

**Caritive Constructions in the Languages of the World,
Institute for Linguistic Studies RAS, Saint-Petersburg/Online,
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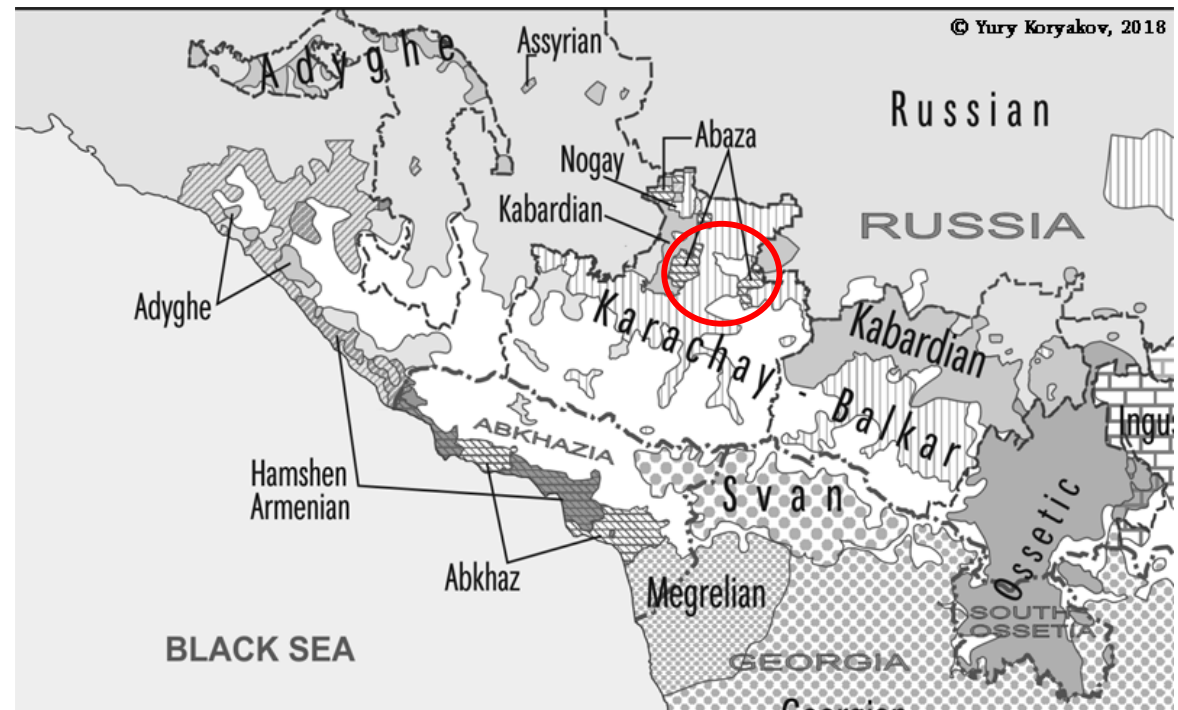
Caritive in Abaza: a hybrid category

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Abaza

- *Абаза бызшва, abáza bəzšá*, ISO 639-3 abq
- Ca. 38 000 speakers in Russia (Karachay-Cherkes Republic), ca. 10 000 in Turkey



Abaza

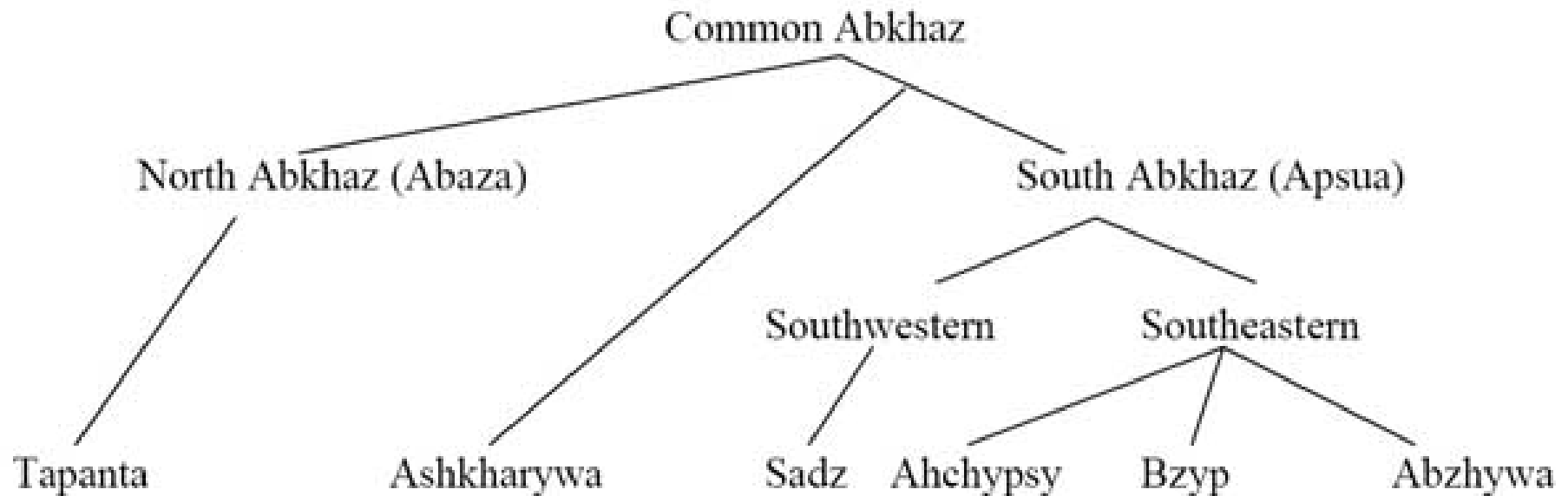
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 - Circassian: West Circassian (Adyghe), Kabardian (East Circassian)
 - † Ubykh
 - Abkhaz-Abaza: Abaza, Abkhaz

