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Unexpected applicatives
and morphological compositionality in Adyghe

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1. Adyghe: general information on its morphology

Northwest Caucasian, a close relative of Kabardian and distant relative of Abkhaz and Abaza

<u>Some sources in Western languages</u>: Smeets 1984; Paris 1989.

<u>The basic source in Russian</u>: Rogava & Keraševa 1966

Adyghe polysynthesis:

- Adyghe allows a high degree of morphological complexity

The "longest word in Adyghe" according to Malaichet Pkhachiyash:[1]

(1) sə-qə-ze-re-ŝha-pə-rə-wəḳᵥereje-č'ə-ž'ə-ʁa-ʁe-r
     1SG.ABS-DIR-REL.IO-INS-'HEAD'-LOC-INS-fall-AWAY-RE-PST-PST-ABS
     'that I had turned a somersault' (at least 13 morphemes)

…is not the longest:

(2) wə-qə-ze-re-ŝha-pə-rə-z-ʁe-wəḳᵥereje-č'ə-ž'ə-ŝᵥə-ʁa-ʁe-r
     2SG.ABS-DIR-REL.IO-INS-HEAD-LOC-INS-1SG.A-CAUS-fall-AWAY-RE-HBL-PST-PST-ABS
     'that I was able to make you turn a somersault' (at least 16 morphemes)

- speakers presumably may add affixes in the course of speech:
    (i) high degree of variation in the capacity of constructing very complex forms and partly in the use of affixes; cf. Lander & Gerasimov in prep.;
    (ii) affix-by-affix pronunciation;
    (iii) speakers themselves recognize the fact of constructing words in the course of speech.

NB: Morphology is still contrasted to syntax:
sometimes speakers can choose between the morphological and syntactic strategies.

The syntactic strategy of the introduction of the beneficiary (postposition):

(3) sᵥəretəŝə-m [∅-jə-nəbžeʁᵥə-xe-m   a-paje] sᵥəret ə-ŝə-ʁ
     painter-OBL [3SG.PR-POSS-friend-PL-OBL 3PL-for] picture 3SG.A-make-PST
     '(That) painter drew a picture for his friends.'

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[1] Abbreviations: A - agent, ABS - absolutive, AUX - auxiliary morpheme, BEN - benefactive, CAUS - causative, CNV - converb, COM - comitative, DIR - directive, DYN - dynamic, FUT - future, HBL - habilitive/potential, INS - instrumental, IO - indirect object, LOC - locative, NEG - negation, OBL - oblique case, OPV - general oblique preverb, PL - plural, POSS - possessive, PR - possessor, PRED - predicative, PST - past, RE - refactive/reversive ('back'), REC - reciprocal, REL - relative, RFL - reflexive, SG - singular.

The morphological strategy of the introduction of the beneficiary (applicative complex (roughly) = cross-reference prefix + applicative marker):

(4) s$_w$əretəṣə-m ∅-jə-nəbǯeʁ$_w$ə-xe-m   s$_w$əret [a-f-]jə-ṣ̂ə-ʁ
     painter-OBL 3SG.PR-POSS-friend-PL-OBL picture [3PL.IO-BEN]-3SG.A-make-PST
     '(That) painter drew a picture for his friends.'

- Some parts of morphology display special properties.

The Adyghe verb consists of several morphological zones. Some zones represent "productive non-inflectional concatenation" according to de Reuse (2006; 2009); cf. Korotkova & Lander 2009Ms.

2. Productive non-inflectional concatenative applicatives

[1] Productive.
[2] Allow recursion (see Lander & Letuchiy forthc.):

(5) [a-də]-[zə-de]-s-e-hə
     [3PL.IO-COM]-[RFL.IO-COM]-1SG.A-DYN-carry
     'I am carrying (this) with me together with them'

[3] Necessarily concatenative.
[4] Variable order of elements is possible:

(6) [∅-fə]-[∅-š']-a-ṣ̂ə-ʁ   =   [∅-š'ə]-[∅-f]-a-ṣ̂ə-ʁ
     [3SG.IO-BEN]-[3SG.IO-LOC]-3PL.A-make-PST   [3SG.IO-LOC]-[3SG.IO-BEN]-3PL.A-make-PST
     'They made (this) there for him/her.'

