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*1. Introduction**1.1. System of nominal cases in Adyghe*

The Standard Adyghe case system is composed of four cases: oblique case (ergative in Rogava, Kerasheva 1966, Zekokh 2002 and others) with the marker *-m*, absolutive with the marker *-r*, instrumental in *-č'e*, and adverbial case in *-ew* (cf. Rogava, Kerasheva 1966; Testelec et al. 2009). Ergative and absolutive cases mark the core arguments of the predicate: absolutive is used to encode the patient(ive) of transitive verbs (1) and the sole argument of one-place predicates (2), while ergative is used to encode the agent(ive) of transitive verbs (1):

- (1) hač'e-**m** č'ale-**r** ə-λeκ_wə-**κ**
 guest-ERG boy-ABS 3SG.A-see-PST
 'The guest has seen the lad' (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 65)
- (2) č'ale-**r** šə-**m** tje-s-ew zawe-**m** k_wa-**κe**
 boy-ABS horse-ERG LOC-sit-ADV war-ERG go-PST
 'The lad went to the army on horseback' (ibidem)

The core cases, ergative and absolutive, are used to encode the participants that belong to the set of the core arguments of the predicate. However, in Adyghe the semantic roles that often introduce peripheral semantic roles, which are often encoded with non-core cases in other languages, can be introduced as core arguments. This is performed by means of valency-changing operations: the verb takes a special preverb, and the corresponding participant is encoded by the ergative. Let us consider the examples:

- (3) a. se wered qe-s-e-?_we
 I song DIR-1SG.A-DYN-say
 'I'm singing a song'

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b. se (a-š') wered qə-fe-s-e-ʔ_we
 I that-ERG song DIR-BEN-1SG.A-DYN-say
 'I'm singing a song for him'

c. se jež'ape-m (a-š') wered qə-š'ə-fe-s-e-ʔ_we
 I school-ERG that-ERG song DIR-LOC-BEN-1SG.A-DYN-say
 'I'm singing a song for him at school'

In (3) the verb ʔ_we- 'say' has two arguments, the agent encoded by the ergative (1sg.A in the glosses), and the patientive encoded by the absolutive case (the null agreement prefix of the 3rd person singular); the corresponding case markers on nouns are omitted in (3a) in accordance with the rules given at the beginning of section 3. In (3b), another participant is added to the set of the core arguments, with the role of beneficiary, and the verb takes the version prefix *fe-*. In (3c), a locative participant is added, and the verb takes the locative prefix *š'ə-*. The participants added along this model are encoded by nouns in ergative. Thus, two and more ergatives can appear in one and the same clause in Adyghe as in (2); the information on their semantic roles is therewith introduced by verbal prefixes.

As for absolutive, the situation is different: there can only be one absolutive noun in a clause, and each verb has an absolutive argument, counterexamples being very rare (Kumakhov 1989).

Apart from arguments, the ergative is also used to encode various types of adjuncts (of place, time etc.): for example, the NP *zawe* in (2) takes the ergative marker, and has no cross-reference markers on the verb.

Another source of marking for the adjuncts are peripheral cases – the instrumental (4) and the adverbial (5), and postpositions. The participants introduced by these means do not belong to the set of the core arguments of the verb and are not cross-referenced by verbal agreement markers:

(4) halə_wə-r šežəje-č'e ə-bzə-ɤ
 bread-ABS knife-INS 3SG.A-cut-PST
 'He cut the bread with a knife'

(5) sabəj-xe-r t_wə_rə_t-ew qe-š_we-x
 child-PL-ABS in.pairs-ADV DIR-dance-PL
 'The children dance in pairs'

The instrumental is used to mark the noun with the instrument role (4), various types of locatives: *tjə_wəne_wə q_wažem mežə-č'e sə_wəš'tə_w* 'I went to the neighbouring village through the forest'; price: *č'eleježak_wem txə_wə_r s_weme-*

č'e əš'efəʁ 'The pupil bought the book for one rouble'; identification mark: əš' taməʁe-m-č'e jəš qəʁ_wetəž'əʁ 'He found his horse by its brand' etc. (examples from Zekokh 1969: 70–71). The adverbial case is used to encode various types of adverbials, as manner etc. (5), depictives, appositions, and as head of relative clauses (see Testelec 2009 for details).

1.2. Form and function of the instrumental case

The instrumental in Adyghe is marked with the suffix -č'e (4). In some contexts, this suffix appears after the ergative marker -m:

- (6) haləʁ_wə-r šəžəje-m-č'e ə-bzə-ʁ
 bread-ABS knife-ERG-INS 3SG.A-cut-PST
 'He cut the bread with a knife'

There is no general agreement among Adyghe grammarians on the synchronic status and function of this form. Kumakhov (1971) proposes to analyze it as an oblique stem formed with the ergative marker (derivational type of double case marking discussed in Plank 1995). Khalbad (1975) shows that the distribution of variants in (4) and (6) is regulated by the definiteness/non-definiteness of the noun in instrumental. However, Rogava and Kerasheva (1966) and Kumakhov (1971: 131, 1989: 24) claim that the two variants have different semantics: some contexts allow both markers, while others require the instrumental with the ergative. These are the following contexts: allative (motion towards the landmark), purpose, and adelative (motion from the side of the landmark). At the same time, scholars agree that in some cases the distribution of the instrumental with and without the ergative is regulated by the definiteness/non-definiteness factor.

The question arises, how these parameters interact with each other: namely, when it is the semantic role of the noun that is relevant for the choice of the marking, and when it is the definiteness/non-definiteness factor. This question is not addressed in reference grammars; moreover, no classification of the meanings of the instrumental has been suggested so far. The aim of this paper is to fill this gap: a unified explanation for the meanings of the instrumental is given, and a rule is proposed that accounts for the distribution of the two variants discussed above.

The paper is based on the data collected during the fieldtrips of 2004, 2005 and 2008 in the village of Haqwerinehabl (the fieldtrips of the Russian State University for the Humanities, led by Jakov Testelec, Nina Sumbatova, and Svetlana Toldova). The idiom spoken in this village is the Kemirgoy dialect of Adyghe, on which Standard Adyghe is based, with a very small number of features of the Abadzeh dialect.