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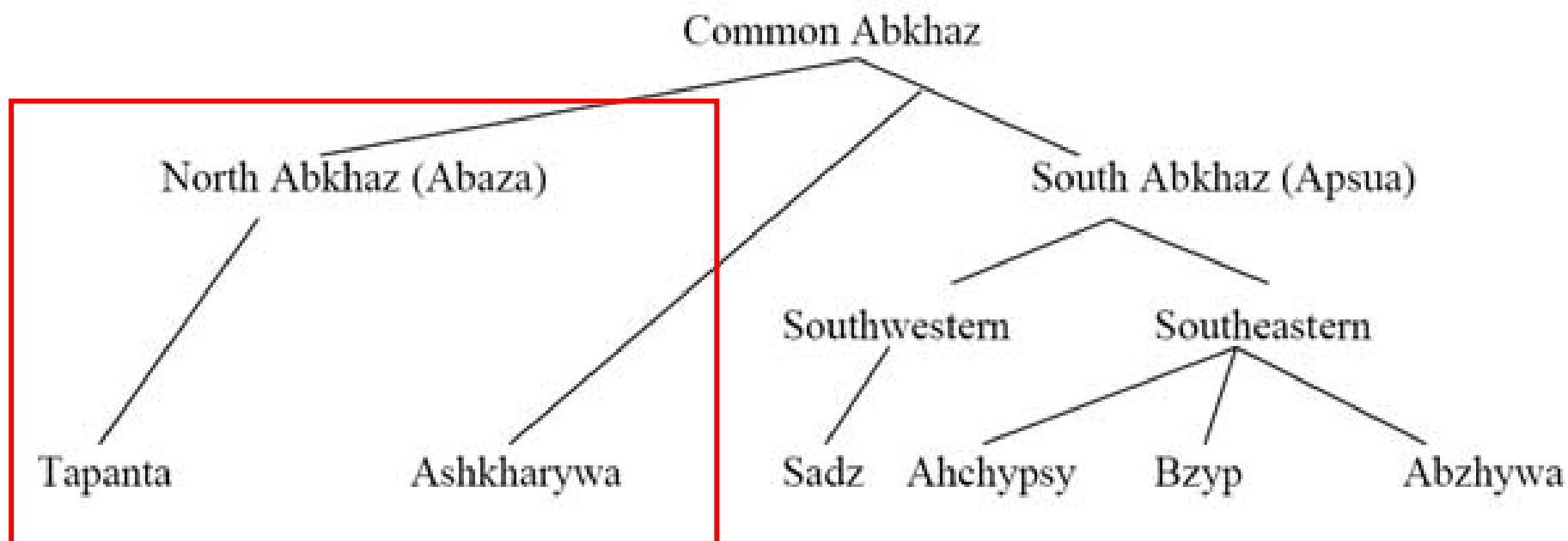
The Scheme of Abkhaz Dialectal Division



