX DEF-knife-CAR bread NEG.EMP-1SG.IO-POT-cut-IPF-NEG
 ‘I can’t slice bread without this knife.’ (kv1954f)
- (d) [*s-an j-ʕa-sə-l-tə-z*]
 1SG.PR-mother REL.ABS-CSL-1SG.IO-3SG.F.ERG-give-PST.NFIN
a-mš-čʷər-χʷəc]-*tʔa* *sə-gʷ-z-a.ča.č-wa-m*
 DEF-bear-kid-little-CAR 1SG.ABS-NEG.EMP-POT-fall_asleep-IPF-NEG
 ‘I can’t fall asleep without the teddy-bear my mother gave me.’ (kv1954f)

Some speakers even allow the caritive case-marker to attach to nominal complexes containing caritive adjectives in *-da*, as in example (17).

- (17) %*aslán [j-č-çqʷá-da]-dʔa d-ʕa-j-χ-t*
 Aslan 3SG.M.PR-horse-tail-CAR-CAR 3SG.H.ABS-CSL-come-RE-DCL
 ‘Aslan returned without his tailless horse.’ (kb1964m)

The caritive case marker *-dʔa* is obviously a product of *affix telescoping*, a widespread mechanism of morphological change (Haspelmath 1995; Stump 2022), schematised in (18).

- (18) $X-da + -ʔa \rightarrow [X-da]-ʔa \rightarrow X-[da-ʔa] \rightarrow X-dʔa$

This process must have been facilitated by the fact that the locative/adverbial suffix *-ʔa* itself has largely fallen into misuse, now being restricted to demonstrative forms like *araʔa* ‘here’. Most notably, however, this development has resulted in the reanalysis of a combination of a stem-based derivational suffix with an unproductive inflectional suffix as a new productive inflectional suffix with phrasal scope.

Nevertheless, the caritive case-marker is still not fully parallel to the only other genuine oblique case suffix in Abaza, viz. the instrumental *-la*. It is usually disallowed in combination with the general plural, example (19a), and the indefinite suffixes, example (20a), while no such constraints are observed for the instrumental, as shown in examples (19b), (20b). The reasons for these co-occurrence restrictions are unclear.

- (19) (a) **h-sabəj-kʷa-dʔa* *čpsš'ará* *h-ca-ʔ*
 1PL.PR-child-PL-CAR vacation 1PL.ABS-go-DCL
 ‘We went on a vacation without our children.’ (ic1980f)
- (b) *a-bacaçaʔa-kʷa-la* *s-a-gʷ-lə-r.cə-d*
 DEF-rod-PL-INS 1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-beat-DCL
 ‘She beat me with rods.’ (t_ic)
- (20) (a) **arəpχ'aʃ-bzəj-k-dʔa* *abáza-bəzšá*
 teacher-good-INDF-CAR Abaza-language
g'ə-w-zə-r-dər-wa-šə-m
 NEG.EMP-2SG.M.IO-POT-CAUS-know-IPF-FUT-NEG
 ‘You won’t learn Abaza without a good teacher.’ (kb1964m)
- (b) *sara ša* *š-pnə* *wəs-dəw-k-la* *s-ša-j-ʔ*
 1SG 2PL 2PL.PR-at matter-big-INDF-INS 1SG.ABS-CSL-come-DCL
 ‘I came to you with an important matter.’ (Tabulova 1976, 92)

The speakers who follow the “conservative” pattern quite consistently disallow the adverbial caritive forms in *-dʔa* in adnominal and predicative positions. One of my consultants, a philologist clearly aware of the prescriptive norm of the written standard, formulated it in the following way: “When the word denotes a property, *-da* is used; *-dʔa* is used to describe an action carried out without something or somebody.” However, as will be shown in the next section, by no means all speakers follow this neat division between the adnominal and the adverbial domains.

6. Deviations from the “conservative” pattern

For most of the Abaza speakers I was able to consult, the distinction between the caritive adjectivaliser *-da* and the caritive case-marker *-dʔa* just described has become blurred. Some speakers, whom I assign to the “transitional” pattern, allow *-dʔa* alongside *-da* in the function of caritive adjectivaliser, the two thus becoming allomorphs in apparently free variation, as shown in example (21).

