From Instrument to Manner to Tense/Aspect: A diachronic scenario from Adyghe

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Basic facts about Adyghe

Adyghe (a.k.a. West Circassian):

➤ member of the North West Caucasian stock;

➤ > 400 000 speakers in Russia, Turkey and several other countries;

➤ a highly polysynthetic ergative SOV language;

➤ possesses an elaborated system of clause linking devices.

The Taxis-Resultative construction

a-r   qə-**zere-ḳʷ-ew**   mə-r   ḳʷe-ž'ə-š't
he-ABS DIR-RES-go-CNV   that-ABS go-RFV-FUT
'As soon as he comes, the other one will go
   home.'

➢ A biclausal construction denoting temporal
   contingency of two situations.
➢ The dependent predicate is marked with the
   'resultative' prefix zere- coupled with the
   general converb suffix -ew.

The problem

➢ The prefix *zere-* is highly polyfunctional:
- resultative;
- reciprocal;
- 'holistic' quantification;
- manner subordination;
- similative subordination;
- factive subordination;
- relativization of instrument;
- possibly other uses...

The problem

➢ How is the taxis-resultative construction related to the other uses of *zere-*?

➢ How can these relationships be interpreted from typological and diachronic points of view?

The role of aspect

➢ The exact interpretation of the construction depends on the aspectual properties of the dependent predicate (for a detailed account see Gerasimov & Arkadiev 2007, Arkadiev to appear).

The role of aspect

➢ With atelic (stative and processual) predicates the construction denotes simultaneity of events:

č̣ʼale-r   zere-səmaǯ-ew školə-m   ḳʷa-ʁe

boy-ABS RES-ill-ADV   school-OBL   go-PST

'The boy went to school while still being ill

|| *… as soon as he fell ill'

The role of aspect

➤ With punctual and telic predicates the construction denotes immediate succession of events:

šaḳwe-m   pŝaŝe-r   ṣ̂wə   **zer-jə-λeʁw-ew**
hunter-OBL girl-ABS   good   RES-3SG.A-see-CNV
qəšʾa-ʁ
marry-PST
'The hunter married the girl as soon as he fell in love with her || *still being in love.'

The role of aspect

➤ With predicates underspecified for telicity, both interpretations are possible:

(a) qə-**zer**-ješ'x-**ew**   sabəjə-xe-r   ʒeg$_w$ə-š'təʁe-x
    DIR-RES-rain-CNV   child-PL-ABS   play-IPF-PL
  'While it was raining, the children were still playing.'

(b) qə-**zer**-ješ'x-**ew**   čəʔetaʁe   χ$_w$ə-ʁe
    DIR-RES-rain-CNV   coolness   become-PST
  'Just as it started raining, it became cooler.'

The unified analysis

➢ The zere-V-ew form expresses a *state*:
- either the state actually denoted by V ('be ill');
- or the *target state* (Klein 1994) of the situation denoted by V ('fall in love' → 'be in love').
- the immediate succession meaning with telic predicates can be explained by the fact that relevant target states usually last for a limited period of time.

Other *zere*-forms

➢ Reciprocal (Letuchiy 2007):

a-xe-r   **zere**-ʁeḳ̣ʷedə-ʁe-x
he-PL-ABS   REC-loose-PST-PL
'They lost each other.'

It is hardly possible to establish a reasonable link between the reciprocal and other uses of *zere-.*

Other *zere-forms*

➤ 'Holistic':

zere-stakan-**ew** jə-s-ŝ_wə-ʁ
whole-glass-CNV   LOC-1SG.A-drink-PST
'I drank a whole glass <of it>.'

The formal resemblance between 'holistic' and Taxis-Resultative constructions is striking. However, the semantic relation between them is hardly obvious:

??? 'while it was still a glass, I drank it'

Other *zere-forms*

➢ The monoclausal Resultative:
- shares important properties with the Taxis-Resultative construction, notably the sensitivity to aspectual classes;
- the Taxis-Resultative construction can be synchronically analysed as derived from the monoclausal Resultative.

The monoclausal Resultative

> Stative and processual predicates yield an interpretation 'the situation still holds':

(a)   sabəj-xe-r   me-ʒeg$_w$ə-x
        child-PL-ABS   PRS-play-PL
        'The children are playing.'