Chirikba 2003: 14

Abaza

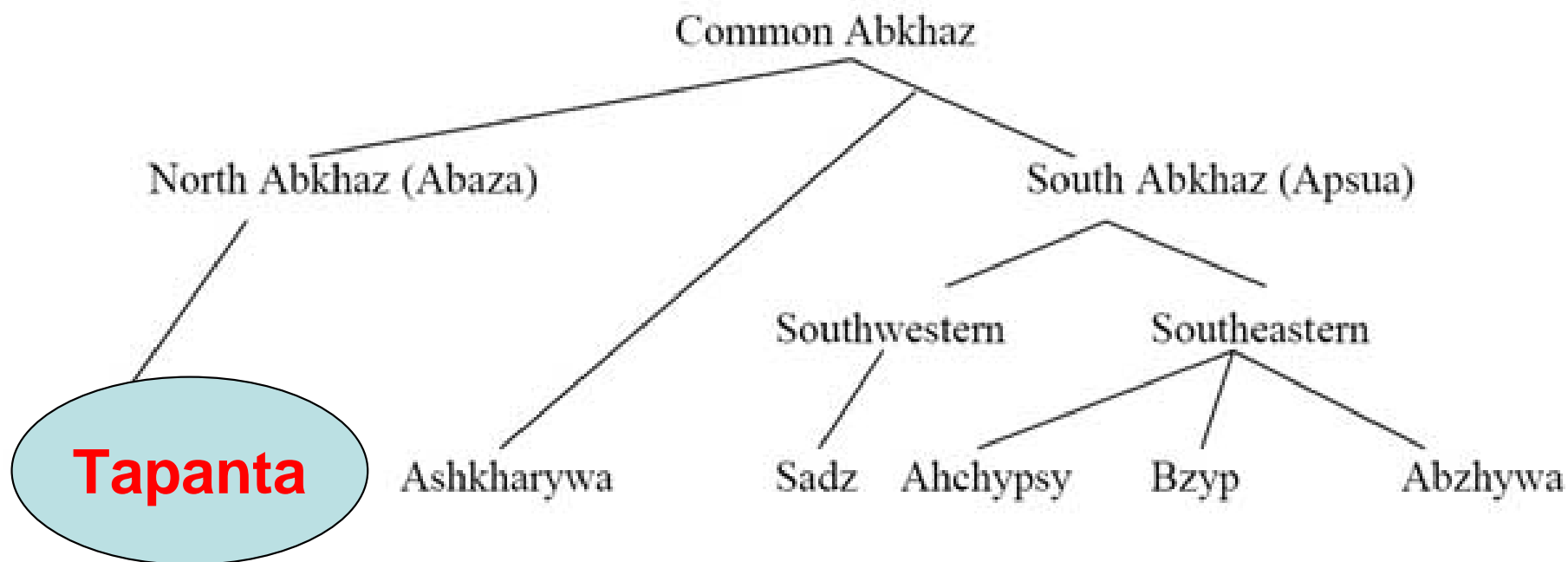
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The Scheme of Abkhaz Dialectal Division



Chirikba 2003: 14

Abaza

- The least-described language of the Northwest Caucasian family
- Descriptive works exist (e.g. Genko 1955, Tabulova 1976, Lomtaticidze et al. 1989, O'Herin 2002), but are insufficient

Abaza

- This work is part of the on-going project on the documentation and description of Abaza organized by scholars from the HSE University and RSUH
- <https://ling.hse.ru/abazagrammar/>
- Fieldtrips to the village Inzhich-Chukun in 2017-2019

Abaza



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- rich consonantism and impoverished vocalism
- polysynthesis and consistent head-marking
- ergativity
- no core case marking
- weak distinction between parts of speech

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- See Lander & Bagirokova (Ms.) for an interpretation of West Circassian.

Word classes

- Omnipredicativity:

d-gála-ṗ

3SG.H.ABS-stand-NPST.DCL

's/he stands'

d-adəg'á-ṗ

3SG.H.ABS-Circassian-NPST.DCL

's/he is a Circassian' (txt)

jə-w-wəs-qada-ṗ

3SG.N.ABS-2SG.M.IO-job-main-NPST.DCL

'this is your main job' (txt)

ABS - absolutive

H - human

IO - indirect object

N - non-human

DCL - declarative

NPST - nonpast

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Caritive

The suffix(es?) $-d(a)?a \sim -da$:

- according to dictionaries, $-da$ forms caritive adjectives ($b\check{z}'\partial$ 'voice': $b\check{z}'\partial-da$ 'silent'), while $-?a$ forms adverbials from them ($b\check{z}'\partial-da-?a$ 'silently');
- in fact, things are much less straightforward.

Caritive

The suffix(es?) $-d(a)?a \sim -da$:

- only $-d?a$ will be discussed in this talk;
- takes simple and complex nominals as a base;
- yields forms that do not easily fit into any existing class.

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Caritive

- Controversial treatment in the descriptions (if mentioned at all):
 - “caritive case” (Genko 1955: 118, 120–121);
 - derivational marker of nouns and adjectives (Tabulova 1976: 60–61, 79);
 - “postposition” (Lomtaticidze 2006: 122).