2. Instrument and prolativ: a unified account of the meanings of the instrumental in Adyghe

2.1. The meanings of the instrumental in Standard Adyghe

Adyghe grammarians distinguish up to 18 meanings of the instrumental case (the terms are taken from Kumakhov 1971, Zekokh 1969, 1991 and 2002, Rogava, Kerasheva 1966):

- 1) instrument: *se qazbər-č'e seṭe* 'I'm digging with a spade';
- 2) temporal: *maze-č'e č'əlem səḱ_weš't* 'I'll go to the village in a month';
- 3) locative: *mezə-m-č'e ježapem maḱ_we* 'He goes to school through the forest';
- 4) quantitative: *ar tas-č'e š'e ješ_we* 'He drinks milk by the mug';
- 5) causal: *aš' šeχ_wəbe-č'e qəʔ_wab* 'He said so by mistake';
- 6) subject: *mə wəner č'elemet-č'e šəbe χ_wəš'tep* 'This house won't be built by Chelemet';
- 7) complement: *aš' deḱ_wə-č'e əçe ʔ_wəbe* 'He was reputed to be good (lit. by good)' (examples 1)-7) from Zekokh 2002: 95);
- 8) direction: *ž'abḱ_wə-m-č'e he haq_wə maqexer qəš'əzexaxəb* 'They heard a dog's barking from the right side';
- 9) purpose: *s_weme šjətfər x_wezjajənə-m-č'e mač'e* 'Five hundred roubles would be too little for the host' (examples 8)-9) from Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 66);
- 10) temporal adverb: *mafjətf-č'e qetəš't* 'to work at night';
- 11) measure and comparison: *səhat-č'e nah ž'ew* 'an hour earlier';
- 12) manner: *λeχ_wə-č'e mače* '[He is] trotting, lit. running at a trot' (examples 10)-12) from Kumakhov 1971: 131);
- 13) transport: *ar mašjəne-m-č'e qalem maḱ_we* 'He drives to the city by car';
- 14) domain of comparison: *jəljasə jəwəne te tjaqəqəre nahjə metre-č'e nah lag* 'Iljas's house is one meter higher than our shed';
- 15) price: *č'eleježak_wem txələr s_weme-č'e əš'efəb* 'The pupil bought the book for a rouble';
- 16) object used to characterize another object: *ar tjane-č'e tjəʔahəl* 'He's our enate (lit. relative on the mother's side)';
- 17) identification mark: *aš' taməbe-m-č'e jəš qəḱ_wetəž'əb* 'He found his horse by its brand';
- 18) relation *qərəməzem əq_we-č'e raqej* 'Kirimiz' son Rakej' (examples 13)-18) from Zekokh 1969: 70–71).²

² In this paper, I do not consider the usage of the instrumental with the potentialis, on which see Serdobolskaya, Motlokhov (2009).

The majority of the enumerated meanings are also found in our material. From the meanings given above, four meanings only are absent in the sub-dialect of Haqwerinehabl, “subject” (marking of the agent in the resultative), cause, manner, and “relation”.³

A number of functions of the instrumental case have been revealed, that are not given in the aforementioned works: contents (*a book on economics, mathematics’ class* etc.: (7)), point of application (e.g. *She patted the cat on the head*), stimulus of emotion (e.g. *to be surprised/to rejoice at smth.*), sound source (*Voices are heard from the house*), and the parentheticals formed with the factive form in *zere-* (14):

- (7) *hjasapə-m-č’e* *urok*
 mathematics-ERG-INS lesson
 ‘mathematics class’

Although the grammarians do not explicitly describe these meanings, they are also found in Standard Adyghe: the examples on “contents” meaning are found in the Adyghe-Russian dictionary (Tkharkakho 1991: 598); the examples on the parentheticals are given in (Zekokh 1976: 101–103) etc. Therefore, it can be concluded that the list of the meanings of the instrumental in the sub-dialect of Haqwerinehabl is by and large the same as in Standard Adyghe.

2.2. *Semantic development of the meanings of the instrumental and prolicative in the languages of the world*

This work is based on the assumption that each semantic case has one or more basic meanings and many peripheral meanings that develop from the basic one(s). It is usually claimed that the basis meanings correspond to the basic semantic roles (as instrument, benefactive, etc.) or locative meanings (Lehmann 1995/1982: 99, Heine et al. 1991). Temporal and abstract meanings are argued to develop from the basic one(s). For example, instrumental markers can develop the manner reading (as in Russian *rezat’ nozh-om* ‘to cut with a knife’ – *govorit’ shopot-om* ‘to speak whispering’); locatives develop temporal readings (e.g. *at school – at seven o’clock*, cf. Haspelmath 1997).

For the Adyghe instrumental case, the following meanings can be proposed as basic: a) instrument, or b) the following locative meanings, prolicative (motion through or across the landmark, e.g. *to come through the window*), allative (motion towards the landmark: *to go towards the city*) and adelative (motion

³ The “cause” and “manner” meanings are attested, although marginal or restricted by various rules, see the comments for (12-14) and (32) below; as for the fourth meaning, “relation”, it is not attested in the modern language, since Zekokh (1969: 71) characterizes this meaning as obsolete.

from the side of the landmark: *to go from the side of the city*). The allative and adelative meanings are unlikely to be the basic ones for the discussed morpheme, since, as it is shown below, most of non-locative meanings of the marker *-č'e* lie in the semantic domains of prolative and instrumental. The typological case studies show that prolative and instrument are close meanings that are marked by the same morphosyntactic means in a large number of languages (Ganenkov 2002; Narrog, Ito 2007). The Adyghe case in *-č'e* has been traditionally termed as instrumental, the choice of the term basing on a presumption that the basic meaning of this case is the instrumental meaning. Below I will show that it is not exactly the case. The Adyghe case in *-č'e* does not express half of the meanings that are usually developed by instrumental markers in languages of the world. The majority of the meanings of this marker are outside the instrumental domain.

On the basis of a vast language sample, Narrog and Ito (2007) have shown that instrumental markers can develop the following meanings: material (consumed material, as in *to spread with butter*), cause (*because of the rain*), agent in active and passive voice, prolative, ablative, language (*to speak English*), and duration (e.g. *to read all night*), see diagram 1:

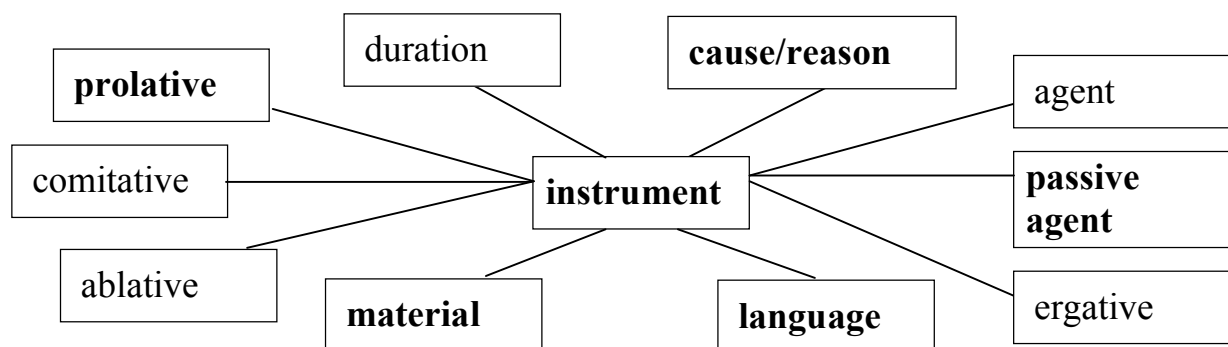


Diagram 1: *Polysemy of the instrumental markers in languages of the world* (Narrog, Ito 2007: 283)

