Liubov Klimenchenko (NRU Higher School of Economics) Taxis constructions in Ulyap Kabardian

1. General information

Taxis characterizes the communicated fact in relation to another communicated fact and independently of the fact of communication (R. Jacobson). These facts of communication are called in the literature **situation P1** (for dependant clause) and **situation P2** (for a main clause).

2. Sources of data

Elicited sentences (fieldwork, Republic of Adygea, Ulyap village)

3. Coding of taxis constructions in Ulyap Kabardian

Subordinate clauses are mainly expressed by *nonfinite verb forms*, *such as converbs or relativization*. To describe taxis constructions in Ulyap Kabardian, I follow taxis scale proposed in [Khrakowskij 2009: 11].

Anteriority

Distant

Situation P2 follows situation P1 in a period of time after its natural completion.

(1) də-qə-zerə-kwe-z'-re sehat tje-ş-a-wə zarjəne 1PL.ABS-DIR-REL.FACT-go-RE-CNV hour LOC-do-PST-ADV Zarina qe-kw-a DIR-go-PST

'After an hour as we returned home (P1), Zarina came (P2)' lit. 'We returned, an hour was over (P1), Zarina came (P2).'

(2) pš'edəž'ə-m ž'emə-r **jə-š'-rjə** zarjəne bźehaŝhe-m morning-OBL cow-ABS 3SG.ERG-milk-CNV-ADD Zarina evening-OBL qwje x-jə-x-a cheese LOC-3SG.ERG-take-PST

'After milking a cow in the morning (P1), Zarina made cheese in the evening (P2).'

(3) [vaze-r š'ə-qwəte-m] fəzə-r qe-gwew-a-t vase-ABS REL.TEMP-break-OBL woman-ABS DIR-scream-PST-RS 'When the vase broke (P1), woman screamed (P2).'

Contact

Situation P2 follows situation P1 after its natural completion immediately.

(4) wəʒə-m sə-tje-ʁwa.λ-h-a-wə wafe-r 'qe-s-λeʁw-a grass-OBL 1SG.ABS-LOC-lie.down-LAT-PST-ADV sky-ABS DIR-1SG.ERG-see-PST 'When I lied down on the grass (P1), I saw the sky (P2).'

(5) se ?eg^wawe-r maše-m **jə-z-ʒ-e-r-jə** a-r
I ball-ABS hole-OBL LOC-1SG.ERG-throw-LAT-CNV-ADD that-ABS qie-w-a
DIR-blow.out-PST

'I threw the ball into the hole (P1), and it blew out (P2).'

Situation P2 follows situation P1 interrupting P1.

(6) pč'əhape 7je s-λeʁw-wə-re sə-qe-gwew-a dream bad 1SG.ERG-see-ADV-CNV 1SG.ABS-DIR-scream-PST 'When I saw a nightmare (P1), I screamed (P2).'

(7) [

| wegwe-m | ze-pe-re-ž | š'e-xwe-m | aslan | tje-xw-a |

| street-OBL | REC.IO-LOC-LOC-run | LOC-become-OBL | Aslan | LOC-fall-PST |

'Aslan fell down (P2), as he was running across the street (P1).'

Simultaneity

Interrupted

Full

Situation P1 is located in the same period of time as situation P2

- (8) [wəʒə-m sə-tje-ʁwaA-h-wə-re] wafe-r qə-z-we-\auw grass-OBL 1SG.ABS-LOC-lie-LAT-ADV-CNV sky-ABS DIR-1SG.ERG -DYN-see 'When I'm lying on the grass (P1), I see the sky (P2).'
- (9) [aslan ǯ'eg^w š'e-χ^we-m] zarina txəλ je-ǯ'e-t Aslan play REL.TEMP-become-OBL Zarina book DAT-read-IPF 'When Aslan was playing (P1), Zarina was reading a book (P2).'

Partial 1

Situation P2 is located within the period of time of situation P1.

(10) [sabjə-r gwe-wə-re] soske r-a-t-a baby-ABS cry-ADV-CNV soother DAT-3PL.ERG-give-PST 'When a baby was crying (P1), (they) gave it a soother (P2).'

