



Approaching case polysemy from the lexicon

The case of the Kabardian instrumental

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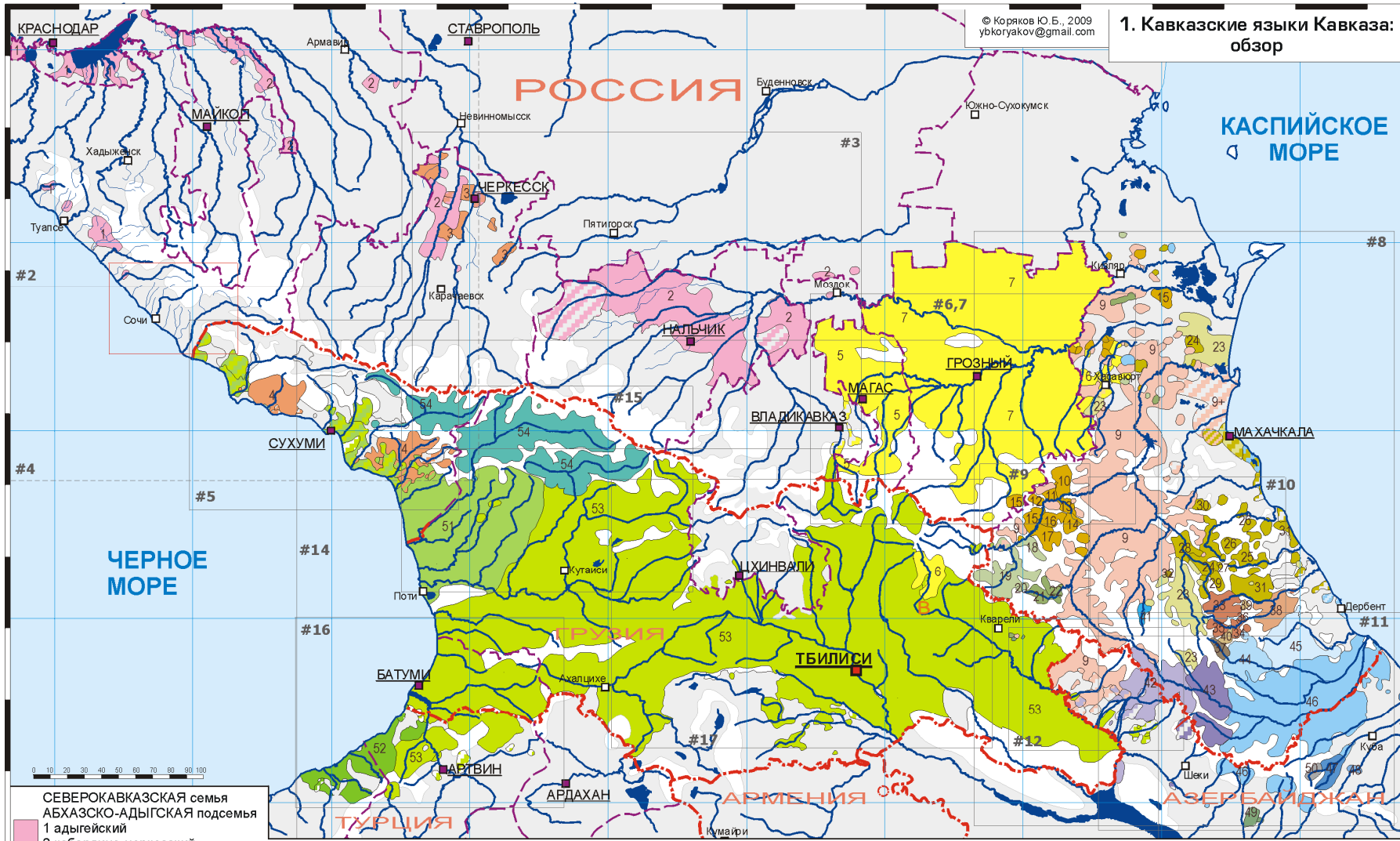