Comparative evidence

- The cognate element in Abkhaz can function not only as a suffix, but also as a genuine postposition:

ɥnə-da

house-CAR

‘without a house’ (Chirikba 2003: 23)

á-č'k^wən *jə-da* *s-ca-jt*

DEF-boy

3SG.M.IO-CAR

1SG.ABS-go(AOR)-DCL

‘I went without the boy.’ (Hewitt 1979: 115, transcription and glosses adapted)

AOR - aorist

DEF - definite

M - masculine

Disclaimer

- Current work is based on data from just four native speakers, and some examples could not be double-checked.
- Corpus evidence is very scanty (and not very revealing).

Caritive: a case marker? Pro

- Forms adverbial modifiers:

a-ph^wəspa karandaš-dʔa

DEF-girl

pencil-CAR

d-ʔ^w-əj-ṭ

3SG.H.ABS-write-PRS-DCL

‘The girl draws without a pencil’

Caritive: a case marker? Pro

- Forms adverbial modifiers:

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3SG.H.ABS-write-PRS-DCL

‘The girl draws without a pencil’

- Cf. the instrumental case in *-la*:

a-bacaçaχ^wa-k^wa-la

DEF-rod-PL-INS

s-a-g^w-lə-r.cə-d

1SG.ABS-3SG.N.IO-LOC-3SG.F.ERG-
beat(AOR)-DCL

‘She beat me with rods’ (txt)

ERG - ergative

F - feminine

INS - instrumental

LOC - locative preverb

Caritive: a case marker? Pro

- Attaches to proper names and personal pronouns:

aslan *muradin-dʔa* *d-ʕa.j-t*

Aslan Muradin-CAR 3SG.H.ABS-come(AOR)-DCL

‘Aslan came without Muradin.’

sara-dʔa *ʂə-m-ca.χə-n!*

1SG-CAR 2PL.ABS-NEG-go.away-IMP.NEG

‘Don’t go without me!’

IMP - imperative

NEG - negation

Caritive: a case marker? Pro

- Attaches to the plural forms of demonstratives and human nouns:

awa.t-dʔa

DIST.PL-CAR

‘without them’ (txt)

ʔahəʔ-ĉa-dʔa

relative-HPL-CAR

‘without relatives’ (txt)

DIST - distal demonstrative

HPL - human plural

Caritive: a case marker? Pro

- Takes phrasal scope, e.g. over adjectives, possessive prefixes and demonstratives :

[warad-pšza]-dʔa

song-beautiful-CAR

‘without a beautiful song’

s-h^waspá-dʔa

1SG.IO-knife-CAR

‘without my knife’

[arəj a-h^waspá]-dʔa

PROX.SG DEF-knife-CAR

‘without this knife’

IO - indirect object (=possessor with nouns)

PROX - proximal demonstrative

Caritive: a case marker? Pro

- Takes phrasal scope over nouns modified by relative clauses (but cf. below):

[[*mama* *j-ʎa-sə-l-tə-z*]

mom

REL.ABS-DIR-1SG.IO-3SG.F.ERG-give-PST.NFIN

a-mš-χ^{wəc}]-dʔa *sə-g'-z-a.ča.č-wa-m*

DEF-bear-little-CAR 1SG.ABS-NEG-POT-fall.asleep-IPF-NEG

'I can't fall asleep without the teddy-bear my mother gave me.'

DIR - directional preverb

POT - potential

IPF - imperfective

PST - past

NEG - negation

REL - relativisation

NFIN - non-finite

Caritive: a case marker? Contra

- Does not attach to the regular plural:

**a-sabəj-k^wa-dʔa*

DEF-child-PL-CAR

intended 'without (the) children'

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- Cf. the instrumental *-la*:

a-bacaçax^wa-k^wa-la

DEF-rod-PL-INS

‘with the rods’

Caritive: a case marker? Contra

- Does not attach to the indefiniteness suffix $-ḳ$:

a.rə.pχ'a.ɿ^w(-ḳ)-dʔa* *francəwz-bəz̄s̄a*

teacher(*-INDF)-CAR

French-language

s-sə-r-dər-ṭ

1SG.IO-1SG.ERG-CAUS-know(AOR)-DCL

'I learned French without a teacher.'

