

Semantics of the Adyghe instrumental case

Reference grammars of Standard Adyghe report about 4 cases: absolutive, ergative, translative and instrumental. The grammars of Adyghe give a number of meanings that can be expressed by the instrumental, including prolativ (1), instrumental (2), allative direction, adelative direction (3), destination (4), means of transport, cause, price, comparison, appositives etc. (see Rogava, Kerasheva 1966: 66, Kumakhov 1971).

The Adyghe instrumental case is formed in two ways: first, the marker *-č'e* can be added to a bare stem, and, second, to the stem with the ergative marker *-m* (which is sometimes called 'oblique stem'). It has been argued that the distribution of the two stems is regulated by the definiteness/indefiniteness of the noun: definite nouns follow the second pattern, and take the ergative + instrumental, while indefinite and generic nouns follow the first pattern, and only take the instrumental marker (see Xalbad 1975, Zekokh 2002). Rogava, Kerasheva (1966: 66) and Kumakhov (1971) also note that certain meanings of the instrumental case show a strong preference towards the second pattern, i.e. ergative + instrumental marking. These are allative, destination, and adelative (cf. (3a) and (3b)). However, no explanation is given why such a restriction is observed exactly with these meanings. My aim is to suggest a possible explanation. The data discussed in this paper has been collected in the village Hakurinoahable in Shovgen district.

First, I argue that apart from the number of meanings that only rarely permit the first pattern, there are a number of meanings that totally exclude it. These are adelative (cf. (3a) and (3b)), stimulus of emotions, theme and parentheticals.

Second, I give an explanation for the restrictions observed in (3) and (4) based on the typological patterns of the locative cases' semantics, examined by Ganenkov (2002). I propose the semantic scheme that shows the development of the meaning of the *-č'e* marker. In the scheme, different meanings of the *-č'e* marker divide into 3 groups. The first group includes the meanings derived from the prolativ: instrumental, means of transport, cause, price, comparison etc. These are the meanings that permit both the instrumental and the ergative + instrumental marking (the choice depending on the definiteness of the corresponding noun). The other two groups show restrictions on the acceptability of the first pattern, instrumental without ergative. The second group includes the meanings developed from the adelative: these are stimulus of emotions, theme and parentheticals. All of these require the ergative + instrumental marking (cf. (3a) and (3b)). The third group is rather small: it includes only the allative that gives rise to the 'destination' meaning. This group is treated differently by native speakers: some speakers only permit the second pattern; however, there is a group that permits both patterns (the judgment on the acceptability of (4a) depends on the speaker).

Hence, the groups of meanings imposing restrictions on the acceptability of the first pattern (instrumental without ergative) are adelative and allative. Both of them develop from the prolativ meaning. Such a semantic shift is attested in a number of languages, see Ganenkov 2002. The restrictions on the first pattern can be interpreted in terms of grammaticalization theory, as proposed in Traugott, Heine (1991): the ergative *-m* + instrumental *-č'e* on definite expressions has grammaticalized as a special marker of adelative *-mC&e*. Then this marker has given rise to a range of meanings, common for the adelative markers in different languages of the world (see the

typological data in Ganenkov (2002)). The allative -mč'e must have been involved in the process of grammaticalization separately from the adelative block. Probably, its status as allative marker has not stabilized in Modern Adyghe.

Examples:

- (1) a. (ar) koridwerə-č'e k_wæɛ.
 b. (ar) koridwerə-mč'e k_wæɛ.
 He went (somewhere) through a/the corridor.
- (2) a. halewər šəž'əje-č'e əbzəɛ.
 b. halewər šəž'əje-mč'e əbzəɛ.
 He cut the bread with a/the knife.
- (3) a. *čəlemčəle-č'e qjəčəɛ.
 b. čəlem čəle-mč'e qjəčəɛ.
 He came from the village side (not from the village exactly).
- (4) a. mə morkovkər supə-č'e mače.
 b. mə morkovkər supə-mč'e mače.
 There are only few carrots for the soup.

References:

1. Ganenkov D. S. 2002. Tipologija padezhnyx znachenij: semanticheskaja zona prolativa // *Issledovanija po teorii grammatiki*. Vol. 2: *Grammatikalizacija prostranstvennyx znachenij v jazykax mira*. Moscow: Russkie slovari, pp. 35-56.
2. Kumakhov M.A. 1971. *Slovoizmenenie adygskix jazykov*. Moscow: Nauka.
3. Rogava G.V., Kerasheva Z.I. 1966. *Grammatika adygejskogo jazyka*. Krasnodar: Krasnodarskoje knizhnoje izdatelstvo.
4. Traugott E.C., Heine B. (eds). 1991. *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
5. Xalbad T. X. 1975. *Vyrazhenie kategorij opredelennosti i neopredelennosti v abxazo-adygskix jazykax*. Tbilisi: Mecniereba.
6. Zekokh U. S. 2002. *Adygejskaja grammatika*. Majkop: Adygeja.