[5] Syntactically active.
Various kinds of evidence that cross-reference prefixes function as arguments (Lander 2005). In particular, coreference is established by prefixes belonging to the same paradigms. Cf. reflexive (5) and relative:

(7) ʔ$_w$ef   (zə)-de]-s-ša-ʁe-xe   č̣'ale-xe-r
     work   [REL.IO-COM]-1SG.A-do-PST-PL boy-PL-ABS
     'the children with whom I worked'

[6] Morphology can change the category.
(This does not apply to applicatives, which serve as "morphological adjuncts"; cf. O'Herin's (2001) representation of Abaza applicatives as incorporated PPs)

NB: Unlike "canonical applicatives", Adyghe applicatives add indirect objects rather than direct objects and need not affect the already established part of the argument structure.

The use of applicatives as demoting agents:
(8) ə-tə-š't-ep   'S/he will not give (this).'
     3SG.A-give-FUT-NEG
Agent "downgraded" to the applicative object (cf. non-canonical marking of agents in other languages):
(9) [∅-fe]-tə-š't-ep   'S/he will not be able to give (this).'
     [3SG.IO-BEN]-give-FUT-NEG

Conclusion: In general, applicative morphology is compositional, but:

3. Unexpected applicative 1: Reciprocal formation

The traditional view (Letuchiy 2007 inter alia):
1. In order to establish the reciprocal relations between the absolute argument or the agent and the indirect object, the indirect object prefix must be replaced with the reciprocal prefix ze-. Examples are from Letuchiy 2007:

(10) sə-[∅-š'ə]-g$_w$əʁ$_w$e-ž'ə   'I rely on him.'
     1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-LOC-rely-RE

(11) tə-(ze)-š'ə]-g$_w$əʁ$_w$e-ž'ə-x   'We rely on each other.'[2]
     1PL.ABS-REC.IO-LOC-rely-RE-PL

2. In order to establish the reciprocal relations between the agent and the undergoer in the transitive verb, the agent prefix must be replaced with the reciprocal prefix zere-.

(12) se   wəne-r   s-λeʁ$_w$ə-ʁe   'I saw the house.'
     I   house-ABS   1SG.A-see-PST

(13) s-jə-ŝeweʁ$_w$ə-xe-r   zere-λeʁ$_w$ə-š'tə-ʁe-x   'My friends (often) saw
     1SG.PR-POSS-friend-PL-ABS   REC.A-see-AUX-PST-PL   each other.'

But:
   - The reciprocal prefix zere- would have very atypical morphemic structure (CVCV is typical for two prefixes but not for a single prefix).
   - The traditional representation goes against the overall tendency (observed in Adyghe just as in other languages) whereby the agent usually serves as controller in reflexive and reciprocal constructions.

Lander & Letuchiy to appear:
The segment zere- is actually the result of the demotion of agent by means of the instrumental prefix rə-/re- and its subsequent reciprocalization.[3]

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[2] The same form can have reflexive semantics: 'We rely on ourselves.' See Letuchiy 2007 for details.
[3] Lander & Letuchiy also give formal evidence for this representation based on the possibility of interruption of ze- and re- in certain exceptional contexts.

(14) s-jə-ŝeweʁ_wə-xe-r   [ze-re]-λeʁ_wə-š'tə-ʁe-x   'My friends (often) saw
    1SG.PR-POSS-friend-PL-ABS   REC.IO-INS-see-AUX-PST-PL   each other.'

Problem:
• The instrumental applicative complex is never used for demotion of the agent
  argument where the corresponding argument is not reciprocalized.

4. Unexpected applicatives 2-4: Relative constructions

4.1 Relativization of DESTINATION POINT

• The DESTINATION participant is normally not cross-referenced with motion verbs:

(15) a-š'   sə-ḳ_wa-ʁ   'I went there.'
    that-OBL   1SG.ABS-go-PST

• Relativization of the DESTINATION participant requires its introduction by a locative
  applicative:

(16) sə-[zə-de]-ḳ_wa-ʁe-r   '(the place) where I went'
    1SG.ABS-[REL.IO-LOC]-go-PST-ABS

• Such applicative is considered infelicitous if the DESTINATION participant is not
  relativized:

(17) *sə-[∅-de]-ḳ_wa-ʁe-r   (expected: 'I went there.')
    *1SG.ABS-[3SG.IO-LOC]-go-PST-ABS

Problem:
• The applicative introducing the DESTINATION participant seems to be restricted to
  relative constructions.