- (21) *č'kʷən-žak'a-d(?)a-k* *d-b-zə-pšš'č-əw-n*
 youth-beard-CAR-INDF 3SG.H.ABS-2SG.F.IO-BEN-search-IPF-PST
 'A beardless guy was looking for you.' (kv2003f)

Other speakers, whom I assign to the “innovative” pattern, have gone even further in the generalisation of *-dʔa*, which in their idiolects has become the preferable or even the only marker covering the whole caritive domain. For this group of speakers, the former caritive adjectivaliser *-da* is no longer productive and is attested only in apparently no longer transparent combinations such as *zčʷa.da* ‘healthy’ (< illness-CAR). Caritive adjectives in *-da* listed in the dictionary are often not recognised by such speakers at all (“no such word exists” being a not infrequent reaction). “Innovative” speakers freely allow *-dʔa* in adnominal, examples (22a,b), and predicative, example (23a), contexts, as well as in causative and inchoative derivations, examples (23b,c). Two speakers even allowed the sequence of the derivational and the inflectional versions of *-dʔa* in contexts like (17) above; however, one of them remarked that such forms are “technically correct, but nobody would use them”.

- (22) (a) *s-aχš'á* *χ-[cəgʷ-qʷš-dʔa]-k* *lə-ma-p*
 1SG.PR-sister three-cat-fur-CAR-NUM 3SG.F.IO-have-NPST.DCL
 ‘My sister has three furless cats.’ (el1999m)
- (b) *s-[wasá-ččʷá-dʔa]-kʷa* *z-ba-t*
 1SG.PR-sheep-horn-CAR-PL 1SG.ERG-see-DCL
 ‘I saw my hornless sheep.’ (el1999m)
- (23) (a) *sə-nχarta-dʔa-p*
 1SG.ABS-work-CAR-NPST.DCL
 ‘I am jobless.’ (ic1949m)
- (b) *sə-nχarta-dʔa-χa-t*
 1SG.ABS-work-CAR-INC-DCL
 ‘I became jobless.’ (el1999m)
- (c) *sə-j-rə-nχarta-dʔa-t*
 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.ERG-CAUS-work-CAR-DCL
 ‘He made me jobless.’ (ic1961f)

While there is considerable inter-speaker variation with respect to such and similar constructions, it is clear that the “conservative” pattern is no longer observed by all speakers and that the caritive case-marker *-dʔa* has expanded its range of contexts at the expense of its adjectivalising counterpart (similar developments are reported for a number of Uralic languages in Hamari 2011, 51). The resulting system has superficially become simpler by containing just one productive marker instead of two, however, this Jack-of-all-trades caritive suffix shows a peculiar combination of properties. Indeed, its distribution does not fit well into the taxonomy of morphosyntactic categories of the language, since the suffix functions at the same time as a case marker with phrasal scope forming adverbial expressions and as a derivational marker with lexical scope forming adjectives that can serve as input to further predicate formation.

7. Discussion and conclusions

The synchronic variation of the Abaza caritive morphology presented in the preceding sections is suggestive of three stages of diachronic development corresponding to the three types of pattern I have discerned:

- (i) the conservative pattern: a clear formal and functional distinction between the caritive adjectivaliser *-da* vs. the caritive case marker *-dʔa*, the latter itself formed by suffix telescoping from the combination of the adjectivalising *-da* with the locative/adverbial *-ʔa*;
- (ii) the transitional pattern: functional extension of the caritive case marker *-dʔa* into the adnominal domain and its becoming an allomorph of *-da* in the adjectivalising function;
- (iii) the innovative pattern: *-dʔa* supplanting the caritive adjectivaliser in most contexts and becoming the general and the only productive caritive marker in both domains.

The functional extension of the caritive case-marker could have been facilitated by its higher token-frequency (as tentatively inferred from the distribution of examples in the available corpora, such as AbRu), greater perceptual salience due to the presence of a glottal stop and the blurring of the internal morphological structure of the marker *-dʔa* (< *-da-ʔa*) no longer perceived as containing a locative or adverbial affix.

The origins of the conservative pattern itself deserve some discussion. Comparative evidence from Abkhaz suggests that the caritive suffix *-da* goes back to a postposition inflected for the person/number/gender of its complement (Shakryl 1959, 238-239; Shaduri 2006, 156-157; Yanagisawa 2013, 95), see example (24a). At the same time, this marker can occur as a suffix in adverbial contexts, as shown in example (24b); note that this suffix apparently can only attach to bare unmodified nouns, otherwise the postpositional construction is used, as can be inferred from the examples given in the sources quoted.

Abkhaz (transcription and glosses adapted)

- (24) (a) *á-č'kʷən* *jʃ-da* *s-ca-jʃ*
 ART-youth 3SG.M.IO-without 1SG.ABS-go-DCL
 'I went without the boy.' (Hewitt 1979, 115)
- (b) *á-č'kʷən* *xʃlapšra-da* *zənʒás* *də-bž'ə.sə-jʃ*
 ART-youth supervision-CAR completely 3SG.H.ABS-go_bad-DCL
 'Without supervision, the boy went completely bad.' (Yanagisawa 2013, 95)

Note that *-da* is by no means the only marker in Abkhaz showing such a dual behaviour (Yanagisawa 2013, 94–96), consider the instrumental *-la* in examples (25a,b). However, the restricted distribution of the caritive suffix *-da* with respect

to the types of nominals it combines with rather speaks against its analysis as a case marker in Abkhaz.