The meanings that are expressed with the instrumental in Adyghe are marked with bold font in diagram 1. See the examples:

- instrument
- (8) č'ale-m ha-r č'apse-č'e r-j-e-pxə
 boy-ERG dog-ABS rope-INS LOC-3SG.A-DYN-tie
 'The boy is tying the dog with a rope'
- material
- (9) kartofə-r tχwə-č'e z-ke-ža-ke
 potatoes-ABS oil-INS 1SG.A-CAUS-fry-PST
 'I've fried the potatoes in oil'

- prolative:

(10) č'əle-m ɛ_weg_wə-č'e qe-k_wa-ɛ
 village-ERG road-INS DIR-go-PST
 'He came to the village [following] the road'

- language

(11) se adəga-bze-č'e s-e-g_wəš'ə'e
 I Adyghe-language-INS 1SG.ABS-DYN-speak
 'I speak Adyghe'

- cause

This meaning can be expressed by the instrumental with verbal nouns only, as in (12) with the nominalizer *-nəɛe*:

(12) xewəq_we-nəɛe-č'e š_wa-dež' sə-q-jə-ha-ɛ
 be.mistaken-NML-INS 2PL.PP-to 1SG.ABS-DIR-LOC-enter-PST
 'I came to you by mistake'

In other cases, both with nouns (13) and the factive form in *zere-* (14), the cause meaning is expressed by the postposition *paje* 'for':

(13) we-š' **paje** ekzamen ə-tə-ɛ-ep
 you-ERG for examination 3SG.A-give-PST-NEG
 'He failed his examination because of you'

(14) ə-ne-me deɛ_wə zer-a-mə-λeɛ_wə-re-m **paje**
 3SG.PR-eye-ERG.PL good FCT-3PL.A-NEG-see-DYN-ERG for

a-š' mašəne ə-fə-r-ep
 that-ERG car 3SG.A-drive-DYN-NEG
 'He doesn't drive, because he has weak eyesight'

The instrumental in Adyghe can not be used to express the following meanings, enumerated in (Narrog, Ito 2007): ergative, passive agent, comitative, duration, and ablative.

Unlike many languages of the Caucasus, Adyghe does not combine the meanings of instrument and agent: the agent of a transitive verb is marked with the ergative, the instrument – with the instrumental. In Standard Adyghe agent in the resultative construction can be marked with the instrumental (Kumakhov 1971: 130, Zekokh 1969: 71), but in the sub-dialect of Haqwerinehabl it can not be expressed at all in this construction:

- (15) a. pč̣e-r ʔ_wə-xə-ɸ (*ž'əbɸe-č'e)
 door-ABS LOC-open-PST wind-INS
 'The door opened (* because of the wind)'

The sentence (15a) is an example of the resultative construction: the agent prefix of 3rd person singular is absent. As shown in (15a), the agent can not appear in this construction. To express the agent or cause, the ergative construction is to be used, where the agent is marked with the ergative (the instrumental is unacceptable) and cross-referenced by the person prefix on the verb:

- b. pč̣e-r ž'əbɸe-m qə-ʔ_w-jə-xə-ɸ (*ž'əbɸe-č'e)
 door-ABS wind-ERG DIR-LOC-3SG.A-open-PST wind-INS
 'The wind opened the door'

The ablative meaning in Adyghe is encoded by the ergative, and not by the instrumental:

- (16) s-jate psə-χ_wə-m q-jə-č'ə.ž'ə-ɸ
 1SG-POSS+father river-big-ERG DIR-LOC-return-PST
 'Father returned from [his walk to] the river'

However, the instrumental case is used to express the meaning of adrelative (34).

The duration meaning is encoded by the ergative. The comitative is encoded by a special verbal prefix (Testelec 2009).

Thus, the Adyghe instrumental does not have many of the meanings characteristic of instrumental markers in languages of the world. Therewith it has a number of meanings that are usually not developed by instrumental markers:

- point of comparison: the instrumental marks the feature based on which the objects are being compared:

- (17) s-šə jəλes-č'e se-š' nah-jə nahə-ž'
 1SG.PR-brother year-INS I-ERG more-ADD more-old
 'My brother is one year older than I am'

- identification mark: the instrumental marks the feature used to identify an object:

(18) se we w-jə-k_wa-č'e-č'e wə-qe-s-še-ž'ə-κ
 I you 2SG-POSS-go-NML-INS 2SG.ABS-DIR-1SG.A-know-RE-PST
 'I recognized you by your step'

- point of application: the part of the object affected by the action:

(19) č'ale-m č'emə-r ə-bžaq_we-xe-m-č'e r-jə-pxə-κ
 boy-ERG cow-ABS 3SG.PR-horn-PL-ERG-INS LOC-3SG.A-tie-PST
 'The boy tied the cow by the horn' (playing)

- allative

(20) s-jate qale-m-č'e k_wa-κ
 1SG.PR-POSS+father city-ERG-INS go-PST
 'Father went towards the city'

According to the typological data discussed in Narrog, Ito (2007), the usage exemplified in (17)-(20) is unexpected for the markers of instrumental. Hence, to explain this usage, another basic meaning is to be postulated for the marker -č'e. We claim that it is the prolicative meaning. A detailed cross-linguistic analysis of the prolicative and related meanings is given by Ganenkov (2002), who distinguishes the following meanings of the prolicative:

- 1) itinerary (21) – the landmark specifies the trajectory of the motion, e.g. *to go along the street/road/path* etc.,
- 2) passageway (22) – the landmark itself contains the trajectory of the motion and is an intermediary stage; it is important that the trajector passes the boundaries of the landmark, e.g. *to go along the corridor*,
- 3) scene (23) – the landmark is a large space that does not specify the trajectory of the motion, but merely contains it, e.g. *to go across the field/forest* etc.