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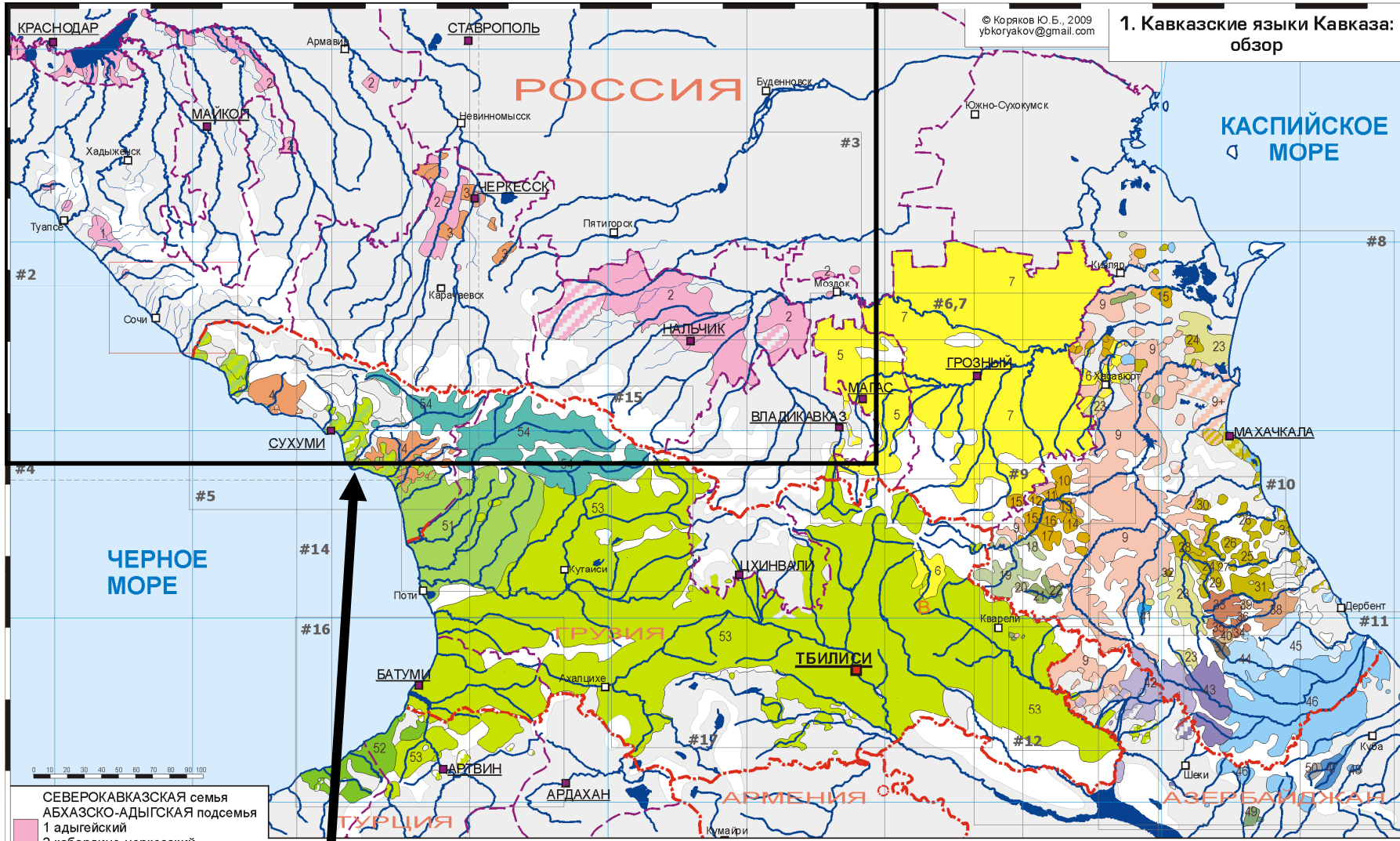
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1. Кавказские языки Кавказа: обзор