(b)   sabəj-xe-r   zere-ʒeg$_w$ə-x
        child-PL-ABS   RES-play-PL
        'The chlidren are still playing.'

The monoclausal Resultative

➢ With telic and punctual predicates, the Resultative denotes the resulting state of the situation:

(a)   tə-ḳ$_w$a-ʁ
      1PL.ABS-go-PST   'We went.'

(b)   tə-zere-ḳ$_w$a-ʁ

      1PL.ABS-RES-go-PST
      'We are still staying there <at the place we have gone to>.'

The monoclausal Resultative

➢ The availability of a Resultative for atelic predicates is rare but not unprecedented:

- Mandarin sentence-final *le* 'currently relevant state' (Li & Thompson 1981: Ch. 7)
- Chukchee suffix -*tva* (Nedjalkov et al. 1988: 156)

The link between the two Resultatives

➢ The monoclausal Resultative:
'the (target) state V holds'
➢ The biclausal Taxis-Resultative:
'while the (target) state V1 holds, V2'

The semantics of the Taxis-Resultative construction is compositionally derived from that of the monoclausal *zere*-Resultative.

Other *zere*-forms

- ➤ Similative construction involving comparison of two situations:

a   bleʁᵂeẑə-r   **zer**-a-wəp̣č̓eta-ʁ-**ew**

that   dragon-ABS RES-3PL.A-chop-PST-CNV

ŝᵂe   ŝᵂ-a-wəp̣č̓ete-n

2PL   2PL.ABS-3PL.A-chop-POT

'As that dragon has been hacked to pieces, they will hack you all, too.'

Similative ~ Taxis

➢ The Similative construction uses the same formal means as the Taxis-Resultative construction.

➢ The two constructions differ only in that the Similative can co-occur with tense-aspect morphology, while the Taxis-Resultative cannot (NB: the monoclausal Resultative patterns with the Similative in this respect).

Similative ~ Taxis

➤ The expression of similative and temporal contingency is well attested, at least in the languages of Europe:

- German *als* 'as', 'when'
- English *(just) as*

(a) *He's signing his name just as he's always done it.* (similative)

(b) *I went away just as he came back.* (temporal succession)

Similatative ~ Taxis

Russian *kak* ...(*tak*) 'as ...(so)' has temporal uses strikingly similar to those of the Adyghe Resultative constructions:

(a) *Kak togo drakona izrubili, tak i vas porubajut*
'As that dragon has been hacked to pieces, they will hack you all, too.' (similative)

(b) *Kak (tol'ko) poshel dozhd', stalo proxladno* 'Just as it started raining, it became cooler.' (temporal succession)

(c) *Kak on spal, tak i spit*
'As he slept before, so he keeps sleeping' (state holds)

Similative ~ Taxis

We claim that the Similative construction is the diachronic source of the Taxis-Resultative construction.

This seemingly contradicts the claim by Stassen (1985) that comparatives are cross-linguistically derived from constructions denoting *temporal sequencing*.

Similatic ~ Taxis

Yet Adyghe Similatic is not a proper comparative.

a   bleʁ_weẑə-r   zer-a-wəpč̣ʼeta-ʁ-ew
that   dragon-ABS   RES-3PL.A-chop-PST-CNV

ŝ_we   ŝ_w-a-wəpč̣ʼete-n
2PL   2PL.ABS-3PL.A-chop-POT

'As that dragon has been hacked to pieces, they will hack you all, too.'

Identification of Manners rather than 'assigning a graded (i.e. non-identical) position on a predicative scale of two' (Stassen 1985: 24) manners/situations.

Other *zere*-forms

➢ Relativization of instrument:

zere = relativizer ze-/zə- + instrumental
applicative re-/rə-.

(a) se š'eʒeʁ_wašxe **zə-fe**-s-ṣ̂ə-ʁe č̣'ale-r

    1SG dinner REL-BEN-1SG.A-do-PST boy-ABS

    'The boy for whom I prepared dinner.'

(b) ʔ_wef **ze-re**-t-ṣ̂e-re wate-r

    work REL-INSTR-1SG.A-do-PRS hammer-ABS

    'The hammer with which we work.'