4.2. MANNER and FACT relativization

The traditional view: MANNER and FACT participles are marked by the prefix zere- (cf.
Caponigro & Polinsky 2008).
(18) se   z-ʁe-ŝeʁ_wa-ʁe   [anzwere   zer-∅-je-ǯe-re-r]
    I   1SG.A-CAUS-wonderful-PST   Anzor   *ZERE*-3SG.IO-OPV-read-DYN-ABS
    MANNER: 'I marveled how Anzor was reading.'
    FACT: 'I marveled that Anzor was reading (that).'

Gerasimov & Lander 2007: zere- is a sequence of the relative prefix and the
instrumental applicative prefix.

(19) se   z-ʁe-ŝeʁ_wa-ʁe   [anzwere   ze-r-∅-je-ǯe-re-r]
    I   1SG.A-CAUS-wonderful-PST   Anzor   REL.IO-INS-3SG.IO-OPV-read-DYN-ABS

Problem:
- The applicative introducing MANNER and FACT seems to be restricted to relative constructions.

4.3. Relativization out of embedded clauses

- Relativization out of embedded clauses normally requires the presence of a relativized coreferent argument in the matrix clause (Lander to appear).

Relativized applicative indirect object in the embedded clause +
relativized applicative indirect object in the matrix clause
(20) wə-zə-š'ə-psew-ew   melač'e   wə-z-š'ə-mə-λe-š'tə-r
    2SG.ABS-REL.IO-LOC-live-PRED starvation 2SG.ABS-REL.IO-LOC-NEG-die-FUT-ABS
    'a house such that you will not die of starvation while living there'
    Literally: 'a house <u>where</u> you will not die of starvation while living <u>where</u>'

* Relativized applicative indirect object in the embedded clause &
no relativized argument in the matrix clause
(21) *wə-zə-š'ə-psew-ew   melač'e   wə-mə-λe-š'tə-r
    2SG.ABS-REL.IO-LOC-live-PRED starvation 2SG.ABS-NEG-die-FUT-ABS
    Literally: 'a house you will not die of starvation while living <u>where</u>'

- Occasionally the requirement of a relativized argument in the matrix clause leads to the appearance of an applicative that normally does not appear in the independent sentences.

Independent sentence without an applicative in the matrix predicate:
(22) pŝaŝe-m   s-∅-je-pλ-ze   sə-λepewa-ʁ
    girl-OBL   1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-OPV-look.at-CNV   1SG.ABS-stumble-PST
    'While looking at the girl, I stumbled.'

Relative construction with a relativized applicative object in the matrix predicate:
(23) pŝaŝ-ew   sə-z-e-pλ-ze   sə-z-fə-λepewa-ʁe-r
    girl-PRED 1SG.ABS-REL.IO-OPV-look.at-CNV   1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-BEN-stumble-PST-ABS
    'the girl such that while looking at her I stumbled (lit. for her)'

*Independent sentence with the relevant applicative in the matrix predicate:
(24) *pŝaŝe-m   s-∅-je-pλ-ze   sə-∅-fə-λepewa-ʁ
    *girl-OBL   1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-OPV-look.at-CNV   1SG.ABS-3SG.IO-BEN-stumble-PST

5. Discussion

<u>The phenomenon</u>: Applicatives can sometimes appear in derived/marked structures while being infelicitous in simple/unmarked structures.
<u>Challenge</u>: At first glance, this contradicts the semantic transparency of Adyghe applicatives and hence their compositional organization.

- The appearance of certain applicatives in restricted morphosyntactic contexts is itself possible due to the fact that applicatives can be added, i.e. they are not parts of fixed morphological forms. (Where an argument is needed, it can be added.)

- The absence of these applicatives in simple/unmarked forms may be due to the fact that the corresponding arguments may be irrelevant or already presupposed.

- Paradoxically, just because of this unexpected distribution, some of these applicatives probably can "freeze", become non-compositional and perceived as inflectional markers of certain grammatical forms.

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