СЕВЕРОКАВКАЗСКАЯ семья		18 хваршинский		33 сирхинский		41 арчинский		50 хиналугский	
АБХАЗСКО-АДЫГСКАЯ подсемья		19 цезский		34 амухский		42 цахурский		КАРТВЕЛЬСКАЯ семья	
1 адыгейский	2 кабардино-черкесский	20 гинухский		35 кунинский		43 рутульский		51 мегрельский	
3 абхазский	4 абазинский	21 бежтинский		36 санжи-ицаринский		44 агульский		52 лазский	
НАХСКО-ДАГЕСТАНСКАЯ подсемья		22 гунзибский		37 чирагский		45 табасаранский		53 грузинский	
5 ингушский	6 аккинско-орстхойское	23 лакский		38 кайтагский		46 лезгинский		54 сванский	
7 чеченский	8 бацбийский	24 акушинский		39 кубачинский		47 крызский			
		25 урахинский		40 аштинский		48 будухский			
				26 мюрего-губденский		49 удинский			
				27 мугинский					
				28 цудахарский					
				29 гапшминско-бутринский					
				30 кадарский					
				31 муиринский					
				32 мегебский					

1. Кавказские языки Кавказа:
 обзор

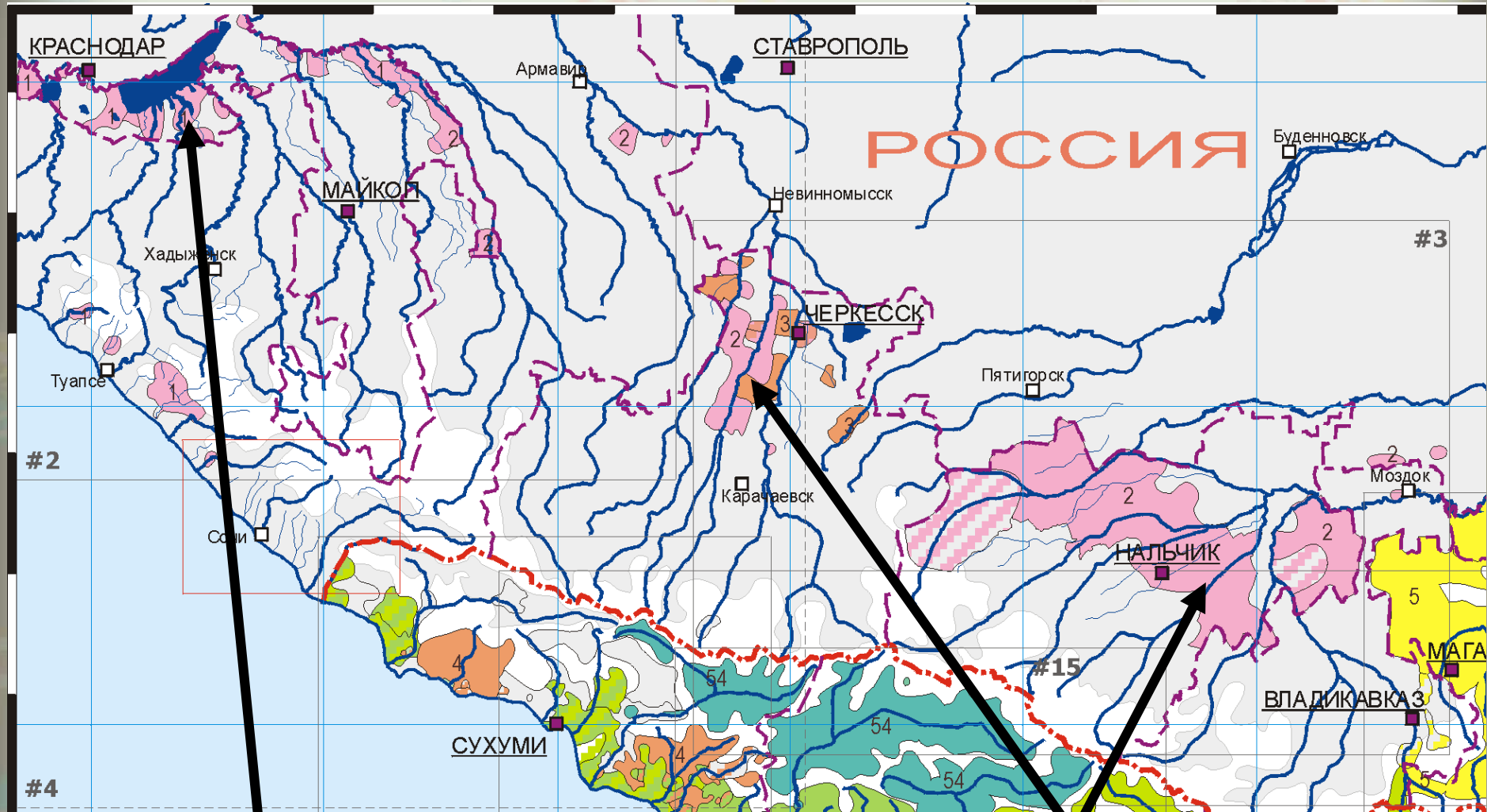


- СЕВЕРОКАВКАЗСКАЯ семья
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 - 8 бацбийский