All the enumerated meanings are marked with the Adyghe instrumental in -č'e:

(21) a-r arke-m-č'e jə-č'ə-κ
 that-ABS arc-ERG-INS LOC-get.out-PST
 'He went through the arc'

- (22) (a-r) koridor-č'e k_wa-κe
 that-ABS corridor-INS go-PST
 'He went along the corridor'
- (23) a-r š_wefə-m-č'e mezə-m-č'e g_wəbκ_we-m-č'e qe-k_wa-κ
 that-ABS field-ERG-INS forest-ERG-INS meadow-ERG-INS DIR-go-PST
 'He walked across the fields, the forests, and the meadows'

Ganenkov (2002) further shows that prolativ markers in languages of the world can develop the following meanings: instrument, point of application, identification mark, point of comparison, price, object of exchange, contents, model (e.g. *to make smth. after the model/according to the rule*), duration (e.g. *to make smth. in two days*), temporal interval (e.g. *to come in two days*), intermediary (e.g. *to pass the book through smb.*), cause, manner (*to dance in pairs*) and level (e.g. *there is water up to the waist*). The majority of these meanings can be encoded by the instrumental case in Adyghe. The examples on the point of comparison, identification mark, and point of application are given in (17-19). Here are the examples on other meanings:

- price:

(24) mə-r swem-jə-š'-č'e qe-s-š'efə-κ
 this-ABS rouble-LNK-three-INS DIR-1SG.A-buy-PST
 'I bought it for three roubles'
- object of exchange: the instrumental encodes the noun referring to the entity that is being exchanged:

(25) txəλə-r karandaš-č'e ze-bl-jə-χ_wə-κ
 book-ABS pencil-INS REC.IO-LOC-3SG.A-exchange-PST
 'He exchanged the book for a pencil'
- model:

(26) se xabze-č'e zeč'erjə s-šə-κe
 I law-INS all 1SG.A-do-PST
 'I did everything by law'
- temporal interval:

(27) mef-jə-t_wə-č'e ta-dež' sə-qe-k_we-ž'ə-š't
 day-LNK-two-INS 1PL.PP-to 1SG.ABS-DIR-go-RE-FUT
 'I'll return to you in two days'

- contents:⁴

(28) ləže-m-č'e zenəq_weq_wə-nəʁ
 skis-ERG-INS compete-NML
 'skiing competition'

The verbs that have such a valency slot require the postposition *paje* 'for':

(29) te we-š' paje t-e-g_wəš'əʔe
 we you-ERG for 1PL.ABS-DYN-speak
 'We are speaking about you'

The meanings of intermediary, duration and level are introduced by other means in Adyghe. The manner and cause meanings can be encoded by the instrumental in a restricted number of contexts, see the comments for the examples (32) and (12-14).

For the instrumental markers, Ganenkov (2002) proposes to analyze another three meanings (apart from the meanings given in Narrog, Ito 2007): "transport" (e.g. *to go by train*), "measure" (the quantity of the substance is set by the container, e.g. *to eat spoonfuls, lit. by spoons*) and "manner". The first two meanings are encoded with the instrumental in Adyghe:

(30) avtobus-č'e k_wa-ʁe
 bus-INS go-PST
 'He went by bus'

(31) š'alə-č'e pšə-me š'ə qe-χ_wə-š't
 bucket-INS measure-COND three DIR-become-FUT
 'Measuring by buckets, there are three'

As for the "manner" meaning, it is most often encoded by the adverbial case (5). The instrumental is marginally accepted with some verbs:

(32) a-š' χ_weχ_wə-r wəsə-č'e q-ə-ʔ_wa-ʁ
 that-ERG toast-ABS poem-INS DIR-3SG.A-say-PST
 'He proposed his toast in verse'

However, such examples are not accepted by all the native speakers.

⁴ This meaning only occurs with the nouns that have a valency slot for contents, e.g. 'lesson' (7), 'investigation', 'article', 'competition' etc.

According to Ganenkov (2002), the markers of prolativ in languages of the world can develop the meaning of allative (motion towards the landmark, but not exactly to it) or adelative (motion from the side of the landmark, but not exactly from it). Such markers, apparently, denote the situation of the motion in most close vicinity of the landmark, without tight contact between the landmark and the trajector. The direction of the motion is left unspecified. As argued in Ganenkov (2002), this polysemy is restricted to one of the direction types – either the prolativ marker encodes either the allative, or the adelative. The combination of all the three meanings is attested only in one language of Ganenkov’s sample (Mongolian), which is well-expected, taken into consideration that the allative and the adelative denote opposite directions. Hence, the Adyghe instrumental makes another example of this rarer pattern:

- (33) s-jate qale-m-č'e k_wa-ɸe
 1SG.PR-POSS+father city-ERG-INS go-PST
 ‘Father went towards the city’

- (34) s-jate qale-m-č'e q-jə-č'ə.ž'ə-ɸ
 1SG.PR-POSS+father city-ERG-INS DIR-LOC-return-PST
 ‘Father returned from the side of the city’ (not directly from the city)

It can be concluded that the meaning of the marker -č'e in these examples can be roughly characterized as ‘motion in the vicinity of the landmark’, while the exact direction of the motion is specified by the semantics of the verb. The lative direction is denoted by the verb *k_we-n* ‘to go’, and the elative direction – by the verb *qəč'əž'ə-n* ‘to return’. Apparently, the meaning exemplified in (35) is developed from the allative:

- (35) mə morkovke-r supə-m-č'e mač'e
 this carrot-ABS soup-ERG-INS little
 ‘There are too few carrots for the soup’ (lit. ‘this carrot⁵ is too little for the soup’)

- (36) žane-m-č'e pš'erə-š'e
 dress-ERG-INS fat-too
 ‘She’s too fat for this dress’

⁵ The word *morkovkə* ‘carrot’ can be uncountable in Adyghe.

This meaning, characterized by Rogava, Kerasheva (1966) as ‘purpose’,⁶ can be roughly characterized as follows: the speaker is evaluating whether the participant encoded by the absolutive fits the section on the scale expressed by the evaluative adjective (the section of little amount on the scale of quantity in (35) and the section characterized as “fat” on the scale of slimness-corpulence in (36)). The evaluation is performed not on abstract grounds (*There are too few carrots* or *She is too fat*), but relatively, depending on the point expressed by the noun in the instrumental (*too few carrots for the soup*; *too fat for the dress*). The role of this noun has been characterized as “reference point” in Serdobolskaya, Toldova (2011), and is only observed with predicates of evaluation. This meaning seems to develop from the allative meaning, since the metaphor of approaching the trajector – the amount of carrot in (35), the characteristics of a person in accordance with the parameter of corpulence-slimness in (36) – to the landmark (the soup and the ability to look good in the particular dress) is realized.

Adelative markers in languages of the world can develop the following meanings: elative, sound source, cause, stimulus of emotion, contents, passive agent, effector, material etc. (Ganenkov 2002). Of these meanings the Adyghe instrumental realizes the following: sound source (37), cause (only marginally, see the comments for (12–14)), stimulus of emotion (40) and contents (28):

- sound source

(37) *twəč’anə-m-č’e* *wered* *q-e-ʔ_{wə}*
 shop-ERG-INS song DIR-DYN-say
 ‘A song is heard from the shop’

- stimulus of emotion

The stimulus of emotion is encoded differently with different emotive verbs. If it belongs to the set of valency slots of the emotive verb, one of the core cases (ergative of absolutive) is chosen.