CAUS - causative

INDF - indefiniteness

Caritive: a case marker? Contra

- Does not attach to the indefiniteness suffix $-ḳ$:

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- Cf. the instrumental $-la$:

ɿa.n.ʂa.ra-ḳ-la *s-gʷə* *j-ɿa.ta.χa-ṭ*
event-INDF-**INS** 1SG.IO-heart 3SG.N.ABS-remain(AOR)-DCL

'I remembered (this year) because of an event' (txt)

CAUS - causative

INDF - indefiniteness

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- Caritive forms can occur in the predicative position and attach stative verbal morphology:

sə-n.χa.rta-dʔa-p̣

1SG.ABS-work-CAR-NPST.DCL

‘I am jobless.’

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- Cf. the adverbial *-ta*:

**j-bzəj-ta-p̣*

3SG.N.ABS-good-ADV-NPST.DCL

intended ‘It is well’.

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- Caritive forms can attach verbal affixes with aspectual and evaluative meanings:

s-at-aχč'a-dʔa-za-χ-məŋ^wa-ṗ

1SG.ABS-REP-money-CAR-INT-RE-DPR-NPST.DCL

‘Unfortunately, I am completely penniless again.’

DPR - depreciative

INT - intensive

RE - reffective

REP - repetitive

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- Caritive forms can attach verbal affixes with aspectual and evaluative meanings:

s-at-aχč'a-d?a-za-χ-məΓ^wa-p

1SG.ABS-REP-money-CAR-INT-RE-DPR-NPST.DCL

'Unfortunately, I am completely penniless again.'

- And can serve as input to inchoative and causative derivations:

sə-n.χa.rta-d?a-χa-t

1SG.ABS-work-CAR-INC(AOR)-DCL

'I became jobless.'

CAUS - causative

INC - inceptive

sə-j-rə-n.χa.rta-d?a-t

1SG.ABS-3SG.ERG-CAUS-work-CAR(AOR)-DCL

'He made me jobless.'

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- One of the speakers I consulted told me that only the forms with the suffix *-da* can combine with verbal morphology:

sə-n.χa.rta-da-p̣ / **sə-n.χa.rta-dʔa-p̣*

1SG.ABS-work-CAR-NPST.DCL

‘I am jobless.’

- However, the other speakers (including a school teacher of Abaza) were not so restrictive.

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- In this respect caritive forms behave like property-denoting lexemes (“adjectives”).
- Abaza adjectives form compounds with the head noun:

s-arma-napə

1SG.IO-left-arm

‘my left arm’ (txt)

h-an-rəcha

1PL.IO-mother-poor

‘our poor mother’ (txt)

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- Adjectives normally take an overt marker when used adverbially:

sə-ɣ^wza

1SG.IO-friend

‘My friend congratulated me beautifully.’

pšza-ta

beautiful-ADV

d-ɣa-s-aj.h^wah^w-t

3SG.H.ABS-DIR-1SG.IO-congratulate

(AOR)-DCL

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- By contrast, caritive forms are disfavoured in adnominal modification

*žak'a-*dʔa*-č'k^wən-k,

beard-CAR-guy-INDF

*č'k^wən-žak'a-*dʔa*-k

guy-beard-CAR-INDF

intended: 'a beardless guy'

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- Relative clauses with negative existential/possessive verbs are preferred:

[*žak'a* *z-k^wa-m*]
beard REL.IO-be.on-NEG

č'k^wən-k
guy-INDF

'a beardless guy' (lit. a guy on whom there is no beard)

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- Besides that, caritive forms do not attach the plural suffix:

a-n.χa.rta-dʔa**-k^wa*

DEF-work-**CAR**-PL

‘the jobless people’

Caritive: a derivational marker?

- Besides that, caritive forms do not attach the plural suffix:

a-n.χa.rta-dʔa**-k^wa*

DEF-work-CAR-PL

‘the jobless people’

- Cf. adjectives:

a-pšza-k^wa

DEF-beautiful-PL

‘the beautiful people’

Summary

The Abaza caritive formations show mixed and atypical behaviour:

	oblique case marker	adjectivisation marker
yes	attaches to phrases forms predicate modifiers	combines with predicative morphology feeds verbal derivation
no	does not attach to the general plural and to the verb in IHRCs	does not modify nouns does not combine with plural

Summary

The Abaza caritive

- does not fit well into the system of morphological markers, stranding the boundary between stem formation (\approx derivation) and inflection (phrasal marking);

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- does not fit well into the system of morphological markers, stranding the boundary between stem formation (\approx derivation) and inflection (phrasal marking);
- is problematic in terms of lexical category assignment (no longer a noun, not yet an adjective, a strange adverb);
- the synchronic and diachronic relations between *-dʔa* and *-da* remain to be figured out.

ŝə-zɪ^wá-da-χa-t̚

2PL.ABS-illness-CAR-INC(AOR)-DCL

‘Thank you!’



Acknowledgments

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