- 9 аварский
 - 10 андийский
 - 11 ботлихский
 - 12 годобернский
 - 13 каратинский
 - 14 ахвахский
 - 15 чамалинский
 - 16 багвалнский
 - 17 тиндинский
 - 18 хваршинский
 - 19 цезский
 - 20 гинухский
 - 21 бейтинский
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 - 32 мегебский
 - 33 сирхинский
 - 34 амухский
 - 35 кункинский
 - 36 санжи-ицаринский
 - 37 чирагский
 - 38 кайтагский
 - 39 кубачинский
 - 40 аштинский
 - 41 арчинский
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 - 43 рутульский
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 - 45 табасаранский
 - 46 лезгинский
 - 47 крызский
 - 48 будухский
 - 49 удинский
 - 50 хиналугский
- КАРТВЕЛЬСКАЯ семья
- 51 мегрельский
 - 52 лазский
 - 53 грузинский
 - 54 сванский

Circassian languages



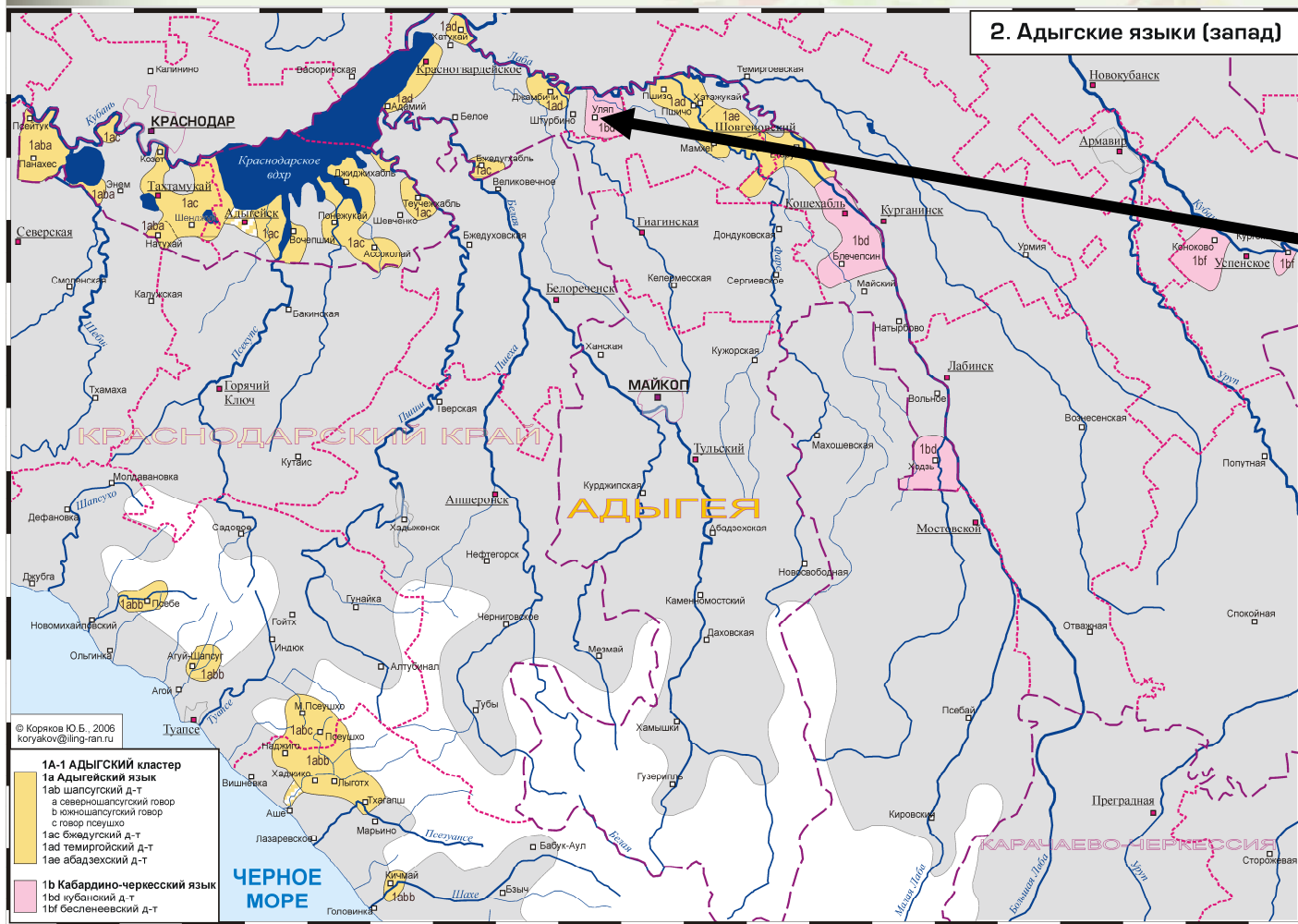


Adyghe

Kabardian

2. Адыгские языки (запад)

Улуар



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)

Declension system

- number:
 - singular (\emptyset) vs. plural (-xe)
- case:
 - absolutive (-r)
 - oblique/ergative (-m)
 - instrumental (-č'e)
 - ? “adverbial” (-wə)
- “definiteness”: \pm case, \pm number