For example, the absolutive encodes the stimulus by the predicate *jəč’as* ‘to like’ <ERG: experiencer, ABS: stimulus> (38), and the ergative encodes the stimulus by the verb *š’anə-n* ‘to be scared’ <ABS: experiencer, ERG: stimulus> (39):

(38) *č’ale-m* *lə-r* *jə-č’as*
 boy-ERG meat-ABS POSS-preferred
 ‘The boy likes meat’

⁶ This term seems to be misleading, since proper purpose (as *to go to buy bread*, lit. ‘to go for bread’) is encoded differently in Adyghe. Zekokh (1969: 70) defines it in terms of “the object, in relation to which a certain property is realized”.

- (39) se məʃe-**m** sə-šʹ-e-šʹəne
 I bear-ERG 1SG.ABS-LOC-DYN-be.scared
 ‘I’m scared of the bear’

If the stimulus does not belong to the set of core participants, it is introduced by the instrumental case:

- (40) čʹelejeʁəʁəʁʹe-r ser-čʹe raz-ep
 teacher-ABS I-INS satisfied-NEG
 ‘The teacher is not satisfied with me’

- contents (28);
- parenthetical constructions

The instrumental case is used to mark the head of parenthetical constructions formed with the factive form in *zere-*:⁷

- (41) se zere-s-λəte-re-m-čʹe a-š t_wə
 I FCT-1SG.A-count-DYN-ERG-INS that-ERG two
- f*e-b-*κ*e-wəc_wə-n faje
 BEN-2SG.A-CAUS-raise-POT must
- ‘In my opinion (lit. as I think), he must be given the “two” mark’.

In (41) and similar examples, the instrumental has the meaning “according to”, “proceeding from”. Strictly speaking, for many of the non-locative meanings exemplified in this section the source of the meaning is not evident. The meanings of the stimulus of emotion and contents can develop from allative, as well as from adelative basic meanings (Ganenkov 2002). The parenthetical use also can develop both from adelative and prolicative. Some of the meanings developed from the prolicative are also observed by allative and/or adelative markers, i.e. cause (allative, adelative), object of exchange (allative), price (allative), instrument (allative, adelative). The distribution of non-locative meanings among the basic meanings, according to semantic development pattern proposed in Ganenkov (2002), is shown in diagram 2.⁸

The semantic development pattern of the Adyghe instrumental must therefore be based on independent arguments that are presented in section 3.

⁷ See Gerassimov, Lander (2008) for the use of the factive form.

⁸ For allative and adelative, I only give the non-locative meanings that can be expressed by the Adyghe instrumental; for prolicative and instrumental, I give in brackets and with italic font the meanings that can not be expressed by the instrumental in Adyghe.

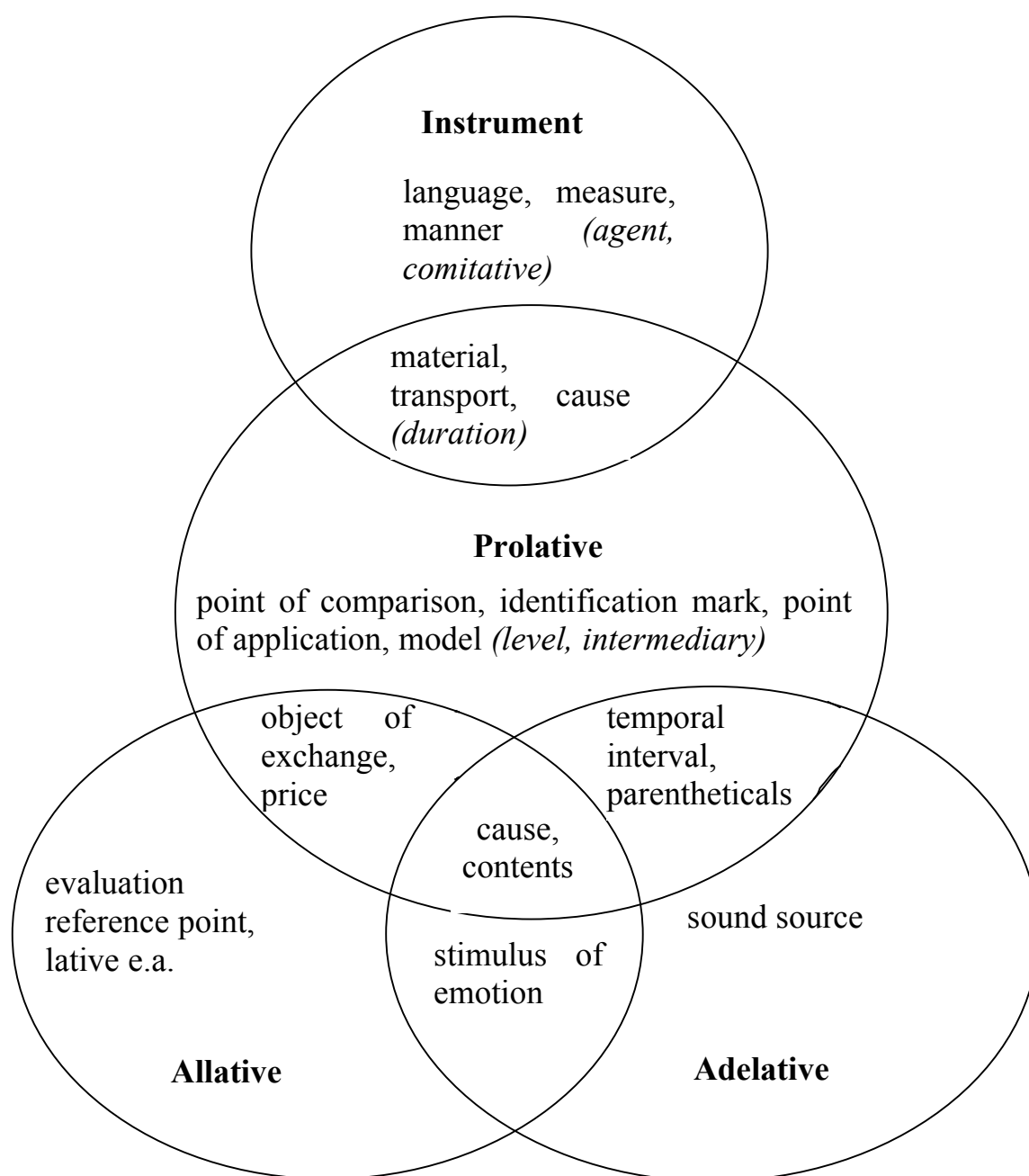


Diagram 2. *Intersection of the semantic domains of prolative, instrument, allative, and adulative*

Hence, the meanings of the Adyghe instrumental group along the following basic meanings: prolative, instrument, allative, and adulative. Most of the meanings belong to the prolative and instrument domains. The meanings derived from the allative and adulative are not numerous, which suggests that these two meanings are not the basic ones for the discussed morpheme. Both of them can develop from the prolative meaning.