(11) [də-šx-e **š'ə-xwə-m**] sv'etə-r qe-kwes-a

1PL.ABS-eat-AP REL.TEMP-become-OBL light-ABS DIR-go.out-PST

'When we were eating (P1), the lights went out (P2).'

Partial 2

Situation P1 is located within the period of time of situation P2.

(12) [aslan wəne-m **če-h-a-wə**] sabjə-r qe-g^we-t
Aslan house-OBL LOC-enter-PST-ADV baby-ABS DIR-cry-IPF
'When Aslan entered the room (P1), the baby was crying (P2).'

(13) [de də-qə-š'ə-kwe-ž'ə-m] weš'x q-je-š'x-t we 1ABS-DIR-REL.TEMP-go-RE-OBL rain DIR-LOC-rain-IPF 'When we arrived, it was raining.'

Posteriority

Distant

Siruatoin P1 follows situation P2 in a period of time after its natural completion.

(14) [[s-jane qi-s'i-kwe-z'i-ne-m] səhat

1SG.PR-POSS+mother DIR-REL.TEMP-go-RE-FUT-OBL hour
ja-?-wə] s-je-wəne ze-xe-s-x-a

POSS-have-ADV 1SG.PR-POSS-house REC.IO-LOC-1SG.ERG-clean-PST
'An hour before the mother came (P1), I cleaned my room (P2).'

Contact

Situation P1 immediately follows situation P2 after its natural completion.

(15) [wəne-m q-jə-ç'ə-nə-m jə-peç'e] aslan house-OBL DIR-3SG.ERG-go.out-POT-OBL POSS-before Aslan sv'etə-r jə-ве-kwes-а light-ABS 3SG.ERG-CAUS-go.out-PST

Interrupting

Situation P1 follows situation P2 and interrupts it. Situation P2 doesn't complete naturally.

(16) de də-qe-f-a [weredə-r q-jə-ç'ə-xwə-n]
we 1PL.ABS-DIR-dance-PST song-ABS DIR-LOC-go.out-LIM-POT
'We danced (P2), until (they) didn't turn off the music (P1).'

'Before leaving the house (P1), Aslan turned off the lights (P2).'

(17) sabjə-m qə-že-hə-ne [tje-xwe-xwə-ç'e-re] child-OBL DIR-run-LAT-FUT LOC-fall.down-LIM-INS-CNV 'The child will be running (P2), until he falls down (P1).'

4. Conclusion

The taxis scale is considered to be a semantic map [Malchukov 2001; Haspelmath 2003]. According to my data **taxis scale in Ulyap Kabardian lacks coherence** (See the table on the right). It conflicts with an assumption about taxis scale that if the same form is used for, e.g. contact anteriority and partial simultaneity, then it is also used for the values located between them on the scale. In Ulyap Kabardian **it works only for a few forms** (-we-re forms, constructions with an auxiliary verb form *š'e-xwe-m* that are used for **interrupted anteriority, full and partial 1 simultaneity**) but it is not supported by some other forms.

Coding of taxis values in Ulyap Kabardian

| General taxis value | Particular taxis value | Coding |
|------------------------|------------------------|---|
| Anteriority | distant | -r-jə (-CNV-ADD); zerəre sehat tjeş-a-wə (REL.FACTCNV + an hour ago); |
| | contact | -a-wə (-PST-ADV); -r-jə (-CNV-ADD); š'əm (REL.TEMP OBL) |
| | interrupted | -wə-re (-ADV-CNV) š'ə-x ^w ə-m (REL.TEMP-become-OBL) |
| Simultaneity | full | -wə-re (-ADV-CNV); š'ə-x ^w ə-m (REL.TEMP-become-OBL) |
| | partial 1 | -wə-re (-ADV-CNV); š'ə-x ^w ə-m (REL.TEMP-become-OBL) |
| | partial 2 | -a-wə (-PST-ADV); š'əm (REL.TEMPOBL) |
| Posteriority | distant | š'əm (REL.TEMPOBL) +(səhat) jə?wə 'having an hour' |
| | contact | jə-peč'e (POSS-before) |
| | interrupting | -x ^w ə- (-LIM-), -x ^w ə-ç'e-re (-LIM-INS-CNV) |

References

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