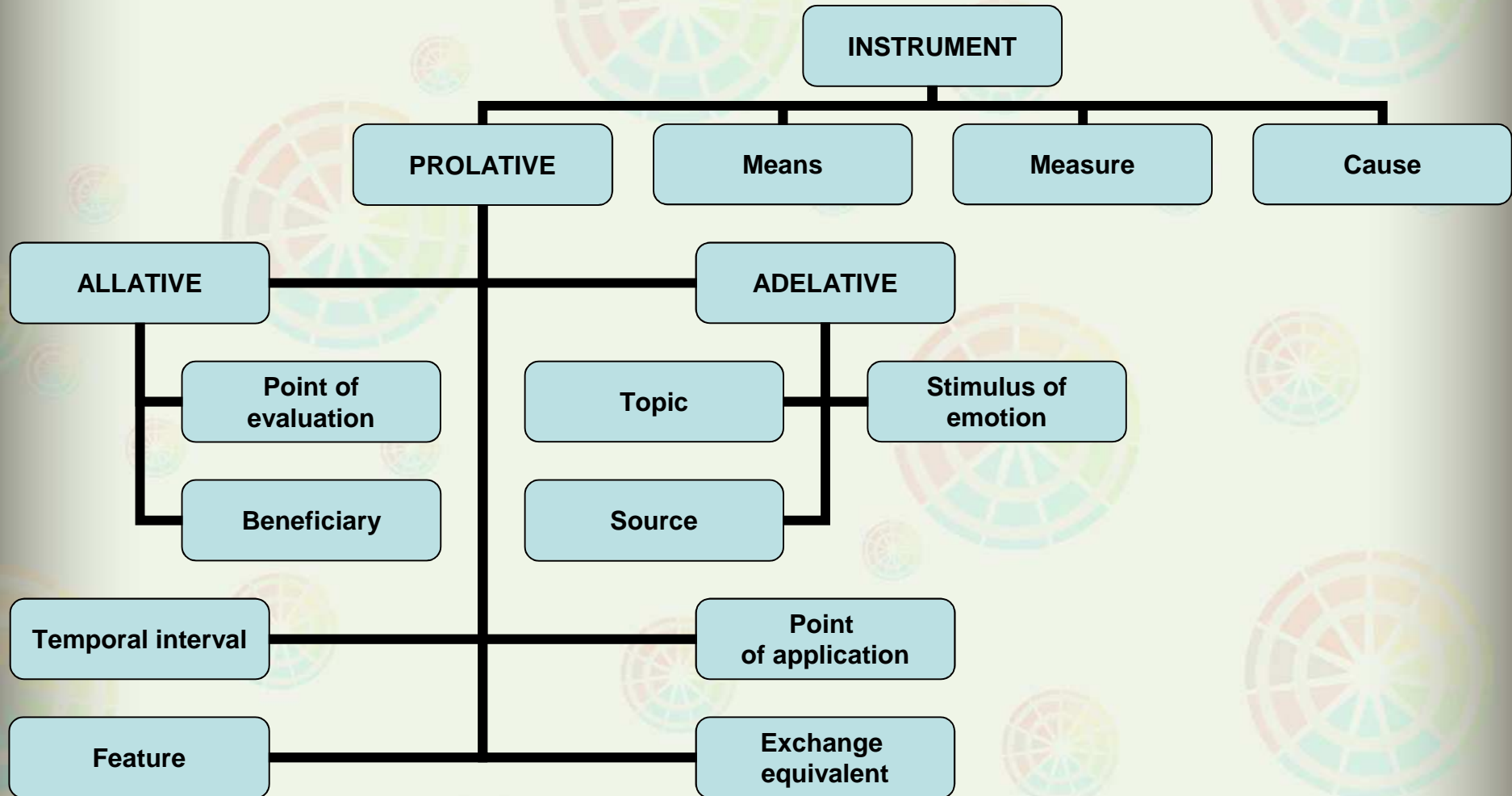
Declension system

	“definite”		“indefinite”
	SG	PL	
ABS	<i>-r</i>	<i>-xe-r</i>	∅
OBL	<i>-m</i>	<i>-xe-m</i>	
INS	<i>-m-č'e</i>	<i>-xe-m-č'e</i>	<i>-č'e</i>

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Polysemy of the Circassian instrumental



(Based on Serdobol'skaja & Kuznecova 2009)

Polysemy of the Circassian instrumental

Feature

w-jə-ḵ^wa.č'e-č'e

2SG.PR-POSS-gait-INS

'I knew you by your gait.'

wə-ḡe-s-ṣe.ž'-a

2SG.ABS-DIR-1SG.ERG-know-PST

Polysemy of the Circassian instrumental

Point of application

ž'edwə-m **jə-č'e-č'e** wə-ǰ-je-mə-ʔe

cat-OBL POSS-tail-INS 2SG.ABS-DIR-DAT-NEG-take(IMP)

‘Don’t pull the cat by his tail.’

Polysemy of the Circassian instrumental

Allative