It can be concluded that the basic meanings of the instrumental case in Adyghe are instrument and prolative. These meanings are closely related, since they are denoted by the same markers in many languages of the world (Narrog, Ito 2007, Ganenkov 2002). The non-locative meanings of these markers coincide to a large extent. Most of the non-locative meanings of the prolative are expressed by the Adyghe instrumental; as for the meanings of the instrumental domain, only half of them are expressed by this form. Considering the non-locative meanings of the Adyghe instrumental, I claim that prolative meaning is basic for this form, while the instrumental meaning is developed on the basis of the prolative.

3. The functional distribution of the two variants of the instrumental case

The instrumental in Adyghe can appear in two variants: the marker of the instrumental *-č'e* is directly adjoined to the stem, or to the ergative marker *-m*:

- (42) a. haləᵛwə-r šəžəje-č'e ə-bzə-ᵛ
bread-ABS knife-INS 3SG.A-cut-PST
- b. haləᵛwə-r šəžəje-m-č'e ə-bzə-ᵛ
bread-ABS knife-ERG-INS 3SG.A-cut-PST
- 'He cut the bread with a knife'

There is no common opinion among the specialists on Adyghe on the ergative form in (42b): some describe it as an oblique stem (Kumakov 1989: 24), while others propose to analyze it as a form of the definite declension (Khalbad 1975, Zekokh 2002: 97), see table 1 below.

Table 1. *Definite and non-definite declensions in Adyghe*

Case	Indefinite declension	Definite declension
Absolutive	∅	-r
Ergative	∅	-m
Instrumental	-č'e	-m-č'e
Adverbial case	-ew	-ew

This decision is consistent with the fact that the ergative marker (as well as the absolutive) in Adyghe is omitted with non-definite and non-specific nouns (Kumakhov 1971: 36–37, Khalbad 1975, Zekokh 1991: 133–137 and others). For example:

- (43) a. č'ale-r txəλ je-ž'a-ᵛ
boy-ABS book OBL-read-PST
- 'The boy read a book'

- b. č'ale-r txəλə-**m** je-ž'a-**ʁ**
 boy-ABS book-ERG OBL-read-PST
 'The boy read **the** book'

Most often the native speakers interpret these and the analogous examples in the following way: in (43a) a non-definite or non-specific book is mentioned, while in (43b) it is a definite book somehow introduced in the previous context.

The same distribution is often observed with the instrumental with and without the ergative marker:

- (44) a. t-jate pχe-xe-r wetəč'ə-č'e j-e-q_wəte-x
 1PL.PR-POSS+father firewood-PL-ABS axe-INS 3SG.A-DYN-chop-PL
 'Father is chopping firewood with **an** axe'
- b. t-jate pχe-xe-r wetəč'ə-**m**-č'e j-e-q_wəte-x
 1PL.PR-POSS+father firewood-PL-ABS axe-ERG-INS 3SG.A-DYN-chop-PL
 'Father is chopping firewood with **the** axe'

The difference between (44a) and (44b), as well as (43a) and (43b), is explained by native speakers in terms of definiteness and specificity.⁹ Hence, Khalbad (1975) and Zekokh (2002) propose to analyze the form in *-m-č'e* as a definite declension form for the instrumental. This claim is also supported by the following facts. In Adyghe, the choice of the marking of core arguments (the distribution of ergative/absolute vs. no marker) is not only regulated by the definiteness and specificity of the noun in question, but is also restricted by some formal rules. For the ergative marker, the following restrictions are observed.

First, ergative is obligatory with nouns in plural form. Second, ergative is to be omitted with proper names, personal pronouns, nouns with possessive markers, and nouns with cardinals (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 62-64; Khalbad 1975).

The same restrictions are observed with the ergative in instrumental case, in Standard Adyghe, as well as in the sub-dialect of Haqwerinehabl. Let us consider the examples. The ergative can not be omitted with nouns in plural form:

⁹ In some contexts, the information structure of the sentence is also relevant.

- (45) a. a-xe-me məʔarəse-xe-r qapš'əq-xe-m-č'e
 that-PL-ERG.PL apple-PL-ABS bag-PL-ERG-INS

r-a-λ.ha-š'tə-κe (*qapš'əq-xe-č'e)
 LOC-3PL.A-put-AUX-PST bag-PL-ERG-INS
 'They loaded apples in bags'

If the noun *qapš'əq* 'bag' does not bear the plural marker (while preserving the same plural semantics), the ergative can be omitted:

- b. a-xe-me məʔarəse-xe-r qapš'əq-č'e r-a-λ.ha-š'tə-κe
 that-PL-ERG.PL apple-PL-ABS bag-INS LOC-3PL.A-put-AUX-PST
 'They loaded apples in bags'.

The ergative is unacceptable with proper names, personal pronouns, nouns with possessive markers, and nouns with cardinals:

- proper names:¹⁰
- (46) a-š' jə-bləke-xe-r zeč'e asje-č'e
 that-ERG 3SG.PR-close-PL-ABS all Asja-INS

ə-χ_we.ž'ə-κ (*asje-m-č'e)
 3SG.A-exchange-PST Asja-ERG-INS
 'He changed all his relatives for Asja'

- personal pronouns:
- (47) a-š' jə-bləke-xe-r wer-č'e
 that-ERG 3SG.PR-close-PL-ABS you-INS

ə-χ_we.ž'ə-κ (*wer(ə)-m-č'e)
 3SG.A-exchange-PST you-ERG-INS
 'He changed all his relatives for you'

¹⁰ The marker *-m-č'e* can be, however, used with proper names as a special stylistic device (Tkharkakho 1976).

- nouns with possessive prefixes:

(48) a-š' s-jə-weš'-č'e pχe-xe-r j-e-q_wəte-x
 that-ERG 1SG.PR-POSS-axe-INS firewood-PL-ABS 3SG.A-DYN-chop-PL

(*s-jə-weš'ə-m-č'e)

1SG.PR-POSS-axe-ERG-INS

'He's chopping firewood with my axe'

- nouns with numerals:

(49) taqjəq-jə-pš-č'e sə-qe-k_we-ž'ə-t (*taqjəq-jə-pšə-m-č'e)
 minute-LNK-ten-INS 1SG.ABS-DIR-go-RE-FUT minute-LNK-ten-ERG-INS

'I'll come in ten minutes'

Hence, the distribution of the instrumental with and without the ergative abides by the same formal restrictions as the omittance of the ergative in general. On the basis of these facts, Khalbad (1975) concludes that the ergative marker in *-m-č'e* is to be considered as a definiteness marker. However, many authors note that the "definite and non-definite nouns in instrumental are in some cases differentiated functionally" (Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 66; see also Kumakhov 1971: 129-139). It has been shown that the noun without the ergative marker can denote the instrument, prolate, temporal interval, cause, point of comparison, manner, and relation (in other terms, apposition), while the noun with the ergative is most often used to denote the allative and the reference point of evaluation (Kumakhov 1971: 131). However, no strict rules are formulated, and not all the meanings are analyzed from the point of view of the possibility or obligatoriness of the ergative. Let us consider the data from the sub-dialect of Haqwerinehabl.