Abkhaz (Hewitt 1979, 114; transcription and glosses adapted)

- (25) (a) *a-ž'ah^wa* ***a-la*** *sə-jə-sə-jɪ*
 ART-hammer 3SG.IO.N-with 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-hit-DCL
 'I hit him with the/a hammer.'
- (b) *a-ž'ah^wa-la* *sə-jə-sə-jɪ*
 ART-hammer-INS 1SG.ABS-3SG.M.IO-hit-DCL
 'I hit him with the/a hammer.'

Remarkably, the same caritive suffix *-da* also forms caritive adjectives in Abkhaz (e.g. *á.laməs-da* 'dishonest' ← *á.laməs* 'conscience', Yanagisawa 2013, 47; cf. also Shaduri 2006, 37), which means that it shows the same pattern of polyfunctionality as the Abaza *-dʔa* in the innovative pattern. This, however, does not imply that the Abkhaz marker has undergone a similar development from a case marker to adjectivaliser: as Sofia Oskolskaya has rightly pointed out to me, the rather restricted adverbial uses like the one shown in (24b) could possibly have arisen as an extension of caritive adjectives into the adverbial domain without any morphological change *per se*. The question which, however, cannot be resolved due to the lack of historical evidence is whether the stage of the Abaza caritive system prior to the development of the distinct adverbial caritive in *-da-ʔa* was similar to the pattern currently observed in Abkhaz. In other words, we do not know whether in pre-Abaza the suffix *-da*, just like its Abkhaz cognate, could also occur in both adnominal and adverbial contexts and whether the suffixation of the erstwhile locative *-ʔa* was a means of reinforcement of the marker in one of the domains it already occurred in rather than a means of its extension to a novel domain. Notably, the other Abaza-Abkhaz variety spoken to the north of the Great Caucasian range, the Ashkharywa, traditionally treated as a dialect of Abaza but considered by specialists to be closer to Abkhaz (see e.g. Chirikba 2003, 14; Lomtadze 2011, 441), shows a system apparently similar to the Tapanta conservative pattern with a distinction between caritive adjectives in *-da* and caritive adverbials in *-da-qa* (Lomtadze 2011, 115-116). Finally, caritive adverbials in *-da-qa* are also attested in the Sadz varieties of Abkhaz spoken in the Georgian region of Adzharia (Kilba 1983, 48-49). Whether the Ashkharywa and Sadz facts can be considered sufficient evidence for projecting the Abaza conservative pattern into the early stage of the Abkhaz-Abaza dialectal chain, remains unclear.

The Abaza caritive morphology presents a rare case of morphological change in progress that, given the lack of historical records, the scarcity of the textual corpora and the markers' low frequency, can only be studied in apparent time by targeted elicitation from a sample of speakers of different ages and places of origin. The processes involved in this change are the familiar reanalysis and extension, however, they result in a non-trivial development first from a derivational (stem-based) marker to an inflectional (phrase-based) one and then back. The synchronic state yielded by these

developments is also quite peculiar, i.e. a Janus-like marker which, despite being essentially monosemous, shows a distribution both of a case marker with phrasal scope and of an adjectivaliser with lexical scope. Nevertheless, the evidence from a number of other languages of Eurasia as well as Australia (on the latter see e.g. Euphrams 2021, 15–16) suggests that such ‘hybrid’ distribution and extensions between adverbial and adnominal contexts is actually a norm for caritive affixes and, more generally, of affixes expressing association (or lack thereof) between participants, encompassing, besides caritive, also comitative and proprietive markers (Stolz *et al.* 2006; Graschenkov 2015; Rainer, forthcoming, §4).

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Abbreviations

1 – 1st person; 2 – 2nd person; 3 – 3rd person; ABS – absolutive; ACC – accusative; ADV – adverbial; ART – article; BEN – benefactive applicative; CAR – caritive; CAUS – causative; CNT – continuative; CSL – cislocative; DCL – declarative; DEF – definiteness; DIST – distal demonstrative; DPR – depreciative; EMP – emphatic; ERG – ergative; F – feminine; FUT – future; H – human; HPL – human plural; ILL – illative; INC – inchoative; INDF – indefiniteness; INS – instrumental; IO – indirect object; IPF – imperfective; LOC – locative applicative; M – masculine; N – neuter; NEG – negation; NFIN – non-finite; NPST – non-past; NUM – numeral marker; PL – plural; POT – potential; PR – possessor; PROH – prohibitive; PROX – proximal demonstrative; PRS – present; PST – past; PURP – purposive; QH – human interrogative marker; RE – reffective; REL – relativizer; SG – singular; TMP – temporal subordination.

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