šəwane-r

horseman-ABS

mezə-m-č'e

forest-OBL-INS

ḱ^w-a

go-PST

‘The horseman galloped away towards the forest.’

The problem:

Even in the detailed cross-linguistic studies of case polysemy **very little** attention has been paid to the interaction of grammatical markers and lexical semantics of the stems to which they apply.

The problem

Cf. the main current studies of the polysemy in the instrumental-comitative domain such as Narrog & Ito 2007, Lehmann & Shin 2005, and general works on case polysemy, e.g. Malchukov & Narrog 2009, where this problem is not treated either.



Nevertheless...

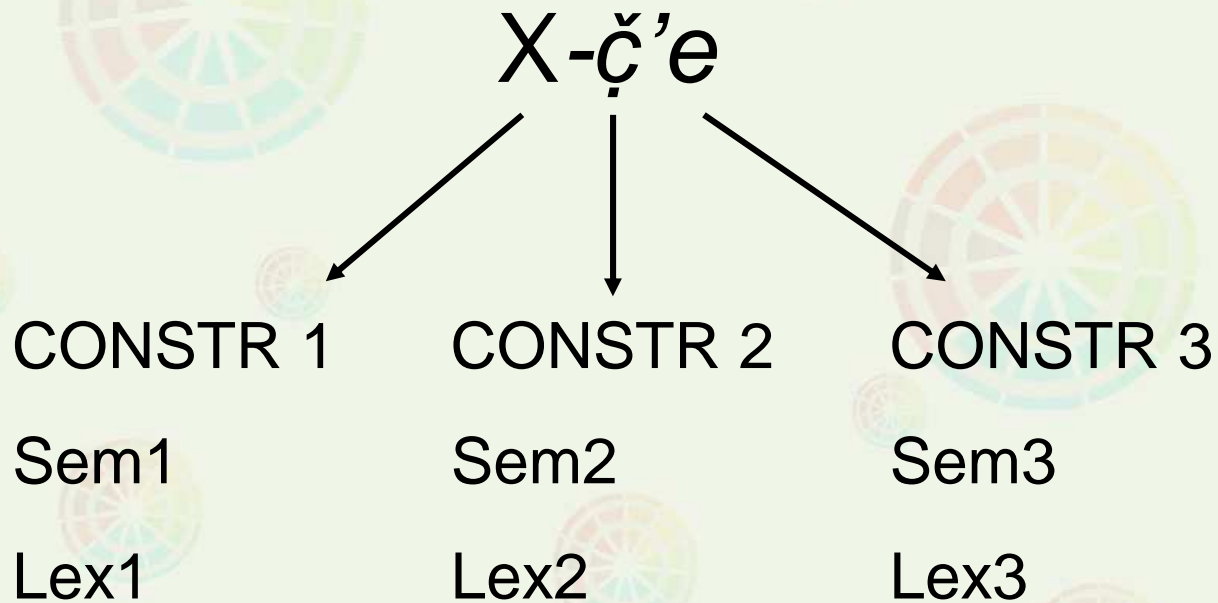
Cases select for semantic types of arguments in much the same way as verbs do (Aristar 1997)