In this idiom, the instrumental with the ergative is acceptable with all the meanings enumerated in section 2, while the instrumental without the ergative is non-acceptable in a number of contexts. The meanings of the instrumental can be divided into three groups:

- 1) the meanings that allow for both types of marking;
- 2) the meanings for which the variant in *-m-č'e* is preferable;
- 3) the meanings that allow for the variant in *-m-č'e* only.

The first group of meanings includes the following ones: cause, manner, material, transport, measure, model, point of comparison, identification mark, object of exchange, price, temporal interval. The choice of the marking is regulated by the definiteness factor:

- prolative:
- (50) a. č'əle-m k_weg_wə-č'e qe-k_wa-ɤ
village-ERG road-INS DIR-go-PST
- b. č'əle-m k_weg_wə-m-č'e qe-k_wa-ɤ
village-ERG road-ERG-INS DIR-go-PST
'He came to the village [following] the road'

Native speakers interpret the noun *k_weg_wə-č'e* in (50a) as indefinite or (in other contexts) non-specific, while the noun *k_weg_wə-m-č'e* is interpreted as definite. The same distribution is observed with all the meanings of this group, see some examples:

- instrument (cf. 44ab above);
 - transport:
- (51) a-r avtobus-č'e / avtobusə-m-č'e qale-m k_wa-ɤe
that-ABS bus-INS / bus-ERG-INS city-ERG go-PST
'He went to the city by bus'

The variant in *-mč'e* is chosen in the following context:

- (52) a-r pš'əžhable q-jə-č'ə-re avtobusə-m-č'e
that-ABS Pshizov DIR-LOC-go.out-DYN bus-ERG-INS
- qale-m k_wa-ɤe
city-ERG go-PST
'He went to the city by the bus that comes from Pshizov'

The second group comprises the allative and the reference point of evaluation. In these contexts the marker *-mč'e* is preferred:

- (53) žane-m-č'e / *žane-č'e pš'erə-š'e
dress-ERG-INS dress-INS fat-too
'She's too fat for this dress'

However, native speakers are not unanimous on this point: some allow for the instrumental without the ergative, if the noun in question is non-definite or non-specific (54), some insist that the variant in *-mč'e* is the only possible one, whatever the definiteness/specificity of the noun in question.

- (54) je.šxe-je.š_we ?ane-č'e č'ale-r cəḵ_wə-š'e
 eat-drink table-INS boy-ABS small-too
 'The boy is too small [to take part in the] feast'
 (literally 'is too small for the eating-drinking table')

The third group of meanings is composed of the following: adelative, stimulus of emotion, sound source, contents, point of application, and parentheticals:

- adelative:

(55) č'ale-m-č'e / *č'ale-č'e q-jə-č'ə-ɪ
 village-ERG-INS village-INS DIR-LOC-go.out-PST
 'He went from the village side'
- stimulus of emotion:

(56) č'elejeḵaž'e-r č'ale-m-č'e / *č'ale-č'e raz-ep
 teacher-ABS boy-ERG-INS boy-INS satisfied-NEG
 'The teacher is not satisfied by the boy / a boy'
- sound source:

(57) twəčanə-m-č'e / *twəčanə-č'e wered q-e-?_wə
 shop-ERG-INS / *shop-INS song DIR-DYN-say
 'A song is heard from the shop / a shop'
- contents:

(58) hjəsapə-m-č'e / *hjəsapə-č'e urok
 mathematics-ERG-INS *mathematics-INS lesson
 'mathematics class'
- point of application:

(59) čemodanə-r q_wepsə-m-č'e / *q_wepsə-č'e šte
 suitcase-ABS handle-ERG-INS handle-INS take(IMP)
 'Take the suitcase by the handle!'
- parenthetical constructions:

(60) qə-zer-a-?_we-re-m-č'e / *qə-zer-a-?_we-re-č'e
 DIR-MNR-3PL.A-say-DYN-ERG-INS DIR-MNR-3PL.A-say-DYN-INS

 njewəš' a-r qe-ḵ_we-š't-ep
 tomorrow that-ABS DIR-go-FUT-NEG
 'As I have heard, he won't come tomorrow'

In (55)-(60) the instrumental with the ergative is non-acceptable, whatever the definiteness/specificity of the noun in question. In a part of these contexts, indefinite or non-specific reading is excluded by the meaning itself. Namely, the parentheticals obviously exclude the non-definite or non-specific interpretation. The point of application has to be definite because it is related by the part-whole relation to the patient (the patient can be non-definite or generic, however, the point of application is still identified referring to the patient). If the identification is ambiguous (as in *to take by the hand* or *to pull on a tablecloth's corner*, i.e. when two or more parts can be involved, and no exact reference is given to identify one of them), still the instrumental without the ergative is judged as unacceptable. It remains a question whether this fact is implied by the particular properties of the category of definiteness in Adyghe (the part of a whole is encoded as definite, although there is no indication, which part it is exactly; therewith the familiarity overruling the uniqueness principle in the identification of the referent)¹¹ or by the properties of the meaning of the point of application.

We propose the following explanation for these facts. The meanings of the first group are the meanings that are usually developed by prolicative markers, the meanings of the second group are usually developed by allative, and the meanings of the third group are developed by adelative markers in languages of the world (see diagram 2 above). I claim that this distribution of the markers is due to the grammaticalization of the marker *-m-č'e* in adelative function, the adelative having then given rise to a number of non-locative meanings. A similar process is observed with the allative meaning: it obviously has arisen from another pattern of grammaticalization of the marker *-m-č'e* and has then developed into the meaning of the reference point of evaluation. This grammaticalization process is probably not yet completed, since native speakers are not unanimous on the acceptability of the instrumental with the ergative in these contexts. The distribution of the variants *-č'e* and *-mč'e* is shown in diagram 3.¹²

¹¹ Cfr. Abbott (2010: 214–220) for the discussion of these notions.