Relativization

➤ The *ze-re-* relativization is also polysemous:

Manner:

se   sə-g$_w$=rjəhə-r-ep   a-r   ze-r-jeŝa-ʁe-r

1SG   1SG-like-PRS-NEG   he-ABS   REL-INSTR-OBL-play-PST-ABS

'I don't like the way he played.'

Fact (cf. Gerasimov, Lander 2008; Polinsky, Caponigro 2008):

asλan qə-ze-re-ḳ$_w$a-ʁe-r   deʁ$_w$ə

Aslan   DIR-REL-INSTR-go-PST-ABS   good

'It is good that Aslan came.'

Instrument ~ Similative

➢ The semantic link between Instrument and Manner is transparent, and is attested in numerous languages of the world (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 180-181).

➢ The link between Manner and Similative is less trivial, but is also documented, cf. German *wie* 'how?; like' (Heine, Kuteva 2002: 178; 210) or again Russian *kak*.

The semantic space of *zere-*

➢ The Adyghe *zere-* is interesting in that it covers the whole semantic domain ranging from Instrument to Taxis:

Instrument — Manner — Similative — Taxis

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Fact

zere-

The place of the Resultative

➢ However, the location of the monoclausal *zere*-Resultative on this semantic map is problematic.

➢ Synchronically, the biclausal Resultative-Taxis construction can be regarded as derived from the monoclausal Resultative.

➢ Yet, diachronically, the Taxis meaning is derived from the Similative.

➢ Thus, the monoclausal Resultative must be a secondary development.

The place of the Resultative

➢ There is indeed some evidence that the monoclausal Resultative can be derived from the biclausal Taxis construction.

➢ The monoclausal *zere*-Resultative shows some peculiar morphosyntactic properties suggesting that it is not a fully finite form.

The place of the Resultative

- ➢ Non-finite negation (Sumbatova, Lander 2007):

(a) č̣'ale-xe-r   qə-**zere-mə**-ḳwa-ʁ
    boy-PL-ABS   DIR-RES-NEG-go-PST

'The boys still have not come.'

(b) č̣'ale-xe-r   qə-ḳwa-ʁ-**ep**.
    boy-PL-ABS   DIR-go-PST-NEG

'The boys did not come.'

(c) č̣'ale-xe-r   qə-**mə**-ḳwa-ʁe-me...
    boy-PL-ABS   DIR-RES-NEG-go-PST-ABS

'If the boys had not come…'

The place of the Resultative

➢ Syntactic islandhood:

(a)   xet-a   ǯərjə   zə-ŝhe   wəzə-re-r?

      who-Q   still   REL-head   ache-PRS-ABS
      'Whose head still aches?' (lit. who is it whose head still aches?)

(b)   *xet-a   zə-ŝhe   zere-wəzə-re-r?

      who-Q   REL-head   RES-ache-PRS-ABS
      Intended meaning = (a)

The place of the Resultative

➢ From the semantic point of view, the monoclausal Resultative construction resembles an elliptical expression.

➢ Its interpretation is underspecified and heavily context-dependent.

The place of the Resultative

šak̫e-m   məŝe-r   **zer**-jə-wəč̣ʼə-ʁ

hunter-OBL   bear-ABS   RES-3SG.A-kill-PST

lit. "As the hunter killed the bear"

Possible interpretations:

(i) 'After the hunter has killed that bear, he does not kill bears any more.'

(ii) 'After the hunter has killed that bear, it does not trouble us any more.'

The place of the Resultative

➢ We hypothesize that the monoclausal Resultative is an innovated form derived from the Taxis-Resultative construction via a process of *insubordination* (Evans 2007)

Instrument – Manner – Similative – Taxis
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Fact

The place of the Resultative

➢ We hypothesize that the monoclausal Resultative is an innovated form derived from the Taxis-Resultative construction via a process of *insubordination* (Evans 2007)

Instrument – Manner – Similative – Taxis – Resultative

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Fact

Conclusions

- Different *zere*-forms in Adyghe can be linked by cross-linguistically valid semantic relations.
- However, Adyghe is interesting in that similar forms cover a very wide semantic domain, usually distributed among several different forms.
- Adyghe monoclausal Resultative shows vestigial properties of a non-finite form and most probably involves an instance of insubordination.

ŝ_wepsew!

Obrigado!