Nevertheless...

Taxonomic classification of nominals influences the choice of particular meaning(s) of a polysemous case (Luraghi 2003; Rakhilina 2008)

Construction Grammar

- Family of constructions X-č'e



Our hypothesis

Different lexical classes tend to “gravitate” to particular meanings of the instrumental and to “repel” the others.

Experiment

50 Besleney Kabardian nouns

Experiment

50 Besleney Kabardian nouns
+
instrumental case marker

Experiment

50 Besleney Kabardian nouns

+

instrumental case markers



consultants produce naturally sounding sentences containing the target noun in the instrumental case

Results of the experiment

translation	Lexeme	tax.class	Total number of consultants	instrument	means	measure and comparison	Point of application	beneficiary	allative	Stimulus (content with X)
gold	dəše	Substance	6		4					
Iron	ɪwəč	Substance	6	2	2	1				
water	psə	Substance	5		3					1
sand	pšax ^w e	Substance	4		4					
day	max ^w e	Time	6							1
winter	č'əmax ^w e	Time	4					2		1
year	jəles	Time	6			1		1		1
horse	šə	Animals	5							1
fly	baʒe	Animals	2	1						
fox	baž'e	Animals	1							
cow	ž'em	Animals	4							

Results of the experiment

4 groups of lexemes

1. Nouns which resist co-occurrence with the instrumental case altogether:
'wild animals'

Results of the experiment

4 groups of lexemes

2. Nouns co-occurring with a wide range of the meanings of the instrumental:

‘people’, ‘speech’

(14)-(17)

Results of the experiment

4 groups of lexemes

3. Nouns co-occurring with just one meaning of the instrumental:

‘instruments’, ‘containers’, ‘substances’, ‘food’,
‘clothes’ (18)-(19)

Type (4): nouns regularly combining with several meanings of the instrumental

Two strategies:

- 1) Nouns which due to their lexical semantics are compatible with heterogeneous semantic roles:

‘cattle’, ‘body-parts’ (20)-(24)

Type (4): nouns regularly combining with several meanings of the instrumental

Two strategies:

- 1) Nouns which due to their lexical semantics are compatible with heterogeneous semantic roles:
'cattle', 'body-parts' (20)-(24)
- 2) Nouns combining with several closely connected case meanings:
'time', 'space' (25)-(27)

Core vs. Periphery

core



Type 3. nouns regularly combining with just one meaning of the case

Type 4. nouns combining with several meanings of the instrumental

Core vs. Periphery

Type 1. nouns which resist co-occurrence
with the instrumental



periphery

Core vs. Periphery

Type 2. nouns co-occurring with a wide range of the meanings of the instrumental

1. inter-speaker variation

2. More generalized and less selective meanings of the case:

‘be content with smth’, ‘frighten with smth’



low frequency of instrumental forms of the nouns of these classes

**Type 4: nominal stems
denoting space + the
instrumental case marker**

spaces

+ č'e

1. 'forest'

2. 'field'

3. 'river'

4. 'sea'

5. 'village'

6. 'town'

7. 'road'