¹² In this paper, I do not mention another type of contexts, where the instrumental case is used. The same marker appears on the head of complement clauses of mental, emotive, and evaluation verbs:

w-jəzaq _w -ew	wə-psewə-n-č'e	qjən
2SG.ABS-alone-ADV	2SG.ABS-live-POT-INS	hard
‘It's hard to live alone’		

This type of contexts is not relevant for this paper, since the verbal form with the marker *-č'e* has abstract semantics of event (in terms of Peterson 1997), not closely related to any of the meanings of the instrumental case. However, as far as the distribution of *-č'e* and *-m-č'e* is considered, the verbal forms behave in the same way as the nouns: the choice of the marking is regulated by referential and communicative properties of the complement clause.

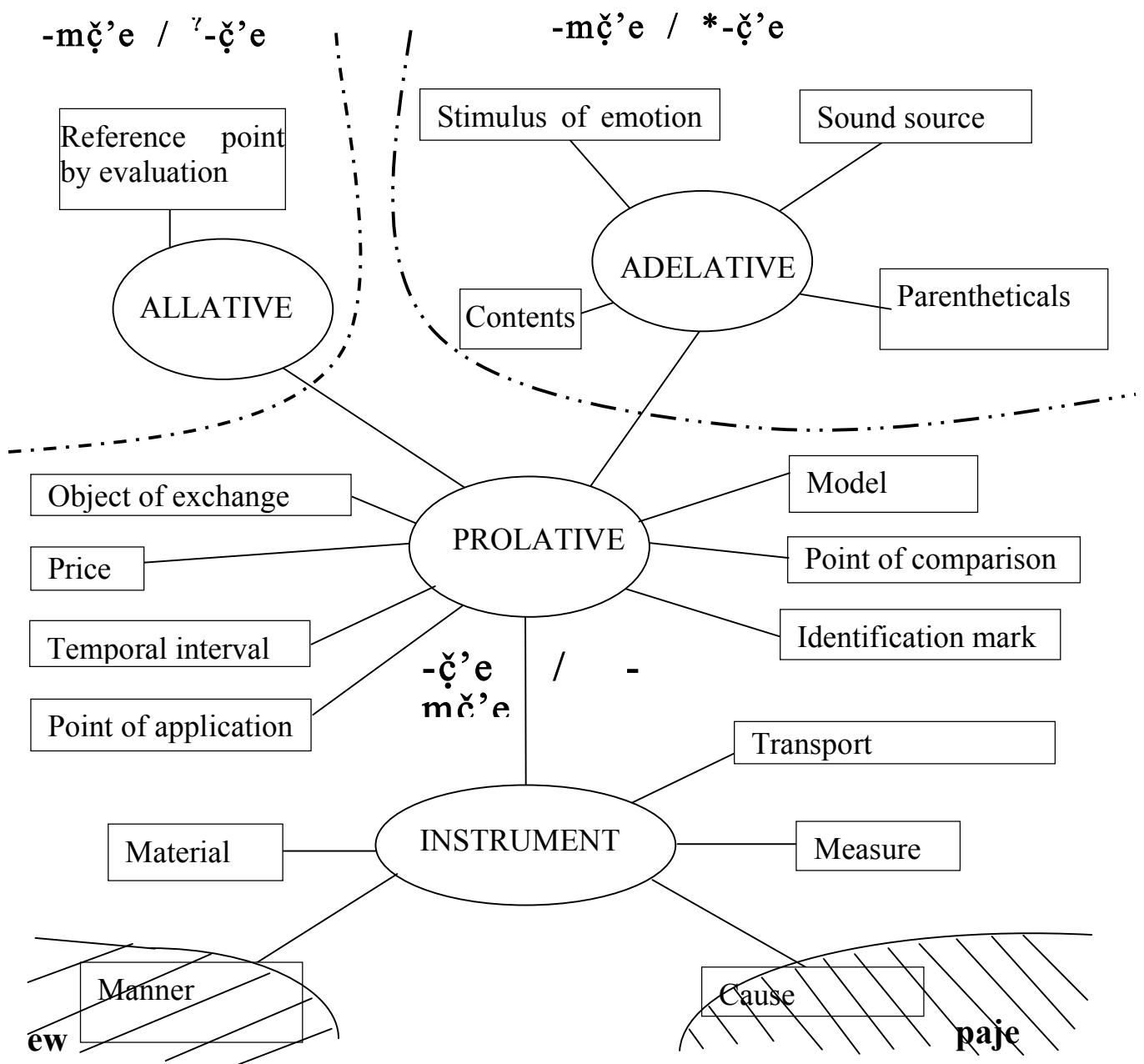


Diagram 3. The distribution of the markers $-\check{c}'e$ and $-m\check{c}'e$

4. Conclusions

The paper is focused on the functional distribution of the instrumental case in Adyghe. I argue that the Adyghe instrumental has the basic meaning of prolativ that has then developed the instrumental meaning. All the non-basic meanings of this case are developed either from instrumental, or from prolativ meaning.

The Adyghe instrumental allows two types of marking: with the ergative case or without it. In a number of contexts, both types of marking can be used. These are the following meanings: instrument, prolativ, cause, manner,

material, transport, measure, model, point of comparison, identification mark, object of exchange, price, temporal interval. The choice of the marker in these contexts is regulated by referential properties of the noun in question: if it is definite, the instrumental with the ergative is to be chosen; if it is non-definite or non-specific, the instrumental without the ergative is chosen. Therewith, there are observed the same formal restrictions that are relevant for the use of the ergative marker: ergative is obligatory with nouns in plural form; ergative is to be omitted with proper names, personal pronouns, nouns with possessive markers, and nouns with cardinals.

In the meanings of allative and reference point of evaluation, the ergative with the instrumental is preferred; however, for some native speakers, the variant without the instrumental is still possible, if the noun in question is non-definite or non-specific.

As for adelative and the meanings it develops (stimulus of emotion, sound source, contents, point of application, and parentheticals), only the variant in *-mč'e* is to be used. It can be concluded that at this stage of language evolution this form has grammaticalized into a special marker of adelative. The grammaticalization of the allative meaning is still not completed and is probably proceeding independently of the grammaticalization of adelative.

Abbreviations

A – person agreement with agent of transitive verbs; ABS – absolutive case/person agreement with absolutive argument; ADD – additive morpheme; ADV – adverbial; AUX – auxiliary verb; BEN – benefactive; CAUS – causative; COND – conditional mood; DIR – directive preverb; DYN – dynamicity; ERG – ergative case; FCT – factivity; FUT – future tense; IMP – imperative; INS – instrumental case; LNK – interfix; LOC – locative preverb; MNR – manner; NEG – negation; NML – verbal noun; OBL – valency-changing prefix promoting an oblique to argument position; PL – plural; POSS – alienable possession; POT – potentialis; PP – person agreement with the arguments introduced by prefixes on the verb; PR – person agreement with the possessor; PST – past tense; RE – reversive; REC.IO – indirect object reciprocal; SG – singular

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