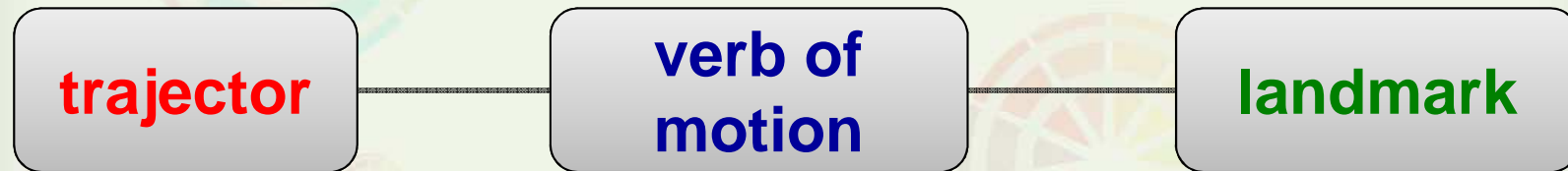
8. 'bridge'

9. 'side'

Meanings

- **prolative** (moving along a given trajectory)
'to go by way of the corridor', 'to go through the forest' (28)-(29)
- **allative** (moving towards the landmark)
'going towards the river' (30)-(31)
- **adelative** (moving from the direction of the landmark)
'come from the direction of the village' (32)-(33)

Spatial construction



↑
noun denoting space and bearing the instrumental marker

Spatial construction

Prolative

de mez-č'e

də-ḵ^w-a

we forest-INS

1PL.ABS-go-PST

'We took the way through the forest' (34)

allative: (35), adrelative: (36)

prolative vs. allative/adelative

allative/adelative:

the oblique marker *-m* is required:

nominal
stem

+ *-m-* + *-č'e-*

||

adelative
allative

adelative vs. allative

Differences in the predicate marking:

Adelative:

1) directive suffixes

... psə-m-č'e bzwə χ^wəš'e

river-OBL-INS bird flock

qə-zer-jə-bəbə-č'ə-r

DIR-REL.FCT-3SG.ERG-fly-**ELAT**-ABS

'[He raised his head and saw]

that a flock of birds was flying from the direction of the river' (37)

adelative vs. allative

2) Directive deictic prefix ɔ̌e-:

...a	bɸ ^w ə-m-č'e	j-ade
that	side-OBL-INS	POSS-father
ɔ̌e-ɸ^we-n		x ^w je
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'

(38)

3) refractive/reditive affix -ž'ə-

aslen g^wəbʁe-m-č'e

Aslan field-OBL-INS

ǫ-jə-žə-ž'-t

DIR-LOC-run-**RE**-PST

‘Aslan was running from the direction of the field’

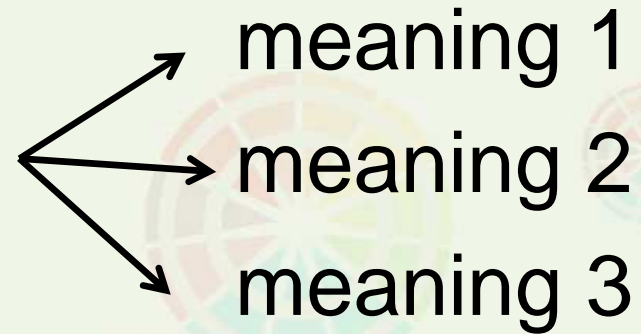
(39)

Disambiguation (1)

tax.class 1 + -č'e → meaning 1
tax.class 2 + -č'e → meaning 2
tax.class 3 + -č'e → meaning 3

Disambiguation (2)

tax.class + -č'e-



Disambiguation (2)

-(*m*)-č'e

- prolative

-*m*-č'e

V X-*m*-č'e
allative

q-V-(č'ə)-(ž') X-*m*-č'e
adelative

Conclusions

- Crucial role of the lexical semantics of the stem in the “choice” of the meaning of the case marker:
 - Lex1 \Rightarrow Sem1
 - Lex1 \Rightarrow Sem1/ Sem2/ Sem3 \Rightarrow
minimal broadening of the context

Conclusions

- It is very useful to take lexical semantics into account when investigating the polysemy of grammatical markers.
- Looking at the case polysemy from the perspective of lexical classes of nominals is a promising direction of further research in this domain.

A landscape photograph showing a pond in the middle ground, surrounded by lush green grass and bushes. In the background, there is a red building with a white roof, partially obscured by trees. The sky is overcast and grey. The text is overlaid in the center of the image.

Thank you!
Danke schön!
Köszönöm szépen!
tha feверswe!